TAKSİM REPUBLICAN SQUARE: A FIELD STUDY ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC, FORM, USE AND MEANING DIMENSIONS

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

TAKSİM REPUBLICAN SQUARE: A FIELD STUDY ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC, FORM, USE AND MEANING DIMENSIONS

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This study aims to ask what meaning the current users of Taksim Republican Square (TRS) in Istanbul attach to it, besides an understanding of the socio-economic profile of its current users and their forms of usage as well as evaluations of its public square quality. Despite the many research on the public spaces and public squares in particular, what separates this sociological one is its viewpoint of the user. Because of the emphasis on the user's perception of TRS, twenty one in-depth interviews and seventy one field surveys with the place users were applied as the method of analysis in addition to the five expert interviews to also include the opinions of the institutions with an influence on the physical arrangement of the square. Following a detailed analysis of the possible relationships among these socio-economic, form, usage, and meaning dimensions of TRS, some propositions are made with respect to these variables based on the findings from the field. The larger implication of the findings is that people hardly think of TRS in symbolic terms in daily life and the meaning of TRS today is multiplied and blurred for them due to the multiple temporal and spatial layers. In this multiplicity and ambiguity of meaning, people's awareness of the continuing political and ideological struggles over the place also has an influence. In approaching to the question of the meaning of a highly symbolic public square from an urban sociology perspective; this project will contribute to future research on similar topics.

Keywords: City Square; Public Space; Form, Use and Meaning of a Place

ÖZ

TAKSİM CUMHURİYET MEYDANI: SOSYO-EKONOMİK, BİÇİM, KULLANIM VE ANLAM BOYUTLARI ÜZERİNE BİR ALAN ÇALIŞMASI

Kırmızı, Meriç

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Bu çalışma, İstanbul'daki Taksim Cumhuriyet Meydanı'nın (TCM) bugünkü kullanıcılarının sosyo-ekonomik konumlarını, meydanı kullanım biçimlerini ve bu yerin meydan niteliğiyle ilgili değerlendirmelerini incelemesinin yanı sıra, temelde buraya ne anlam yükledikleri sorusunu sormaktadır. Genelde kamusal alanlar özelde ise meydanlarla ilgili birçok çalışma olmasına karşın bu sosyolojik çalışmayı diğerlerinden ayırt eden nitelik meydanın kullanıcılarının bakış açısına sahip olmasıdır. Çalışma kullanıcı algısına odaklandığı için de yöntem olarak derinlemesine görüşme (yirmi bir kullanıcı) ve saha anketi (yetmiş bir kullanıcı) uygulanmıştır. Ek olarak, meydanın fiziksel düzenlemesine etkisi olan meslek odası, belediye, dernek gibi kurumlardan beş uzmanın görüşlerine yer verilmiştir. TCM'nin sosyo-ekonomik, biçim, kullanım ve anlam boyutları arasında olduğu varsayılan ilişkilerin detaylı bir incelemesinden elde edilen bulgulardan yola çıkarak sonuç bölümünde bu boyutları kapsayan kimi önermeler geliştirilmiştir. Çalışmanın genel bir çıkarımı olarak ise; TCM'yi kullanan insanlar bu kentsel yerin simgesel anlamı üzerinde gündelik yaşamlarında çok az düşünmektedirler ve meydanın anlamı buradaki çeşitli zaman ve uzam katmanlarına bağlı olarak çeşitlenmiş ve hatta birçok gündelik kullanıcı için belirsizleşmiştir. Bu çeşitlilik ve belirsizlikte, insanların burada süregiden siyasi-ideolojik çatışmaların farkındalığının da etkisi vardır. Simgesel bir kent meydanının anlamına kent sosyolojisi merceğinden yaklaşan bu çalışmanın benzer konularda ileride yapılacak araştırmalara bu yönde bir katkı sağlaması amaçlanmıştır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Kent Meydanı; Kamusal Yer; Bir Yerin Biçimi, Kullanımı ve Anlamı

DEDICATION

To my father and mother and

All who are concerned about the Turkish modernization

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKM: Atatürk Culture Center (Atatürk Kültür Merkezi)

BGKD: Beyoğlu Beautification and Preservation Society (Beyoğlu Güzelleştirme ve Koruma Derneği)

İBB: Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi)

M.O: Chamber of Architects (Mimarlar Odası)

TRS: Taksim Republican Square (Taksim Cumhuriyet Meydanı)

ŞPO: Chamber of City Planners (Şehir Plancıları Odası)

CHAPTER

1. INTRODUCTION

The main objective of this study is to bring out the meaning that the current users of Taksim Republican Square (TRS) of Istanbul attach to it. Harvey (2003) argues that spatial meaning depending on spatial practices is the outcome of historical-materialist conditions incorporating power relations. Similarly in this study it was found out that the meaning of TRS today is blurred for its users due to the multiple temporal and spatial layers involving struggles at various societal levels such as political, economic, cultural, and so on. This curiosity about the meaning of this highly symbolic urban place, which triggered the study, rested on the following line of reasoning. The city as the "natural house" (Harvey 2003, 39) of modernization or as "both the mechanism and hero of modernism" (ibid, 40) and the city planning therefore, occupied an important place in implementing the modernization project. In other words, the city was perceived as a space where the unique spatial-temporal understanding of modernity could be physically organized. This necessitated city planning and development of a national architecture including modern buildings, public monuments, and so on. For this purpose, the Turkish Republic in its early years laid special emphasis on urban planning by inviting European planners such as Herman Jansen and Henri Prost until these state planning efforts were broken down and economic rent outweighed against public good[1] following the 1950s --Oktay Ekinci: Urban planning has a fundamental role in protecting urban and social memory and thus helps form the future[2].
In the light of these spatial modernization discussions, this study takes as an example TRS, which initially formed an important leg of the early urban planning efforts of Turkey. Before

[1] An economic definition of public good, a term with an emphasis on non-rivalry of consumption and non-excludability is as follows: "A good that cannot be charged for in relation to use (like the view of a park or survival of a species), so there is no incentive to produce or maintain the good. A public good can be used by many people without being used up and is available at no or negligible additional cost as the number of users increases. Public goods, by their nature are typically provided by governments and sometimes by philanthropy or protected by regulation." (http://www.economics.noaa.gov/?goal=home&file=economics&view=conceptsandtools)

[2] Quoted from a video recorded interview displayed at the Open City: İstanbul exhibition. Relatedly, Walkowitz and Knauer's edition, *Memory and the Impact of Political Transformation in Public Space* (2004) looked at different cases where a political event with transformative power reshaped the historical meanings people attached to contested public spaces.

the Republic Monument, TRS was a simple open space and acquired a public square character only after the Monument was erected in 1928. The Republic Monument was created by the Italian sculptor Pietro Canonica and the architect Guilio Mongeri with public finance. Canonica, who previously made the Atatürk monuments in Ankara, offered to make a monument with two main scenes representing Atatürk together with people around him both at the independence war and after the foundation of the Republic. Therefore the Monument symbolized the national war of independence --the liberation-- and the young Republican Turkey --the foundation. It was mostly known for its collectivity because of representing a large segment of the public and also its human scale. After the Monument in the 1st National Architecture style, the name of the square changed to become Taksim Republican Square. The tramway route encircled the Monument emphasizing the centrality of the monument more. The area was redesigned in 1940s according to Prost's plan and with the efforts of the period's mayor, Lütfi Kırdar. Some earlier buildings and spaces such as Taksim Kışlası (barracks), Talimhane were eliminated during this redesign process and İnönü Promenade (İnönü Gezisi), which was later turned into Taksim Promenade after the 1950s, was arranged. The square in the past hosted the Republican Day parades, waters on the side of maskem were illuminated during the national holidays, and protests were finalized near the Monument with a public speech. It thus symbolized the Republic, modernization, secularity and democracy. Especially after the 1988 destructions in Taksim, Tarlabaşı, and Şişhane however the Monument lost relation to its immediate surrounding and its circler base became a part of İstiklal Street, hence disfeaturing the square. (Kuruyazıcı 1998)

Being aware of the huge physical and social transformation due to all the accumulated temporal and spatial layers on the place --urban palimpsest[3], this study aims to ask what meaning the current users of Taksim Republican Square (TRS) attach to it, besides an understanding of the socio-economic profile of its current users over a random sample -- thus having an idea of the social mix of people currently using the place-- and their forms of usage as well as evaluations of its public square quality. In other words, the relationship assumed to exist among the user profile including age, gender, education, and occupation, form of usage and meaning is sought. In so doing, the study seeks to understand whether

[3] Defined simply as "different layers, accumulated in the different phases of chaotic urban growth". (http://parole.aporee.org/work/hier.php3?spec_id=258&words_id=20)

the Republic with its values of democracy, secularity, modernization, national identity as our fundamental societal reference points are still in or on 'place'.

As one hypothesis or presupposition of the study, the meaning attached to TRS is expected to vary according to the form of usage considered in terms of duration and type. Secondly, people's usage is expected in turn to be mostly influenced by the contemporary politics of place appearing mostly through its physical form. A third hypothesis is that there is not be much left from the formerly officially intended meaning for TRS at present, a finding expected to show from the meaning inquiry. Moreover this argument is expected to be valid for all users regardless of whom they are. In other words, my expectation is that while the current users with diverse profiles approximate in the meaning(lessness) they attach to the current organization of the square, their form of usage will still have an impact on their sense-making process. The basis for such an argument comes from both the social diversity of the current users of TRS and the knowledge that its existential philosophy derived from a national –unifying-- socio-spatial imagination rather than a social class –conflicting-- one and so, rendering the place open at least conceptually –as in Lefebvre's conceived space as a "conceptualized space without life" (Grönlund)-- to the general public. For these reasons, social profile is expected to count less as a determining factor in people's sense-making of the place than the type and amount of their usage that is, their actual experience of the place –as in Lefebvre's lived space as "practical and directly experienced social space" (Grönlund).

Apart from such general presuppositions of the study to be checked for in the field I chose to keep away from forming detailed hypotheses because of the selected nature of the study. After an introductory literature review, I immediately began with data collection by making in-depth interviews to develop further themes for analyses. Such an ordering of the research process was found appropriate since the research question --the current user's making sense of the place-- was set at the beginning from a people's perspective. For this methodological reason, the following theoretical chapter will only contain an overview of some related sociological --or perhaps interdisciplinary-- concepts such as public space-sphere-realm definitions, spatial form and meaning including political-economic, socio-cultural, and historical meanings as well as individual, group, or societal connections.

This study is built on mixed methods, qualitative and quantitative, which was a deliberate choice with the aim of combining various approaches of social research. Therefore, the research included a field survey --with the present users of the square; in-depth interviews -

-with the area shopkeepers, employees, residents, and users again; expert interviews --with representatives of the local municipality, Istanbul branches of the chamber of city planners and the chamber of architects; participant observation --especially of occasions like May 1, 2010; and secondary sources. Since the meaning of the square is sought from the perspective of the user, interviews (in-depth and survey) were selected as the most suitable study method. Expert interviews were added later because of these institutions' higher interest and influence on the physical organization of the square, which is assumed to be related with the level of usage. Although each daha collection technique was applied cross-sectionally, the research extended to a two years period (2010 and 2011).

There has been quite many other thesis works on public spaces in Turkey and especially about those found in Ankara and Istanbul, looking for example at the mutual change of urban public space and social life, public space as an object of hegemonic struggle, the factors transforming public spaces. Although such work brought about various viewpoints to the study of the Turkish urban public spaces, they mostly remained at the theoretical or historical-textual analyses levels, and approached the issue fundamentally as a critique of the space-builder's perspective. The distinction of this sociological one from most of them seems to be its viewpoint of the user i.e., the people using this particular public square accessed via field work. The contribution of this work on TRS comes first from its selection of Taksim in Istanbul in contrary to the academically highly dealt public spaces of Ankara. Furthermore, its contribution also lies at its sociological and people's perspective, approaching to the public space question from an understanding of the daily user without once more solely repeating the well-known international literature on public space and sphere which is not however totally excluded and will be briefly touched upon in the upcoming literature review section.

The first chapter contains a literature review based on the themes which emerged from the in-depth interviews. First a definitional clarification of the public was sought by going over the related concepts of public-private distinction, public realm, public sphere, and public space with reference to relevant theoreticians like Lofland, Sennett, Habermas, Arendt, and Low and Smith. Secondly, a section on the city square as a particular type of urban public space was inserted based on a brief summary of the thoughts of Michael Webb (1990) in *The City Square*. These definitional sections were notably incorporated in the literature review to form a theoretical basis to the discussions of whether Taksim Republican Square was to be considered as a public space and whether it deserved in its current form to be

labeled as a city square. The section on the city square is followed by some critical debates about the role of public monuments in symbolizing a national historical narrative, as call outs to maintain social order. Thirdly, a deeper understanding of a city square leads us to the form debate corresponding again to the comments of the interviewees about the expected form of a city square accompanied by their endless criticisms of Taksim Republican Square in that regard. The normative theory of good spatial form varied in scale ranging from settlement form (Lynch 1981) to urban form (Castells 1983) to the public space form (Carr et al. 1992) and further to the plaza form (Lynch 1981). The last section of the literature review chapter was allocated for the most significant aspect of the research question that is, the meaning issue taken in hand from the side of the user. In this section, first Kevin Lynch's (1981) concept of "the sense of a settlement" was introduced. Following that, a short reference to Peace, Holland and Kellaher (2006) was made because when they studied environment and identity for the elderly, they also mentioned "the sense of place" in that context. Castells' (1983) concept of urban meaning followed next, with its emphasis on the contested nature of urban meaning which was defined as the structural performance target set for a city during the course of history. Carr et al. (1992) spoke of meaningful spaces; so their criteria for a space to be meaningful like a recipe, were added here into the discussion with the hope that it would provide some benchmarks while interpreting the interview findings. This last section of the literature review on meaning and space was concluded by a reinterpretation of Lefebvre's (1996) dialectical triad of spatialization in terms of the meaning issue. In addition some references to Harvey's (1990) grid of spatial practices that actually built over Lefebvre's theory were given, particularly to: Harvey's definition of modernism as a continuous break of spatial and temporal meanings and the meanings of spatial practices being highly determined within the structure of social relations. For this study focusing on the current meaning(s) of TRS as a representative of the spatial organization of the Turkish modernization, Harvey's conceptions of modernity and spatial meaning as an outcome of the structure of social relations provide a fundamental theoretical framework.

The second chapter that follows the literature review chapter tries to answer the sub-research question of who currently uses Taksim Republican Square (TRS) or what mixture of people uses there. This question is answered according to the information gathered from in-depth interviews and the field survey on the age, gender, educational and occupational dynamics of the existent users. The answer to this question is important to understand to

whom TRS appeals as an open urban space and the profile of its actual users. Through this information, we may have a better idea on the level of user diversity versus homogeneity, therefore on the amount of openness or accessibility --and distanciation in Harvey's grid of spatial practices-- of the place for people in general. This insight also contributes to our recognition of the publicness --in the sense of a Sennettian public realm as a physical place where strangers met-- quality of TRS and helps us decide on whether SES is an important factor in people's usage and meaning, once the three variables are tested for their relationships.

The following two chapters bring together those research findings that concern the physical characteristics (form) including location and people's usage (function) of TRS spoken out by the respondents such as being a transition place, a transport hub, a central meeting point, an entry to İstiklal Street, lacking adequate street furniture or cultural activities and so on. The comments regarding the form in terms of the square layout and architecture are important firstly to search for an answer to the question of whether TRS in its current organization is to be accepted as a genuine city square or not. They are also significant as they represent to some extent the public opinion with respect to the current management of the place. On the other hand, a discussion of the most common uses of the place indicates the present function ascribed to the square, which in turn gives us some clues about the feelings it creates (meaning) for the man in the street. Besides it illuminates more, the publicness question, closely affiliated with the question of whose square TRS today indeed is. Permanent police force's? An activity-organizing local municipality's? An investing capital's? Tourist's? Or is it really the public (square)?

After the form, function or usage chapters, there comes the meaning chapter –these chapter titles are inspired by Castells' theory of urban social change analyzed in terms of its urban form, function, meaning dynamics-- focusing on the question of what TRS at present means --politically, socially, culturally, historically, etc. and whether for example one particular meaning among all other attached meanings is dominant at the current context-- and represents for the visiting people, whether it symbolizes special things to them or is it simply meaningless? The points raised about this meaning issue are expected to reveal the existence or non-existence of a place attachment and a place identity which in case existent will likely act as a reference point for personal --and societal-- identity. The results will somehow show how far we have been falling apart from the national narrative --and values-- memorialized on TRS by commissioning a public monument in the 1920s. This

chapter makes up the search for an answer to the main research question. While addressing this symbolic aspect of TRS, a huge emphasis is given to the respondent's comments on the Republic Monument as the single most representative of the Republic on TRS at the moment. For instance, one particular concern is about how people interpret it in case they receive any kind of message from the Monument.

The next chapter tries to link the major themes of user profile --age, gender, education, and occupation-SES, form, function/usage, and meaning by analyzing the possible relationships among these four --SES, form, use, and meaning-- variables. Particularly, the field survey results are helpful for such an associational assessment. In this way, we are able to know for instance about the degree of difference among different users in terms of their usage and sense-making of Taksim Republican Square (TRS). We may also know if the kind of usage has any significant impact on the meaning attached to the place. Likewise an assessment about the influence of the socio-economic profile on meaning formation is possible to be made and so on. Overall, such a statistical analysis is helpful for approaching to a fuller understanding of the user (who), function (what, when), form (where), and meaning (why and how) dynamics of TRS.

In the last chapter before the conclusion, the expert opinions with respect to the city square, public space and symbolic qualities of TRS are presented. Moreover, their assessment of the current functions of TRS and the problems that they observe are discussed in addition to their evaluation of the area master plan currently on the local government's agenda. The section is closed by a discussion of their suggestions for the problems of the present TRS or TRS as a representational space of the experts.

The concluding chapter makes a final provision of the results of the study as a whole, evaluated against the general presumptions of the study put forth at the beginning. In addition, some propositions depending on the field study are also inserted here. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the limitations of the study and the related suggestions for future research.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. Public: Realm, Sphere, Space

I approach to Taksim Republican Square (TRS) as a public realm in the Sennettian sense of a physical space where strangers meet or at least come together, however admitting the change in the publicness of the place –both in quality and quantity-- over time. The definitions and distinctions among the various concepts referring to the public aspect of social life versus the private is found important for this study to understand whether TRS today matches with the definition of a public space or something else. It is simply an endeavour to define and therefore understand TRS as of today better.

When searched in the encyclopedia of sociological theory and sociology one realizes that there is usually no item under the title of "public space" and one only comes across with the concepts of public and private, public realm, public sphere, and public opinion. If we were to speculate on this omission of the public space we could perhaps look for its reason in the relatively late reentry of the spatial dimension to the sociological analysis post-1950s with Lefebvre following the break after the Chicago School. The omission of public space item could also be due to its reference to a more geographical/spatial rather than sociological meaning. Whatever the cause is, these concepts about the public aspect of social life seem to be very much interconnected and sometimes even interchangeable.

To begin with the **public and private** distinction before proceeding with the definitions and comparisons of the various publics; Turner (2007, 3717-18) described this dualism in terms of four historical perspectives: the classical political theory; the philosophical tradition; the 20th c. Habermasian understanding; and, the feminist approach that developed in the 60s. In the first approach, public was equated with politics whereas private (the family) with economics. In the tradition of philosophy, Kant included the public use of reason as the critical element in his definition of the enlightenment. Here public was interpreted differently as a separate domain from both the private and political (governmental) domains. Accompanying the development of the modern state was the emerging idea of a loss of the public-as-polis and the public-as-republic-of-letters –the loss of the earlier classical and philosophical understandings-- initiated by Habermas –in the form of degeneration of the public sphere-- and further developed by others like Sennett –who claims that American individualism resulted in an uncivilized society absorbed into intimacy.

Following the rise of the women's movement however, the clear dichotomy of public versus private in addition to the demand for it was challenged with the famous slogan of the personal is political. While those holding the loss of public space discourse had concerns about depolitization-passivization and privatization-commercialization, the feminist-liberal group worried on the contrary about the growth of state power, likely to result in a "despotic abuse". (Yeatman 2006, 482)

After the definition of the public-private dichotomy, **public realm**, a seemingly broader concept than either public sphere or public space, was defined by Lofland (2007, 3718-21) as a socially constructed arena, open to the view and hearing of everybody. More generally, public realm corresponded to "some sort of non-private arena of social life" (2007, 3718) and was often used interchangeably with public sphere, public order, public domain, public world or civic space. Lofland elaborated on the definition of public realm by looking at its various usages in theory by: Arendt, Habermas, Sennett, Fischer, Hunter and herself.

One could argue that Taksim Republican Square (TRS) used to be closer to an Arendtian public realm of political-speech acts back in the 1950-70s even though it continues to frequently host small-scale protests on Saturdays. Arendt's public realm akin to the polis was a stage for "meaningful political agency (as) the proper concern of public life" ("Hannah Arendt (1906-1975)"), composed of political action-speech and not economic matters. Public space in Arendt was kind of a prerequisite of (political) action that acquired its meaning only in the presence of others. For Sennett, public realm was "a (physical) place where strangers met" ("The Public Realm") and therefore, had a cosmopolitan feel into it, compared to the intimate private realm. Lofland suggested that together with Sennett, the Arendtian public realm as the center of political speech-act acquired a more daily meaning as a field of exchange between strangers. Lofland herself adopted the conceptual separation of the private & parochial realms belonging to the kin and local groups versus the public realm as the world of strangers as exemplified by the street. Nevertheless, in her conceptualization the concepts once again connoted social-psychological spaces and not territorial ones like in Sennett.

Conceiving TRS in terms of a Habermasian public sphere as an abstract discursive field is rather difficult.The **public sphere** was less vague in meaning vis a vis the public realm as the former was highly identified with Habermas's definition in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. According to Delanty (2007, 3721-22), the Habermasian public sphere referred to the discursive condition of space in modern societies, between state and society

and of both civil society and beyond that is, the wider public. Calhoun (1992) made a good summary of the ideas of Habermas in his introduction to *Habermas and the Public Sphere* where he defined Habermas's inquiry as the social conditions for a rational-critical debate on public issues by private people relying on arguments and not statuses. Habermas's object of analysis was the historically specific --and therefore different from the public sphere of the classical Greek, of the enlightenment, and of the modern state-- bourgeois public sphere of the 17-18th centuries, with its tensions, transformation, as well as potential. This bourgeois public sphere meant the sphere formed by the coming together of private people as a public and their political confrontation by consulting the public use of reason –originally a Kantian idea.

The two characteristics of the bourgeois public sphere included: the state and society opposition and rational-critical discourse on political matters. The ideal bourgeois public sphere required a well-developed market (economy) and was based on an assumption of fundamental parity among people. The structural changes throughout the period of western modernity resulted in the transformation of the (bourgeois) public sphere over a "re-feudalization of society" including the rise of a culture of mass consumption dismissing the rational-critical debate and an interpenetration of state and society. These counter-developments damaged the Habermasian ideal public sphere that controversially assumed social integration to be based on rational-critical discourse. Against this degeneration of the public sphere a Habermas failing to find any historical actor of change, lastly resorted to universal communication vs. historicity, developing out of the life-world --the realm of personal relationships-- as an institutional basis simulacrum for an effective political public sphere.

The Habermasian ideal of the reclaimed bourgeois public sphere inevitably had its critics. Calhoun (1992) mentioned five critiques in his introduction, the first one being an overestimation of the degeneration of the public sphere. The second was the little regard to the issues of culture e.g., religion and identity. Thirdly, his theory was criticized for a neglect of social movements as a historical agent with democratic potential. Habermas was mostly criticized for an assumption of a single public sphere while one could easily talk about multiple spheres. Finally, Calhoun (1992) added the critique of a lack of a thorough analysis of public sphere's internal structure in Habermas. Delanty (2007) added to this list: the romanticization of history due to "the notion of a pure domain of public space" (3722); feminist arguments that promoted the public in private; arguments for the non-western

(non-enlightenment) public spaces; and the debate on the possibility of different publics e.g., a cosmopolitan public sphere, a global one or a European public sphere.

Thinking in terms of Sennett's public realm, TRS in its current amorphous structure, does not suit much to his description of a closed system as over-determined form and function; at the same time however, it also lacks a vivid street life that should be the case if it were an open system instead. Hence, I argue in Sennett's terms that TRS is presently neither an exact border nor a genuine boundary. Consequently, it is hard to claim that it achieves the right balance of anonymity and indifference as a success key for public spaces. To see the grounds for these arguments if we turn to Sennett's understanding of the public realm, first of all among all these approaches to the issue of public, the public realm understanding of Sennett comes closest to the definition of a physical public space against those of Kant, Lofland, Habermas and to an extent that of Arendt. Sennett ("The Public Realm") questioned the commonsensical conception of what a city should be by analyzing the urban space in terms of either a closed or an open system. While he argued that the closed system as a system in harmonious equilibrium paralyzed urbanism, he discussed how these two systems influenced the perception of the public realm, the latter being defined as a (physical) place where the strangers met. Sennett positioned himself more culturally – seeing himself as engaged in "the anthropological culture of the public realm" (ibid.)-- in comparison to the more politically-oriented Arendt or Habermas and hence interpreted the public realm as a composition of those "minutiae of behavior" through which people expressed themselves to strangers during the daily course of social life.

The closed system in the city manifested itself through over-determined form and function of the urban built environment based on the principles of equilibrium and integration and with the negative social outcomes of repression, simulation of diversity, and social exclusion --an explanation similar to Carr, et al.'s (1992) argument that too constrained design leaves little to the user's imagination. Sennett ("The Public Realm") then developed a distinction between *borders* and *boundaries* as two spatial elements of urban design; the former referred to interaction whereas the latter meant limits to activity or passive spectatorship as in the case of "the monuments to be looked at in awe" (ibid.). Relatedly, Sennett suggested that emphasis should be given by designers to the borders and not the centers to strengthen community life. As a final theme, Sennett underlined the importance of *anonymity* of the public realm in the form of cosmopolitanism as "a sense of comfort and security in the midst of strangers" or "stimulation without identification" or "the (right)

mixture of difference and indifference" (ibid.) instead of an emphasis on pure diversity. His public realm as an open system (or incomplete form) and a process therefore brought together certain aspects of the built environment, context --both physical and social in relation to time-geography-- borders rather than boundaries, and people's reactions to difference and anonymity.

To elaborate further on the distinctions among the various publics to better define TRS as of today in terms of its publicness, the spatial public spaces or public places --local, regional, and global but also including the electronic and institutional-- against the public sphere as public opinion were also problematized by Low and Smith (2006), in their introduction to *The Politics of Public Space*. Low and Smith (2006) adopted a broad definition of **public space** as "the range of social locations offered by the street, the park, the media, the Internet, the shopping mall, the UN, national governments, and local neighborhoods" (Low and Smith 2006, 3) that mutually interacted with socio-political, economic, and cultural processes. Their call was for a respatialization of the meaning of public to achieve its higher repoliticization against the depoliticization that occurred via the city as the spectacle. Likewise, Harvey refers to a commodification of the urban spaces that resulted in political pacification through consumption and arousal of erotic desire and caused deeper anxiety and insecurity of the bourgeois individual.

Concerning the privatization and neoliberalization of the public space debates in theory, we might argue that TRS is neo-liberalized to an extent, especially when considered as a part of the International (Harbiye) Congress Valley project. Harbiye Congress Valley Facilities Application Project was initially designed for the World Bank, International Monetary Fund 2009 meeting in Istanbul and drew reactions from institutions and people having concerns about the damages to the art & culture and nature of the area.[4] In Low and Smith (2006) public was distinguished from the private in terms of accessibility, rules of admission, appropriate behavior once inside and types of use. Nevertheless, authors spoke of the *privatization of the public space* that was located at the center of socio-political struggles among global, national, urban and neighborhood forces over developments like gentrification or gated communities. They also pointed to the *neoliberalization of public space* due to "a capitalization of social life inconceivable before" (2006, 14) and to such an extent that "suddenly nothing (including public space that ought to prioritize use/public

[4] See for a related Turkish news: http://www.arkitera.com/haber_20597_harbiye-kongre-vadisi-tesisleri-uygulama-projesi-onaylandi.html

need over exchange value/private property) is immune from appropriation as an accumulation strategy" (2006, 15). Incorporating historical, political-economic, and geographical dimensions of the public into their analyses, Low and Smith ultimately searched for "alternative spaces of and for public political expression" (2006, 16) against these common threats.

2.2. The City Square

After the assessment of Taksim Republican Square (TRS) as a public realm, in this part the discussion is now narrowed down to an evaluation of TRS as a city square, which is a more concrete and limited concept related to space. This part will then be followed by a theoretical debate of public monuments in general and Taksim Republic Monument in particular, which is further narrower. Hence, this first part of the literature review, before moving into an analysis of the form and meaning dimensions of a public square and a monument, follows an inverse triangular path: from public space to city square to public monument.

Taksim Republican Square (TRS) is a place where several things are exchanged more or less on a daily basis: goods & services (economic activities); information (socializing activities); protests (political activities); concerts, fairs-exhibitions, street performances (cultural activities), and so on. TRS is also a place with many unknowns or surprises, even risks and therefore, quite different from a highly controlled –that is not to say that TRS is totally exempt from control-- closed environment such as a shopping mall compensating for at least some of the social exchange functions mentioned above. This incalculability of TRS seems to render it a place full of creative potential but at the same time takes away from its symbolic meaning of the Republic.

The city square as a specific form of public space could be defined as "microcosms of urban life, offering excitement and repose, markets and public ceremonies, a place to meet friends and watch the world go by" (Webb 1990, 9). Webb attributed to each square a distinctive shape and personality, which naturally changed over time but at the same time remained the same by sustaining the "changeless patterns of (social) life" (ibid, 13). On one hand, squares were places where the "day follows its predictable course" with commuters, shoppers, cars, cafés, playing children, "the hum of adult chatter as old men and women gather in *knots* --Frederic Jameson's concept to define squares-- to exchange gossip" (ibid.), a weekly market, animals like pigeons, and special events or periodical celebrations. On the

other, they made up in various parts of the world, those places where “the battle for democracy was fought, lost or won” (ibid, Foreword). Some have even become political symbols such as Tiananmen in China.

In *The City Square*, Webb (1990) traced the city square of the Western world historically and looked at multiplicity of historical and modern types including for example the Old Town Square in Prague, the Josefsplatz in Vienna, Bremen’s Marktplatz, the square of the Indian village in the Amazonian jungle, the ancient agora, the Roman forum, and Maidan in Isfahan. Some of these were the rebuilt squares of burnt medieval cities, some others reflected the imperial spirit of the time; still others functioned as a civic space belonging to an era when form started to outweigh function. Nevertheless all were “a necessity of urban life” and “shaped by commerce and defense, political systems and cultural traditions, climate and topography” (ibid, 20).

After handling some of the major historical cases of city square separately, Webb concluded by a general evaluation of the city squares at the 20th century, mostly from the Western world. One of his conclusions was that albeit highly fragmented, squares continued to proliferate all over the world even in countries without the pertinent cultural code that is, the tradition of “shaped public space” (ibid, 176). Even in America where the street, mall, festive marketplace, corporate plaza and garden were supposedly substitutes of the urban square, the need for real plazas showed itself in some unique examples e.g., Paley Park in Manhattan. That was because the mall’s “climate-controlled” and “carefully censored” environment lacked the fundamental urban experience of surprise, available only in the Sennettian kind of public realms.

Webb’s explanation for this continuing interest in the city square globally, contained the following aims: giving identity to a city or neighborhood mostly by incorporating an artwork; keeping a link with the past; making the city more green; pointing at important buildings; and creating a pedestrian-friendly habitat (Ibid.) Despite the continuing importance of the city square mainly because of the human need to socialize, Webb argued that most of the 20th c. examples were over-planned and gigantic and therefore, lacked the human appeal, which actually made up “the one essential ingredient” (Webb 1990, 217) that is, people for a successful public square --an argument similar to what Sennett means by an urban space as closed system. Accordingly, his second significant message was in tune with the credo of small is beautiful. Against “the squares (that) strive too hard to be monumental” and that were over-planned, those smaller ones away from the center within

neighborhoods, like the ones in Barcelona or Paris, were likely to be more appealing and thus, more intensively used. (ibid, 184-5) Location and association --with history, the immediate physical environment, and the user's needs-- mattered largely for creating plazas with *a sense of place*, plazas that are "inclusive, democratic, and flexible" (ibid, 193) or simply "people's places" (ibid, 213).

Webb admitted that the city square did not offer a cure for urban degeneration; it acquired its characteristics (or meaning) from its surrounding neighborhood; and it would devaluate the whole surrounding area if not shown adequate care. A common wisdom of the artists and architects pointed as a success key to the delicate balance of excitement and calm, security and joy –or in the words of Sennett difference or anonymity and indifference-- in public space design. City squares, which weighed heavily in urban life as elements adding to the city's organizational coherence, enabled people's participation to the life of the city and provided them with a sense of continuity by functioning in the midst of social change as unchanged physical reference points, enduring the passage of time.

In Turkey, if we could really talk about an absence of a city square culture it was perhaps much more visible during the pre-Republic period except Sultanahmet and Beyazıt Squares as Roman-Byzantian heritages located at old Istanbul. One reason for this lack might be the authoritarian regime of the Ottoman Empire, which did not want people to gather together at open urban areas. Nonetheless people in all kind of regimes find ways to resist by creating their own means of communication or protest –this could be the creation of a place to come together. A common statement with respect to the Ottoman period is that mosque courtyards compensated for the functions of neighborhood squares in other places. Even though the Beyoğlu region was considered as Western at the time, it also lacked city squares in the Western sense (Kuruyazıcı 1998). The planning and arrangement of the city squares like Beyazıt and Eminönü Squares had to wait until the planned economy era of the Republic and the arrival of foreign planners on state's request, post-1930s (Kuban 1996). The planning and forming of Taksim Republican Square in new Istanbul, indicated as an important event of urban history, was a little earlier, coinciding with the opening of the Republic Monument in 1928.

The present Taksim Republican Square (TRS) is neither over-planned nor extremely gigantic (albeit empty) as argued by Webb for most of the 20th c. square examples. Nonetheless, it certainly lacks the human appeal or people who are actively engaged with the square as the most essential ingredient to a successful urban square (Webb 1990). The reason for this

omission of the human appeal or TRS not welcoming people could possibly be searched in its deformity and deprivation of adequate activities to turn it into a space for socialization –centered on gossip (information exhange). It is rather as if TRS is confined to the simple and passive activity of people-watching. Sennett expresses this passivity prevalent in the modern city life as a see more, interact less culture. Moreover, its expected role as a physical reference point for creating a sense of continuity among its users is highly controversial due to again, its present deformity and a dominance of incalculability allowing no more for historical, environmental, personal, etc. associations, normally being a fundamental requirement for a meaningful place. In this respect, TRS today despite its creative potential represents a picture that is very much far away from the picture that Webb (1990) depicts in his analysis of city square.

2.3. The Public Monument

A quality that separates Taksim Republican Square (TRS) from all its newer counterparts in Istanbul is the presence of the Republic Monument in it. The Republic Monument functions like a smaller place within a place –the square-- with its own characteristics of form and meaning. The literature on public monuments as one form of public art –defined as works of art installed in public places by public agencies at public expense (W.J.T. Mitchell 1992)-- is mostly linked to the discussion of history and power, and the representation of a history constructed by power on public spaces. Walkowitz and Knauer (2004) called it the politics of public history --versus Forest and Johnson (2002) calling it the politics of memory-- creating national narratives, as a consequence of "struggles over how a society wished to see itself remembered and/or memorialized" (Walkowitz and Knauer 2004, 1-19) and which were represented at public spaces. Walkowitz and Knauer compiled various cases of transformative influence of important political events --Forest and Johnson (2002) call these important events critical junctures-- on such historical meanings imposed by monuments, museums, cityscapes, memory sites, and performative commemorations like popular songs. In one of the cases, Cynthia Paces wrote about Prague-Old Town Square's Marian Column that was toppled soon after the independence of Czechoslovakia in 1918 by Czech nationalists who had seen it as symbolizing the previous Austrian cultural hegemony. Paces evaluated the case of Marian Column as evidence to how empty spaces could speak as well similar to the existent objects referring to Victor Turner who argues that objects speak. In Paces' words, "the power of memory –individual and collective- does not always

depend on a physical marker" since "sometimes the creation of a marker lulls people into complacency." (Walkowitz and Knauer 2004, 6) Could it be the case with the Republic Monument in Taksim? The national narrative spoken out by the object of Taksim Republic Monument seems to be acknowledged by many of the study participants. There are cases however for whom the existence of the monument as a physical marker of collective memory does not suffice to remember the important events in the history of a society or even to be aware of the object –monument. Yet the answers of the respondents collected at the field will best show whether the Republic Monument could be interpreted as a proof of Cythia Paces' argument about monuments and forgetting.

This kind of coexistence of a physical marker such as a public monument and public's forgetting was spoken out differently by Miles (1997) as "public art failing to create a public" (85). This was usually the outcome of a duality of art versus life where the former had the function to aestheticize the latter full of alienation, commodification, and social contradictions. In other words, there was an affirmative aspect to art & culture especially when they were used as a means for social control, which was depicted by Miles (1997) as a general characteristic of the bourgeois society. Hence, public monuments have also become "devices of social control (or hegemony)" (ibid.) since the 19th c. to keep order in/on place as they were mostly commissioned to embody "a mediation of history –one past out of many, represented as the past- from the position of power" (ibid, 59 and 61).

In that sense, national monuments were meant to function as ideological stabilizers leading to the popular acceptance of the status quo with all its class antagonisms beneath the "myth of national identity" (Miles 1997, 67). Through public monuments as spatial representations of a "closed history" –on the track of Laclau's conceptualization of space as a closed system again similar to Harvey's urban space as closed system versus the dynamic time-- existing societal power structures were legitimized or recognized in the absence of which these power structures would soon cease to exist. Miles (1997) thereby evaluated public monuments based on whether: they affirmed or questioned power structures; they addressed or buried social contradictions; and, they formed an open or a closed space in Laclau's sense. Accordingly, those monuments which avoided idealizing the national history spoken out by the power holders and thus avoided replicating the existing social hierarchies, would be the ones to create a public of their own as opposed to those doomed to fade in public memory, making up the public art cases failing to create a public.

Miles (1997) described anti-monuments as the ones which "refuses the forgetfulness of conventional monuments which do society's remembering for it" (80) akin to Paces' discussion on the coexistence of a physical marker and forgetting. In other sources, these were labeled as counter-monuments, anti-memorials or critical public art "that is frank about the contradictions and violence encoded in its own situation, one that dares to awaken a public sphere of resistance, struggle, and dialogue" (Mitchell 1992, 47) making up the theme of democratization of the monument. At the other side of the democratic monument laid the more commonly seen "violent public art" as a representation, an act, or a weapon of violence:

> Much of the world's public art –memorials, monuments, triumphal arches, obelisks, columns, and statues- has a rather direct reference to violence in the form of war or conquest. From Ozymandias to Caesar to Napoleon to Hitler, public art has served as a kind of monumentalizing of violence, and never more powerfully than when it presents the conqueror as a man of peace (Mitchell 1992, 35).

This violence of the monument was in a way inherent to the competition of the political elites for the control over certain significant locales for accumulating symbolic capital –meaning social and cultural capitals vs. economic capital, yielding profits of distinction for its owner (Bourdieu 1986)-- seen as essential particularly during political transformations calling into question the existing social order (Forest and Johnson 2002). Looking at the symbolic dimension of the transformation from the Soviet Union to Russia, Forest and Johnson (2002) argued that "the physical transformation of places of memory during critical junctures reflects the struggle among political elites for the 'symbolic capital' embodied in and represented by these sites" (525). Accordingly, political elites were engaged in such (spatial) symbolic dialogue with each other and the public, based on a glorification, disavowal or contestation of existing monuments, to acquire prestige, control, and legitimacy. Naturally the resulting symbolic landscape at the state's main cities revealed solely the elitist visions of national identity as Atkinson and Cosgrove (1998) argue, "…architecture and memorials, particularly in capital cities, often materialize a state's geopolitical agendas" (37). Forest and Johnson (2002) defined the role of monuments in creating "an elite representation of the imagined community of the nation" (526) –for which Schönfeldt-Aultman (2006) created the word, "imagenation" as a combination of imagination and nation-- as follows:

> Official memorials, monuments, and museums play a unique role in the creation of national identity because they reflect how political elites choose to represent the nation publicly. By erecting memorials in public space, states and interest groups attempt to define the historical figures that become national heroes and establish the historical incidents that become the formative events of a nation's identity (Forest and Johnson 2002, 526).

Forest and Johnson (2002) described the national identity formation as a dynamic process fraught with conflicts over the creation of (symbolic) meaning plus a mutual relationship between the powerful, message-conveying political elites and the receiving and interpreting public audience who could also sometimes "speak back". This speaking-back sometimes took the form of "breaks in the signifying logic of … monument space" (Schönfeldt-Aultman 2006, 230) involving cracks (denials) over the essentialist representation of national consciousness, which then allowed the silenced to come out. Therefore, reception of the intended meaning, equal to the recognition of legitimacy of these sites was a sine qua non of the accumulation of symbolic capital for the political elites. Although the public was usually excluded from the monument-building and memorialization parts of the process, they were not simply passive receivers during the creation of meaning oriented towards national identity. Rather, there was an "intertwined relationship between political elites and popular opinion" (Forest and Johnson 2002, 539). Besides, the efforts of political elites were also bound to the historical and geographic constraints.

Forest and Johnson (2002) favored the modest, simple monuments of the East European countries after 1989 against "the generally mammoth scale and intense ethnic-imperial symbolism of official post-Soviet Russian memorials" (540). Similar to the earlier mentioned democratization of the monument debate, these authors interpreted the removal of massive Soviet monuments from public spaces of these countries as a sign of decolonization and the newly replacing monuments telling about anti-imperialist narratives as promoting civic-democratic values. The scale issue connected with the democratization issue was also addressed by Atkinson and Cosgrove (1998) in their analysis of the Vittorio Emanuele II Monument in Rome, a study centered on the shifting official rhetoric of this unique monumental space. The 1911-dated memorial to the first king of united Italy together with its intended meanings by the liberal and fascist governments --and so being "a grandiose statement of official culture" (ibid, 29)-- exemplified the situation where there existed a glaring mismatch between the intended meaning or the official rhetoric, in

this case a united and imperial Italy, inscribed onto the monument and the actual meaning acquired by its target audience, for Vittorio it is "an object of irreverent amusement … and scornful ridicule…" (ibid, 45). In this respect, the Vittorio made up a good example of the public monuments that lacked or frightened away a public.

Atkinson and Cosgrove (1998) examined various state efforts to define national identity, expressed here as, "the monument as the embodiment of Italianness" (46) and purpose through the monument's design, location --"the spatial heart of the Italian nation" (38), and the state rituals surrounding it, concluding that the symbolism and iconography[5] of Vittoriano produced a "memory theater". The significance of this monument came from its signaling "the continuing renegotiation of meanings and identities, of histories and memories, that marked the evolution of the modern European capital" (ibid, 46), referring thus to the same dynamic process of national identity formation voiced by Forest and Johnson (2002) with respect to the post-Soviet nationalization.

Public monuments as devices for identity formation –Kreiser refers to them as political statements-- were absent during most of the Ottoman history (Kreiser 1997); except for a few non-figural ones such as the monument of Freedom[6] (Abide-i Hürriyet, 1911), Monument to the Victims of the Air Force (Tayyare Şehitleri Abidesi, 1914) and some other urban landmarks like clocktowers or animal sculptures decorating the palace gardens. The reason for this absence is most probably the religion where icons and therefore sculptures too, are taboo. This distantness changed however, with the foundation of the Republic and the influence of the West when figural monuments related to the founder of modern Turkey were began to be commissioned to foreign sculptors like Pietro Canonica --1927-Equestrian statue of Atatürk at the Ethnography Museum of Ankara; 1928-Republic

[5] "Symbolic representation, esp. the conventional meanings attached to an image or images." http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/iconography?o=100074

[6] "Abide-i Hürriyet (Monument of Freedom) which is also the emblem of Şişli Municipality, takes place on the highest hill of Şişli (altitude : 130) on the northwest section and between the first ring-road and Şişli-Kağıthane Avenue. This place is thought to be the location on which Sultan Mehmet II placed his marquee during the conquer of İstanbul. The monument was built in the memory of the martyrs who died during the 31st of March Event in our history during the commotion against the constituonal monarchy. It's construction started in 1909 and was completed in 1911. The monument belongs to well-known architect Muzaffer Bey who was know with his 1st National Architecture Style. The monument is in the shape of a cannon shooting in the air. The monument is made of plaiting stones and the martyr soldiers are burried under it. Additionally, the tomb of Sadrazam (= Grand Vizier) and Military Marshal Mahmut Şevket Pasha and the cemeteries of Mithad Pasha and Talat Pasha are also around the monument."
(http://www.sislibelediyesi.com/foreign/common/t1.asp?PageName=sisli&ID=5&L=1)

Monument at Taksim Republican Square; 1932-Atatürk Monument at the Republic Square in İzmir-- and Heinrich Krippel --Atatürk Monuments in: Sarayburnu -1925; Konya -1926; Samsun -1932; Victory Monument in Afyon -1936; and the Statue of Victory on Ulus Square in Ankara -1927 ("Zafer Meydanı: Atatürk Heykeli."). Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as the founder of the Republic directly referred to the issue in his Bursa speech (1923):

> Any nation that claims to be civilized will in any case erect statues and train sculptors. Some people maintain that the erection of statues for historical commemoration is against our religion. These people do not sufficiently understand canonical law. … A nation that ignores painting, a nation that ignores statues, and a nation that does not know the laws of positive science does not deserve to take its place on the road to progress (Kreiser 1997, 114).

Despite agreeing with most of the arguments on public (national) monuments above, I expect to find out a general liking of the Republic Monument in Taksim by the interviewees of this study based on both on the physical attributes of the monument itself like its human scale (no glorification unlike the Vittoriano in Rome for instance) and collectivity (its collective representation of the various sections of the society) and the assumption that there is a continuing attachment of Turkish people to the national war of independence with the whole surrounding symbolic meaning –the national narrative. And to clarify it once more, this study does not focus on the political statements made through Taksim Republican Square (TRS) except for the more recent influences on form and use patterns. The study's subject matter is therefore not the meaning sought to be created at the square by the political elites back in the 1920s but rather a search for the reception of the current user, be it a liberal who is likely to interpret the Republic Monument as a mark of oppressive power, a republican who genuinely identifies herself with it or someone else receiveing a completely different message or even someone who does not receive any message, however without giving up entirely an awareness of the ideological manipulations of governments –which Walkowitz and Knauer (2004) express as the transformative influence of important political events-- until now and especially more recently.

2.4. Space and Form

After discussing Taksim Republican Square as a public realm and a city square as well as Taksim Republic Monument as a public monument therefore narrowing down the topic, in

this second part of the literature review these places, the square and the monument, will be taken in hand this time in terms of their forms and meanings, a discussion inspired by Castells' concepts of urban form and urban meaning. An understanding of the concept of form is important for this study because spatial form influences the people's usage of a place to a large degree and therefore, the place's meaning for them and a discussion of spatial meaning and how it is handled in theory is also important especially considering that the research question of the study is the meaning attributed to TRS today by its users.

In his book chapter on the historical production of urban meaning, Castells (1983) developed three concepts to explain urban social change: urban meaning; urban functions, and urban form. By defining each, he thereby defined urban design, urban planning, and more importantly, urban social change and finally arrived at a definition of urban social movement. Urban meaning, which he saw as the outcome of a social process, embodied his endeavor to combine structure-agency in its following definition: "the structural performance assigned as a goal to cities in general and by the conflictive process between historical actors in a given society" (Castells 1983, 303). If urban meaning corresponded to the goal or the end, urban function referred to the means towards this end; in his words, "the articulated system of organizational means aimed at performing the goals assigned to each city by its historically defined urban meaning" (ibid.). The *urban form*, leading a symbolic representative role, was the material manifestation of the processes arising from the realization of urban meaning and function. Consequently, the city was an outcome of the three basic conflicts related to urban meaning, function, and form, where the former conditioned the latter two. Urban social change simply corresponded to a redefinition of urban meaning, something achieved by urban social movements, that is: "a collective conscious action aimed at the transformation of the institutionalized urban meaning against the logic, interest, and values of the dominant class" (ibid, 305).

Writing on good city form, Lynch (1981) aimed at making "a general(izable) statement about the good settlement" or a partial normative theory of a good city whose spatial and social structures were connected to each other by the human actor. He defined settlement form as "the spatial arrangement of persons doing things, the resulting spatial flows of persons, goods, and information, and the physical features which modify space in some way significant to those actions" (Lynch 1981, 48). He put in some criteria as measures of the relative goodness of a place including: vitality --whether the settlement form answered the vital life functions like biological ones; sense --the match between environment, our

sensory-mental capabilities, and our cultural constructs and a good place being accessible to all the senses; fit --whether form matched people's actions; access --the quantity and diversity of elements that could be reached; control of use, access, modification, and management by the user, resident, worker, etc.; efficiency --cost of creating and maintaining a settlement within these principal dimensions of settlement quality; and, justice --environmental benefits and costs.

According to Lynch (1981), the form had an impact on people's basic values, life processes, historic events, and social structure. Moreover, the form could be manipulated by the power-holders either as a means to suppress and control "the spatial talk" of the place in question or contrarily to democratize and harmonize this talk. Lynch (1981) came up with a catalog of models of settlement form in the end of his analysis, which also included the square or plaza as one settlement form. The square or plaza was defined here as: a focus of activity at the heart of some intensive urban area; typically paved and enclosed by high-rise buildings; surrounded by streets; and, containing attractive features that facilitated people's gathering such as a fountain, bench, plants, shelter. He also spoke of the sense of a settlement which is the topic of the following section on (spatial) meaning.

Carr et al. (1992) gave substantial clues about (good) public space form or design, one responsive to the user needs of comfort, relaxation, socialization, passive and active engagement with the environment, and discovery, while examining: the value of public space; the evolving public space; needs and rights in public space; and public space meanings & connections. I will here only touch upon some of their comments that could be related specifically to the form issue. To begin with, the authors mentioned about three cultural-structural forces that shaped public life: social, functional and form-related, and symbolic (about shared meanings). These cultural forces were shaped in turn by the larger social structures like technology; authors gave the example of automobile's privatization of public streets. Elaborating on the value of public space determined by these cultural-structural forces, Carr et al. (1992) claimed that many inappropriately designed and managed plazas were hence underused or used in ways other than the intended use. If, for instance, the plaza in question lacked shelter from wind or sun in addition to adequate seating it was giving out the message that people's extensive use was not welcome at the place that is, it had limited "symbolic access". This unspoken message would increase the number of deviant users, who would further miss the "legitimate" users, thus creating a vicious circle of underuse-misuse.

Carr et al. (1992) also developed a critique of a too constrained design for which Harvey uses the expression of urban space as closed system, which limited the imagination of the user and eventually led to cold and uninteresting spaces. Against the over-planned space, they placed the attractive space satisfying people's needs, protecting their rights, and offering them meanings (Carr et al. 1992, 20). Later in their discussion of the historical evolution of public space, they mentioned about a naturalness (resulting in a found or informal space) – planning (resulting in a planned space) continuum in forming public space and gave the national public places as an example for the latter. While those ceremonially intended, monumental public open spaces usually stayed empty and functioned solely as circulation places for incidental users, public spaces breaking the daily routine and enabling people's active and passive engagement with others were more used and therefore, more successful.

Carr et al. (1992) went over some historical forms --agora; forum; the European medieval market squares; the Renaissance square; the plaza-square in the New World-- comparatively as well as some past urban design movements like the 19th c. (Public) Park movement or City Beautiful movement. In doing so, authors in a way traced back the changes in public space form accompanying the political-economic and socio-cultural developments in Western societies. One example for such changes would be the emergence of shopping centers after suburbanization once the middle class with increased leisure time grew in number post-WWI. Therefore, the proliferation of public space form signaled at the same time a growing social stratification.

Based on the discussion of needs and rights in public space by Carr et al. (1992), we could think that a good public space form would answer the five basic needs for public spaces -- comfort, relaxation, passive engagement, active engagement, and discovery-- and secure the rights in public spaces -- physical, visual, and symbolic access; freedom of action; claim; change; and ownership. For example, comfort of a public space according to the authors depended on the availability of: protection from and access to sun, meaning shelter; sufficient and movable seating preferably with a view of the pedestrian flow; visual accessibility for security; or simply toilets. Relaxation need could be fulfilled through natural elements like water and trees. Another need, passive engagement was related to the opportunities for "people-watching" and could be satisfied by the presence of open cafés, unscheduled performances, or public art such as public monuments to inspire patriotic feelings. Active engagement on the other hand, required those kinds of designs or unusual

features that promoted body use as well as a sense of challenge or mystery in users. Consequently, we could assume that a public space accommodating these user needs would incorporate most of the appropriate design elements into its form.

In addition to the need fulfillment aspect, the physical layout of a public space was also closely associated with the rights in that public space including: its physical, visual and symbolic accessibility; its freedom of action --whether for example its design is appropriate for particularly the disadvantaged like women, disabled, the elderly; its right to claim meaning, suitability for different groups' control and coexistence; and its openness to change applied by its users through movable chairs, graffiti, and so on. Overall, the form of a public space as a fundamental determinant of the fulfillment of user needs and rights had therefore a significant impact on both the place's usage or function --who uses it and how-- and meaning --what message it conveys to the user.

It is possible to trace the figural changes of Taksim Republican Square (TRS) caused by the transformations in its assigned meaning and function during different periods of management. The urban social change on TRS could roughly be depicted as follows: from a civic national square; to an urban recreational center --following the planning of the Taksim Promenade, to a place of political speech-acts (similar to the Arendtian public realm as a prerequisite of political action); and further to an entrance to culture & consumptive entertainment in the İstiklal Street. When we consider the last period also containing today, TRS barely fulfills Lynch's (1981) criteria of a good place --vitality, sense, fit, access, control, efficiency, justice-- and partly fulfills his description of the plaza form: focus of activity; heart of the city --valid for TRS; paved and enclosed by high-rise buildings; surrounded by streets --valid for TRS; and containing active features like benches, plants, etc. The ongoing spatial talk (Lynch 1981) of TRS is more suppressive than democratic; the permanent police force and MOBESE cameras could be indicators. In addition to this social surveillance, TRS does not welcome today people's usage including their political activities due to its not answering most of people's public space needs and denying to a large degree their public space rights. Therefore, based on its present condition of being 'closed' to civil usage in many respects it can not be deemed as a genuinely democratic place.

Albeit located probably somewhere in between on the naturalness-planning continuum (Carr et al. 1992), Taksim Republican Square (TRS) fits more to the authors' description of a cold and unwelcoming circulation place, appealing only to incidental users. One reason for this coldness of the square is related to the failure of TRS in satisfying public space needs of

the users. Evaluating TRS in terms of its answering basic user needs --comfort, discovery, active & passive engagement, relaxation, and socialization-- we could argue that it fails at most of them except, to some degree, the possibility of active engagement during Saturday protests and relaxation at the Taksim Promenade albeit being a highly neglected park in general. Conscious negligence of the place's form as a manipulation by its existent management is perhaps the right words to describe the square as a whole and not only the Promenade. If TRS was kept in a more comfortable, relaxing condition enabling people's engagement and socialization –news and information exchange, it would also probably be put to more political uses, an outcome perhaps not preferred by the management. In addition, the more neglected the physical environment of the square is left; the more need and opportunities for economic rent creating activities of the management arise.

2.5. Space and Meaning

If form is a significant determinant of the people's uses of an urban area, the meaning of an urban area could be considered as a result of struggles among various actors on determining these uses. Harvey (1990) expresses this better by saying that the spatial meaning caused by spatial practices (or uses) is the outcome of historical-materialist conditions incorporating power relations. And this is why he also claims that to understand the history of social change we need to look at the history of the conceptions (or meanings) of space and time and their ideological uses. In this last section of the literature review, the spatial meaning arising from historical-materialist conditions is analyzed in various forms (or concepts) such as the sense of a settlement or sense of a place, urban meaning, a meaningful space, and perceived and conceived spaces of Lefebvre. Following this analysis, it is found out that for a space to have an enduring meaning; there are some factors that need to be in place such as people's knowing and experiencing a place, having connections with it, the place's inducing positive associations in people, having the right references, and the existence of a collective effort for the place's design.

For meaning Lynch (1981) used the expression, the "sense of a settlement" which he described as:

> The clarity with which it (the settlement) can be perceived and identified, the ease with which its elements can be linked with other events and places in a coherent mental representation of time and space, and that representation can be connected with non-spatial concepts and values (131).

Sense in Lynch (1981) was a function of spatial form and quality, culture, temperament, status, and experience as well as the current purpose of the observer. A settlement made sense as long as a person could identify it, that is, recognize its distinction from other similar places. Besides such place identity was an important component of the personal identity: "I am here therefore I am." Identity, formal structure –meaning orientation in space and time, congruence --of the rhythm of visual and social activity, transparency --of functional activities and social-natural processes, and legibility --possibility of communication via symbolic physical features-- were factors that contributed to the sense of place. Lynch's (1981) good place corresponded to a place that was somehow appropriate to the person and her culture and created awareness towards one's community, one's past, the life in general and to the larger spatial-temporal universe that contained all of these. In other words, it functioned as a reference point for all these personal and societal sources of meaning.

Peace, Holland and Kellaher (2006) applied the similar concept of the sense of place when they wrote on the interaction of environment and identity for the elderly. Accordingly, the sense of place first required knowing a place: knowing its name; knowing through bodily experience, memories, legends, etc. The sense of place also required a connection through identity, either individual or collective like cultural groups. Finally, the sense of a place was an outcome of attachments functioning as mechanisms between the setting and people; these place attachments were the products of knowledge and connections and eventually became a part of the place's identity and therefore, people's identities. The authors referred to Rubinstein and Parmelee while discussing the place attachment: "Personal experience, either direct or vicarious … and social interaction lead the person to attach meaning to a defined space; as a result, within his or her own identity, it becomes a place" (qtd. in Peace et al. 2006, 18). This also explained how space turned into place by taking on a meaning in the eyes of some people.

Castells (1983) on the other hand, adopted the phrase of "urban meaning" in his theory of urban social change and attributed to it, a dominance over the other, urban form and function dimensions. His understanding from urban meaning was the structural performance target set for a particular city as a result of the conflicting process of historical actors including urban social movements. Therefore, meaning for Castells (1983) was more about the future performance goals than the place elements such as identity, visual and social rhythm, and time-space references as well as social value-references like for Lynch

(1981). The common point in both however was their looking at the issue of spatial meaning at a larger and thus, vaguer level of the city or settlement.

Carr et al. (1992) devoted a full chapter to the spatial meaning issue in their comprehensive work, *Public Space*, entitled "Public Space Meanings and Connections". For the authors, meaning formed one of the three primary values of public spaces together with responsiveness to user needs and being democratic by protecting user rights. Their definition of meaningful spaces perhaps matched the good place definition of Lynch (1981): "those (places) that allow people to make strong connections between the place, their personal lives, and the larger world" (Carr et al. 1992, 20). Carr et al. actually took on Lynch's legibility criterion of the sense of a settlement, openness to user by communicating what is possible there, for their own list of items that rendered a space meaningful.

According to Carr et al. (1992), a second standard for a space to be meaningful was that the space had to resonate with the user's life and evoke those types of uses connecting individual memory and experience with group memory and experience to create bonds with the space. Thirdly, the space had to lead to connections between people and places, which in turn depended on the space's relevance for the individual as well as for the culture that is, cultural norms and practices. These connections could be related to an individual's personal history, a group (or community) history, the larger society plus they could be biological and psychological connections over natural references or even connections to other worlds e.g., Stonehenge in England.

The individual connections referred to the development of self-identity over a place identity and were based on personal experiences of the place. These could be some childhood spaces, special event spaces like one's wedding place, and other personal spaces or homes away from home including nurturing spaces like a local marketplace. The group connections occurred in places that supported a community's collective being through for example physical symbols like graffiti of group membership. Such physical features stood for stability of group identity in the midst of a changing world. Connections to the larger society referred to the public spaces that maintained connections at a wider scale such as those among the members of a culture. These could be ceremonial plazas that created a collective feeling of awe, reverence or national places with public monuments that were "designed to communicate to future visitors a sense of the grandeur and solidity of a nation" (Carr et al. 1992, 208).

A meaningful public space for Carr et al. (1992) had to be comfortable enough so that it could be experienced and make way for experiences. According to the authors a meaningful space also had to induce positive associations in people such as a sense of belonging, safety, protection of personal rights, being claimable and changeable rather than for example discouraging the use of certain groups. Finally, the development of a meaningful public space rested on people's ability to create bonds with a place which held an important role in their lives. In some cases, these items for a space to be meaningful might form such a composition that a highly symbolic power of an open space came into existence e.g., People's Park in Berkeley, California. In these situations, the meanings attached to the specific place outweighed the functional value of the place and were most often different than the intended meaning by the owner or designer. It may be so that even if people at first acquired the same sense of the place as the designer, this acquired meaning changed over time. Carr et al. (1992) explained this change of meaning as follows:

> While some connections may be made at a time when the experience in a setting stirs civic or national pride, these specific meanings tied to human history can lose their power over time, as the events they commemorate pass from consciousness (210).

Most often public space designs remained out of context, therefore lacking the appropriate contextual references or their references given through spatial form, sculpture, paving and other features were to some other geography-time than today. Such referential misfits between the signifier and the signified, according to Carr et al. (1992) often resulted in the failure to achieve a deep and long-lasting meaning of the place. Therefore, contextual references including both the right natural and historical references mattered for a profound and enduring sense of the place. Lastly, the authors suggested that making for meaningful public spaces should be a collective effort of the users, designers, and space managers and it could only be achieved by supporting people's meaningful experiences, considering the place's fit into its context, and achieving a democratic management that would plan for meaningful events and elements.

Lefebvre's (1996) spatial dialectics in his social theory of space could be interpreted in a way in order to connect it with this spatial meaning discussion. In his work, the socially produced space was separated into three as the spaces of *conceived* --abstract geometric terms; *perceived* –such as works of art; and *lived* --everyday life. In addition, the socially produced space caused "a conflict between the producers of (this) abstract space and the users who want to appropriate space as 'lived space'" (Ryan 2007). In *Lefebvre, Love and*

Struggle, Shields (1999) explained this triad by adopting its second version comprised of: the spatial practice (perceived), representation of space (conceived) and spaces of representation (lived). Lefebvre (1996) explained the *representation of space* with the following example:

> Within the spatial practice of modernity, the architect ensconces himself in his own space. He has a *representation of this space*, one which is bound to graphic elements -to sheets of paper, plans, elevations, sections, perspective views of façades, modules, and so on. This *conceived* space is thought by those who make use of it to be *true*, despite the fact that –or perhaps because of the fact- that it is geometrical… (361).

Lefebvre's (1996) explanation of the *spaces of representation* or *representational space* on the other hand was as the following:

> The user's space is *lived* – not represented (or conceived). When compared with the abstract space of the experts (architects, urbanists, and planners), the space of the everyday activities of users is a concrete one, which is to say, subjective. As a space of 'subjects' rather than of calculations, as a representational space, it has an origin, and that origin is childhood,… It is in this space that the 'private' realm asserts itself, albeit more or less vigorously, and always in a conflictual way, against the public one (362).

While Shields (1999) in defining the *spatial practice* focused on visuality, perception and "everyday importance of spatialisation, which is a complete and seamless set of practices and arrangements" (162), Lefebvre (1996) chose to illustrate it with the example of the daily life of a tenant in a government-subsidized housing project.

Selecting a flexible reinterpretation, we might possibly regroup Lefebvre's dialectical triad of spatialisation into two as: the spatial meaning and experience (use). Accordingly, if his spatial practice and representation of space were to be considered to belong to the sense-making and therefore meaning realm, the spaces of representation would probably correspond to the direct user experience of a place. Lefebvre's path breaking theory inspired many of his followers from various strands of urban theory, for example the academic geographer, David Harvey.

Harvey (1990) developed Lefebvre's triad into "a grid of spatial practices" by adding four other dimensions --accessibility and distanciation; appropriation of space; domination of space; and, production of space-- to it. Harvey's motive behind developing such a conceptual model rested on the importance he attributed to spatial and temporal practices as major determinants in the history of social change similar to Castells. In his own words:

> The history of social change is in part captured by the history of the conceptions of space and time, and the ideological uses to which those conceptions might be put. Furthermore, any project to transform society must grasp the complex nettle of the transformation of spatial and temporal conceptions and practices (Harvey 1990, 218).

Note the usage of the word "conception" (of space and time) refers something quite similar to (spatial) meaning. One important pillar of historical change was then a change in the meaning or conception of space.

In Harvey (1990), another interesting point related to our discussion of spatial meaning was his idea of modernization that caused a "perpetual disruption of temporal and spatial rhythms" (1990, 216) which could also perhaps be read as a continuous disruption of temporal and spatial meanings. Modernism meant for Harvey (1990) the "production of new meanings for space and time in a world of ephemerality and fragmentation" (Ibid.). Apart from its emphasis on a spatial meaning creation (conceptualizing spatial meaning as an outcome of historical-materialist struggles), this comment is further significant for the analysis of the Taksim Republican Square (TRS) case, in case TRS was accepted as a representative of the spatial organization aspect of the Turkish modernization. Moreover, in Harvey (1990) the spatial practices gained their meaning within the structure of social relations and not by themselves alone. For example social relations of capitalism lead to the spatial practices acquiring class meanings. Therefore, they could take over other meanings under different social structures such as gender, community, ethnicity, race-related meanings. In other words, the spatial meaning caused by spatial practices was the outcome of historical-materialist conditions incorporating power relations.

Both Peace, Holland, and Kellaher (2006) and Carr et al. (1992) indicated the experience of a place as a basic requirement of its acquiring a meaning. Similarly, I also argue that the use of Taksim Republican Square (TRS) would be a significant factor in determining its meaning for the people. Experience together with connections --to personal, group, or societal history, biology, and psychology-- was stated by the first group of authors to bring about place attachments making places part of people's lives and so turning spaces into meaningful places for them. Apart from the difficulty in claiming for the present formal structure of TRS to be either transparent-legible (Lynch 1981) or congruent –a congruence from visual to social activity-- it is also definitely not comfortable (Carr et al. 1992) enough to be experienced. Albeit being a popularly known and socially relevant spot, TRS is thus deprived of opportunities for people's uses to create place attachments due to its formal and functional misfits.

Once organized as a ceremonial national place with the appropriate historical references, the meaning of Taksim Republican Square (TRS) has changed over time and now, it mostly carries some unfitting, out of context cultural references such as those given by the temporary culture exhibitions limited only to traditional handicrafts, Ramadan entertainments, and a second-hand book fair. Seemingly, a restriction exists on the experiencing of the square to certain uses congruent with a particular traditional-conservative space conception that prevents the universal and modern others such as the cultural activities of Atatürk Culture Center (AKM) --closed since 2008 for renovation-- or any modern art exhibition that could be organized at the square. And the usage determines most of the meaning based on the readership that is, the user's reception of the conveyed message as an actively involved process.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Rationale for the Research Model

This research explores the meaning acquired by the current users from Taksim Republican Square (TRS) by describing their socio-economic identity and their usage of the place allowed by its form. Because it focuses on the perceptions of the people, who use TRS, it draws from a combination of field (observation) and survey research (questionnaire and interview). The research directly on the symbolic meaning of a public square from the perspective of the users being limited and because of my sensitivity to not apply the theory directly to this particular research from the outset, I started out with interviewing people in the area. The initial interviews with the users of TRS helped to define the categories to focus on, in subsequent interviews implemented through a questionnaire, and by a continuous recheck between the data and theory. Hence, even though there have been some presumptions formulated in the Introduction among the variables of: the user's socio-economic status (SES) and the form, usage, and meaning of the square, they are not exactly treated as hypotheses to be tested by statistical tests, also due to the size limitation of the study sample. In other words, this research aims to present the possibly relevant variables in a spatial meaning inquiry at the level or context of a symbolic public square, by pointing toward an answer to what meaning is acquired by the current user of TRS, and describing the situations with respect to these presented variables as mostly categories arising from the field.

3.2. Empirical Data and Their Collection

The research data is gathered from two groups, the users of Taksim Republican Square (TRS) and experts, based on three methods: 1) In-depth interviews with TRS users working or residing in the Taksim area 2) Questionnaire applied to TRS users again both face-to-face and via electronic messages 3) Expert interviews. One reason for making both in-depth interviews and a questionnaire with the users of the square is the aim to analyze the ideas of the users both qualitatively and quantitatively. Secondly, there is a difference between the two techniques in the sense that while the in-depth interviews enabled me to reach the area shopkeepers and workers who have long been observing the area, the questionnaire was the right tool to get the instant opinions of the people found at the square on that

particular moment. The expert interviews were added later to the research design to acquire an understanding of the institutional perspective on TRS, assumed to have a direct or indirect influence on the place's form.

The first part of the in-depth interviews is comprised of the interviews with the current users of TRS, people who use TRS for some purpose with varying frequency, that are made as a cross-sectional study within the first two weeks of February 2010. In total, 21 voice-recorded in-depth interviews are made with individuals, who somehow use TRS for any purpose including simply passing from there to reach somewhere such as one's workplace or home. The only criteria of interviewee selection being the use of TRS, the sampling here is a combination of reliance on available subjects and snow-ball sampling, thus making a well mixed sample that consists of: 1) self-selected individuals e.g., a woman who is sitting at a café on TRS at that particular moment; a waitrees in a café that I frequent and whose shift begins in half an hour; an acquaintance collectioner having a shop in the Fish Market (6 respondents of the sample) 2) referee others, including: old shopkeepers and workers from İstiklal and its bystreets, referred to by an informant, a 40 years old public officer who has been working in Istanbul Electric Tramway and Tunnel Establishments General Directorate (İETT), Beyoğlu since 1979 (9 respondents including her); other respondents referred to by some already interviewed respondents except the public officer (3 respondents); some old tramway and tunnel workers in the area, referred to by a second, male public officer from the same public institution (2-3 respondents); an architect representative from Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture office on İstiklal Street, referred to by an acquaintance from (Hasanpaşa) Gasworks Volunteers. Despite the limitation regarding the representativeness due to non-probabilistic sampling –note however that a probability sampling would not be very applicable based on the difficulty in identifying the population-- the sample is aimed at containing different profiles in terms of occupation e.g., ranging from a tramway chief to a well-known artist residing in the area, gender, and age albeit the latter two are not so much being achieved as intended. The reason for this is the higher rejection rate for women, and the referees belonging to the relatively older members of the region for the expectancy that they would also know more about the place and the changes it has been through.

According to the themes I am working on, including the SES, form, usage, and meaning of the square, there are respondent information, usage, and meaning subdivisions of the in-depth interview (Appendix B-A). In the first, respondent information section of the

interview, the respondent is asked about her or his age, education level, occupation, place of birth, current work, place of residence, number of people in household, monthly household income level, and so on. The information gathered at this section is intended to provide some understanding of the user's socio-economic status.

The second section titled "usage" is to inquire about for what and how the respondent uses TRS as well as her or his opinion about the present form or physical organization of the square. The usage (purpose of use, frequency of use) and form of TRS by the respondent are examined with questions such as: "For what purposes do you use this place?"; "How often do you use this place?"; "What would you like to be added to or removed from here?"

In the third, meaning section, the respondent is asked about the meaning of TRS and the Republic Monument operationalized as the connotations and meaning of TRS for her or him in addition to the time references, qualities, observed transformations, and distinctive features if any, of TRS and the Republic Monument. The meaning of TRS and the monument for the respondent is therefore examined with the following questions: "What is the first connotation of this place when it is mentioned?"; "What does it (the place) mean to you; what does it mean to be here?"; "Which period of the Turkish history do you think this place bear the traces of and what are these traces?"; "Could we speak of a uniting quality of this place for its users?"; "Do you observe any transformations of the place in comparison to the past?"; "When you look at Istanbul in general, do you think this place has a distinctive feature?"; "Do you see any difference between this place and the other public squares again with monumental structures in other cities?"; and, "What does the monument tell you? Do you have any information about it? Does it have any difference from the other monuments of the city?"

As Barbour (2008) suggests doing, I first interrogated the transcribed data relying on the basic coding frame of the interview schedule; nevertheless, after searching for patterns, contradictions, and exceptions in the data, new subcodes were added when necessary.

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The second leg of the survey research is a 4 pages long questionnaire form (Appendix A) to be applied again to the users of TRS to have a more realistic sense of their socio-economic profile, their ideas on the square's form, their usage, the square's meaning for them, and their ideal TRS right on the spot, differently from the in-depth interviews that were mostly made in and around İstiklal Street.

The first draft that included many open-ended questions was pretested with approximately 30 people on TRS during August 2009. Following the in-depth interviews made with the users of TRS in February 2010 and the theoretical frame taking form accordingly, the questionnaire was redesigned by replacing most of the open-ended questions with single-choice or yes-no questions and questions with 5 or 7-point scales. The pretest of this second questionnaire form was done instead of face-to-face interview by sending electronic messages to a key person and his acquaintances, who are the employees of a public institution located on one upper parallel to İstiklal Street, and continuing with their rechanneling to other individuals during September and October 2010. This email questionnaires amount to 30 respondents, and are later added to the sample because of the high quality of the returns that were monitored with one to three follow-up mailings – yet, this could be considered as one limitation of the survey data.

In addition to these 30 questionnaires collected through email, 41 questionnaires are made by the author alone on the square on the dates: 18 September 2010 (9 respondents who were either visitors or people working at the Beyoğlu Second-hand Book Seller's Festival); 15-16-17 November 2010 (that is, during the Ramadan holiday). Although the 9 questionnaires were applied on purpose during the Second-hand Book Seller's Festival, the remaining 32 questionnaires' coinciding with a religious holiday period could be considered as a second limitation in terms of the data quality, based on the time limitation of the author. This concern arises from the possibility that the user profile found in the place during a holiday period might diverge from the common or everyday users of the place, which probably includes more working people during the weekdays against people with other use motives at the weekend. Nevertheless, considering the smallness of the total sample size (N: 71) already resulting in a limited representativeness of the survey, these other limitations become only secondary issues. The sample size is caused by both time limitation and the length of the questionnaire form, which approximately required ten minutes per respondent. As expected, it is difficult to take this much time of people, who are found at the square on that exact moment but actually being on their way to somewhere else.

Another difficulty of implementing a questionnaire at TRS is the presence of other surveyors in the area approaching people with the aim of collecting donation or promoting commercial goods. Therefore, I had to make an introduction before asking the questions to clarify that this was a university research without any purpose of selling or asking for

anything other than the potential respondent's opinions on TRS. Still there could be people who did not want to spare the time and sometimes for the people, who accepted to participate at first, it was likely that they got bored and distracted towards the middle of the questionnaire. In such cases, I had to request them to help me finish the questionnaire saying that otherwise, their questionnaire form would be wasted. As the surveyor I was also afraid of ecountering an undercover policeman while conducting the questionnaire in the field, because of the widespread talk about the undercover policemen in the Taksim area. And the recent bombing event at TRS at the beginning of November, 2010 only added to my and my family's worries.

Similar to the design of the in-depth interview with the users, the questionnaire is designed based on two main sections: personal information and questions related to the square. The first, which aims at functioning as an indicator of the respondent's socio-economic status, asks about the person's: 1) age 2) gender 3) place of birth 4) education level (7 categories) 5) employment a) current work condition (public employee; private sector employee; not working) b) current job (categorized according to the ISCO 88 major groups) c) occupation 6) place of residence 7) household size 8) monthly household income level. The second section of the questionnaire that has questions about TRS is further divided into three parts such as: (questions related to) the form of the square; the usage of the square; and, the meaning of the square.

The goodness of the form of the square is operationalized as the form answering the public space needs or fulfilling criteria such as visually accessible, pedestrian-friendly, fit for use, etc. from the studied form literature. Accordingly, the first question with regard to the form of the square is comprised of 5 yes-no questions for evaluating the square's existing physical organization according to Carr et al.'s (1992) conceptualization of public space needs e.g., "Does the existing physical organization of the square answer your usage need?"; "Does the existing physical organization of the square answer your relaxation need?", and so on. The second question of form is an 11-item 1-to-7 Disagree-Agree response scale described in the following paragraphs.

Next comes the part on the usage of the square operationalized in terms of purposes of use –past and present, the highest use purpose, and the frequency of use. The purpose of use is examined by asking the respondent a multiple choice question (categories including, transport, art-culture-scientific activity, work, entertainment-recreation, meeting, shopping, and other) about her or his reason of being there at that moment. The

respondent is then asked about her or his usage of the square in general with 8 yes-no questions e.g., “For which of the following purposes do you use the square?” Here in addition to the same categories with the previous usage question, political demonstration plus official ceremony and commemoration are also asked. Thirdly, the respondents are asked to select from these developed categories their single highest or most frequent use purpose. The frequency of usage is inquired about by the approximate number of days of being there in a month. Finally, the usage of the square by the respondent in the past is asked again with 5 yes-no questions.

The relatively more important meaning part of the questionnaire is designed to include 5 basic questions based on the operationalization of the square meaning in terms of knowledge of the square, its dominant characteristic, and meaningfulness according to some criteria developed in the space and meaning literature, especially Carr et al.’s (1992) criteria for a meaningful public space. The first question of this part asks the name of the square to see the level of awareness and knowledge of the respondent about the place. The second meaning question tries to understand the dominant characteristic of the square that most determines its aura and therefore, asks which of the given qualities e.g., consumption, historicity, politics, etc. weighs the most in the current atmosphere of the place. The third question of the meaning part involves 8 yes-no questions with the goal of assessing TRS in terms of its meaningfulness, again based on criteria selected from theory, such as a distinctive feature, positive connotations, significance in one’s life, and so on. The fourth question is a self-developed scale, opened up in the following paragraph. As the final question of this part related to the meaning of the square, the respondents are asked about the ideal TRS in their minds by stating the first three adjectives of the ideal case in order of importance.

The questionnaire involves two self-developed scale questions based on the concepts from theory. One is an 11-item 1-to-7 Disagree-Agree response scale that attempts to estimate the goodness of the existing form of TRS, depending on the criteria selected by the author from the “Space and Form” section of the Theoretical Background of this research. The question includes items as follows: “The current form of the square promotes people’s usage”; “The current form of the square is appropriate for the usage purpose of the place”; “The current form of the square is sufficient in terms of city furniture it contains”; “The current form of the square is sufficient in terms of natural elements it contains”. The second is a self-developed 5-point scale question inspired by Kohn’s personal values and

conformity research. It provides the respondent with 45 possible attributes, expressed usually as either “the place of …” e.g., the place of capital; the place of the Republic or “ … place” e.g., public place; cosmopolitan place, from which they select in order: 1) Three attributes that the respondent thinks best describe TRS today (4 points); 2) The single, most descriptive attribute among their selected three attributes (5 points); 3) Three least descriptive attributes (2 points); 4) The single least descriptive among their selected least descriptive (1 point); 5) The remaining attributes which are neither among the most nor the least descriptive attributes (3 points). In this way, the question aims at getting a sense of TRS as held by the respondents, by providing an approximate picture of how they see and define the place.

Because of the limitations regarding the rigor of the survey data, it is to be considered only as supplementary information to the data gathered from the interviews. The questionnaire data is analyzed through the SPSS statistical analysis software and the findings (SES, Form, Usage, and Meaning) are scattered throughout the data analyses chapter, under the related subtitles.

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If the first group of in-depth interviews is to get the opinion of the users of Taksim Republican Square (TRS), the second group includes the institutional viewpoints expressed by their individual representatives. The purpose of including expert interviews in the research design in addition to the individual viewpoints of the users corresponding basically to the demand side is to understand the institutional perspective on the place because of its direct or indirect impact on the supply, that is, the physical arrangement of the square. Because there is a presumption that the form of TRS has an influence on the usage of people, it is important to lend an ear to the ideas of the decision makers –and the organizational bodies with a say on these decisions-- about the current form and their suggestions for improving it.

These expert interviews are made more recently, in the second week of February 2011, again in a single time frame (cross-sectional) and voice-recorded. The sample comprises of: the Istanbul branches of Chamber of Architects (1 respondent) and the Chamber of City Planners (2); Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality – Directorate of City Planning (1); and Beyoğlu Beautification and Preservation Society (1). The respondents either have a direct influence on the physical arrangement of TRS like the Metropolitan Municipality representative or are institutional representatives with authority. The limitation in respect

of the expert interviews arose from the lack of time both for making appointments and the interviews that had to be made in a week's time. Otherwise it could have been possible to for example, talk to a transport expert from the Metropolitan Municipality about the pedestrianization project of TRS. The interview appointments are taken both through the self efforts and informal network of the author, and over the formal networks of professors from the related departments of METU. Only in the appointment with the Chamber of Architects a problem arose when the woman architect did not show up and so was substituted with another similar positioned person from the chamber.

Two interview forms (Appendix B-B), prepared in line with the major concepts from the theoretical background are used for the expert interviews: one for the professional chambers and associations, and another for the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, the purpose here being to get the most information from both parties with different types of specializations. The difference between the two forms is that while the interview form used for the metropolitan municipality contains questions to get information regarding the official viewpoint and projects about TRS as much as possible, the form used for the chambers and the association includes more, questions that would allow for obtaining these experts' evaluations of the current situation from the perspective of their own specializations.

The questions directed to the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality representative, who actually took part in the development of the 1/5000 Scaled Beyoğlu Urban Protected Area Land Use Plan for Conservation Purposes therefore includes: her evaluation of the existing function of the TRS today and what it should be; the positive and negative attributes about the existing physical arrangement of TRS; what goals should be targeted for TRS and the short-term, mid-term, and long-term projects of her institution. The second group of experts comprised of architects, city planners, and a trade-originated president of association are directed questions regarding the experts' evaluations of TRS: as a city square and a public space; in terms of its meaning; in the light of urban renewal projects surrounding it; in its relationship with the government, its local organs and with the society; according to city planning or architectural principles; and considering the socially significant events lived there.

The answers are coded and analyzed according to the coding frame of the interview schedule built on the theoretical concepts of the research such as, public space, city square,

(spatio-symbolic) meaning including the controlling relationship of power with physical space.

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A detailed description of the in-depth interview respondents who are users of TRS is provided under the title, “The Publicness of TRS based on the Profile of the Users” in the end of the following, The Users of the Square, section. Still, the following tables and information are provided to give some preliminary idea on the social profile of the questionnaire respondents and the in-depth interviewees.

Table 1. Frequency Table of the Gender of the Questionnaire Respondents

	Gender		
	Female	**Male**	**Total**
Frequency	41	30	71

Table 2. The Age of the Questionnaire Respondents

	Age
Range	48
Minimum	17
Maximum	65
Mean	35,56
St. Dev.	13,064

Looking next at the age and gender dynamics of the in-depth interviewees, the age range is between 24 (waitress) to 78 (fabric tradesman). Of the 21 interviewees, there are 15 interviewees who are 50 or above, 3 who are in their 40s, and 2 in their 30s. Therefore, it is an aged sample (mean: 54,57) of interviewees on purpose that is, they are the people who have been experiencing Taksim area for long years and are thus, assumed to be better able to track its changes over time. 16 of them are male and 5 female, one reason for the lower representation of women being their timidity about participation and hence, higher rates of refusal.

Table 3. Frequency Table of the Work of the Questionnaire Respondents

Work of the Respondent	Frequency
Managers	12
Professionals	14
Technicians and associate professionals	11
Clerks	7
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	5
Craft and related trade workers	1
Elementary occupations	10
Unemployed	11
Total	71

Considering the profile of the in-depth interviewees in terms of occupation, based on the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) 88 (adapted by Turkish Statistical Institute), the in-depth interviewees can be grouped as follows:

- Managers –shopkeepers, senior public officers;
- Professionals –artist, academician, architect, mechanical engineer, piano teacher, publishing employee, psychological consultant;
- Elementary occupations –the retired;
- Technicians and associate professionals –tunnel technicians, helper in the drugstore, photographer;
- Service workers and shop and market sales workers –waitress.

Table 4. Frequency Table of the Education Level of the Questionnaire Respondents

	Education Level
No education	0
Primary Education	5
Secondary Education	4
High School	10
College	11
University	31
Graduate	10
Total	71

Considering the profile of the in-depth interviewees in terms of education, 2 interviewees are PhDs, 10 are university graduates, 5 have high school, and 4 have primary education certificates.

Table 5. Frequency Table of the Income Level of the Questionnaire Respondents

	Monthly Household Income Level	**Frequency**
	0-500TL	3
	501-1000TL	9
	1001-1500TL	20
	More than 1500TL	37
	Total	69
Missing	**9**	2
Total		71

Considering the profile of the in-depth interviewees İn terms of monthly household income, 12 interviewees have incomes more than 1500TL, 4 interviewees with an income between 1001-1500TL, 3 interviewees –waitress sharing a flat with 2 other people, photographer-single mother, publishing employee who lives alone-- between 501-1000TL, and 1 interviewee with a household of 2 have a monthly household income equal to or below 500TL. The 2008 official figure for monthly poverty line for a four people-household is 767TL (TurkStat).

4. THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE USERS OF THE SQUARE

The topics which are handled in this chapter include the change in the users of Taksim Republican Square (TRS) observed in time according to some important societal milestones that influence both the built environment and the using people's profile of the area. Another discussed topic is whether the current users of TRS come together around a common identity or sense of belonging attached to TRS through the shared events at TRS. In other words, an understanding of the degree of togetherness achieved at TRS based on an interaction among people with different socio-economic positions is what is intended for. Moreover, the degree of cosmopolitanism and publicness of the place are assessed. The questions, whose place TRS is today and whose place it is not, i.e., the excluded of Taksim and the subjects of this exclusion as a threat against the togetherness mentioned, are also examined according to the human and structural dimensions. All of these questions with regard to the identity of the users in relation to the place are taken in hand according to the comments of the interviewee-users that is, from the user's perspective.

4.1. The Change in the User Profile and the Place: The Four Eras

The using population of Taksim, Beyoğlu is inevitably influenced by the larger societal changes; a situation defined by a civil servant (female, 50) as the society's and world's texture permeating Taksim. Based on the comments of the study participants, three main events demarcate the three eras of Taksim and Taksim Republican Square (TRS) all with different place and people characteristics. These three events demarcating the three eras of the area are: the formation of the square in 1928; the immigration from Anatolia and September 6-7 events in the 1950s; and the economic liberalization in the 1980s. I would add to this list the period beginning in the 1990s as a new era when the economic liberalization deepens however under a separate political ideology.

During the era starting with the formation of TRS after the Republic Monument was built in 1928 and continuing until the 1950s, the population of the area is said to be mostly comprised of non-Muslims. This era in the first half of the 20th c. is commonly referred to by the interviewees along the "Istanbul culture," a culture very unlike the culture of today's wandering, "useless crowd" (ephemera collectioner, 59, male), and closely associated by the interviewees with being "civilized". The Istanbul culture mainly corresponded to the

freedom-associated Pera --the word Pera meant the opposite shore to Istanbul inside the city walls—then dominated by the non-Muslim citizens. These ex-users of Beyoğlu are described variously by the interviewees as Levantine sweet water Frankish, Beyoğlu gentlemen --and ladies follow--, people who are molded by the Istanbul culture, and they are generally remembered quite positively as old neighbors --"it was more civilized"-- although they also led to some lowly feelings: "No one tells to anyone not to enter or something but you just cannot walk near that Levantine lady … You zero in cause you don't have that clothing, style" (the second-hand book seller). On the other hand, these people are also thought to compensate for the society's weaknesses at the time, e.g., "We didn't gain respect on our own; the foreigners here substituted for the harms inherited from the Ottoman," (tunnel employee) even if this sentence could be interpreted as another sign of feeling lowly.

Some other, supportive comments about the previous users and inhabitants of the area are made by the other interviewees, too. The shoe-seller owning a 79-years old shop at the Taksim entrance of İstiklal Street is perhaps one of the most nostalgic among the interviewees as he romanticizes the area's past including its people, for whom he uses the expressions of gentlemen and ladies, and "cultured people" by also referring to their Greek, Armenian, and Belarussian origins, most passionately, almost to the degree of anger to the existent condition. The interesting point here is the acceptance of the previous non-Muslim population, who mostly had to leave the area following September, 6-7, 1955 plundering events, versus the complaints raised against the replacing population comprised of Anatolian immigrants. This is probably not because people prefer diversity to homogeneity in their vicinity, an argument that would counter that of Sennett's in *The Fall of Public Man*, but I would argue it is because the level of urbanity in people that is, the urban identity dominates for these commenters over any other identity like a coreligionist. Plus, the influence of the national or citizenship identity apparently counted for this acceptance e.g., "In October, 29 (national) holidays, even the foreign citizens used to come to Taksim Square and celebrate together with the Turkish".

Not all of the non-Muslims left after September, 6-7 demarcating the start of the second era, and those who did are said to leave by crying. One of the remainders of September 6-7, 1955, who went to watch the waters in the Republic holidays at the square, is a Jewish fabric tradesman born in Galata --"Kuledibi, the place I was born and raised. I go there. I can't neglect". He makes an inverse comment as compared to the Muslim shopkeepers

about the Anatolian immigrants when he states: “In the past, there was more of a non-Muslim community in Beyoğlu. They left. They were replaced by those who came from Anatolia. All is the same for me. I am Jewish but Turkish.” Here the open emphasis is also on the national identity more than either religion or social origin.

If one important event in the 1950s signifying a shift in Taksim and TRS as a place and its inhabiting-using population is the September 6-7 event, another is the start of immigration to Istanbul from Anatolia. The shoe-seller’s explanation for the new Taksim, today full of “thinner-addicts”, that replaced “the Taksim where he lived once” (Taksim as representing the Istanbul culture) rests on the deteriorating economy and people and more specifically, on the phenomenon of immigration to Istanbul following the 1950’s: “I also came from Anatolia, so pardon me but, Anatolians came and packed here to live just as the same way they used to live back in Anatolia. Nothing civilized has remained.” It is no wonder that he also claims for Taksim Republican Square (TRS) that it has become a village-like place.

A stationary-seller on a side-street at İstiklal since 1978, who used to sell newspapers in the area since his childhood, agrees that immigration is a problem albeit he himself came from “a corner of Anatolia” back in 1965, because the new comers do not adapt to the place they go. He exemplified the accompanying change in Taksim’s atmosphere by saying that when a woman passes, these people gaped and there was nothing like this neither in Beyoğlu nor Taksim as these places used to be “decent”. The second-hand book seller summarizes the problem as: “ma’am see, there are rules of living in the city. You get on the bus; if it’s empty you walk to the back. Guy gets on the bus, goes and stops in the middle, neither forward nor backward. Horrible! For example. So there are some rules of living in the city.”

As a third event again with an influence on the spatial and social dynamics of Taksim and TRS, some interviewees point at the societal turning point of the 1980’s economic liberalization. This socio-economic turning point of the 1980s –January 24 decisions towards economic liberalization-- and its reflection to Taksim’s changing atmosphere are spoken by a second-hand book seller for many years as:

> It was previously a big deal to go up here, I tell you…Once you came to Beyoğlu, it would throw one out immediately… To say, ‘We went to Beyoğlu,’ was pumping for us…Until 80’s; after 80’s it cut loose, after Turgut Özal’s period. He came and destroyed things that should not be destroyed. The period of lahmacun and whisky started…When you look at the pictures from 30-40’s you see the real scope of the matter. You cannot notice one single person without a necktie even in a pub, at a night club. All are dressed in super grande toilette!

There is also a change in terms of the level of intellectuality for example due to the departure of artists from the place after its becoming more of an interest for the capital. The places followed this population (ex)change and vice versa. A public (transport) servant (50), who much suits to the definition of a 21st c. representative of flâneurin in the Baudelairian sense because of approaching Taksim, Beyoğlu as a geography to discover, most mentioned about the change of places in the area. She observes that over the last 30 years, the feeling of continuity in various facets of life such as one's place of living, places of shopping, work career withered away. She gives the example of certain shops, which she calls "the seals of Beyoğlu and so, the reasons to name Beyoğlu as Beyoğlu" (thus referring to a place identity), some old restaurants, a corsetiere, a hat shop, which still resist to the changing times or others like Vakko on İstiklal Street, which could not. She also mentions the casino culture at around the 1950-75's and represented by Maksim and Kristal casinos at Taksim. It is in her words, "a kind of entertainment unlike today's with belly dancing, çiftetelli (a folkloric dance)". In addition to the casinos, artist ateliers that used to exist in Beyoğlu buildings are other places changing hands; these ateliers according to her, are now replaced with "potato sellers, people selling mobile phone cards. The people who contributed to the cultural life of this city also stopped visiting (living, working)." She thinks that this continuous change of places takes away from the meaning of Taksim and wished "owning Istanbul had also implicated deserving it".

If all these past events form the grounding of the socio-spatial change in Taksim area influencing its places and people, the peak of change in the area in terms of the promoted activity and people I would argue is the last 10-15 years that is, the fourth era starting with the 1990s. I personally observed the change in the user profile of Taksim, Beyoğlu for the last 10-12 years accompanying the change in the spatial aura of Beyoğlu from a cultural place or a place of cultural consumption to a place of consumption of food, clothing, and entertainment. This shift concerning both the dominant people and place characteristics is apparently no coincidence as one thinks of the duration of the latest urban governmental mentality, focusing on economic rent --"political rent" calls a publishing employee (male, 35)-- much more than anything else as another civil servant (male, 57), who has long worked in the area, pointed at. Emek, Alkazar theatres, and Atatürk Culture Centre (AKM) are the first sacrifices of this change that come to my mind. On the other hand, four Starbucks opened on İstiklal Street and the square in very short time as an example of the growing commercialization of the area. The congress valley project and the contents of the

latest land use and master plans of the metropolitan and district municipalities with their prioritization of tourism-service-trade functions are other examples of this increasing policy emphasis on economic rent in the area. All of these changes in the last era lead a consumer identity to become prominent as the area's current user profile based on the drift of the place itself towards a place of consumption –"In its current use, it (TRS) is important as a meeting point; it's important to enjoy and consume things" (public officer, 50, female) or "Only things in parallel with (economic) rent are done (at TRS)" (publishing employee, 35, male).

4.2. The User Interaction and Togetherness

One of my in-depth interview questions is about the degree of togetherness achieved in Taksim Republican Square (TRS) that is, whether people think that there is a synergy created at TRS among the users and whether they feel a common sense of belonging, a common identity or place attachment once they are there. The underlying concern is the amount of the national identity coming to the fore at the square, which was intended at the beginning as a national ceremonial plaza, against any other identity and especially, the socio-economic status of the person. Nevertheless, the respondents sometimes have difficulty in understanding the indirect question; therefore, I probe the question by asking more simply if the interviewee thinks that people from different SES have a chance to interact with each other at the square. Interaction is different than all people finding a place at TRS; the latter is mentioned by the retired teacher (65, male) as: "All kinds are found there, from actors, to politicians, to the poor-fellow."

According to their answers to this question, the interviewees could be grouped into two: 1) The interviewees, who think that there is no interaction among the users with different socio-economic backgrounds at TRS 2) The interviewees, who see a possibility of interaction especially through the shared events at TRS. The second group, who believes that there is a possibility of interaction among different users could be further divided into two as the interviewees, who think this interaction might ultimately lead to a togetherness and those, who think the interaction leads more to separation among the interacting users.

For the first group arguing that there is no interaction at TRS, transitivity of the place makes up one reason of their argument. Some interviewees think that the users are merely "a transient crowd" (faculty member, 58, male) --"incidental users" (Carr et al. 1992)-- coming from various parts of the city by public transport and particularly the subway in recent

years. Therefore, this mixed group of people have little commonality that can come alive at the square; “they are a crowd not a community” (faculty member, 58, male) in that sense. According to the architect (55, male) there is even the individual rather than groups at the square. Some interviewees also seem to think that the demarcation lines drawn by the socio-economic status (SES) together with its whole psychological complex baggage are too strong to make people meet or interact at the square and feel a collective sense of belonging. The waitress expresses this barrier of the deeply marked off socio-economic positions against interaction by saying, “I don’t think people from different social classes could communicate anywhere let alone the square. No, (it’s) not (possible) in Turkey unfortunately especially because of despising (others) or looking down on oneself and not approaching others.” The people are just found there side by side without any further interaction except “when something good happens” (waitress, 24). The faculty member’s following comment also supports this argument about SES creating a barrier against people’s interaction at TRS: “People from the slums also come to the subway; people from Levent, Gayrettepe, and Şişli come. They have nothing in common.” We could carry on this line of thought by pointing at the similarity of the situation that is, the separation based on SES, in the area in the past e.g. “There is nothing like someone telling the other that he can’t enter but you simply couldn’t walk near that Levantine lady” (second-hand book seller, 63, male). The second-hand book seller thinks the same for today: “They wouldn’t meet with each other, no chance. It’s only a place for meeting (your friends) and strolling around.”

A paradox seems to arise from the widespread reference made to TRS as a meeting point considering all the pessimism about interaction and togetherness mentioned above. The paradox is however solved when one grasps the meaning of this ascription as a central meeting point that is, a place to meet your friends, the people you already know or whom you are willing to know, and not total strangers. In this sense of personal meetings, the expressions used for TRS include: very suitable for appointments; a meeting place; a common ground for everyone; I make appointments there, at the monument; the square’s more of a meeting point for us; or the slogan-like let’s meet at Taksim. Moreover, events organized or that come up spontaneously at TRS as opportunities bringing people from different SES together are discussed below based on the interviewee comments.

The second-hand book seller (63, male), who argues that it is not possible for all to convene because of the impossibility of people from so diverse groups gathering at a common point,

shows the transitivity of TRS –"an instantaneous, maniac place"— and its variable identity according to the time of the day or occasions nearby such as the film festival, as factors that intensify this mixture of people, uniting at most in small groups. The comment of the waitress saying, "When it is a public concert, I immediately escape to my home," supports these pessimistic arguments of the second-hand book seller, by indicating the limitation of cultural events for making people interact oriented to togetherness. Likewise the flower seller says: "There has been Tarkan's concert lately, you know. We didn't watch it at all and went home. We were annoyed. Why were we annoyed? Many drifters come."

Nevertheless, these same cultural occasions like festivals, fairs –not "like opening a weekly neighborhood market" (public officer, 50, female) though, concerts, etc. argued to add to the social mixture of the place, also create opportunities for interaction as suggested by some other interviewees belonging to the second group saying interaction at TRS is possible through shared events. The tramway chief (55, male) gives the example of a past concert on TRS: "Zülfü Livaneli mentioned of a chorus of 30000 people. We came with my wife. I remember such perfect concerts here. But at that time, there wasn't any problem of security or vandalism ... Everyone was singing songs, folk songs, all together. It's a wonderful thing!" In addition, Atatürk Culture Center (AKM) is mentioned by the piano teacher, who now lives in Bodrum but comes originally from Istanbul. For her, AKM before being closed, used to unite at least some people around the common bond to the classical music culture through the Saturday morning concerts e.g. "It was as if everybody spoke the same language". Nevertheless, for other interviewees like the artist, the architect and the retired teacher, AKM used to lack the quality of making people from different SES groups interact, appealing instead only to a certain upper section of the society.

A few interviewees connect the issue of interaction and togetherness with the political matters, which are embodied at TRS for example in the form of demonstrations or protests, as a second type of activity aside from the cultural ones with the potential of bringing people together. Some interviewees argue that the interaction arising from political activities at TRS result in sepation more than togetherness among the participating people e.g. "Here there are very cosmopolitan people, so many people are here. Mixed; a little incite is enough for trouble" (underwear seller, 53, male). The publishing employee (35, male) thinks for example, that TRS has separating qualities more than uniting ones as a result of the political connections of the place due to past political fights. The ephemera

collectioner (59, male) also speaks pessimistically about the consolidating quality of TRS with respect to the political segregation:

> That consolidating air exists at all squares except the Turkish society. Again all squares are meeting spots, everyone greets each other and no purse-snatching happens there. You see lots of fights in our squares… In 1977, 37 people were killed. A quarrel will start immediately. Instead of political unity, we are a segregated society; the square cannot unite…Taksim Square can make individuals or at most groups meet.

For other interviewees the political activities at TRS provide on the contrary, the means for the participating people's interaction and togetherness and TRS is very much associated with a political function e.g. "Yes, Taksim is a place of public meetings for me" (psychological consultant, 43, female). This is why for example the tramway chief (55, male) could make the following comment about May 1, 1977: "To have participated in May 1, 1977 is a distinct honour. It is a medal on the chest of our generation. We can't explain it very much to the youth nowadays. They don't get it or don't want to get it." The tramway chief also gives the example of Ecevit's (Republican People's Party) meeting at TRS in June 6, 1977 as a historical moment there, when togetherness was achieved among the people, who participated the meeting despite Ecevit's request that nobody comes due to the assassination notice. Or the artist (69, male) is actually pointing at a togetherness achieved by a protest at TRS, when he says: "The square was a place of meetings. We last met on Taksim Square when Hrant Dink was killed, and walked to Harbiye, to the place he was killed from there. So we use it as a place for meetings."

Another type of event with the potential to make people come together and interact at TRS is various celebrations such as the national days, sports events, or the New Year despite the disturbing sexual harassment issues in the past. The publishing employee is also pessimistic about the togetherness achieved at TRS by events like football games. According to the publishing employee, these people, albeit their variety by which he means both variety in terms of class and other origins and variety as a chaos and ultimately a variety that renders TRS a pot, do not commingle. Their gathering at TRS for a visit or after a football match is defined by him as part of the popular culture and hence, lacks a (meaning)fulness being on shaky ground. It is an argument that the corsetiere (49, male) would probably not agree, saying: "There was Galatasaray-Arsenal UEFA Cup game … the municipality built a giant screen. I watched that game there." Likewise the drugstore helper (51, male) gives as an example the celebration of world cup at TRS saying, "It's a (common) denominator I mean,

a denominator of sharing the common happiness". TRS actually has a relationship with football from the past, during the invasion years and the early years of the Republic, because of the Taksim Stadium in the now demolished Artillery Barracks. Or these celebrations making people interact at TRS could be national day celebrations e.g., "In October, 29 holidays, even foreign citizens used to come to Taksim Square to celebrate the Republican Holiday with Turks" (tunnel employee, age?, male). Commemoration is another event that gathers up crowds for example:

> There is only the Atatürk monument, that's it. There is no other building related to the Republic in here…No other squares like this one exists in Istanbul. This is the only one and so Kemalists come together and make speech here when there is a day concerning them. (Retired teacher, 65, male)

Yet the interactions during commemoration events do not always lead to togetherness, for instance: "I showed it (the monument) to the policeman, to the officer on the Republican Day. I said; look at this monument at Taksim. Atatürk got all mossy. I said; you are seeing the situation, why don't you put it in order? He said; it's not their business" (shoe-seller, 76, male).

Finally, consumption has been a popularizing shared activity of the users of TRS and İstiklal Street. Yet, it is hard to speak of its creating an opportunity for the interaction and togetherness of people with different socio-economic positions at TRS, although the piano teacher (41, female) finds the Taksim area integrative because of its accommodating shopping, cultural facilities, and bars all in itself and the drugstore helper (51, male) says, "(entertainment) is now spread to the masses". The availability of places appealing to everyone in socio-economic terms is different than the quality of making these people interact. This is actually the essence of the photographer's (36, female) message: "That is you can come and have a drink here with very little money, but you can also go to very luxurious places to eat and drink. This is why Taksim seems to be open to everyone. (Otherwise) I don't think there is much of an interaction there." Despite its illusion of the opposite that is, resembling others by consuming the same things, I think that consumption actually separates people more economically –"But go and sit at the Marmara's café to have a tea. How many people can go? Especially how does a student go there?" (retired teacher, 65, male)-- with its other consequences mentioned in the following remark:

> What about now? Classes and their contradictions have not disappeared. Nevertheless, people's choices that direct their behaviors and their value judgments are actualized over other and more primitive things and this happens in a trans-class, transgender fiction (illusion). Individuals of separate classes come together through the same music, clothing, and shopping center. (...) That means we are now a combined, united, classless, unprivileged mass. Biological needs direct life and (this is where) culture and city fall, surrender. (Kırmızı 2011).

4.3. The Recognized Owners and Undesirables

If the previous title aimed at understanding the degree of interaction and togetherness that the interviewees consider as achieved at Taksim Republican Square (TRS), in this part their ideas on the recognized owners and the undesirables of TRS is presented. In other words, the question of whose place TRS today is and whose not is handled here but from the user's perspective. In this way, one can also point to the stereotypes that we all have against others in daily urban life.

Some interviewees regards the youth as the acknowledged user of TRS, because they interpret the meaning of the square in connection with İstiklal Street, which is itself read with an emphasis on its face of entertainment. The 4th generation underwear shopkeeper (53, male) while defining the meeting attribute of the place says:

> … Taksim square is the place where tourists meet the most; students meet the most…The most known place, the place having the most entertainment, cinemas. Therefore, it appeals more to the youth. Now, the middle-aged do not come and have fun here or go about easily; they come only for shopping, and nothing else.

The tramway chief (55, male) defines the user profile along similar lines: "Student, especially university; the place of interest for groups which are more involved in social life, have the need to dine out together with friends or make plans for small entertainment." For him, this is not because of any deliberate exclusion of the other sections of the society from the area but how life conditions impose things; for example his father who was a worker in a factory did not have a notion of going to Taksim at ten, to have a drink with his friends. Likewise the piano teacher (41, female) attaches a dynamic and youth-associated meaning to TRS and its spirit, and therefore, she argues that reactionary or fundamentalist –against the open-mindedness of the youth-- events are not welcome in the place. The youth is thus commonly deemed as a recognized owner of TRS by some interviewees.

Who else is not welcome other than the fundamentalists according to the interviewees at TRS? Or who are spoken negatively about? The latter question brings us closer to an understanding of the stereotypes and even discrimination. To begin with, the Anatolian immigrants are mentioned while considering the change of the area's user profile. Even though the discourse on the immigrants is not completely discriminatory, softened by expressions and excuses like "I am myself from a corner of Anatolia but…" it almost signaled a hate speech in a few respondents. For example, "Anatolians came and packed here … Nothing civilized is left." So these immigrants are not regarded as civilized. The second-hand book seller's (63, male) comments about "the laws of living in the city" or not joining to the New Year celebrations as "born and raised in Istabulians" reinforces this image of the non-civilized Anatolian. Or as in the comment, "All PKK supporters (live) in Tarlabaşı. They came from Anatolia…", these people are shown as sympathizers of ethno-nationalism. Another interviewee evaluates the purse-snatching, sexual harassment in the New Year celebrations at the square, and violence towards buildings during some demonstrations all in one basket as vandalism and a kind of vengeance against the society, societal antagonism. The ethnic discrimination comes into play when he adds that 90% of them come from a single region but cares not to give a city name. Therefore one way or another, Anatolian immigrants make up one undesirable group of TRS for some interviewees.

Tarlabaşı, a district in Beyoğlu, is wasted –on top of its already being isolated from Beyoğlu via Tarlabaşı Boulevard constructed in the 1980's-- by some interviewees as they share their expectations about the place and their comments on the place users. These interviewees see Tarlabaşı as the home of immigrants from the East --which is true for post-1960's-- who send their hungry children to Beyoğlu in the morning, and whose children thus have the higher risk of falling into the hands of mafia (tunnel employee). This is approximately the story tailored for these 'strangers' if not stigmatized as terrorists, thinner-addicts, murderers –"those coming from here and there, side regions and thinner-addicts stabbed a tourist in Taksim last year"-- or thieves. Interestingly the interviewees seem to echo the dominant discourse when they say for example: "Every single place in there should be a culture center. I mean, it should be a vast culture valley. For instance, there are many dumpsites in Tarlabaşı, demolish them at your will and build the hotels there instead of the square" (corsetiere, 49, male) let alone the paradox of a wish for a culture valley at the expense of Tarlabaşı people's –some of them even being stigmatized as

"Kasımpaşa gypsies"-- culture. The social profile composed of local or foreign tourists and well-off residents preferred in Tarlabaşı by the corsetiere against the current inhabitants of the place points at a double discrimination of the Anatolian immigrants both in terms of social-class and ethnicity. This is the point where the economic interests of the urban management and the local petit-bourgeoisie match and result in the common discourse against the undesirables of the place. And the embodied form of this discourse is in this case, the Tarlabaşı project as one example, along many others, of the prevailing urban meaning (Castells) that governs Istanbul for almost 20 years by now.

Three interviewees bring an opposite viewpoint to the issue of the recognized owners and undesirables of TRS. While the first group directed their criticisms to the noncivilized, non-adaptive, and thus, unsuitable Anatolian immigrants for the place, these interviewees criticize the elitism of the place itself based on the elitist groups putting it into elitist uses. According to them, there is therefore a structural or better to say, spatial dimension to the exclusion issue in the case of TRS and what they are actually pointing at here as an elitist and exclusionary place that is, a place that deters some societal groups from using or existing in it, is Atatürk Culture Center (AKM), the massive modern structure that houses the opera beside other cultural facilities like exhibition halls. The retired teacher (65, male, born in Urfa) explains his disapproval of the place as:

> There is AKM, it didn't do any good…I am a teacher and I like such things but I went there probably twice during my whole 30-40 years here…They stage too classical things that are disconnected from the public…The level of Turkey is not suitable for it anyway. In Turkey, there are few people who know Western music. If asked, everyone would say, they like it but there are few who sincerely know and like it. That place doesn't answer the public at all.

The artist (69, male, living in Istanbul since the age of 11) thinks that AKM was not used suitably to its purpose and it has never become a popular place regularly used by people because it hosted more elitist things like the opera, ballet, and to some extent, painting exhibitions. The architect (55, male, Istanbul) supports this elitist, non-public argument and generalizing this for the entire Republican project and claims that people feels closer to even a private store selling cultural goods on İstiklal Street than AKM with "the black Mercedes" parked in front of it.

The common point in all the three comments above is the nowadays widespread elitism critique to the Turkish Republic and its various reforms including culture e.g., music. This is

a big, separate discussion with multiple dimensions about the relationship of a revolution with culture. I will here suffice to call attention to the professions of the interviewees, who criticize the function of AKM –closed for approximately 2 years by now, perhaps we could say, by the excluded of the place. They are a (retired) teacher, a well-known artist, and an architect, so the upper, well-educated members of the society. Looking at this picture, these people are perhaps right in claiming that the culture reforms are not embraced by people.

There seems to come up from the comments of the interviewees several binary oppositions with regard to the recognized owners and the undesirables of TRS such as Istanbulian-Anatolian, tourist-local, young-old, progressive-conservative, and wealthy-poor where the first words indicate the recognized owners and the second words indicate the undesirables of TRS. A group of interviewees replace them with their reciprocal summarized as public-elitist, where the first word indicates the recognized owner and the second indicates the undesirable. Nevertheless, the binary opposition is still there and not deconstructed fully.

4.4. The Coexistence of Cosmopolitanism and Hostility

Considering the reproduction of the discourse of power by some of the interviewees and the resulting discriminative undertone in their speech acts towards the Other of the place, it becomes even more interesting to hear them talk about the cosmopolitanism of Taksim, metropolitan Istanbul –"No dear, they (all kinds of people) should come of course. Here is after all a metropolitan city" (flower-seller, 54, male)-- and how much they enjoy watching the diversity of the passing people while sipping from their tea or coffee cups. In this part, following the debate on the recognized owners and undesirables of TRS according to the interviewees, the paradoxical situation of the coexistence of cosmopolitanism taken in terms of people's variety and hostility at TRS is underlined by resorting to the comments of the interviewees about the cosmopolitanism of TRS plus their comments and observed behaviors bearing signs of hostility towards strangers and by giving references to Sennett (1994).

The interviewees mostly agree with the cosmopolitan image of Istanbul, which is also observable at the scale of Taksim. Nevertheless, their approach to this cosmopolitanism of TRS, mainly used for referring to the people's diversity found at the place, differs. They sometimes use the cosmopolitan character of TRS as an excuse to disapprove the political usage of the square –"There are many cosmopolitan people here, so many people. Mixed;

it sees to a little incite to create trouble" (underwear seller, 53, male). At other times, cosmopolitanism of TRS is seen as pleasantness to enjoy by watching the diversity of people visiting there –"sitting on the floor I watch people passing by. Very different people pass … Sometimes someone meets someone else. I observe them. When they see each other from a distance, they run to each other, I don't do such things (laughs)" (faculty member, 58, male) or "Not in Burger (King) but the simit seller there, I prefer to sit at its terrace, as close as possible to the window and watch the people passing by, I always like it" (psychological consultant, 43, female). Some even seize on this cosmopolitan attribute of the place as a moral booster to cheer up at personally hard times –"You see there all; crying, smiling, laughing, I don't know what, somersaulting. And if I go there when I have personal problems … I say (to myself) Merve, what is your problem compared to those (people)" (waitress, 24).

For another interviewee, the cosmopolitanism of the place is a barrier against the consolidation of the place users at a common identity. This is how I actually observed the situation, directly in the actions of my interviewees and indirectly through other people found at the square during my implementation of the questionnaire. I gained insight into the coexistence of cosmopolitanism and hostility first, after my second interview, with the faculty member (58, male), as we were walking together from a café close to the square towards the subway. The moment we climbed the side street and arrived at İstiklal Street, my interviewee doubled up with laughter at the appearance of a blond woman dressed in dashy clothing with heavy make-up, pointing her to the startled me and asking if I have seen her. This behavior could be evaluated as hostility directed to an unaware stranger in the street, who is exposed to such a reaction only because of being and looking different. My second annoying experience in this regard, is when I made a questionnaire to an apparently gay coiffeur at the square and after a few minutes; male children surrounded us both, in a sneering curiosity. And then there are of course those comments made incidentally during the interviews that further prove the simultaneous presense of cosmopolitanism and hostility at TRS such as:

> … Taksim Square is a very cosmopolitan place; not only (from) one section of the society but all gender and models exist there. In our alumni meetings, old friends ask where I work and I say to them, Look; I work at the place where the third gender and prostitutes are most abundant (tramway chief, 55, male).

This cosmopolitanism-strangeness binary condition at TRS resembles the situation described by Sennett (1994) in his closing chapter titled "Civil Bodies: Multicultural New

York," (355-376) where he argues for Village, NY that difference and indifference exist there side by side and only variety does not encourage people to interact (357). He develops this argument by referring to the "inevitable (sociological) truth" of people not embracing difference that may come up in the form of a blonde woman in dashy clothing and heavy make up walking in Taksim, difference leading to hostility and the best thing to hope for being limited to create a practice of tolerance in the daily life (358). His question, which follows and is very much in line with the basic question of this study, is whether a citizenship culture could be formed from human differences and how this citizenship culture based on variety could become something that people would feel to the bone (359). Sennett argues for moral pain and its acceptance as the only viable means for feeling sympathy towards the Other (375-376) and thus, for a citizenship culture. Nevertheless this unification looks very difficult as one considers that,

> When verbal connections between strangers in the modern city are difficult to sustain, the impulses of sympathy which individuals may feel in the city looking at the scene around them become in turn momentary—a second of response looking at snapshots of life (Sennett 1994, 358).

This comment of Sennett very much describes the spectator condition of my interviewees, who actually seem to prefer watching the diversity of people, creating the cosmopolitanism of the place, instead of any verbal communication with them. Sennett also mentions in the same article about a categorizing look applied by people as a means to minimize contact with others, accompanied with a fear to touch that all together had resulted in the Venetian Ghetto at one extreme case in history (366). This is perhaps the kind of look that the interviewees of this study have against the strangers they see at TRS e.g., a prostitute, a homosexual, a transvestite, that sometimes appears as direct thoughts and acts of hostility.

4.5. Consumerism Shown as Cosmopolitanism and Multiculturalism

I would also like to connect this discussion of cosmopolitanism over Taksim with an article of Zizek on multiculturalism. Under the multiculturalism subtitle, Zizek defines multiculturalism as the ideal ideology of global capitalism and draws parallels between Western cultural imperialism ("traditional imperialist colonialism") and multiculturalism ("global capitalist self-colonization") and after that, between multiculturalism and racism. The latter could provide us with some explanation to the coexistence of cosmopolitanism –

which could be interpreted as the condition of open exposure to multiculturalism-- and hostility with regard to Taksim. Zizek's explanation for multiculturalism and the multiculturalist, which could be deemed as closely associated concepts with cosmopolitanism and the cosmopolitan, is as follows:

> … Multiculturalism is a disavowed, inverted, self-referential form of racism, a 'racism with a distance'—it 'respects' the Other's identity, conceiving the Other as a self-enclosed 'authentic' community towards which he, the multiculturalist, maintains a distance rendered possible by his privileged universal position. (Zizek)

I think this aspect of multiculturalism handled by Zizek, explains in a way why multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism –both far away from an universal citizenship for instance, due to their chosen emphasis on respecting and being exposed to people's differences-- inevitably fall short of making people meet both physically and emotionally or in Sennett's (1994) words, making them "feel to the bone" the citizenship culture, and they can coexist with hostility.

In addition to this close tie between the heavy emphasis on cultures (multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism, ethnic, religious identities, etc.) and discrimination of all kinds, there is one more important point about the real nature of multiculturalism Zizek brings up in his article that is:

> After this the problematic of multiculturalism—the hybrid coexistence of diverse cultural life-worlds—which imposes itself today is the form of appearance of its opposite, of the massive presence of capitalism as universal world system: it bears witness to the unprecedented homogenization of the contemporary world. (Zizek)

I argue the same for cosmopolitanism as the interviewees of this study see it, because what seems to them as people's diversity seems to be actually a homogeneity based on the common identity of the consumer. Not citizenship, not class, and not even the (multi)cultural identities but consumerism, the consumer culture and its conformism fostered in the area as a managerial policy during the last period after 1990, might be the largest common denominator that 'brings together' the current users of TRS. I read this for example from the comment of the publishing employee (35, male) on the emptiness of going to Taksim as being solely a reflection of the popular culture. Likewise, the same sensation arises when the public officer (50, female) says that TRS in its current usage matters (only) as a meeting point and for enjoying or consuming things.

According to the questionnaire applied for this study at TRS, the respondents seem to make less emphasis on a common consumer identity occurring at the place. From the 71 spoken users of TRS, 9 of them think that consumption dominates the aura at the current square, only following transport, wandering and recreation, and a touristic place. Furthermore, the mean score of a commercial place for consumption as a place attribute is 3.01 (over a 5-point scale) compared to a place of transport (3.28), place of touristic esplanade (3.20), place of pleasure and recreation (2.96). The mean score for a cosmopolitan place is 3.13 compared to 2.83 for a citizenship place. A fast-food place associated with consumption, scores 3.00 that is, neither from the most descriptive nor the least attributes.

There could be several explanations to why most respondents do not include a commercial place for consumption to the most descriptive characteristics of TRS. The outcome could have been different if the question was asked as İstiklal Street housing many shops rather than TRS which lacks too much of an appeal in this sense; it does not have a shopping center –not yet, many cafes, or movie theatres directly on itself. Besides, when people attribute to TRS qualities like transport place, a place of wandering and recreation, and touristic place, all these prominent attributes actually involve the element of consumption –this point is also related to the varying meaning of consumption for different people. While it may be that they do not attach much consumerist character to TRS, it may also be because of feeling more as a cosmopolitan than a conformist consumer and if it is so this would indicate the need for more confrontations made possible through some outside stimuli like cultural products.

4.6. The Degree of Publicness

Before closing the SES chapter, one last area to look at is the question of publicness that is, whether Taksim Republican Square (TRS) is public enough as a public square. This is a question that will be taken in hand also in the following form-usage and meaning chapters. In this chapter, it is analyzed based on the socio-economic variety of the users of TRS and so, the accessibility of the place for a wide array of societal groups. For this purpose, some categorized information on the SES of the in-depth interviewees and questionnaire respondents is provided in more detail as a continuum of the tables and information summarizing the profile of the study participants at the end of the Methodology chapter.

The in-depth interviewees are composed of several groups of people in terms of their relationship to TRS: 1) Shop owners on İstiklal Street e.g., 4th generation underwear-seller,

seventy nine years-long shoe-seller, fabric tradesman, corsetiere-seller, stationery seller 2) People working in Beyoğlu and mainly Taksim and İstiklal Street e.g., civil servant at Istanbul Electric Tramway and Tunnel Establishments General Directorate (İETT), helper in the drugstore, flower-seller, waitress, publishing employee 3) Visitors 4) People living in or close to the area e.g., artist, faculty member, again underwear seller, architect, again publishing employee, photographer.

The place of birth of the in-depth interviewees remains mostly outside Istanbul, even though they have been living in the city for long years now. They came to Istanbul from all kinds of places including Adana, Manisa, Sinop, Kırcaali-Bulgaria, Urfa-Siverek, Niğde, Sivas, Samsun-Çarşamba, Uşak-Ulubey, Sakarya, and Trabzon-Of. Those who were born in Istanbul are limited to: the Roman flower-seller –lives with a household of six in Kuştepe which houses among other Anatolian immigrants, also a Roman community; the piano teacher –the daughter of a retired colonel, she used to live in Kadıköy-Moda ("Modalıyım") in her youth; the public officer –born and raised in Zeytinburnu; Jewish fabric tradesman – "(Galata) Kuledibi is where I was born and raised. I go there. I cannot ignore"; the second-hand book-seller –born and "feels most happy" in Eyüp, the son of a retired military officer.

The in-depth interviewees who were born in Istanbul, interestingly have a strong neighborhood identity that comes to the fore vis-à-vis the urbanite or citizen identity, as reflected in the below comment of the second-hand book-seller (63, male) whose work career –being a second-hand book seller since 1966 in Eyüp, Beyazıt, and Beyoğlu, respectively-- shows a similar continuity and attachment (like the father Enrico in Sennett's *The Corrosion of Character*) as well. This smaller place attachment of some interviewees might be an important point to consider when thinking about the degree of interaction and togetherness achieved at TRS as a city square among these people, who apparently build their personal identities over different place identities at the more local level.

> Now, the place where I am most happy is Eyüp. I find peace there. It is the place that affects me, the place where I was born and raised. Sometimes I get very bored; my father's grave is in Edirnekapı. If the weather is nice, I go and lie on it. The soil takes away all the electricity, I relax. After there, I come down to Eyüp where I wander beautifully. I say my Fatiha prayer. Then I go and eat a nice pide in the pide-maker. Eyüp's pide is really nice. But you will eat at the second shop when you enter the market place, not at the first one. It's written, 1960 on its name plate. Plus, I don't quite like going out of the city walls; I don't like Kadıköy or Üsküdar.

To provide some examples for the places of residence of the in-depth interviewees, matched with their current occupation, the pharmacist but now an ephemera collectioner lives with his family of three in Bakırköy –a district having 15 neighborhoods ranging from Ataköy, Yeşilköy to Kartaltepe and where Republican Party (CHP) gained +50% votes in 2007 elections and 72.91% voted "No" in 2010 constitution referendum. The faculty member lives alone in Gayrettepe, Beşiktaş that previously had mulberry tree gardens until 1950s and now functions as an area of city hotels for business people and work places. The corsetiere, waitress –together with her 2 flat mates, and the stationery seller live in Kurtuluş, Şişli –called Tatavla during its inhabitation by Greek who were masters in shipbuilding, shoemaking, or as firefighters during the Ottoman and its name changed to Kurtuluş after 1923. The Jewish fabric tradesman from Galata, Beyoğlu currently lives in Ulus –Beşiktaş's district having "decent" housing complexes and Ulus Park with a view of the Bosporus-- with his wife since their children had already left home. The interviewees with more creative works like the young publishing employee, photographer, and the artist live in Beyoğlu, in Galata-Tünel, Cihangir, and Asmalımescit, respectively. These neighborhoods in Beyoğlu are in a process of rapid gentrification nowadays and so changing faces. The Bulgaria-origin –jokes "I know Russian as far as getting beaten up"-- tramway chief whose occupation is mechanical engineering lives in a family apartment where his mother lives on the first storey and he and his wife on the second in Gaziosmanpaşa –a newer district that grew through squatter houses (gecekondu) with immigration to Istanbul and so houses people with agricultural-background, today occupied usually in craftsmanship and small trade. Overall, there seems to be a match among people's occupation, their family background and their place of living e.g., the Jewish tradesman born and raised in Galata and owning a fabric shop in Beyoğlu now lives in Ulus, an upscale district with a private Jewish high school.

The questionnaire respondents were also born in different parts of Turkey although they all live in Istanbul today. The number of birth in the Marmara region (Istanbul, Edirne, Çanakkale, Kırklareli) equals to 39 (N: 71) respondents. The number of participants who were born in other regions of Turkey is as follows: 8 from Eastern Anatolia region; 7 from Black Sea region; 4 participants from central Anatolian region; 4 from Southeastern Anatolia region; 3 from Aegean region; 2 from Mediterranean region; and, 3 from abroad (Germany and Austria). The places of residence in Istanbul of the questionnaire respondents are categorized into the districts as follows: Kadıköy (12 e.g., Acıbadem,

Bostancı, Erenköy, Kızıltoprak, Göztepe, Moda); Beyoğlu (7 e.g., Taksim, Cihangir); Fatih (6 e.g., Çapa, Fındıkzade, Samatya); Şişli (5 e.g., Elmadağ, Esentepe, Kurtuluş, Nişantaşı); Bahçelievler (4); Bağcılar, Sarıyer (Emirgan, Tarabya), Beşiktaş (Etiler, Levent, Ulus), Kağıthane (Gültepe), Üsküdar (3 each); Bakırköy (Ataköy), Avcılar, Bayrampaşa, Beykoz, Beylikdüzü, Kartal (Yakacık), Güngören (Merter), Zeytinburnu (2 each); Ataşehir, Başakşehir-Bahçeşehir, Eyüp, Gaziosmanpaşa, Maltepe (Küçükyalı), Ümraniye (1 each).

In terms of the size of households, most of the in-depth interviewees have nucleus families of three (6 interviewees). It is followed by households with four members (5), one (4) and two people (4) households are equal in number. There are only 2 interviewees with household populations equal to or more than five –flower seller and shoe seller with an extended family including his daughter and grandchildren. Considering the household size figures for the questionnaire respondents, 24 (N: 71) respondents have four-people households. Three and five people households are equal in number, 12 people each. Then the size of household gets smaller; two-people households equal to 9 people of the sample and 8 people live on their own. There also exist more crowded households in the questionnaire sample composed of six-people (4 participants), seven-people household (1), and eight-people household (1).

The picture of the in-depth interviewee's mother and father's level of education and occupation is that 1/21 mothers have university certificate compared to 7 fathers. 13 mothers have only primary education certificates while this number is 7 for fathers. The mothers are mostly house wives (15) except 1 cook, 1 artist –the university graduate mother of the artist himself, whose university left-out father is a ceramic factory owner-- 1 hairdresser, and 2 farmers. The fathers are employed as soldiers (fathers of piano teacher, second-hand book seller from Eyüp, tunnel technician), bank employees (waitress, architect), civil servants (academician, psychological consultant), farmers (photographer, shoe seller), fisherman (fabric tradesman), newspaper seller (stationery seller), shop owners or tradesmen (corsetiere, underwear seller, drugstore helper, etc.), workers (publishing employee, tramway chief, flower seller) and railway technician (pharmacist/collectioner). Accordingly, there is a continuity of work between fathers and their children that is, the interviewees concentrate only in trades and to a degree in workmanship –from blue collar to service worker or associate professional.

Overall, despite the absence of strict quotas for sampling it seems that a certain degree of diversity is achieved in the samples by rule of thumb. Although it is not possible to

generalize from the emerging SES picture of the study participants that TRS is accessible for all people regardless of who they are in socio-economic and cultural terms and so, its being exactly a public square, looking at the range of occupations –from an architect, to a clinical research professional, confection worker, broker, hairdresser, student, pedlar, retired civil servant, age –ranging from 17 to 78, income –simultaneously including people having categories of incomes below 500TL and above 1500TL, educational level –ranging from illiterates or literate without formal education to postgraduates-- it is at least possible to argue that the place does not deter some groups of people from using it for various purposes. Nevertheless, to be able to make a wider generalization on the accessibility and publicness of TRS, there needs to be a larger sample to eliminate any possible selection biases.

5. THE THREE DIMENSIONS: FORM, USAGE AND MEANING

5.1. The Form

Webb (1990) defines a city square as "microcosms of urban life, offering excitement and repose, markets and public ceremonies, a place to meet friends and watch the world go by" (9). They all have distinctive shapes and personalities and are a specific form of public space where, in his words, *the day follows its predictable course*. He approaches the specific public space form of the city square as formed of three elements: people, an element making the squares "people's places" e.g., commuters, shoppers, children playing, old people exchanging gossip; places or place attractions e.g., cafés, weekly markets, cars; and, events e.g., periodical celebrations, fairs, *battles for democracy*. The events as the third element of city square form are studied in more detail under the usage title because events make up one basic usage of the square. Nonetheless, we could note here that the questionnaire respondents somewhat agree (mean: 4.51, standard deviation: 1.90 at a 7-point level of agreement scale) with the current square form's being appropriate for all kinds of socio-cultural activities. Even though 46 (N: 71) of the questionnaire respondents think that the present physical organization of TRS answers their usage needs and they somewhat agree (mean: 4.55, st. dev.: 1.75) to the current form of the square promoting people's usage, the TRS as a public space form is still highly criticized in many respects including its people elements –socialization, identity, and participation-- and place elements –scale, place attractions, traffic, city furniture, physical and natural elements, and architecture-- as detailed below.

5.1.1. Socialization, Identity, and Participation

While some interviewees question the city square quality of TRS highly, others seem to take it for granted making no reference to such a questioning. The publishing employee (35, male) belongs to the critics of TRS as a square and answers my question of what type of events would best suit to the spirit of it by saying that there is not anything to talk about as a spirit of the square –or personality in Webb (1990)-- in the case of Taksim. The publishing employee does not find this "lost" or "invaded" place likeable as a square basically because it changes a lot and does not make people –the first and foremost element of a successful city square-- meet. The questionnaire respondents think differently since 45 (N: 70) say that

the present physical organization answers their socialization needs; on the other hand, they remain neutral (mean: 4.31) to a sentence like the current square form is people-oriented.

TRS also fails, according to the publishing employee's reasons for dislike, in a second important function Webb (1990) attributes to city squares that is, providing these people with a sense of continuity or identity by functioning as an enduring physical reference point despite the passage of time and all the accompanying social changes. The publishing employee is supported by the questionnaire respondents who disagree (mean: 2.80, st. dev.:1.86) that the current square form has visual continuity. The importance of this continuity feeling is best described by the flâneurin civil servant (50) who cares about making a comparison of her "coordinates" with those of the people in the past so as to better see into the future both personally and socially. This for her requires two things at least: logic to make this kind of comparative thinking and physical reference points such as an old monument on a square to inspire such thinking. An unplanned urban change is thus a threat to this kind of assessment of personal and social coordinates to the degree that it ignores the identity-developing role of places such as squares in people's lives. The questionnaire respondents remain neutral (mean: 3.83, st. dev.: 1.96) about the current square form's quality of creating a feeling of belonging.

Instead of providing people with a historical reference point to compare their situation against and so reformulate their identity, the present TRS is itself subject to comparison both with its own past and other squares particularly abroad. At the wider scale TRS is compared with the European squares –"I mean it is not a Piccadilly Circus, a Times Square, a Trafalgar and so on" (faculty member). The retired teacher (65, male) argues that TRS is not a square in the sense public can gather together there but it is the state that uses it. His notion of a European and genuine square is an empty space, surrounded by cafés, closed to traffic –Webb calls it a pedestrian-friendly habitat, and used by the citizens for sitting, promenading, and the like. He is perhaps right when we lend an ear to what a columnist, writing on Sundays from Munich, says about the Marien Square:

> One way or another, one bears witness to many things on Marien Square at the weekends… Plenty of examples of different life profiles… Beggars, statues alive, Roman musicians, tourists among people with shopping frenzy take the lead nowadays. Talkative Italians, curious Japanese, and Arabic tourists… Those taking a tour of the city with yellow double deckers hang out mostly in Marien Square, too. (Özkan)

As a continuum to the people dimension of the city square, Webb (1990) also argues that city squares enable *people's participation* to the life of the city. They are paradoxically places, where the day follows its predictable course but at the same time, containing the fundamental urban experience of surprises unlike for instance the 'hygienic' and controlled environments of shopping malls. These qualities are connected to city squares' being living places rendering people part of this livelihood as witnesses if not active doers. Such living place quality is what the faculty member (58, male) underlines when he expresses his expectations from a city square and Taksim Republican Square (TRS) as follows:

> The *distinctive* quality of TRS is its being called a square when it actually isn't. That is, square is to be used. I mean, you promenade, walk, hang around, meet, bill and coo, do shopping, join an event, a concert for example, buy a book, say hello to someone, greet another, sit and watch or read a newspaper.

and "That (TRS) should be a living place". His expression gives clues of how people could actually have participated in life if TRS was itself a "living place". The questionnaire respondents are also indecisive (mean: 4.20, st. dev.: 1.79) about the current square form's activating the user rather than making them passive. Considering all these critisims of TRS as a specific form of public space with respect to its people element, we could argue that TRS is not a "people's place" that answers the human need to socialize.

5.1.2. Scale and Place Attractions

Considering TRS as a public space form in terms of its place elements, the scale issue which is very much linked to the form of the square is important to create a vivid, people's place vis-à-vis a monumental, dead zone. Webb (1990) argues for the small against gigantic, over-planned and monumental squares and supports his argument of *small is beautiful* through examples from the neighborhood plazas of Paris and Barcelona, pointing at the high user intensity in those small and hidden places in the city. The faculty member (58, male) who also lived the TRS of 1970s finds the square back then much more civilized, smaller in scale and without any subway or high hotels. This memory is referred to by him as "in those days, the square was a square" vis-à-vis "Taksim (which) is not a square any more, I think".

Albeit not an interviewee, my sister (31) who is also a user of TRS, has recently made a comment related to this scale issue. She made a comparison of TRS and Galata square saying that the latter is to be considered more as a square used by and appealed to people than the first. At the time she shared this evaluation we were exactly on Galata square on a

day during Kurban Bayram in November, 2010 and her words made me look around just to see at a glance: people sitting on the banks near Galata Tower –which could be regarded as an identity-creating physical mark or monument even, and a link with the past as in Webb's understanding; other people drinking and chatting –for which Webb (1990) uses the word, gossiping—at an open-air traditional café/"kahvehane" at the leg of the tower with impolite waiters; tourists standing and taking pictures with the hope to capture –or appropriate-- the historical atmosphere of the place; cafés conditioned a little further but still viewing the square; then again shops in the close surrounding.

My sister seemed to be right since this smaller plaza of Galata Tower offered much more attractions as another place element of the city square form, all at once as opposed to the larger TRS lacking useable and attractive places. The publishing employee (35, male) expresses this lack of attractions on TRS by saying that all kinds of people come to Taksim and so to Taksim square; else, the square itself does not have any attractiveness, in his opinion. The artist (69, male, lives in Asmalımescit-Beyoğlu) connects TRS's deficiency of centers of attraction against the "Western metropolises" with its turning slowly into a place of transition. This is also the reason he claims, for people not using TRS except for public protests. And this is probably the reason why the shoe-seller (76, male) claims "neither a tree nor nothing but a park-like thing from a corner of Anatolia is what remains". The faculty member (58, male) points at the Republic Monument, as a potential center of attraction and so in his opinion it should be made more visible.

Again with regard to the place attractions on TRS, the underwear seller (53, male) argues that there is nothing to see when one comes to Taksim than snack bars, döner, lahmacun and refers to the squares abroad with youth sitting on its steps –he probably has the Spanish steps in Piazza di Spagna, Rome in mind. He thinks that the youth therefore gets lost in side streets of Beyoğlu or events like sexual harassment in the New Year happen since they do not have a chance to socialize on the city square due to a lack of place attractions. This kind of logic is in a way true because experiencing differences more often may increase the chances of better societal communication and interaction instead of people creating their bodily ghettos in the city as argued by Sennett (1994). In this way, those events called vandalism by the tramway chief (55, male) may diminish or stop being called as such, being seen with different eyes.

The retired teacher sees one barrier against the existence of places of attraction like cafés, parks, and restaurants for leisure on TRS as the expensiveness of land rent and its reflecting into prices of goods sold to the individual citizen such as the price of a cup of tea in the Marmara café that leads him to ask: How could especially a student go there? His comment underlines the economic aspect of the non-existence of place of attractions on TRS. Interestingly interviewees, except the corsetiere (49, male) who takes his children to McDonalds there, do not count fast-food restaurants at the entry of Cumhuriyet Street very close to the square as place attractions; either because they are not seen as part of the square or as eating places satisfying their expectations of quality. Looking at these comments about the place elements of a city square as a specific public space form, TRS is neither very small as Webb (1990) points out for the neighborhood plazas of Europe nor possesses enough place attractions to achieve a certain degree of user intensity.

5.1.3. Traffic and City Furniture

The place element of the city square is not only limited to the existence of eating and drinking places at the square; there is also to be considered traffic, city furniture, green areas, architecture dimensions of it –related to some aims of city squares such as making the city more green, pointing at important buildings, and creating a pedestrian-friendly habitat (Webb 1990)-- in addition to the form and location of the square. And TRS seems to fail in these respects as well too much to have a good image–"It's not an appropriate place for me" (faculty member, 58, male).

Firstly, transport seems to be sole function of the place at present e.g., "continuous changes after the mid-1990s, bus stop this and that, it has become as if a transport center rather than a square" (publishing employee, 35, male). This label of TRS as transport center influences people's use of it e.g., "I pass (there) while coming to İstiklal. I come out of the subway or use it as a central stop to go somewhere" (psychological consultant, 43, female) as well as the people themselves e.g., "those, who come here to the square nowadays, use the subway and to subway, people from slum areas come, they come from Levent, Gayrettepe, Şişli. They have nothing in common; especially, on Saturdays and Sundays" (faculty member, 58, male). The fabric tradesman (78) sticks out when he argues that in case TRS is made a pedestrian area as wished by most of the interviewees, it will become midden because it would then lose the wealthy people, who like to reach to their destinations by car. The questionnaire respondents are indecisive or neutral (mean: 4.11,

st. dev.: 2.04) about the current square form's providing pedestrians with freedom of movement.

Another problem concerning the physical organization or form of TRS is the lack of city furniture. The questionnaire respondents are half-way (mean: 3.51, st. dev. 2.03) between disagreement and staying neutral i.e., neither agree nor disagree in respect of the adequateness of city furniture in the current square form. For this reason, some of the interviewees, who enjoy watching people coming to TRS while waiting for a friend and so on, mention sitting on the pavement at several points like the entrance of subway, in front of Garanti Bank next to The Marmara Hotel, or private places like the terrace of a simit 'palace', for doing so. If there were some banks, they might have sit on them instead of the dirty pavement; therefore, these comments give some clue about the need for more city furniture at the place. The shoe-seller (76, male) with his anger against the government and hopelessness about any change for the better cuts in by indicating the problem: "I mean, you walk on that square, is there a place to sit when you get tired?" The faculty member (58, male) adds on it by connecting the non-usability of the square with its deficiency in city furniture. The non-existence of banks makes the underwear seller (53, male) comment that the square, which used to be more usable, now has to be invaded by people.

This scene of TRS very much resembles what Carr et al. (1992) would describe as underuse due to inappropriate design and management of a plaza. These authors' argument is that inadequate seating, together with the other place elements of the comfort need like shelter or toilets, limits the "symbolic access" to the public space that is it gives out the message that people's extensive use is not welcome. Accordingly we could argue that TRS as a specific public space form, city square, has limited symbolic access because of its failure in the place elements including traffic and street furniture.

5.1.4. Green Areas

Carr et al. (1992) categorize the needs in public space into five basic needs: comfort; relaxation; socialization; active and passive engagement; and, discovery. The comfort of a public space involves mainly physical elements like shelter, seating, toilets, and visual accessibility for security whereas the relaxation need requires natural elements like trees or water.

41 (N: 71) of the questionnaire respondents stated "no" to the question whether the present physical organization of the square, TRS, answers their comfort needs and 51

answered “no” for their relaxation needs. In terms of the engagement and discovery needs, 39 (N: 71) of the questionnaire respondents said “yes” to the question of whether the present physical organization of TRS answers their self-realization –by learning new things—needs. They also disagreed (mean: 2.65, st. dev.: 1.63) that the current square form is sufficient in terms of natural elements. There is actually Taksim Gezi Park at TRS falling behind the bus stops that create a chaotic atmosphere quite opposite of relaxation in the entry to the park. The park apparently does not fulfill the needs of the interviewees except the flower-seller (54, male) with lower expectations i.e., “for example, you go out to the park and sit. There is tea garden, how beautiful”. A couple of them refer to its insecurity especially at night about which the faculty member (58, male) claims: “Besides, if it were a living space, the park behind it would also live; you can’t pass through that park at night you know. They would rob you, I mean. It doesn’t live.” This non-living space remark of him resembles the *vitality* –whether the settlement form answered the vital life functions such as the biological-- criterion of Lynch (1981) for goodness of a place. In addition, considering that security, operationalized as visual accessibility in Carr et al. (1992), is regarded as a significant aspect of the comfort need in public spaces TRS fails in that sense when evaluated in terms of the user comfort.

The symbolic access notion used by Carr et al. (1992) to refer to the unspoken message of the management of a public space, conveying the meaning that extensive use is not welcome there, particularly through inappropriate design creates according to the authors a vicious circle of underuse and misuse. They explain this vicious circle of underuse-misuse with the increase of deviant users and the reciprocal decrease or determent of the legitimate users. Even though this duality of deviant vs. legitimate user is open to discussion, the retired teacher (65, male) states something about Taksim Gezi Park, quite similar to this kind of thinking:

> There is here a Taksim Park that nobody goes. They couldn’t make a modern atmosphere in our parks. Winos go there at the moment. I pass through there at most when I have a work to do, to go and sit… However, it is a nice place… Here 3 banks, go and sit in a row. It’s neither a comfortable place nor a secure place. Of course, if the citizen goes this insecurity vanishes. The wino goes there because he finds it comfortable but if there are normal people, crowds around, that wino won’t go there…Nice place but inappropriately used.

About the appropriate usage, the questionnaire respondents neither agree nor disagree (mean: 4.33, st. dev. 1.91) to the current form of TRS being appropriate for the place's purpose of use.

One last important point made about the Gezi Park by the interviewees is this time related to the notion of rights on public space of Carr et al. (1992) that include: physical, visual, and symbolic access; freedom of action; claim; change; and, ownership. While the questionnaire respondents somewhat agree (mean: 5.49) that the current square form is appropriate for the users' access, the comment made by the publishing employee in respect of Taksim Gezi Park approaches the right to claim and the right to ownership from this list. He thinks that the park, albeit being so central to the city, is not used by people as a place to relax. Instead, it is used for the activities of municipality or by the police. Therefore, it is not a place that he goes or he thinks others go very willingly despite its somewhat agreed accessibility. To read his comment in Carr et al.'s (1992) terms, the park is not suitable for or open to different groups' control and coexistence that is, it gives no rights to claim. Moreover, since the official users dominate the place in terms of usage, ordinary people do not have a two-way sense of belonging, belonging to the place and the place belonging to them or being their place. Another example of this seizure of people's right to ownership, here not by other users but a structure as a political symbol, is provided by the shoe seller (76, male) saying: "You walk on that square, is there a place to sit when you get tired? There is only the sink of Gezi Park. Not only that, they even attempted to build a mosque there."

5.1.5. Architecture

Another aim of the city square mentioned by Webb (1990) is pointing at important buildings which further constitute the *place elements* of a city square. Lynch's (1981) definition of the square or plaza as one settlement form among many also includes its enclosure typically by high-rise buildings. TRS also had and still has some buildings with social significance and the idea of others e.g., the intended mosque that are again socially relevant making hot topics for public debate.

The present structural elements of TRS go back to the early Republic when the square is formed with the opening of the Monument. The retired teacher in respect to this argues that there is not much of a building on Taksim Square before the Republic except the water storage (maksem) and the French Consulate but he is partially wrong. There is for example,

Taksim artillery barracks, constructed during the early 19th century, functioned as Taksim Stadium after the Republic before its being replaced by Taksim Gezi Park in the late 1930s according to Prost's plan. The retired teacher is however right if he means that the area does not have the quality of a city square before the Republic.

When asked about the historical traces at the square, a few interviewees shared their resentment about the barracks' being destructed both because of its architectural beauty and the neglected condition of the substituting park, which as an empty space also adds to the square's loss of "a sense of volume architecturally" (Ergüvenç n.d.). The publishing employee interprets the barracks' destruction as an example of the ugly development of the city similar to Tarlabaşı Boulevard later and suggests that it could have been made into a university if it stayed but it is left only in the postcards. The ephemera collectioner (59, male) also regrets the destruction of the barracks as well as other historical places in Taksim like the old cemeteries asking what the banks composed of glass and steel constructions are doing in Taksim. He puts his concern into words as:

> I am not against civilization, modernity but I wish a district would have stayed in its old condition. None of them are protected: Bebek; Samatya, etc. With its architectural pattern, its cobblestone … A grandfather could tell his grandchild that Taksim used to be like this and that but can't show an example; it only stayed in postcards and old periodicals.

Some other buildings that are demolished during and after the process of Taksim's becoming a square include houses such as the ones preceding Atatürk Culture Center (AKM), Osmanlı Bankası, Kristal Gazinosu, and many other buildings preceding Tarlabaşı Boulevard.

The water reservoir (maksem) dates back to the 18th c. and still is found on TRS near the Republic Monument, functioning as a museum since 2008. It is usually the first reference made by the interviewees when I ask them for the first connotation of Taksim Square. After replying as "maksem" for the first connotation, interviewees have the common habit of continuing with the known fact that the square's name comes from the "maksem". Another common point made is the analogy between Taksim at present as the place where people come together and diffuse and the "maksem" that had the same function for city water in the past. People are generally satisfied with its being made into the Republic museum except the architect (55, male), who finds it anachronistic as he argues that the Republic Monument is in the new Ottoman style. Apart from the building itself the water fountain

outside it, simply called “waters” by the users, used to be alive and formed a place of attraction in the earlier days for people. For example, the new comers from Anatolia took pictures there or people celebrated national holidays and primarily the Republic day e.g., “In the Republic days, waters sprang out at the square, we would go to watch the waters. Now the youth listens to music,” (fabric tradesman, 78). Today, in front of once upon a time water fountain, the police buses protected behind the barricades are located most of the time, and therefore limit the access to the “waters” and even render it a target spot of terrorization.

Another historical building surrounding TRS is the late 19th c. Aya Triada Church in Taksim, Meşelik Street, in place of old Greek and Orthodox cemeteries. The form of the church located inside a close, is a domed basilica in the style of 18th century European Eclectic Architecture (“Aya Triada Kilisesi (Taksim)”). The ephemera-collectioner (59, male) likes the church and suggests:

> The government is after a mosque in the square. There is a magnificent church; snack bars block its view. It should be made visible. Not for the sake of reconciliation of religions or something but because it is a valuable architectural and historical work. If we are to make the tourists happy, and we should.

The artist (69, male) interprets the construction of the snack bars and other altitudes in front of the church as intended by the governing bodies to prevent the church silhouette from dominating the square’s view:

> … It is a nice church as well. Therefore the church view’s dominating the square is of course unacceptable for a majorly Muslim community. This is why the idea of constructing a bigger mosque opposite it emerged…Today they resist a lot to the construction of mosques in Europe you see! Switzerland, this-and-that. They all would because mosques would then dominate the city’s silhouette.

The Taksim mosque project is read by almost all of the interviewees as a power struggle for symbolic capital but it is also an empty signifier to the extent that its rival is defined in different terms including the church, the Republic Monument, Atatürk Culture Center (AKM), the Republican regime or even, the country itself. Most interviewees see it as unnecessary, pretended, forced, and contradictory with the entertainment character of the region, in addition to their anticipation expressed below that it would be an aesthetic failure as most new ones:

> There are many mosques around, that are enough. I mean I am against such an idea visually because the new architecture is not nice … There is Kocatepe Mosque in Ankara, a modern mosque see. Maybe there is something in it but it doesn't mean anything to me. A new mosque will be just like that (psychological consultant, 43, female).

AKM is another massive and modern structure of glass and steel, enclosing fully one side of TRS. The construction of the building involves multiple stages and a long period of time starting with the commissioning to August Perret in the 1930s, continuing with its opening in the late 1960s (Merdim Yılmaz n.d.) and finishing for the moment with its closure in 2008 under the name of restoration, which comes to a deadlock due to the disputes among the institutions such as Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency, Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Chamber of Architects, and Union of Culture and Arts. The most damage is done to the 2 year-long homeless Istanbul State Opera and Ballet –Meral Menderes, one of the first opera singers of the institution, calling, "Save our opera from nomadism!" (Behramoğlu 2011)-- and the people, who were following the cultural activities at AKM.

Apart from comments in respect of the building's social function e.g., "We already lack a theatre culture … Of course it also has educational functions. There are theatre courses for children" (waitress, 24), its historicity e.g., "It's the AKM of years" (psychological consultant, 43, female), and symbolicism e.g., "I think some people don't approach to AKM, Muhsin Ertuğrul theatre very innocently. Of course rent and their whole problem is to settle accounts with the Turkish Republic" (tramway chief, 55, male), interviewees also express their likes or dislikes of the AKM's architectural structure.

The corsetiere (49, male) for instance, who envisages the square as a vast culture valley, argues that AKM is just on the right spot but is void of any aesthetic appeal. The drugstore helper (51, male) is another interviewee, who discards the opera building easily: "No, it doesn't have any special meaning at all. (It's) a concrete jungle, no big deal for me." The only interviewee, who seems to like AKM architecturally albeit criticizing its mission, is the artist (69, male), who expresses himself on this topic as:

> The building is not an ugly one; it's a well-constructed building. It is very functional too; I mean considering all its parts. It was made as a very modern and elegant structure and I think it still is. I don't adore it; it's simple but has the appearance of an elegant and modern building.

Similar to AKM, the Republic Monument forms another important architectural element of the square from the Republican era, which will also be handled in the meaning chapter of this study for its symbolicism. Here it is sufficient to mention that the fundamental

structural reference made to the Monument is about its non-monumental and human scale, a quality that makes up one good reason for the interviewees to like it. The scale of a monument, its enormousness vs. simplicity or modesty, is one important aspect to the theoretical debates on the violence or democratization of monuments. The faculty member (58, male) expresses it by saying: "Moreover its size is very, I mean the size of Atatürk is human sized, so there is no glorification". The artist's (69, male) comment on the other hand brings light to the scale-democratization of the monuments debate in the case of the Republic Monument: "It's a very interesting, very human-sized monument. It is a cute, nice monument. It is not a symbol of authority aiming at frightening, intimidating … Very humane and a monument built in elegant, nice magnitude." Therefore, the Republic Monument albeit having the figures of two Soviet generals on it, cannot be compared to the "the generally mammoth scale … of official post-Soviet Russian memorials" as Forest and Johnson (2002) put it.

TRS begins to deform starting with the Lütfi Kırdar operation based on Prost's plan back in the 1940s, continuing with the construction of the first high-rise buildings and opening of Tarlabaşı Boulevard in the second half of the 20th century until it ends up in its present, "not-a-square" like condition. The interviewees attribute the present appearance or form of the place or what is currently in hand as a city square to various causes including: lack of planning; economic rent overriding any other goal for management e.g., "What else do you expect from a mentality that claims for the grocery store's to close and supermarkets open?" (shoeseller, 76, male); "ideological struggle over buildings and places" and "the illness of exhaustion of vain efforts" (government officer, 50, female), and so on.

The outcome for TRS has been a visual discontinuity[7] "that subtracts from the identity creation function of the place" despite "we as people all need to use something as an address to apply, to see our coordinates and our future direction" (government officer, 50, female) and high degrees of visual pollution accompanying other types of pollution like noise. TRS as some of the interviewees also put it acquires its square quality with the establishment of the Monument in 1928. This fact belies arguments, at least partially, as the one made by the architect (55, male) while he was answering the question about the distinctiveness of TRS against other squares in Istanbul: "There is actually not a square. Do you think there is a Karaköy Square? Eminönü Square? ... There are actually mosque's

[7] Claire Berlinski describes the current visuality of Istanbul as "the aesthetic of contradiction between civilization and barbarity heightened by the ersatz baroque of the old architecture and the shocking ugliness of the new". (Berlinski)

things, pertaining to the imperial visuality or publicness, mosque courtyards." On the contrary, TRS actually has the totality and sense of volume architecturally of a square according to the written and visual documents when it is first organized. Nevertheless, it loses all these attributes in time remaining in its present, amorphic, and visually inaccessible structure while keeping alone its centrality.

5.2. The Usage

In this chapter of the study, the usage of TRS in the past, at present, and in the future that is, the square's desired usage, is analyzed based on the field data. I argue that as the use of the place –both in quality and amount—rises, more sense is also made of the place. In other words, it is expected that higher usage will contribute to the meaningfulness of the square for people. The use itself is argued to be linked to the appropriateness of square's form for experiencing it comfortably, which in turn, depends on the managerial approach towards the square. To check the level of truth in these interconnected arguments, I first turn to the use of TRS back in the old days, during the childhood and youth of my interviewees.

5.2.1. The Old Usage

Not all of the interviewees of this study have experienced TRS in their childhood or youth but some of them have and among these study participants having personal memories with regard to TRS, the ones who experienced it politically during their youth probably lead. The past political usage is then followed by the memories of some interviewees about TRS as a childhood space. The childhood uses or experiences of TRS by the interviewees include activities such as work and play at the square, ceremonies attended around the Monument with one's school, going to the opera and casinos with one's parents, and so on. The past political uses that correspond more to the period of youth, are grouped basically into three as comprised of interviewees, who used TRS politically in the past and continue to use it similarly today, others for whom May 1, 1977 demarcates the last political activity attended at the square, and finally those interviewees, who continue to use TRS politically but less enthusiastically than before.

Carr et al. (1992) uses the concept of "childhood spaces" to refer to one type of personal experience of a place that renders it meaningful for the person over creating individual connections or developing self-identity by means of a place identity. TRS is also used by

some interviewees in their childhood in addition to its political use during youth and so, creating in them some childhood memories. The childhood experiences regarding TRS of the in-depth interviewees are categorized basically into two as childhood uses of the interviewees, for whom TRS plays an important role for their personal identity development and others who only recall some snapshots of their childhood memories at TRS. The stationery seller (53, male), who represents the first category, used to be a paper boy at and around the square in his childhood. This is why he says for Taksim:

> Our life is Taksim, because we have always been there since our arrival in 1965. When we were doing this newspaper business, we were selling newspapers at Taksim square in our childhood. With newspapers in our hands, we would go and sell newspapers in the stadiums, on Taksim square, etc. … We were in this area; our childhood passed here, our life. Let's say, it is as if our village. … We used to play football at the square in our childhood.

Therefore, TRS in the past is both a place of ludens (play) and a place of work for him similar to the flower-seller (54, male), who has been working there for thirty five years since he was fourteen. Besides, for the stationery seller, Taksim represented whole Istanbul: "Now when I came to Istanbul in my childhood, they would ask me, not if I went to Istanbul but to Taksim, Beyoğlu, because if you didn't go there, your visit to Istanbul wouldn't count. Therefore, the old one (place) means a lot to me." It is perhaps not wrong to claim in line with the argument of Carr et al. (1992) for the stationery seller, who starts to our interview by showing me a couple of old, black and white photos of his handsome youth as a newspaper seller on the then, open to traffic İstiklal Street, that he grew and built his self-identity based on his personal experiences at this particular place –it is the moment space turns into a place-- being influenced by its identity and aura to such an extent that he now feels alien to the present TRS and to Taksim in general. His TRS has already faded away just as his childhood as a paper boy –no paper boys seem to be now left in TRS or any other place in the city anyway.

Other interviewees have childhood memories of the place more akin to snapshots of some personal or collective events attended at TRS as a child, where the place has less of a deterministic role in one's identity creation process. The corsetiere (49, male), whose father was also a corsetiere, went to school in Beyoğlu and since his father's shop was and still is located on İstiklal Street, he is able to straightforwardly say: "Taksim square has been on my route throughout my whole life." He remembers visiting the Republic Monument, which he calls Atatürk monument similar to many other interviewees, with his classmates at

primary school on April, 23rds –National Sovereignty and Children's Day of the Turkish Republic.

The flâneurin public officer (50, female), who used the square politically during her rebellious youth –having a like-minded husband going into trouble during 1980 coup d'etat, if I remember it correctly—has a different sort of experience of the place as a child. For instance, she has been to the opera for the first time in Atatürk Culture Center (AKM) when she was at high-school grade. Moreover, she mentions about her shopkeeper father's taste for the old, casino culture and recalls joining them as a child, drinking soft drinks while listening to the casino singers or 'stars': "It was the kind of entertainment where singers took to the stage, people danced waltz or so, not folkloric or belly dance".

Listening to the childhood memories of the Karaköy-Yüksek Kaldırım tunnel officer (the oldest interviewee, male) in relation to the larger area containing places on and around İstiklal Street like restaurants, hotels, empty fields later filled with buildings and stadiums, feels like witnessing social history. Holding the possibility of his exaggeration or misremembering events, he tells about the political celebrities e.g., Adnan Menderes, Celal Bayar, İsmet İnönü, Persian shah, Pakistani presidents, whom he saw as a child from outside the window, dining at Abdullah restaurant, about the very important guests accommodating in Pera Palas Hotel, and his non-Muslim neighbors and friends, whom he got about, celebrated the Republic Day together, and now remembers positively for teaching manners –the second-hand book seller (63, male) says something similar such as Levantines teaching the Turkish people languages, primarily French. The tunnel officer also refers to some social rites and rituals from his childhood, which used to happen on TRS like parades or formal ceremonies, fireworks in the evenings of the Republic Days, which I also recall joining several times with my parents as a child, new years, all of which is now disarranged deliberately according to him. Relatedly, 31 (N: 71) of the questionnaire respondents declares attending to a formal ceremony and commemoration at TRS in the past.

Finally, there are some other old uses of TRS mentioned by the interviewees regardless of the individual's life-cycle period, that is, those old uses for which the age of the person having the past experience is not deterministic in the 'story'; not to mention the glimpses of the old Beyoğlu cliché, adorned with the narrative of people in grand toilette, a cliché however with a realistic aspect to it. The piano teacher (41, female), who now lives in Bodrum and comes to Istanbul once in a while but for long, 10–15 day visits, studied in the

conservatoire. Even though she needs to say, she is from Moda with all its intellectual associations, she came to Taksim at least twice a week in her years of study; if one was to meet her friends from the opera, the other, always for the Saturday concerts in AKM. The Saturday concerts in AKM that she joined had a special place in her life, rendering the square more meaningful for her over this private, individual connection. Therefore, she answers my question about whether TRS unites its users at a common denominator or not, by rechanneling it to the more specific and familiar place of the then, open Culture Center and only then answers it affirmatively: "It would be very crowded, such a meeting. It would be as if everyone talked the same 'language', but if you asked someone else she might tell a different thing." Hence, this is again a personal experience of TRS in the near past. Relatedly, 50 (N: 71) of the questionnaire respondents attended to activities of art and culture and 43 attended to some kind of entertainment e.g., New Year celebration or concert at TRS in the past. Only 25 respondents participated in scientific activities such as conferences in the surrounding hotels or the culture center. All these memories lead these people to connect to TRS personally and in ways shaped by their personal experiences of it in the past.

In terms of past political usage, firstly there are some interviewees, who used TRS politically in the past including the May 1, 1977 and continue to use it in this way. The ephemera collectioner (59, male) says that he has used the place politically for many years implying that he still does occasionally and when he does his time spent on the square takes longer. For other interviewees, who were also at TRS in May, 1, 1977 like the artist (69, male), the tragedy of the event does not retain them from continuing to use TRS politically and supporting such usage in general to the extent that public meetings become the main function ascribed to the place e.g., "The Square was a meeting, convening place" (artist) and also the first connotation of it e.g., "When one says using squares, public meetings suddenly come to my mind. We use it for public meetings naturally. The 1st of May meetings were held in Taksim. Of course, I joined them; I did all the paintings there" (artist). Moreover, he criticizes my question about the political usage and its appropriateness for the present square by saying:

> Of course they (public meetings) should be done, that is, people should be able to do it wherever they want to. I object to your wording of the question like that, whether it should be made there, anyway. People should be able to gather together anywhere they want. (In) Any thought like they shouldn't do it there is the government's mentality with the aim of preventing all types of meeting, this lies behind. (Artist, 69, male)

Secondly, there are some interviewees for whom May 1, 1977 demarcates their last political activity at TRS. The faculty member (58, male) being a member of this group says he stopped participating in public meetings after this event with deaths. His avoidance of public meetings following the traumatic memory of 1977 also reflects into his attitude towards such usage of the current square for political purposes going as far as denying this function of the public spaces completely:

> No but now it (political activity) doesn't coincide with the functions of city squares. You see, a Champs-Élysées, a Piccadilly Circus, a Times Square of New York are not ascribed this function. Only New Year celebrations are made, not political demonstrations. The politicization of this doesn't suit to the urbanity of the city. (Faculty member, 58, male)

Apart from the ones, who reject politics at TRS with the trauma of May 1, 1977 accompanied with various excuses like the smallness of the place for large public meetings, and the ones with the opposite, approving attitude towards such use, thirdly there are some other interviewees, who similarly actively joined public protests at the place in their youth e.g., "we also became youth there" (underwear seller, 53, male), but lost their belief in the future, without however wholly giving up their political view, that is, without "rotating" in their political identity. The members of this last group continue to attend to public protests at TRS from time to time albeit less enthusiastically than before. The public officer (50, female) is one of them explaining her sensation of TRS as:

> For my part, it (TRS) was the symbol of freedom and rebellion during my years of being a student and youth. In those years, it was a place we used as all ours for both illegal and legal public meetings … in Taksim square my rebellious, revolutionary feelings would be more intense. … It now doesn't create the same feeling. I don't acquire the same meaning because my viewpoint of certain things has changed and I developed distrust into certain things. … And of course, the texture of the society and the world also permeates (into the place and protests).

In comparison to the in-depth interviewees, the past political usage of TRS seems to be less deterministic among the questionnaire respondents. 28 (N: 71) of the respondents said they participated in political activities at the square in the past. This differential finding could be due to the questionnaire technique providing the respondents with less

knowledge and therefore, confidence in the interviewer; it could be related to the age profile (mean age: 35.56 and 51 respondents below the age of 50, that is, these people were still very young or even children in 1977 for instance) involving the young sections of the society more than the in-depth interviewees or if considered at the macro level, it is probably related to the changing texture of the world as framed by the flâneurin public officer (50, female) towards depolitization and individualization. Yet this depolitization and individualization argument also applies probably to the case of the in-depth interviewees, who used TRS politically in the past but not anymore.

5.2.2. The Present Usage

If the political action takes the lead in the past usage of TRS, transport is at present its most widespread function among the users. Based on the comments of the interviewees, the current usage of TRS is far away from the vivid city square life depicted by Webb (1990) as a place with all kinds of people, ranging from commuters, shoppers, drivers, people sitting at the square's cafés, children playing, and old people gossiping at the banks or the nearby park, animals, plus as a place hosting various events such as a weekly market, public demonstrations, or other special occasions. In the case of TRS, the variety of people is more or less there. Nevertheless the events that make people participate in the urban life and offer them excitement and calm – which Sennett (1976) refers to it as the presence of difference and anonymity together-- all at the same time, and relatedly, the necessary physical design to make for a physically comfortable (Carr et al. 1992) public space so that these events can take place, are missing to a large extent. In this regard, the interviewees as current users of TRS, could roughly be divided into two groups as those saying that they use the place very little except for transport purposes or some other single functions including working at and nearby the square, and the others, whose use is almost reduced to passing from there in their way to other directions. In the comments coming from the members of both groups however, a smell of innuendo as if passing the questions about the current usage back to me in the form of "What's it there to be used?" could be slightly felt.

The present uses of TRS mentioned by the in-depth interviewees, categorized into two as single purpose uses and incidental uses, include activities such as culture, public meetings or protest, work, and the incidental uses of transition, meeting people, eating and drinking,

and people watching. The analysis of these present uses of TRS by people is briefly followed by some comments on its present uses by the formal institutions like the municipality.

The first single use purpose of TRS is culture --43 (N:71) questionnaire respondents are using TRS for art-culture and for 10 respondents it makes up the highest use purpose. Among this first group of in-depth interviewees, whose present use of the place is centered on cultural activity, there is to begin with, the ephemera collectioner (59, male) and the faculty member (58, male). They both join at the square during September each year Beyoğlu Second-hand Book Sellers' Festival.

Figure 1. Applying the Survey at the Beyoğlu Second-Hand Book Seller's Festival in autumn 2010 Source: Defne Kırmızı

The collectioner (59, male) attends to the Beyoğlu Second-hand Book Sellers' Festival completely as a seller and the faculty member (58, male) as a visitor, who likes old books and other documents. Both of them like the event –the publishing employee (35, male) and the second-hand book seller from Eyüp (63, male) participate in the event and enjoy it, too-- and the collectioner acknowledges that he earns much more during his short stay there than at his shop, in addition to the psychological benefit he gets from coming in contact with more people at the centrally located square more than at his shop hidden in a

passage. The faculty member, already hungry for such cultural usage of the place especially after the closure of AKM, sees it as a chance to experience the square in a way that he would perhaps most prefer to do it. What sets them apart is the optimism of the collectioner about the cultural management of the place:

> Lots of events are already organized. Second-hand book sellers' festival and handicrafts festival are organized at Gezi Park with the contribution of the municipality. These bring very much vividness to the square. Many concerts are organized; stages are built. The water storage building is renovated wonderfully, great exhibitions are made there. The state, municipality, private institutions, civil society uses there for various activities.

against the criticism of the faculty member for whom, the place is not "fit" for people's uses, and who also provides a list of his non-uses that is mainly comprised of any type of crowded, therefore, risky events like concerts, new year celebrations, public meetings.

The second single purpose use of TRS is attending to the public meetings at TRS –17 (N:71) questionnaire respondents are using TRS for political activities. For the artist (69, male), whose immediate connection of the idea of using a square is with public meetings, expresses his single usage as, "That is to say, we use it as a place for meetings. Else, we have nothing to do with it." As mentioned in the old usages, he attended to the eventful 1st of Mays in the late 70s for which, he designed the still used poster –a red globe with the writing of 1 May on it and held in a worker's hands-- and painted the large banners to be hanged on the front of the Culture Center. Despite others like the faculty member or a few shopkeepers, who are frightened away from joining public meetings at TRS after the deaths in 1977, the artist continues to use TRS for taking part in protest marches, for instance, the one after the murder of Hrant Dink he has most recently attended. His explanation for the use of TRS as a starting or ending point of such protest meetings is related to the existence of the Republic Monument there. Accordingly, even a small group of people having simple problems of daily living e.g., people from the same neighborhood having city water supply problem could have marched to the square towards the Monument and "complained to Atatürk" about the municipality for their city water supply problem. Today however, he sees this kind of small to large scale political action at TRS less likely because of the symbolic message of the permanent police located there:

> If this happens now, a group of 15 people going to the Monument and laying a wreath, they would immediately be taken into custody. … They (management) want to say blatantly, 'No this is a police state and we harm man badly, so nobody should ever attempt to make any opposition'. (Artist, 69, male)

The architect makes a similar comment on the prevention of people from politically using TRS: "Here belongs to that formal use. You see here more: police; soldiers; governorship; municipality" and "there is not a protest situation there. They do not let it. You cannot demonstrate there. … It's closed to the civil usage" (architect, 55, male). This managerial inhibition against people's political usage of the place also comes to light in occasions that fall outside the representation of the space of power (Lefebvre and Harvey) such as in 1st of Mays, when "people wants to come out to Taksim and are treated as if a war breaks out" (publishing employee, 35, male). So they have to "appropriate" –that is a concept from Harvey's grid of spatial practices-- the place for their intended spatial practices. The decline in the participation in political activities based on the questionnaire findings –17 respondents are currently using TRS politically in comparison to 28 (N: 71) in the past-- might be an indicator of this managerial barrier if not simply due to the ratio of young respondents in the sample (32/71 below the age of 30).

One other form of single usage of TRS is work, that is, to work at or close to the square. 22 questionnaire respondents (N: 71) are currently using TRS for work. The average days of usage in a month are 11.52 (range: 0–30 days). People, who use TRS for work (N: 22/71) including working on and around the square, use it the most as expected, from 15 to 30 days a month. This is an obligatory use, a kind of use which is not a matter of choice as opposed to other, arbitrary uses of the place e.g., "We must use it. Our workplace is just next to Taksim area … Because the tramway storehouse is here and we are occupied in the tramway business, we are here. … That is, destiny brought us here" (tramway chief, 55, male). Because of the time requirement of the in-depth interview technique, many of the interviewees in this study either work directly on/next to the square or in the shops and workplaces located along the nearby İstiklal Street e.g., collectioner; shoe-seller who finds TRS totally unusable; retired teacher now working as a visa agent; the drugstore helper; fabric tradesman; underwear seller; second-hand book seller; corsetiere; public officer; publishing employee; waitress, etc. The flower-seller (54, male) has his workplace in the sequential nylon tents allocated to the flower-sellers by the municipality at one corner of the square facing the Tarlabaşı Boulevard. Because he "works at the square. Day and night we are here. Every day," he is a full time participant observer of the "all kinds of events"

happening at the square. Perhaps because he has it enough during his work hours, he and his family escape early if there is for instance, a pop concert at the square in the evening. In addition, he seems to be so exhausted of the special condition that appears during the public meetings and the exaggerated measures of the security guards more than the activists themselves that he declares, "If I was the governor or from municipality, no force would enter here, activists not in the least!" He only likes the Gezi Park, going and sitting there at the tea garden, apart from his obligatory usage for work. The tramway chief (55, male) also spends so much time at the square for controlling the functioning of the nostalgia tramway that he has by now accumulated some street 'wisdom' from his twenty years-long daily experiencing of the place:

> On special days, police comes for help or other things happen. For example, announce comes with walkie talkie asking me if there is something going on in Taksim. I go out and have a look at which group is making a demonstration. All groups have their peculiarities. So-and-so. 'There is no problem,' I would say. This? So-and-so. They are on the brink of fighting with the police. 'Be careful with the tramway, drive it away quickly,' I would say. (Tramway chief, 55, male)

The second category of users based on the comments of the in-depth interviewees, has less defined that is, incidental uses of TRS including transition, meeting people, eating and drinking, and people watching as opposed to the single purpose uses --culture, public meetings, and work-- mentioned above. Therefore, the members of the second-group could be labeled as the incidental users, a concept used by Carr et al. (1992) to define the kind of public space users, who are found in or who pass through mostly the over-planned, monumental, and thus, cold and uninteresting spaces, merely due to chance factors, and whose imagination and creativity (in usage) are very much limited by this inappropriateness of the place. What results from all this, is an area or place of flow or transition, a word frequently uttered by the interviewees for TRS e.g., "…Taksim has slowly become a square of transit, because if you compare it with other cities and especially Western metropolises, there is no more centers of attraction in Taksim like in those places" (artist, 69, male). Relatedly, 49 (N: 71) questionnaire respondents are using TRS for transport. For 27 respondents, the existing square is used mostly for transport.

These incidental or irregular uses of TRS by the interviewees can also be meeting people every now and then, even though TRS is not the most preferred place to meet, because of its usual crowd e.g., "I met with a friend from abroad here because she preferred it that

way. She said Burger King as the place she knows. I guess the Monument is also a meeting point but I have never used it as such, because it is too crowded to spot the person" (psychological consultant, 43, female). 58 (N: 71) questionnaire respondents also agree that they are using TRS for meeting people.

The incidental use of TRS can as well be eating for satisfying hunger or eating as an excuse to spend time with friends. While the waitress (24) uses the snack bars at the entry of İstiklal Street for eating before or after partying –44 questionnaire respondents (N: 71) use TRS for entertainment-relaxation making up the highest use purpose for 14 respondents-- with her friends, the faculty member (58, male) prefers the café of The Marmara to "sit not alone but with someone" and watch the life flowing outside the café window. It was used to be called the Opera Patisserie, where the journalist Onat Kutlar and Yasemin Cebenoyan were killed by a bombing in 1994; it is today operated as a franchise, a symbolic shift in line with the changing usage-meaning of the square in general, especially since the closure of the opera house. I had some chances to go to this café as a kid with my parents when it was still the Opera Patisserie, and to enjoy the intellectual and smoky aura hung up in its air, even seeing some cultural celebrities sitting and chatting at other tables close by. Now, it is as if the place has become all about cuisine and show-off.

In addition to the incidental uses of passing, meeting people, and eating and drinking at TRS, watching the life go by, watching a football game on the screen set up at the square – that is the corsetiere's latest collective use of the square-- or simply people-watching no matter what as a form of passive engagement in public space (Carr et al. 1990) makes up another incidental use of the square. People seem to enjoy experiencing, even only by watching, different lifestyles of other people, perhaps something to do with the extreme individualism pumped by the global political economy and polished by its socio-cultural hegemony, despite all its multiculturalist, pluralist discourses (Zizek). The psychological consultant, waitress, faculty member are some of the interviewees, who mention about their watching the people at the square, either by sitting down on the pavement, or from the terrace of an adjacent simit seller, or by simply standing at the subway entry. All three people are amazed of the huge people's diversity found at the square at a single point in time. Nonetheless, it seems that this experience of the other mostly remains at the level of mere spectatorship without creating any real communicative bonds among people. The whole thing continues to be parallel to Sennett's (1976) description of a see more, interact less culture.

The management probably uses the place more than the public as argued by some interviewees but how does it actually use it? Is it for the ceremonial uses as argued by the architect? The current situation seems that it is not even for that, not any more. The municipality for instance, uses it for its various organizations that are presented as services to people but more with the function of self-advertising and self-fulfillment. In other words, there remains a gap between the signifier or form (organized events) and the signified or content (the underwear seller, tunnel employee, publishing employee call it, "pretension" or show-off). These managerial endeavors mostly take the form of fairs and exhibitions at the entry of Gezi Park centering on objects that are traditional and Ottoman like old books, handicrafts plus long-lasting activities made in tents during Ramadan. The events organized by the municipality barely include anything modern such as a modern art exhibition, an exhibition of sculptures –according to this governing mentality sculptures are regarded as "freaks"-- or a classical music performance. Moreover, the once existing events at the square like the fireworks on the Republic Days, New Year celebrations –this should perhaps be evaluated together with the spreading alcoholic drink bans-- worker's meetings, and concerts are mostly not being permitted for the reason of security problems, which is ironical considering the permanent police force located at the square. This discouragement of experiences representing a different life style –belonging to the modernity-- by the side of the management, does not however escape the people's notice e.g., artist, tunnel employee, publishing employee.

The ideology of the management sought to dominate the place is not convincing for the interviewees, who evaluate all such compulsive efforts of the management as pretentious or hypocrisy. The artificiality of these official events is further revealed in some of the comments. The publishing employee (35, male) questions the goodwill behind the Ramadan tents for example, by commenting that people who eat at those tents are always hungry and not only during that month. Put into a larger framework, this could lead to a whole debate of the evaporating social functions of the state versus the sporadic, small scale acts of charity and most of the time, by religious NGOs, to struggle with social problems like poverty.

Another point about the appearance-reality gap in the politics of the management is made by the public officer (50, female), who questions the purpose of the periodical 'art and culture' fairs in the Gezi Park that in her opinion, have a sense of making the city rural due

to their atmosphere of a village bazaar, including shabby tea and water pipe places with tapestry tablecloths. She thinks, the real content of these organizations held by the municipality such as the Second-hand Book Sellers' Festival, is to sell toasts, tea, and water-pipes, under the disguise of books. She argues that this shallowness is unfair considering the cultural layers of Istanbul including the Byzantine, Ottoman, and Republican. The publishing employee (35, male), adds that people do not feel like using the so much centrally located Gezi Park because of the politics of the municipality. According to him, the problem is not only about leaving the park disorderly but the dominance of the official uses in addition to the police existence, as elements reducing the public space quality of the place in general. This comment takes the hypocrisy arguments further, by revealing the negligence of the park by the management, except for its own uses, that is, the uses making the management gain favor (and profits).

5.2.3. The Ideal Usage

In addition the previous and present uses of TRS, the ideal uses of it are also asked to the interviewees, in the form of the kind of activities that would most suit to the spirit –even though the publishing employee (35, male) comments, "there is no spirit of the (present) square"-- or atmosphere of the place and those activities, which would not. The questionnaire respondents on the other hand, are asked to say the first three adjectives, in order of importance, describing their ideal TRS. Therefore, their description of the ideal TRS involves not only the elements of use, but form and identity as well, which is only meaningful, because the ideal form and ideal place identity involve the place's ideal use anyway.

The ideal uses of TRS expressed by the in-depth interviewees are categorized basically into two as culture and relaxation. On the other hand, there are also some activities found inappropriate for TRS by some interviewees that mainly include political, religious, and traditional activities.

The point of agreement among the majority of the interviewees is their advocacy for more cultural activities such as festivals, concerts, exhibitions at TRS. However, the genuineness of these events also matter. Otherwise, what is spoken about is not for example, a second-hand book seller's festival, which is meant to make people consume toasts, tea or water pipes in the words of the flâneurin public officer (50), who also argues: "People should from

now on, move away from this sense of eating; everywhere is full of eating and drinking places." Instead of the existent fairs resembling neighborhood bazaars, she prefers and finds more appropriate to the Istanbul's cultural inheritance, things like artists and sculptors in the park day and night, that is, on a more permanent basis; she perhaps has in mind something like Paris, Montmartre.

There are some other specifications, in respect of the nature of the cultural activities longed for at the square, made especially by those interviewees with a certain degree of accumulated cultural capital. Interviewee's position in social space in terms of economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu) influences her or his taste in the type of music she or he would like to hear at the public concerts, as one suggested cultural activity. While the ones with relatively higher cultural capital and less economic capital, that is, the intellectuals e.g., faculty member, piano teacher, mention jazz, classical music, rock, Turkish folk music, the interviewees with more economic capital and less cultural capital, being mostly the shopkeepers e.g., underwear seller, name popular figures like Tarkan or Zülfü Livaneli e.g., "When said Taksim square it reminds me of huge concerts. Zülfü Livaneli said a chorus of 30000 people. We came together with my wife. I remember such a magnificent concert here. But then, there wasn't a security and Vandalism problem. Everybody was singing together. It's a great thing," (tramway chief, 55). The choice of the second group would probably be supported by those members of the middle-brow culture e.g., retired teacher, artist, and architect, who criticize the 'elitism' –meaning appealing only to the dominant fractions of the dominant class-- of the performances in the now-closed AKM. Nevertheless, there are some older interviewees e.g., second-hand book seller, mentioning about the old casinos in Taksim with "ball-like" entertainments, longing for this kind of high-brow and legitimate culture they label as "Istanbul culture" of which only nice memories remain.

In addition to art-culture and entertainment, another ideal use of TRS spoken out by the interviewees is relaxation, particularly surrounded by natural elements like trees. This ideal use is very much related to the expectations about the physical organization of the place, the latter inquired about by the question of what to add to and remove from the square. About the physical organization, the faculty member (58, male) enumerates the elements to be added as city furniture and green areas. He remarks that in Prost's plan the whole area from Taksim to Hilton today is planned as green area and that he would like it to be exactly applied. Moreover, he expresses his wish for green areas at the square clearly by

saying: “It is a square but there is no park in it. Park is over there, the square here. What kind of thing is it? The park and the square should be together.”

Therefore, relaxation as a basic need –and use-- of people at a public space (Carr et al. 1992) is here put into words in the form of a desire for the kind of green areas on the square that would render it possible; an ideal which becomes materialized through the words of the second-hand book seller (63, male) as follows:

> I would demolish all the buildings around the square. I would make parks for promenade there. Some small, decorative units… I would like it to be completely a place for promenade, meeting, relaxation, recreation, and a place full of trees. In the past, there were so nice casinos, entertainment places there; I would like all of them to be re-implemented.

In the absence of the relaxation elements like trees at the square, during the questionnaire implementation I have come across scenes such as a group of traditional women sitting in the shadow of the Republic Monument or many others sitting in the absence of banks on small pieces of land with grass, surrounding the Monument. Consequently, natural elements especially trees and city furniture are essential requirements to help TRS approach its ideal uses, be it cultural, entertainment, daily usage or recreation.

The second part of the question regarding the ideal usage of TRS contains the uses that would not suit to the atmosphere of the place. If one point of agreement among the interviewees about the desired uses of TRS is more cultural activities on the spot e.g., “I mean it should be a vast culture valley” (corsetiere, 49, male), another agreement is, at least for the shopkeepers in the area, the non-suitability of political uses like public meetings at TRS. Many shares his non-approval of public meetings at TRS for various reasons, including its incapacity to carry large crowds considering the growth in the city’s population, being an easy target for attacks as in May 1, 1977, associating it with tourism more than politics, deeming it more as a culture and entertainment place, the uncivilized fight scenes appearing in public meetings, and so on. By doing so, these interviewees actually echo the managerial approach against the political usage of TRS by people as studied under the present usage title.

Interestingly, those interviewees e.g., faculty member, underwear seller, collectioner, who joined in their youth to the public meetings back in the 70s, are now among the people against such political use of the place. As they have become older and their ties to the

social institutions have strengthened, they perhaps have also become more conformist, accepting --at least by ignoring things-- the status quo. The others e.g., corsetiere or retired teacher, who object to the current political usage of the square, have probably avoided street politics in the past, too. Thirdly, there are those, whom one could expect to be active in street politics because of their identities in the minority like the Roman flower seller (54, male), but who still strongly refrain from it e.g., "If I were the governor or from the municipality, no force shall enter here, particularly the activists!" Here, the police violence comes into the picture, scaring people away from their most fundamental democratic rights –unlike for instance, a France for which protest march is viewed as a "national sport" (Hüküm 2010) -- and at a degree –and in so "primitive" ways (artist, 69, male)-- that harms even a bystander like a tourist, a newspaper reporter or even patients in a nearby hospital garden as in May, 1, 2009.

This keeping away from politics at the square, is noticeable even in the most unexpected interviewees, like the publishing employee (35, male), who normally has a critical approach in interpreting social issues. At the same time however he is uncomfortable with Taksim's identification solely with the idea of protest and seeks more for some aestheticism. I think this is much related to the question of in what terms people think of politics, whether as an isolated and separate act to perform once in a while or completely as a part of their daily living. In this case, the first approach seems to be dominant among the interviewees, who are under the influence of wider social contracts, which are in turn, obviously quite different from for instance, France.

Nevertheless, there are exceptions like the artist and drugstore helper despite their old age or mid-aged women e.g., psychological consultant, photographer, both single mothers, who support the square's political use. These people have probably been close to a left-wing politics throughout their life –also being probably born into a family with leftist dispositions-- and have not been disappointed by the rise of opposite waves so much as to change their viewpoints.

More generally, the sprawling depolitization hand in hand with the growingly self-indulgent culture from the 1980s onwards, probably forms a basis for this people's dissociating themselves from politics, which the public officer (50, female) puts into words uniquely as, "the illness of being exhausted from fruitless efforts" that "made Istanbul lose a lot". It is an attitude, which Bourdieu (1986) mentions about the people whom he calls "intellectual lackeys" and who are new petite bourgeoisie members with the morality of pleasure as a

duty or the consumer morality as opposed to the old morality of duty e.g., in the shoe-seller with all his reaction to the new consumer ethics. They are "weary of desperately hoping for a collective hope, seek(s) in a narcissistic self-absorption the substitute for the hope of changing the social world or even of understanding it" (Bourdieu 1986, 366). The process is for such a person, moralization or psychologization against politicization, the latter with the tendency to interpret events not in personal but class terms.

A second group of activity, which is not considered by the interviewees as suitable to the atmosphere of TRS is anything having the connotation of political reaction in the form of religious activity. Thereby, the piano teacher (41, daughter of a retired colonel) answers to my question of what activities would not suit TRS by saying, "I don't really know, all kinds … Well reactionist activity like that would not suit to here at all".

This is also connected to the hypocrisy discussion made earlier about the real intent behind the organizations of the municipality at the square e.g., "I find (a mosque on the square) unnecessary. That is deceit," (waitress, 25). The interviewees, who make comments on the inappropriateness of religious activities at TRS e.g., "there's no point in bringing opposite ideas face to face" (drugstore helper, 51, male), immediately add after their comments, the delicate warning that they are not at all against religion. One believes in their honesty since they are either faithful people themselves, exercising their religious duties e.g., "I perform my prayer even here (the backroom of the shop), no need for that (a mosque at the square)" (drugstore helper) or they belong to families as such, like the waitress (25), who comments:

> What good it would bring if you built a mosque at Taksim square? Now you entered to Taksim Square, performed a prayer, then you came out and peeped at the legs of Russian tourists. So it is not the thing. For example, my mother performs five time prayer and I am hardly aware of it. She goes into her room, turns off the light, performs her prayer and comes out.

The reactionary activity reacted against is not only limited to the Friday prayers that usually pour out to the street at the imagined mosque, which would turn the place into Fatih (retired teacher, fabric tradesman, piano teacher) but it can wrap itself up in other forms. This could be Ramadan tents in the heart of TRS –except the corsetiere, who regards and welcomes them as part of the cultural mosaic to be represented at his envisaged TRS, that is, a vast culture valley-- or the "janissary band (mehter takımı) … evoking the old, Ottoman

times" (tunnel employee, male). These kind of traditional activities are associated by the interviewees more with the historical peninsula containing Sultanahmet, which is considered as having a divine atmosphere (second-hand book seller, 63, male) or similarly, the Golden Horn (Haliç) region, where the minority population resided during the Ottoman period and several dervish monasteries were found.

In addition, the interviewees regard the usages like the Ramadan tents as incongruent with TRS's freedom, youth, and entertainment-associated atmosphere. This is more or less the same reason, for which they also react to the Taksim mosque project e.g., "On one side entertainment, kicking up one's heels, on the other that, does not work … Now think, you go and open a tavern next to Hagia Sophia. Would it do? No. There is a place for everything" (underwear seller, 53, male). This paradox or clash of the two meanings, and thus, ideologies –among the Ottoman, Republican, and market ideologies according to the architect (55, male)-- is expressed by the drugstore helper as:

> No, that (Ramadan tents) would not suit to Taksim since this is a place for entertainment and that (fasting in Ramadan) is a religious duty, which Taksim can not endure. On the other hand, if they put up a tent inside the park and a passenger goes and eats there, we are not against it. Nevertheless, there is no need to put up tents in the heart of Taksim. (This is) an entertainment place and the level of culture in here is a little bit up. I don't say (people here are) irreligious or something but their entertainment (usage) is high. And since it is high, there is no need to perform a religious duty in the heart of entertainment, for me its place should be separate.

At the end of the questionnaire, the respondents are asked to name the first three adjectives, in order of importance, describing their ideal TRS. For the first adjectives, the most pronounced are secure, free, clean, and pedestrian (5 people out of 71 for each). For the second, cultural (8 people), green (6p.), orderly and secure (4p. each). Finally, the third adjective describing their ideal TRS is one of orderly, cultural, pedestrian, and green (4/67 respondents each). Therefore, combining them all together what people want to see as their ideal TRS is a public square, which is a secure, clean and orderly, pedestrian-friendly, and green place of culture with freedom –freedom of action being one of the basic people's rights in public space (Carr et al. 1992).

What the respondents are describing is actually nothing far from the right balance of security –one fundamental element of the comfort need in public space (Carr et al. 1992)-- and joy as a success key in public space design (Webb 1990). The Castellsian

complementariness among the urban form, meaning, and function is also obvious, as the respondents are basically asking for a green and pedestrian-friendly area –the form-- for their relaxation and entertainment, that would be "active engagement" (Carr et al. 1992), needs or uses –the function-- and the resulting meaning.

5.3. The Meaning

Urban is the social meaning assigned to a particular spatial form by a historically defined society.
Castells

In this section, the acquired meanings of the present users of TRS are analyzed as categorized into two in terms of the weight given to either usage or symbolic interpretations in developing a meaning of the place. This does not mean however that usage and symbolic interpretations can not function together in the process of developing a spatial meaning but only their weights might differ for different people in their sense-making of the place. These meanings derived from usage or symbolic interpretations are then further categorized into two as those spatial meanings that are presented in a comparative form i.e., past versus today and therefore, resulting in dualities of meaning and the other single meanings that seem to continue as the same from the past to the present. While the meanings of TRS presented as dualities with reference to past and present meanings carry more weight of usage in their formation, the meanings of TRS presented as single and continuous derive more from symbolic interpretations.

Nevertheless, first of all there are those interviewees for whom TRS does not mean much. That means they cannot recognize or perceive -- Lynch (1981) uses the term perceptibility-- any distinction of the place; identifiability (Lynch 1981) of TRS is missing in the case of such interviewees. This indifference to the square seems to arise from overexposure of the individual to it, like the collectioner (59, male) for whom "the square doesn't have a special meaning because my workplace is in Beyoğlu. It's an ordinary place since I got used to it due to living here all day." Too much exposure functions the same way also for the corsetiere (49, male) e.g., "Otherwise (it's) a place I see every day you see, there's nothing extraordinary about it", the waitress (24) e.g., "It means a lot to me indeed but maybe because it's a place I see all the time, continuously, it might have lost its glamour", and the photographer (36, female). Similarly for the architect (55, male), TRS being accustomed to, does not mean much and he can only "interpret it, if he contemplates it".

This lack of meaning for some interviewees may be caused by: their own disinterestedness; the speed of city life e.g., “because ours, İstanbul is a rush” (waitress, 24); or, something Cynthia Paces (2004) describes (for public monuments) as, “sometimes the creation of a marker lulls people into complacency” (6). She supports her pertinent argument that the empty spaces could speak as well by taking the destroyed Marian Column in Prague as an example. Accordingly, the ordinariness of TRS in the eyes of these people, despite the Republic Monument as its utmost distinction, would perhaps be remedied, if the Monument was to be removed from its place overnight. The opposite of Paces’ argument about the speaking emptiness could as well be valid, that is, in case the square was packed with buildings perhaps including a mosque too—thus resulting in a referential misfit (Carr, et al. 1992)-- the interviewees, who now neglect the identity of the square, might then have felt the need of it.

Differently, 53 (N: 71) respondents agree that TRS as of today has a differential feature – what Lynch (1981) calls identifiability for a sense of place. 48 respondents think that TRS enables meaningful experiences and events. 44 respondents accept the existence of a social connection between the square and its users as a criterion involved in Carr et al.’s (1992) meaningful public space. And 51 (N: 70) sees TRS as a societal reference point in line with Lynch’s (1981) good place. On the other hand, when similar but more personal questions are directed, this time negative answers seem to increase. For example, 39 (N: 71) cannot connect to TRS at present individually. For 44 of the respondents TRS does not have positive associations like safety. And, 39 respondents find it too uncomfortable to use or experience. Yet, for 46 respondents, TRS plays an important role in their lives.

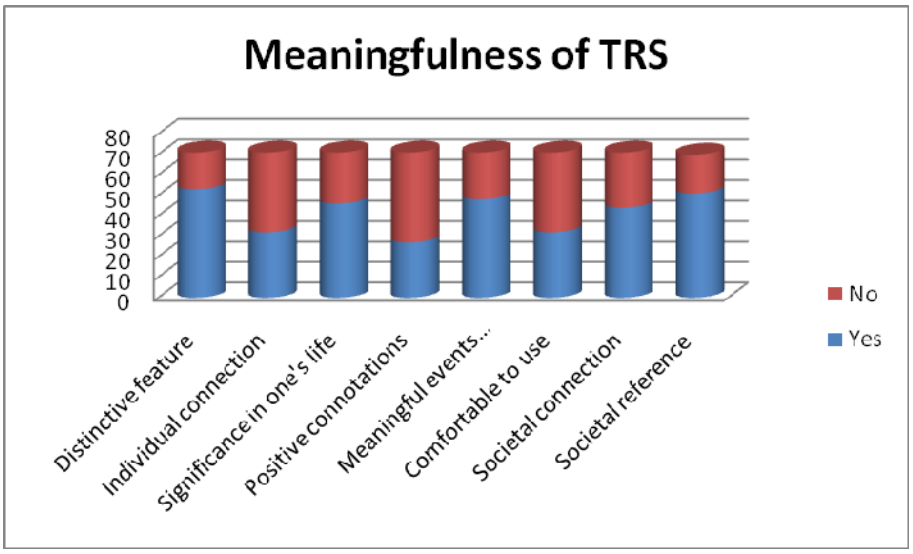

Figure 2. How Meaningful Taksim Republican Square is according to the Questionnaire Respondents

These figures seem to point out the high social relevance of TRS corresponding as a locale, more to a societal source of meaning than a personal source of meaning. The possible explanation to this individual meaning falling behind the societal meaning of TRS might be searched in the "comfortableness to use" bar in the same graphic above. While the societal reference function of TRS probably has its roots in the collective experiences on TRS in recent social history, individuals alone might be lacking similar experiences to render the place meaningful for them, due to the unprovided opportunity to comfortably experience the poorly organized physical place.

From now onwards for the remainder of this meaning section, I will experiment with a different analytical approach by focusing on a particular interviewee for an arising important subtheme, in the form of a meanings duality depending more on past and present usages or a single presently acquired meaning as a continuum of the past meaning, under the umbrella of the meaning of TRS. In applying this technique, the similar or diverging comments of other interviewees about the topic will also be given following the detailed study of the interviewee selected as a representative for the people acquiring a similar meaning from TRS at present. The aim is to dig in deeper the sense which the interviewees acquire or do not acquire from the present square and its nature, without

getting lost amidst various personal meanings or meaninglessness of TRS. Accordingly, the meanings that arise from the meaning inquiry and that are handled here focusing on a representative interviewee include: Familiar vs. unfamiliar (the shoe-seller's case); romantic vs. practical (the second-hand book seller's case); republican (the fabric tradesman's case); and, conflictual (including political; the publishing employee and the architect's cases).

5.3.1. Familiar versus Unfamiliar Meaning

In addition to the interviewees without any clue about the sense of TRS mentioned before, there are other interviewees for whom the present TRS does not also mean much, this time however for different, perhaps more personal reasons concerning adaptation to socio-spatial changes. The shoe-seller (76, male) is the best example for the latter and therefore, selected as the representative for a usage based meaning duality as familiar vs. unfamiliar corresponding respectively to the past and present meanings of TRS. This kind of a meaning that has evolved in time from familiar to unfamiliar applies to some other older interviewees as well such as the tunnel employee e.g., "Its atmosphere was much better I mean. Nobody would throw their rubbish away. It was more civilized; people would not crash each other." and the stationery seller e.g., "Its past means a lot to me. (The present) does not mean anything, it is no place to go … Scary.", who both spent their childhood in Taksim, Beyoğlu.

The shoe seller, who has been working in the same shoe shop –a 79 years old shop-- at the entry of İstiklal Street from the Taksim direction, since he had started working there as an apprentice, could probably be best described as a representative of Bourdieu's (1986) declining petite bourgeoisie against the new petite bourgeoisie. The shoe-seller shows the same kind of anger or reaction against any form of the new ethic within the political, economic, and socio-cultural aspects of the new world system. I had to wait until reading Bourdieu (1986) to see that his continuous grumbling e.g., "I don't like anything about it. I am annoyed of everything (about it). Anything to like about it … If you liked anything, I would also. It doesn't have anything anymore", is something more than bitterness. For the shoe-seller at least, I guess it is an issue of identity or personality conflict, inflamed by the changing identity of the familiar places, faces –people— and the country as a whole. The times are undeniably changing, thus transforming places, which make people in those places change in turn, and ultimately influencing people's identities over place identities.

Based on all these reasons, the shoe-seller is expectedly unwilling for an interview on TRS, too. I had to insist on having an interview with him, whose critical approach and long years of experiencing the area making up my excuses of insistence. He expresses firmly that Taksim square is neither used (by him) nor means anything (for him). When I probe the question asking what TRS signifies for him by repeating it for the past, his answer becomes positive. The justification for his nostalgia –true or false— is based on both place and people elements of "the Taksim he lived". He explains why the old Taksim meant more to him by saying there were trees, plane trees he says, then at the square and banks where people could go and sit. In short, the old TRS in his mind, is a place easier or more comfortable to experience and so, more meaningful (Carr, et al. 1992). It is more meaningful because he could identify with it through experiencing it –thus, space becomes a (particular) place for the shoe-seller (Peace, et al. 2006). The people of this old TRS, he identifies himself with were also different from the now existent crowd. In his words, they were "sensible", "civilized", "cultured", "ladies and gentlemen". The replacing migrants are on the other hand, non-adaptable to the city, thinner-addicts, anarchists, even supporters of terrorism --his level of reactance approximates a hate speech in the matter of changing people-- and all, governed by a mentality that insists on building a mosque at the square to "destroy the country", a mentality which says "grocery stores shall be closed and supermarkets open". The people who use TRS at present and its governing mentality are unfamiliar to him; they are strangers.

From the time of the old TRS he has personal memories –memories, together with legends and bodily experiences form the knowledge of a place, as one dimension of the sense of it (Peace, et al. 2006). Aside from being personal sources of meaning, his memories also refer to the place identity of TRS at that point in time and the connected sense of the place for him. He tells one of his personal memories as follows:

> Look; İsmet İnönü used to wear his shoes from here. He calls my master and says *M. I am leaving; send my shoes to Divan Hotel.* … I went, pardon me, with my work shoes on that I step on their back. I went out like that. There was a policeman, C.K. here at Taksim square. There was a police boot while entering Beyoğlu and a large mirror. You couldn't enter Beyoğlu without tidying up your appearance. Beyoğlu was that special. Taksim was so beautiful and the police didn't let me in here, to Beyoğlu. … What's this condition of your shoes he said and didn't let me in. … It was such Beyoğlu.

TRS as a reference point for this kind of personal and societal sources of meaning – which is the definition of "good place" (Lynch 1981)-- gives way to a Taksim where there are heroin

sellers and marketing of 12–13 years old girls at the corner of his shop in the evenings, or simply chaos, as he observes. Even his old, foreign customers recognize the significance of change in the area, he shares. With the passage of time and social changes –resulting in changes in the conception of time and space according to Harvey (1990)-- the shoe-seller's identity changes but perhaps less than that of the place and his conception of it resulting in an adaptation problem. His personal experiences of TRS that once created a sense of familiarity for him vanish away, leaving behind only his anger detached from the slightest meaning.

5.3.2. Romantic versus Practical Meaning

A second usage based meanings duality with respect to the past and present of TRS is the past TRS that is attached a romanticized or idealized meaning versus the present TRS with a more practical meaning. The second-hand book seller (63, male), who also mentions about the different socio-cultural structure of Beyoğlu including Taksim before the 1980s in a positive manner like the shoe-seller, is the selected representative of this kind of a place attachment. He has been working as a second-hand book seller in his shop in Aslıhan Pasajı, Fish Market since 1994. Nevertheless, he has been in this business for much longer; he worked in Beyazıt between 1983 and 1994 and in Eyüp, where he was born, between 1966 and 1982. Therefore, he has been a second-hand book seller for 45 years in total. His father is a retired colonel and his primary school graduate mother is a housewife. His monthly household income is below 500TL.

Regarding the Taksim-Beyoğlu of his youth, he tells about the people's identity e.g., "levantines … who escaped from the war and stayed here, all learned people and officers" and "all being people, who teach French or so to our people", and their clothes e.g., "When you look at the pictures from 30-40s you see the thing in a real sense. You can't notice a single person without a tie, pubs and night clubs included. All (dressed) in super grand toilette!" He also tells about the unspoken, tacit social rituals guiding people for the appropriate or approved behavior in that place at that time. He calls this tacit knowledge, "the laws of living in the city (or the laws of city life)" and gives for its lack nowadays the example of people, who get on the bus and block the way by stopping in the middle of the vehicle without going to the back. On the other hand, the tacit knowledge of right behavior in Taksim, Beyoğlu was there in the past: "There was an institute of ladhood ("delikanlılık müessesesi") … You come out like iodine through appearance and behavior." All these past

social rules for existing in Taksim, Beyoğlu without disturbing the eye of appropriate others, created a sense of the place for the second-hand book seller. It reflects from his descriptions of the period such as "It was a big matter to go out to here in the past I tell you" or "To be able to say *we went out to Beyoğlu* was boasting for us. Saying *we took a stroll in Taksim* would lift you up (in social prestige)." This is the kind of meaning he acquired or he now thinks that he acquired in the late 60s and 70s.

What about today? But first, if we were to lend an ear to the international journalist, Mine Kırıkkanat about (the appearance of the people in power) today:

> These have everything. They have money, interest, they are in power, their knowledge of fashion and magazine is five times of mine, they go very often to the boutiques of world famous stylists, and even plunder there… But they don't have elegancy; they can't even have a good taste! (Kırıkkanat 2011, 46)

Under these circumstances, is the second-hand book seller's ideas on the present condition of TRS taken together with its surrounding area completely negative just like the shoe-seller (76) or does he still have some positive place attachments, old or new? The present TRS again has a meaning for him but one that is different from the previous sense of climbing up in the social ladder even if for a short while, by breathing the same weather with the people belonging to "Istanbul culture". This time the place identity revolves more around a more practical meaning based on the central quality of TRS.

The centrality of TRS is brought forward by many interviewees when asked about the distinction of the place in comparison to other places or squares in Istanbul or as an answer to the inquiry about its quality of bringing people together. There even arises a heart metaphor, quite common among the related comments. The first connotation of TRS for the piano teacher (41, female) is for example, "a meeting point, Taksim square is basically like the heart of Istanbul. This place has naturally a different characteristic for Istanbul. It is as if Istanbul's heart beats here." The flower-seller (54, male) selling colorful flowers arrives to this distinctive property of the place more colorfully, starting out from an anecdote about the location of Istanbul:

> In the past, during our childhood at the ages of 12-13, my father used to say *we are going to go to Istanbul*. I know Istanbul as Taksim. Whereas Istanbul was Eminönü, they used to go there for shopping. … Istanbul was there; they would say so. (For me) Taksim, for as long as I've known myself. Yes, because it's central. I mean here is the cherry of Istanbul's cheek.

For others, centrality might be the only source of meaning or characteristic of TRS worth mentioning; or else, “it doesn’t have a special meaning to tell the truth” (photographer, 36, female).

The second-hand book seller (63, male) answers my question of the first connotation of TRS assertively by claiming: “Taksim Square is the exact center of Turkey. Istanbul is the center of Turkey and Istanbul’s center is Taksim square”, an expression used also by the corsetiere (49, male) and waitress (24). This claim is usually backed up by an analogy of the current function of TRS as a (transport) center with the old function of the water storage (“maksem”) that is, drawing people (city water) together and then distributing them (it) to various parts of the city. According to the second-hand book seller, this “very mysterious (and) intensive place” is a culture center in respect of festivals; a political center, mainly due to its direct connotation of May, 1st; entertainment center, hosting events like New Year concerts or in the evenings after 10pm; and a social(ization) center as “a common meeting point” all at the same time. Moreover, because “all roads lead up to there, it’s like Rome”.

The centrality of TRS, making it the common meeting point according to the second-hand book seller, provides the current sense of the place. He compares TRS with the small tunnel ‘square’ at the other end of İstiklal Street and sees a large difference in people and place including the amount of shop rents. He claims that the Taksim side of İstiklal divided by Galatasaray High School in the middle is more expensive. In any case, TRS is “the king” of all as the first spot that comes to people’s mind for meeting others, as a public transport center and a 24 hours living place. Its historical quality contributes to its distinctive identity created by its central location, in comparison to other squares in Istanbul such as Beşiktaş – “There is no joy of life there”, Bakırköy –“very new”, the “totally-new” Kadıköy, except the “divine” Sultanahmet.

The present meaning of TRS with a more practical aspect to it is also reflected in the answers of the questionnaire respondents to a 5-point scale question related to the acquired meaning of the users of TRS. In this question, the respondents are provided with forty five possible attributes of TRS and are asked to select in order: 1) Three attributes that they think best describe TRS today (score: 4) 2) The single, most descriptive attribute among their selected three attributes (score: 5) 3) Three least descriptive attributes (score: 2) 4) The single least descriptive among their selected least descriptives (score: 1). The remaining attributes which are neither among the most nor the least descriptive attributes

are scored 3. The mean scores of the forty five attributes could be grouped into three categories as shown below.

Table 6. Attributes of Taksim Republican Square on a Self-made 5-points Scale Inspired from Kohn (1969)

Attributes of TRS above 3.00/neutral and towards score 4 (i.e., among the most describing three attributes)	**Between 2.90 – 3.00**	**Below 2.90 and towards score 2 (i.e., among the least describing three attributes)**
Place of/… Place: Meeting (3.45) Understandable (3.41) 1st of May (3.31) Transport (3.28) Crowded (3.27) Touristic travel (3.20) Art & culture (3.15) Republic (3.14) Vivid (3.14) Democracy and freedom (3.13) Cosmopolitan (3.13) Historical (3.13) Youth (3.11) Political meeting (3.10) *The police (3.10)* Transition (3.08) Monumental (3.08) *Concrete/without green (3.04)* *Heavy traffic (3.04)* Social reference point (3.03) Showing social change (3.03) *Commercial consumption (3.01)* *Congested (3.01)*	Place of/… Place: Pedestrian (3.00) Surveillance (3.00) Fast food (3.00) Complicated (2.99) Crime (2.99) Modern (2.97) Enlightened (2.97) Divisive (2.96) Pleasure and recreation (2.96) Spectatorship (2.94) Formal (2.93) Capital (2.93) Unplanned (2.93)	Place of/… Place: Public (2.86) Citizenship (2.83) Orderly and clean (2.83) Functionless (2.79) Degenerated (2.79) Retrogressive (2.77) Inaccessible (2.75) Ordinary (2.49) Ruralized (2.38)

Accordingly, TRS is seen by the respondents as an intelligible --"legible" in Lynch (1981) and Carr et al. (1992)-- crowded, meeting and transport place, as touristic and more particularly, as the place of 1st of May. Attributes such as being historical, the Republic's place i.e., the intended national square feeling, or the place of democracy and freedom come only after these attributes. Therefore, the daily practice seems to determine the

individual meaning attributed to TRS more than some less material, social value or the user's *lived space* influences her or his *representational space* (Lefebvre 1996). On the other hand, TRS is not at all deemed as an ordinary or a ruralized place, even though the latter is argued by some respondents during the (user) in-depth interviews. Secondarily, TRS is also not seen as retrogressive or degenerated. Hence, the respondents seem to consider TRS as having an urban identity with some specialty.

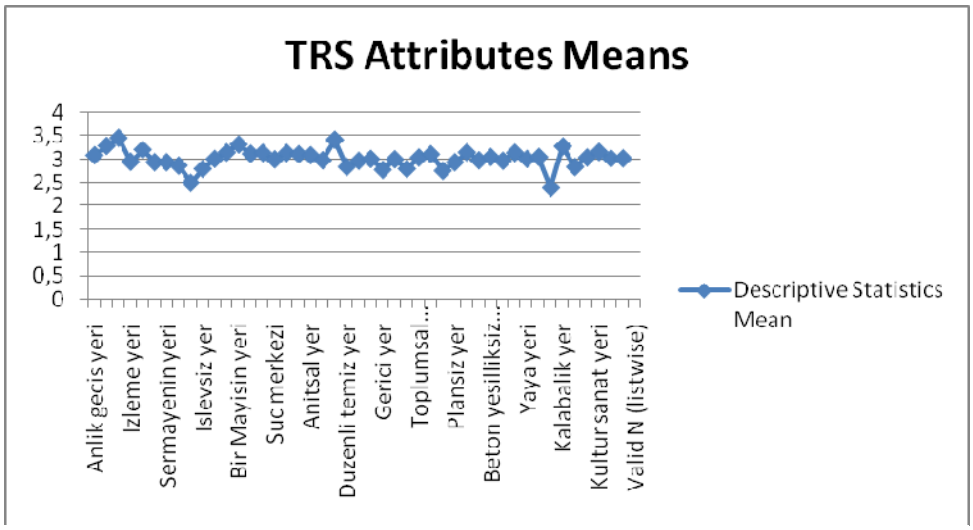

Figure 3. Mean Scores of the Attributes of Taksim Republican Square Rated over a 5-Point Scale by the Questionnaire Respondents

5.3.3. A Republican Meaning

Another group of people, usually from the older generations, attach a single i.e., not a duality and unchanging republican meaning to TRS based on both usage and symbolic interpretation although the latter probably weighs more in their meaning development. The fabric tradesman is the selected representative for this republican place attachment

crystallized in his case, which is nevertheless supported by the similar comments of other interviewees.

The fabric tradesman (78) is the second interviewee in his 70s, after the reactive shoe-seller (76), but his attitude is to life in general, the life in today's Turkish context in particular, is more positive and hopeful unlike the shoe-seller. Both of their 'crafts' –even if they only sell and not produce the fabric or the shoes-- is dying if not already dead due to a popularization of ready-made clothes and shoes. Nonetheless, the melancholic weather in the shoe shop of the shoe-seller, who is originally from Sinop but who has been living in Istanbul for 62 years, is not found in the elegant fabric shop of the Jewish fabric tradesman from Istanbul. They are both left-outs from secondary school and have parents with only primary school education. Whereas the mother and father of the shoe-seller is (or was?) farmers, the father of the tradesman is a fisherman and his mother is a housewife. The shoe-seller lives with his extended family in Mecidiyeköy and the fabric tradesman now lives in Ulus only with his wife, their children being already married. He was born and raised in Galata Kuledibi –"Kuledibi is the place I was born and raised. I go (there). I can not ignore"-- and has lived there with his family until the 1960s.

His fabric shop has been in the same place, a side street close to Galatasaray, since 1958. When I first visited the shop, abiding the recommendation of the flâneurin public officer (50, female), I noticed an old, good-looking man sitting in a corner while other salesmen were standing behind their counters. As soon as I pointed out my wish for an interview to the nearest standing man, the old man at the corner got lost somewhere behind the shop. The younger man I spoke to then invited me back for the next morning when he said, the shop-owner would be there. When I went to the shop next morning the shop-owner, the white, long-haired, good-looking man who was sitting inside and suddenly disappeared the day before, was waiting for me in a smart suit for my interview, for which he refused being audio recorded. I had to simply take notes.

What is most interesting in the fabric tradesman's interview is the strong association he makes between TRS and the Turkish Republic and despite all the shameful events in history like 6-7 September 1955 to begin with: "It's exactly a republican square. The street names surrounding it are İstiklal Street, Cumhuriyet Street anyway." He is one of the interviewees –including drugstore seller e.g., "It reflects the Republican era I think.", shoe-seller e.g. "There is that Monument there you see. That is the only love there; only that remains.", corsetiere e.g., "We could say it (TRS) is one of the symbols of the Turkish Republic."--

whose meanings attached to the present TRS match the originally intended meaning as a national public space, either because they are old enough to somehow remember the events commemorated in the place or as in the case of the corsetiere, they are the children of such people with the memory of these national events. In the case of the fabric tradesman, there is probably also an influence of his 'outsider' status as the member of a religious minority, which might have made him more alert to national symbols like the Republic Monument. Therefore, the symbolic meaning of TRS for the fabric tradesman continues to be independence and democracy. This is why the first connotation of TRS for him is the Monument, for which he says: "There is the monument of Atatürk. (It's) a monument which I am interested in, an exceptional monument. … It's a monument stepping into the Republic, with its artillery, rifle, women, soldiers." He also says he keeps an eye on it to make sure of its presence in its place.

The foundation of this strong republican identity of TRS for the fabric tradesman seems to rest also on some personal experiences –usage-- of the place in his individual history beside his symbolic interpretations. One of these experiences is the Republic Day celebrations at the square. He recalls from his memory about these celebrations: "In the Republic Days, waters sprang at the square; we used to go at those days to watch the waters. Now young people listen to music." The waters he mentions about should be the fountain on the wall of the water storage and where most Istanbulians had a picture, as remarked by the second-hand book seller (63, male), who comes across many old photos like that because of the nature of his job.

By this comment about the Republic Days, the fabric tradesman confirms what the tunnel employee, who has also spent his childhood in Taksim-Beyoğlu area, says about the minorities that is: "On 29th of October holidays, foreign citizens even used to come to Taksim square and celebrate the Republic Day with the Turks." The tunnel employee tells about the old Jewish neighborhood behind the historical tunnel building, Metrohan:

> We used to call this back neighborhood: Jewish neighborhood. It wasn't a developed neighborhood though, rather undeveloped and neglected. Most of the Jewish and among them acquaintances later had to leave. I sometimes see some friends, who say we will stay and die here. The neighborliness of the foreigners here was very good.

That must approximately correspond the time when the fabric tradesman was still living in Galata Kuledibi –the Jewish neighborhood in the tunnel employee's words.

The same liking that the tunnel employee has for the non-Muslim citizens of the time, the fabric tradesman seems to have for the Muslims, saying: “Previously there was predominantly a non-Muslim population in Beyoğlu, they left. In their place, people coming from Anatolia settled. They are all the same for me. I am Jewish but Turkish!” On the other hand, he thinks that the quality of Taksim, Beyoğlu decreased with the departure of the non-Muslims –the tunnel employee thinks the same-- and closure of traffic on İstiklal Street e.g., “The qualified customer of İstiklal left here at the time, due to the removal of traffic. I told it to Vakko’s owner at that time. He had to leave (here). I am resisting. Wealthy man goes to restaurant, and so on with his car.” Therefore, primarily being a tradesman, he is against to the idea of making TRS solely for the pedestrians.

Finally, he objects to building of a mosque at TRS with the anti-Fatih argument applied to by some other interviewees as a point of comparison. The piano teacher (41, the daughter of a retired colonel) answers to my question of the political references of the square, by saying that she conceives something more related to youth, dynamic and enlightened and adds: “Here is different. You can’t consider it as a Fatih square. Other things should be done here.” And the retired teacher (65, male) comments on the mosque project again with reference to Fatih approached as the anti-thesis of TRS:

> The thought of persisting in building a mosque here is wrong because it is contradictory with this region … (It’s) a place that represents modernity. I don’t want to say that religion is anti-modern but in religion, there are sections that we call bigots, who would abuse it; they would turn this (place) into Fatih, I mean.

Likewise, the square which is now the symbol of “independence and democracy” would then “see the men in religious gowns, if the mosque was built” (fabric tradesman, 78). Plus, “it would become Fatih.” The fabric tradesman firmly suggested me as a sociology student, to visit the Fatih area to see its atmosphere, very much unlikely to be found in Taksim, in his opinion. He could still communicate with the people –men basically—from Fatih through his trade, just like a doctor for instance, would do, the difference for his case however lying in his profit orientation.

In short, TRS continues to have its social relevance for some interviewees despite the change in people or quality, who first received this message pertaining to national values from the place in the past, and did not let it pass from their consciousness. The societal reference point function of TRS has endured for them, because they directly experienced the past, and now they do not perhaps have a need for any physical markers to carry on the

spirit or in the case of the fabric tradesman, because his 'outsider' condition in the society has probably made him more aware of or sensitive to nationality.

The Republic Monument has a significant role as a physical marker of this republican meaning at TRS. Hence, the interpretations of the interviewees about the symbolic message of the Monument are also studied here.

In compiling the literature on public monuments presented earlier, the main theme revolved around the discussion of history and power, that is, the representation of *a* history by power on public spaces in the form of public monuments. Most scholars therefore, argue that the resulting public monuments mostly tell a "national narrative" inscribed there by the political elites of a society, particularly during the political transformations. The aim is accumulating symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1986), through being recognized or legitimized in the eyes of the public over their reception of the intended message conveyed by the monument. A related debate about public monuments involved the contrast between violent monuments and democratic or anti-monuments. The former as a means of social control, aiming at the popular acceptance of the status quo, is argued to end up with those public arts without a public or simply, forgetfulness rather than remembering of important past social events. The situation is described by Paces (2004) as the creation of a marker lulling people into complacency. After this brief summary of the literature on public monuments, the question becomes whether it is possible or how much sense it makes to interpret the Republic Monument in Taksim along these terms.

First of all, there are some interviewees for whom the Republic Monument does not have a special meaning except for its having been located in TRS for a long period of time and thus, identified with the square (indifference). The first association that comes to the retired teacher's (65, male) mind for instance, is the "Monument, Atatürk monument" along with the subway and AKM "with no particular reason, but because it is a monument there, to tell the truth". His indifferent attitude towards the Monument, which he nonetheless acknowledges to be the only structure at TRS that is associated with the Republic, is the same with his indifference to the Republican identity of the square: "They called it the Republican Square in the past. They said it represented the Republic, but I don't quite believe in such things. I mean, there is nothing such as, 'that place represents that'; it is different for all." He still admits though that it is the only square in Istanbul having such a monument with the connotation of the Republic and so, "Kemalists come here and do

things, talk here, unite together here, when it is one of their days." His sentence implies that he does not feel the same way about or acquire the same meaning from the Monument as those Kemalists.

A second interviewee, again indifferent about the Republic Monument, is the photographer (36, female), who is from Uşak and came to Istanbul for studying at the university. She is currently a single mother working as a sales clerk in a second-hand clothes shop and a freelance photographer from time to time. Similar to the retired teacher, she also does not attribute a special meaning to TRS except its centrality and her personal history of the place made up of the 1st of May celebrations. She says for the Monument straight-out that it does not interest her at all and continues as follows: "I mean, ok I see there is there Atatürk monument, and so on but otherwise…" At the same time however, she recognizes a symbolism of the Monument in the sense of providing a meeting point for people and its being characteristic of TRS.

Then there are other interviewees e.g., the waitress, the piano teacher, and the stationery seller, despite liking the Monument, are ashamed of not having any clue about its symbolism or what it is a symbol of (unawareness). The waitress (24), who came to Istanbul from her family home in Tekirdağ in 2004 for the university just as the photographer, attributes to TRS a similar functionalist or practical meaning as meeting point and also makes a nostalgic comment like "Taksim square at that time (when her father had joined to public protests at the square) really had a meaning. Even though it is at the moment a place we only pass through…" For the Monument, she openheartedly admits her ignorance and makes a violent guess that the distinguishing feature of the Monument is probably its being known by much more people. It feels to her as if more things have happened and been shared around it, in comparison to any other, newer monument in Istanbul.

The piano teacher (41, female) and the stationery seller (53, male) are among the interviewees, who have never had the opportunity to examine the Monument by standing close and turning around it. The stationery seller also applies to the widespread excuse of not recognizing the distinguishing feature of the Monument because of being accustomed to the scene or place as a result of his frequent usage. This inattentiveness could perhaps be better understood by looking at it from the perspective of a Cynthia Paces (2004) arguing in a way that the emptiness sometimes "speaks" the message better than the object i.e., a monument. The case of the piano teacher or the stationery seller, who are not against the Republic Monument anyhow, corresponds to the moment when the monument

starts to take on the job of remembering instead of the people to whom it should actually be only a symbol for their remembering.

On the other hand, the corsetiere (49, male), who actually regards it as a monument symbolizing the Turkish Republic, says at the same time that if it was located elsewhere it might not have been paid so much attention. But he also thinks the square would lose its symbolism of the Republic, if the Monument was not there anymore. In his opinion, Taksim square is still very significant for its centrality even without having its Republican quality. As some additional knowledge, when asked about the first picture that comes to his mind when one said Istanbul, the corsetiere answers the Topkapı Palace and the Blue Mosque as places representing the Ottoman state. Moreover, he envisages TRS as a vast culture valley embracing the whole cultural mosaic of Turkey. The word "mosaic" is quite reminiscent of the multiculturalism as a sign of developed democracy that is often wrongly ascribed to the Ottoman period, and further, as a concept already put aside by the European Union nowadays.

In addition to these indifference and unawareness about the Republic Monument in Taksim, there are more puzzled and thus, puzzling approaches to it like that of the architect (55, male). The architect interprets the Monument, not as Republican but as new-Ottoman or as he also defines it, as part of the first national ("1. Milli") program, and in this respect, somehow anachronistic. In his logic, he somehow connects the Republic Monument with this "first national program" pursued by the Ottoman elite, who were later eliminated by the Republican elite. Even though he remarks that "when I pass from there I am relieved to see that it is (still) standing in its place," he at the same time, suggests about its origin that "the shopkeepers here, … Greek, Jewish, make it for ingratiating themselves with Ankara, to lick Ankara's arse". Nevertheless, he as a "professional volunteer" continues to protect the Monument, when for example, the circler base surrounding it is flooded or its original fences are attempted to be replaced by the municipality, and so on. His relationship to the Monument is a contradictory one, making it harder for any third party to penetrate into its full meaning.

After such negative-weighted opinions with respect to the Republic Monument, the rest and actually the majority of the interviewees seem to be very much fond of the Monument. These positive-minded interviewees obviously do not regard the Monument as neither violent nor anti-democratic. On the contrary, they place it into the exact center of their democratic attempts like public protests. The Republic Monument of Canonica is

incompatible with the definition of an anti-democratic or violent monument with an affirmative function of the status quo, also depending on its physical characteristics as mentioned earlier in the Form chapter i.e., its size both with respect to its own height (11m.) and that of the figures inside it, is mentioned mostly for its human scale. These interviewees also evaluate any official attempt like covering it for restoration for long or surrounding barricades around its circler base, as anti-democratic because of their making the Monument seem to be a taboo. Moreover, they surely see its message or "national narrative" as legitimate, because they also remember the foundation of the Turkish Republic and its founder Atatürk with good feelings or as in the case of the publishing employee, at least respect the war or the idea(l) of independence.

The first connotation of TRS is the Monument for the collectioner (59, male), who finds an Atatürk monument very much fit for the square and expresses his feelings about it in the following words:

> In all city squares there is a sculpture, which is traditional. A sculpture that would best represent the country is usually built like a famous musician, an inventor, a bull, tulip, etc. Atatürk is the most suitable for Taksim square. What else should have been put instead? We owe to him a lot.

Apparently he is also interested in the Ottoman history and makes a comparison such as, "Two people conquered Istanbul: Fatih and Atatürk." The collectioner refers to the names of the surrounding streets and districts like the İstiklal Street and Kurtuluş as further evidences of this conquest or rather the emancipation of the city from the enemy's invasion. Nevertheless he does not seem to be very fond of using the name, Taksim Republican Square, instead of the prevalent Taksim Square and thinks that the "people of the city" decide in the end.

When said Taksim, the faculty member (58, male) also remembers first, the Republic Monument, which he similar to most other interviewees calls "Atatürk Monument". He "remembers that and likes it, likes that Monument," although he does not particularly like soldiers, his father being one. His explanation of his appreciation of the Republic Monument is based on its dynamism and size:

> … Even though he (Atatürk) is in his military rank, he is depicted in a form of behavior that makes a whole nation follow along behind him … I like that monument because everyone representing Turkey is there together with Atatürk being at the front. Plus its size, I mean Atatürk's height is very much human-scale, there is no glorification.

This comment alone might have sufficed to render the Republic Monument an exception to the authoritarianism in a package together with all its associated concepts like imperialism, colonization, despotism, state violence, etc., ascribed for instance, to the official post-Soviet Russian memorials by Forest and Johnson (2002) or to the Vittorio Emanuele II Monument by Atkinson and Cosgrove (1998).

The artist (69, male) as someone, whose area of expertise is painting and sculpture, points at both the tradition of placing a sculpture at city squares that is actualized by the Republic Monument in the case of Taksim and the size specialty of the Monument of Canonica. Accordingly, the understanding of placing the monument of a statesman in the middle of a town square is an old one, spread out from Europe. In this sense, he thinks TRS has a "posture willing to be a center". In addition, the Monument has assumed the function of demarcating the final stop of protest marches:

> People used to place a wreath on the Monument. Therefore, protest marches have started to be made in Taksim because after the march, the aim seems to be, placing a wreath on Atatürk Monument and so ending the protest in front of it with a public speech.

The speech in front of Atatürk as the important statesman of Turkey symbolically meant to be a complaint of wrongdoings to him –just as people visit Anıtkabir in Ankara-- and because "there has been no change in its meaning; they are trying to protect the square from the raise of opposing sounds". About the size, he mentions its humanitarianism, elegance, and non-monumentality, all of which renders it cute and beautiful, while also enabling him to remark: "That is to say, it is not an authoritarian symbol intending to frighten or intimidate." This comment also distinguishes the Republic Monument from the monument type criticized in literature.

Regardless of the meanings the Monument has acquired during the protest marches; it continues to evoke the Republican ideal in many of its spectators, who answer its message along similar lines. The second-hand book seller (63, male) for example, expresses his reception of the Republican message, by saying:

> Now, the monument is a symbol. A symbol … The war of independence is there. What else? Ottoman Empire is there. There are even foreign generals. The symbol of fraternity, the Republic, and laicism. A symbol! (for "*Simge de simge*!") That is a monument, a real monument. Nobody could have approached to its right or left … Taksim as a monument is the symbol of the Republic. Both the Republic and the figures of all the things Atatürk have done before the Republic are found there.

He also points to the Monument's function as a photograph background for most of the people in the city and recently, even for the Arabic tourists, who he says, like to feed the pigeons that are blamed to make the Monument dirty.

The drugstore helper (51, male), who has been working in the same old drugstore at the entry of İstiklal Street, located under Beyoglu Beautification and Preservation Society since 1990, does not see a change in TRS, which he interprets as a freedom square like Hyde Park. The only change he observes is the restoration of the Republic Monument that is going on during our interview. He thinks that the square reflects the Republican period more than any other historical period of Turkey, because it lacks for instance, a monument to reflect the Ottoman period, except the water storage (maksem). About this historicity of TRS he remarks:

> You see, there is the biggest monument there: The Atatürk monument that has been the biggest symbol. Atatürk is the symbol of the Republic you know, the symbol of the Turks, of the last period. Therefore, the monument is an attraction for me … What is it? It symbolizes our war of independence, Atatürk, the Republic, and because it is a symbol, it appeals to me.

Therefore, he also receives the intended message of the Republic Monument and speaks back to it in the same tone. This is why he is against the building of a mosque on TRS as a totally different monument with a totally different message:

> Because Taksim square is a symbol … For example, there was a barracks here, we demolished it. They have already made this place into a monument with its park, etc. Destroying this again for a mosque … There is no sense to bringing contrast opinions together. Of course, here is a republican square; you go and try to put a mosque into it! Wouldn't the old know to build here a mosque too, were those men without a god?

The Republican meaning of the Monument located in TRS as a place of freedom is clear to the drugstore helper, who is a faithful person performing his prayer at the back of his shop. Yet, he claims against the "need discourse" of the current management for a new mosque at TRS, by saying that there are already enough mosques in the vicinity.

The public officer (50, female), who is well aware of the ideological struggles over structures like buildings, at the moment has the connotation of geography to be discovered for Taksim in general. The square in particular, used to be a symbol of freedom and rebellion in her politically active youth, and she used it as all hers for public meetings, legal or not. As the world has changed by also penetrating into the "texture" of the square, she has changed in terms of losing her confidence into things and looking now differently to the social events. Although she still sometimes joins to public meetings at TRS, she admits she is not as enthusiastic as in her youth. About the Republic Monument, she personally sees it as a representation of the individual, who will lead the pursuing of the goals of the Republic, and as evoking the Republican period. It is the signal of "a combination of the labor produced by women, men, youth, soldier, all together; the stress of it; and, the final victory".

For all this symbolism of our societal history, the Monument is a basic reference point for the public officer, who is in need of such reference points for determining her (our) societal coordinates, and hence, future direction --the definition of a "good place" in Lynch (1981) is its function as a reference point for personal and societal sources of meaning. To the extent that the public officer could say, "In my own, personal life, it is for me, a basic figure. Taksim means this Monument; that is to say, a Taksim without it, is for me like a person staying naked. (Without the Monument) I would be alienated to Taksim. To me, it is like the Million Stone in Sultanahmet," TRS becomes a "good place" for her.

On the other hand, when she thinks about the Monument in its present surrounding objectively, she claims that it now fails to give out its message without the supporting elements like buildings that used to be there earlier –the faculty member (58, male) thinks in a similar vein, that the Monument has in time, become secluded in TRS. Accordingly, she finds it wrong to attribute too much function to the Monument alone. The meaning should flow more from the conscious of people to the Monument rather than the opposite way around. In other words, the Monument should not be the one to do the remembering of social values as pointed out by Paces (2004) for the case of Marian Column in Prague, but people. And at this point, the public officer claims, the elements surrounding the Monument may even not be enough as long as the perception of people remains the same. The symbolism of a monument is a two way process, as argued by Forest and Johnson (2002) for national identity creation via erecting public monuments.

The ideological struggles waged over the structures in TRS are not only limited to the popular issue of the mosque project –against AKM, Aya Triada Church, or the Republic Monument. There has been in the past, and are today, other attempts and applications of building monuments at TRS. One of the historical has been a monument from a "bayonet" as recalled by the artist (69, male) to be placed in the middle of AKM and the Republic Monument after one of the military coups. The artist tells the story as:

> After the military coup in 1960, a bayonet was erected a little further Atatürk monument, somewhere in the middle of Atatürk monument and AKM by the military command. A bayonet like this of course drew too much reaction. Could there be a monument like that from a bayonet?! It has stayed for many years. If I am not mistaken in the 1960 (coup) or was it in 1971? An enormous bayonet on its own and it drew too much reaction because it looked like a threat thing in the middle of Taksim square.

This monument from a bayonet which was later removed could be a much better example of the kind of violent monument, frequently mentioned in the literature on public monuments.

Figure 4. The monument from Bayonet, 1970s Source: Mimdap.org, Folder: 1 Mayıs, 29 April 2009

A current attempt of Metropolitan Municipality and Beyoğlu Beautification and Preservation Society is a conic monument, recently located "temporarily" in the entry of Taksim Gezi Park, immediately after the bus stop, a location that is highly dominant over the square. The monument is a simple cone without any other specialness, except its height that makes it seem to overwhelm the Republic Monument, which is also situated lower in the ground. For the first viewer, it makes no sense, either functionally or aesthetically. In a comic supplement of a daily newspaper, it has been ridiculed as the first element of the intended mosque, that is, the minaret's hat and it surely resembles one. The cone rises there as if a materialization of what the public officer (50, female) would call, something harming the "visual continuity" of the place, just like the Süzer Plaza or the small, tin minaret on the water storage at present. The comic's comment with the title of "Miracle Minaret at Taksim" seems to be just in place:

> The minaret seeds planted to the side of Taksim Gezi Park in the last months have started to bear its first fruits. The half minaret, which has the emblem of the Metropolitan Municipality and is lighted after dark, is expected to grow in time to become a full-fledged mosque and in this way, start to realize the prime minister's Crazy Istanbul Project. ("Taksim'de Mucize Minare.")

Then there is again a huge cat with its different colored plastic eyes attached to its body made from flowers towards the front of AKM. It also looks very kitschy; however, people still go and take pictures in front of it, making one think of a match between the supply and demand, but which one comes out of which, like the chicken and eggs problem, remains as a question.

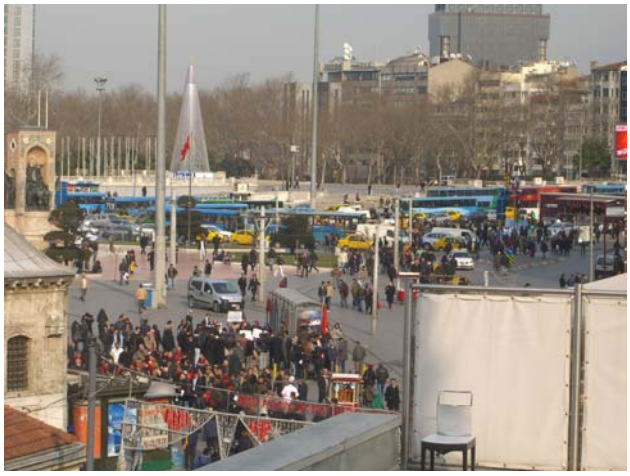

Figure 5. The Proportion of the Conic Monument in Comparison to the Republic Monument Source: Adnan Keçeci

During my personal observations of TRS in various occasions, the relationship of people using TRS and the Republic Monument seemed to be very unlike a relationship of hegemony, symbolized by the monument representing power that dominates over the public. Despite all efforts to render it a taboo for ordinary people, people seem to find innovative ways to interact with the Republic Monument. While observing the Beyoğlu Second-hand Book Sellers' Festival 2010 in September, the weather was still hot during the day. On my way home, I saw some traditionally dressed, old women sitting in the shadow of the Monument, at the small grass area next to it, in the lack of enough shelters from sun as well as sitting arrangements at the square. I evaluated the scene on the spur of the moment, as a well example of the "ruralization of the city" argument common to the public officer, the shoe-seller, and the tunnel employee. Nonetheless, the scene could have as well, been interpreted as a kind of communication between the Monument and those old women in their baggy trousers ("şalvar") and white kerchief, who are apparently not intimidated at all, by the symbolism of the Monument. On the quite contrary, they were resting in its shadow on a sunny day of Istanbul's autumn.

Figure 6. Women Sitting in the Shadow of the Republic Monument on a Hot Autumn Day Source: Defne Kırmızı

Another scene with regard to the 'communication' between the Republic Monument and the people in the street, belongs to the 1st of May celebration held at TRS in 2010, a socio-political occasion full of meaning, because of being the first 1st of May celebration at Taksim in years after the tragedy of 1 May 1977. Even though I felt there was an organizational problem in the event as a whole, participating people did their best to keep the atmosphere alive. For instance, they did not have any inhibitions about climbing on the Monument with their flags and posters in their hands so much that after some time, the figures of the Monument could not be seen, covered with various groups' flags, of all colors. Neither the police barricades surrounding the Monument on that day, nor the mentality illustrated by the faculty member (58, male) saying, "And sometimes I get angry because they climb on it. I get nervous, I mean. I don't attribute divineness to Atatürk but it is disrespect to him, you see," were of no use in preventing this unification or appointment this time not near the Monument as usual but simply on it.

Figure 7. The Republic Monument and Flags on 1st May 2010 at Taksim Republican Square Source: Personal Archive

5.3.4. A Conflictual Meaning

The final meaning attached to TRS to be highlighted is the conflictual meaning, conflictual both in the sense of being eclectic and hence, not clear and conflictual in the sense of arising from social conflicts in the form of political and ideological struggles at and over TRS in the past and at present. This conflictual meaning is also built upon usage and/or symbolic interpretation, whose weight in the acquired meaning depends on the user. The publishing employee as a representative of the young population is the selected example for the conflictual meaning in the sense of an unclear, eclectic meaning attached to TRS, and the architect is chosen as the crystallized case of the conflictual meaning developed through an interpretation of the political-ideological conflicts over TRS in the past and at present.

The exact opposite of the interviewees represented by the fabric tradesman, who attach a republican meaning to TRS, is embodied in the publishing employee (35, male), who first of all denies anything like the spirit of the square for Taksim. He explains his sentence of, "And there is nothing like the spirit of square, I mean," by claiming that TRS is only evaluated based on its crowd and lacks organizations except some concerts, which oversimplify the meaning of the place by equalizing it again into the number of crowds hosted there. This pessimistic evaluation leads him to wish TRS to primarily –before thinking about the appropriate activities, and so on-- regain a public square quality.

The publishing employee actually provides some hints of his sense of TRS over the meaning he ascribes to others. He interprets the meaning of the place for other people in general as follows: “It actually has (a symbolic meaning). Eventually, it is a significant square, a significant monument. A meaning attributed to Atatürk, a meaning attributed to the War of Independence, you see.” The second sentence implies that he does not share these meanings ascribed to Atatürk and the National War symbolized at the square and especially, the Monument. More precisely, there are some parts of this message that he agrees with or accepts and others, probably the nationalism involved, that he rejects. His next sentence points to his dubious position: “Behind Atatürk, there are the figures of Bolshevik military officers; people don’t know this very much. Bolshevik officers are there as a gesture to the support of Russia during that period.” This is perhaps a feature of the Monument that he likes.

The same love and hate relationship of him to the Republic and its physical reference points is revealed through his answer to the question of the first place that comes to his mind, when said Istanbul, at the end of the interview. “Saint Sophia,” he answers, because it is the old and first Istanbul and it is so impressive, reminding him the “cultural richness”. It also “carries something related to the identity that Istanbul lost together with the Republic,” he supposes. At the same time however, the publishing employee thinks that people’s variety in terms of both class and origin, which also brings with it chaos, is available in Taksim, Beyoğlu more than the Anatolian side, for instance. This quality renders Taksim a melting pot, one nonetheless, where people can not mix or commingle, this time due to the political –divisive-- meanings attached to TRS after the political “fights” there in the past. This is why if the square were to symbolize anything, it would, for the publishing employee, be a symbol of a “place of murder” because of the many people killed in May 1st, 1977.

Following the national ones, political meaning and particularly, the association of TRS with protests, is another symbolic field that he is against. Nonetheless for other interviewees such as the drugstore helper e.g. “I think of it (TRS) as a symbol of freedom.”, the artist e.g. “I immediately remember public meetings when said using squares.”, the psychological consultant e.g. “Taksim is a place of public meetings for me.”, the waitress e.g. “I think Taksim square could perhaps be the symbol of democracy.”, TRS has a more positively quoted political meaning, rendering the square a place of democracy and freedom even

likened to Hyde Park in London. This is why the tramway chief (55, male) could say: "Attending to May 1, 1977 is a distinct honor. It is a medal on our generation's chest."

On the other hand, the publishing employee includes in this kind of usage of the square by protesters that he is against, the ceremonial uses of the institutional users as well, and remarks:

> It shouldn't be only these, the thing (function-meaning) of a square and a monument. It should have an aesthetic value on one side. After all, we are talking about an art thing, even if it is a monument of Atatürk. I think it is a beautiful sculpture but its presentation and the meaning people attribute in their minds to the sculpture and the square is not like that, it seems to me.

His sense-making of the place, more in aesthetic terms, is obviously different from the meaning that the fabric tradesman and the like acquire from it and most probably, from the intended meaning by the designer in the first place beside the interviewees who attach a political meaning to TRS, but he is not aware of this contradiction.

The dubious position of the publishing employee becomes apparent in his remark on the distinction of the Republic Monument:

> It eventually represents that process. I don't see it as an Atatürk monument placed somewhere superficially but as a monument having a story behind, representing the idea and process of independence. Therefore, we would expect it to be a more meaningful monument; I mean I would expect a more sensible treatment to it.

He claims that if the square was developed according to the Monument, which is continuously under restoration as if approaching it was a taboo it would be a more reasonable place. From this last comment as well as the publishing employee's dubious position –love and hate-- with respect to the symbolism of TRS, one could argue that TRS is not a "good place" (Lynch 1981). For it does not function as a reference point for personal, but more importantly societal sources of meaning. This is particularly valid for the younger generations in Turkey, who are already having less direct experience of the societal history, and hence, awareness of some social values arising from the past. And especially if we consider that the place in its presence falls short of providing the right historical references. All of this seems to create an anomic situation[8] for young to middle-aged people, leaving them in a state of self-contradictoriness.

[8] Mine Kırıkkanat in *Umudun Kırık Kanatlarında* touches upon this change in value judgments of Turkish people by referring to the nostalgia for Yeşilçam movies (the Turkish film era between 1950s

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If some young Turkish people below the age of 35 have a contradictory relationship to the Republican values and their representations in various facets of social life, as exemplified by the publishing employee, there is also another group of people, this time among the older sections of the society, sometimes called the second Republicans ("ikinci Cumhuriyetçi") that is, more alienated to these values arising from the social contract and develops harsher criticisms against them. The architect would be an example of this second group, belonging to the older generations. He is 55 years old, PhD, born in Istanbul. He is divorced and lives in Beyoğlu alone. Both his parents are university graduates, an exceptional situation in his peer group. The mother is still, a housewife and father, a bank employee. His work is divided into many different responsibilities, including teaching in architecture at a public university, making a program for Açık Radyo, being an active member of 8-9 associations beside several NGOs. Moreover, he was a board member of Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture.

His relationship to Taksim, Beyoğlu is a very organic one, based on his feelings of self-obligation to protect Istanbul in general e.g., "No, not only Taksim. I cope with many places, Taksim remains indeed, very insignificant relatively", from degeneration. He calls this relationship to the place, being a "professional volunteer". Some of his professional volunteerism involves interfering with, some physical arrangements concerning the Republic Monument, the usage of some historical parcels in Taksim as car park, the underground tunnels project considered for the square's traffic, the building of a hotel in the garden of Taşkışla, and so on. About converting TRS into a pedestrian zone by manipulating the flow of the vehicle traffic, as a project of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality on the agenda, the architect commented a year before that they should not arrange it because they could not manage it well, and pinpoints the problem in such endeavors as: "It should be opened to a multiple project … Because the public is organized according to a technocratic model in us, they consider engineering related and architectural matters not as creative work but as if they are the order of God." He further defines this kind of top-down arrangement of the square or any other place as symbolic violence

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and 1980s) where good people are really good and bad are really bad, and so everything is clear and safe, the individual and social reference points are still in place. The movie director Halit Refiğ comments on it in an interview (Datça, 2008) by saying: "Because the Turkish man struggles to keep these (family and social) values alive in reality, he likes these 'Yeşilçam' movies and identifies with the protagonists there." (http://www.yesilcam.gen.tr/category/roportaj/Halit/halitrefig.htm)

disguised as anonymity (of managerial decisions), a kind of violence resembling the police violence, however implemented by architect's torture like in Sulukule project or Taksim project.

Considering his level of involvement with TRS, his interpretation of it in terms of meaning becomes in some ways confusing. First of all, he starts by saying that TRS does not mean much to him, as he is accustomed to seeing it all the time; nonetheless, he could only interpret it once he thinks about it e.g., "If you read it from inside, it doesn't symbolize (the Republic). If you look at the Republic from outside, it does". Furthermore, despite all his criticism against the Republic as anti-democratic, elitist, and so on, that is, the common discourse of the Turkish liberals, he still says that the meaning of TRS as the unique symbolic project of the Republic common to all is very special to him and in case it somehow changed for example, by removing the Republic Monument from its location, then "there would be something missing from his life".

Looking at the square from outside, the architect interprets the meaning of TRS as the symbolic project of the Republic, transferring a whole private culture into the public space, which the industrial revolution did long before outside. He names this transformation of culture shifting to the public space as the "neo-classical[9] arrangement". He also claims that this "neo-classical political system" failed twenty years ago and AKM, closed for almost two years now, is the typical case of this failure in cultural transformation. He defines AKM as having international style and representing the European face of the Republic and therefore, getting too much reaction from the opposite ideology in power that insists on building a mosque on TRS. Accordingly, he considers the mosque as intended against AKM and not the Republic Monument, as believed by many, which he regards as "new-Ottoman". Another outcome of this failure that resulted in the current process lacking a subject in the case of AKM has been "privatization" and "announcement as the congress valley" of the single Republican program of the city.

Even though the architect believes that the system failed twenty years ago, it had already been punctured in the 1950s; for example, the Prost plan for Istanbul was not implemented fully. From this last comment of the architect, one suspects that his argument about the

[9] The neoclassical architecture is defined as follows: "Neoclassical architecture is characterized by grandeur of scale, simplicity of geometric forms, Greek—especially Doric (see order)—or Roman detail, dramatic use of columns, and a preference for blank walls. The new taste for antique simplicity represented a general reaction to the excesses of the Rococo style." (http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/1383512/Neoclassical-architecture)

failure of the Republican (cultural) program refers to post-1950s. But then knowing that the first democratization efforts in terms of multiple party politics coincides with the same period, one gets confused about which period of the Republican regime the architect actually criticizes as anti-democratic, authoritarian, and elitist.

Nevertheless, the architect thinks that the symbolism of TRS still continues today, because it now symbolizes "the situation the Republic has fallen into". His explanation about the ongoing symbolism of TRS is as follows:

> It (TRS) reflects the past aspirations of the Republic and the project it tried to accomplish as well. You already see in the 1950s and 60s, why it failed. You see it all with the entire 1st of Mays, etc. I mean, there are very few places having such a wide repertoire and expressing the transformation a country or a city has lived through at the scale of a square. Today all its documents … That is, here is a museum indeed. Taksim is a museum with all its memory, remnants, AKM. I mean, you could see a story of the Republic there.

The architect (55, male) is perhaps right when he says, there are few places that could express the transformation a country or a city has passed through (so well) at the level of a square. One area to trace this transformation of the city at the level of a square could for example be the name changes of the square in history. Relatedly, 64 (n: 71) questionnaire respondents answered "Taksim Square" when asked about the name of the square. 2 respondents answered "the Republic Square", again 2 answered "Taksim 1st of May Square", and still 2 answered "Taksim Republican Square". Only 1 respondent answered "Taksim Atatürk Square". Considering that the original name of the square i.e., Taksim Republican Square, is remembered only by 2/71 respondents, this finding implicates in a way, the symbolic hegemony of power or the success of power in dominating and manipulating the conceptions of space and time, and the ideological uses to which those conceptions might be put (Harvey 2003, 218).

The architect is the interviewee, who actually conceives TRS as the center of a clash among certain ideological uses of varying spatial conceptions. For the architect, the continuing presence of the Republic at TRS is an "occupation", an insistence of being there due to the "Islamists", advocating the "Ottoman program" that already dominates the historical peninsula and now is also actualized in Topkapı Şehir Parkı and "Panorama 1453 Fetih Müzesi" inside the park. He argues that TRS is at the center of this clash between the Ottoman –traditional-- and the Republican –modernist—program. Therefore, he interprets the mosque project on the agenda of the prevalent management as an endeavor to reinsert the traditionalist program into TRS, this time however, by staying within the nation-state

project and not by rebuilding the "cosmopolitanism" of the Ottoman. Moreover, he mentions about a third alternative, which favors the (free) market and is first set off with the building of Hilton, followed by other high-rise hotels in the area, and which now even acquired a name: the congress valley. Even though the architect's analysis of the current situation of TRS in terms of a confrontation among these three projects, the Republican-modernist, the Ottoman-traditionalist, and the global-market, provides a simplified picture of what happens, it has the danger of oversimplification that might lead to a negligence towards interconnections among these projects such as the seemingly traditionalist political program and the economic one e.g., "as a matter of fact, rent and religious matters are nowadays unfortunately one within the other" (publishing employee, 35, male).

Finally, architect's assessment about the "failure" of the Republican program that he claims is shown at present in TRS needs to be mentioned. According to him, TRS being the "place of worship" of the Republic is spared for this formal usage and thus, closed to the civil use except transport. Therefore, one sees there more, the soldiers, the police, governorship, municipality, whereas the "citizen" of the Republic feels himself or herself closer to a commercial place rather than for instance, an AKM hosting the activities of art as an "important occupation". This is because "it is not a problem of the Republic," that is, to realize the publicness quality of the square and the places within like AKM. And since TRS lacks that publicness, it cannot be used by people. The void created by the square put into only formal use and the Culture Center addressing only the elites is to an extent filled with the "philantrophy" that is actualized in the form of private museums like Pera Museum, Istanbul Modern, private art galleries, publishers, and so on. He evaluates this rise in private art-culture places as the actualization or finding its place of the public program intended by the Republic in the private sphere. This argument could perhaps be considered to be a reciprocal of the well-known "privatization of the public space"[10] argument because of referring rather to a *publicness achieved in the private space*.

Related to the architect's observation about this general trend in the Beyoğlu area towards publicness fulfilled by the private places and commercialization, one question directed at the questionnaire respondents asks which of the following characteristics outweighs in the present atmosphere of TRS: consumption; transport; art-culture; touristic area; historicity; politics; and, sightseeing and recreation. 20 (N: 71) labeled transport as the dominant

[10] For a related article on the issue, see Shirley Kressel's, a landscape architect and neighborhood activist from Boston, "Privatizing the Public Realm", available at http://www.progress.org/priv03.htm

attribute of the TRS at present. Sightseeing and recreation comes next with 15 respondents, followed after by a touristic area (12) and consumption (9) respectively. Art-culture and historicity are selected as the dominant attribute by only 6 respondents each and politics even by fewer i.e., 3 respondents. The pie chart below indicates this distribution of the respondents according to their chosen characteristic as dominating the aura of TRS today.

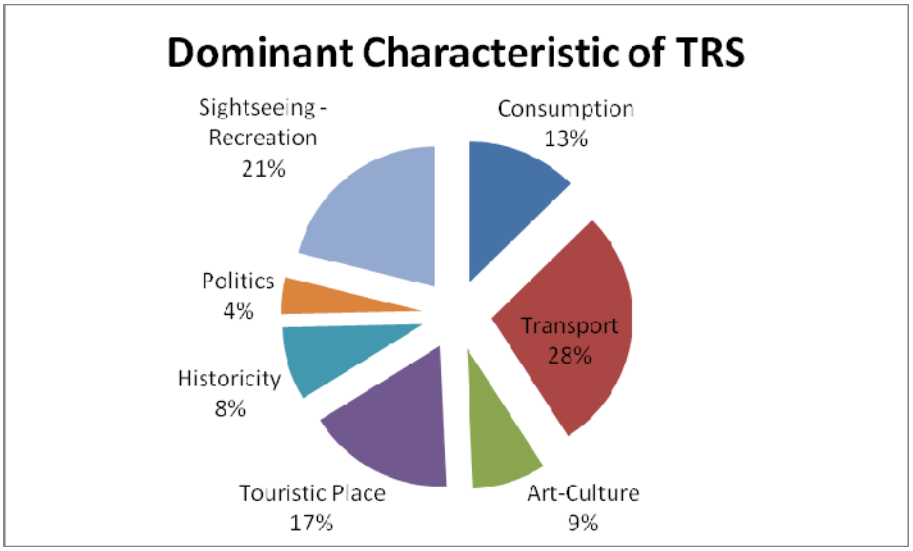

Figure 8. The Dominant Characteristic of Taksim Republican Square at Present

Transport chosen as the dominant attribute is not surprising considering that it is the first issue raised by also the in-depth interviewees including the architect and experts to be discussed later. Sightseeing and recreation as the second dominant attribute of TRS, is however kind of interesting due to the apparent inadequacies of the rather chaotic TRS in providing a suitable climate for these two activities. Touristic area and consumption alternatives are further evidences of the ideological uses of space and time conceptions (Harvey 1990), partially showing in how a place is used and understood based on how it is managed. For the land use plan of the municipality as the matter in hand, highlights for the

area these trading functions at the expense of its earlier dominant, art-cultural aura and historical symbolism going back to the foundations of the Republic. Politics ranking as the last could be related to an association in people's minds, of the political use of TRS with earlier periods in the place's social history, for instance the 1st of Mays in the 70s, 1977 demarcating the final point. It might as well be another indicator of the success of the management strategy in making it a place primarily for trade functions matching the free market alternative as a thirding to the Republican –modernist-- and the Ottoman –traditional-- programs for TRS in the words of the architect.

Accordingly, the architect's example is aimed at showing the conflictual meaning attached to TRS by the people, who interpret this spatial message based on the continuing ideological conflicts over the place by developing an outsider's perspective.

5.4. The Intersections among the Socio-Economic Status, Form, Use and Meaning

Considering that the research question of this study is what meaning the current users of Taksim Republican Square (TRS) attach to it, besides an understanding of the socio-economic profile of them over a random sample and their forms of usage as well as evaluations of its physical arrangement, this section is a synthesis based on an analysis of the questionnaire data with respect to these research goals. In other words, the relationship presumed to exist among the user's socio-economic profile, form of usage and meaning she or he attaches to TRS is examined with the help of some Excel graphics and statistical tables but keeping in mind the limitations of the data.

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To assess the relationship between the socio-economic status and the meaning of TRS, several crosstabs are applied such as: Education level-"Is there a distinctive feature of TRS?" (Pearson Chi-Square, no statistically significant relationship is found); education level-"Can you form an individual connection with the square?" (Pearson Chi-Square, no statistically significant relationship is found); education level-"Does the square occupy a significant place in your life?" (Pearson Chi-Square, no statistically significant relationship is found); education level-"Does the square create positive associations for you?" (Pearson Chi-Square, no statistically significant relationship is found), and so on. Nonetheless, the Chi-square test results are invalid to the extent that in most of these analyses the warning

that “7 cells (58.3%) have expected count less than 5,” appears. The same statistical insignificance applies to the entire eight yes-no questions about meaningfulness of the square in relation to the education level of the users. The Chi-square test is partly repeated for the user’s work --8 basic ISCO 88 categories— and meaning(fullness) measured by the same yes-no questions, resulting in the same no statistical significance. One exception to this is the significant relationship found between the monthly household income level and “Is there a societal connection between the square and its users?” (Appendix C, Table 9) But even in this case, 3 cells (37.5%) have expected count less than 5, therefore leaving the validity of the test in question.

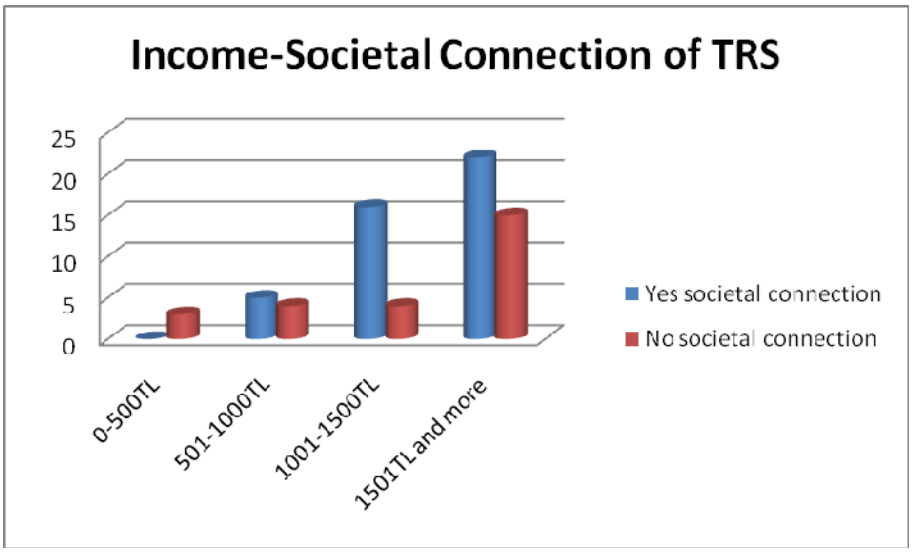

Figure 9. Income Level and Whether Taksim Republican Square Has a Societal Connection with Its Users

To assess the user’s socio-economic status and square’s meaning relationship further, One-way ANOVA tests are applied. The mean scores of the 45 possible attributes of TRS in the 11th question (dependent variables) are compared based on socio-economic status (independent) variables like education level (7 categories), work (8 ISCO 88 categories), and employment condition (unemployed, employed in public or employed in private sector).

Accordingly, there is found statistically significant differences among the different educational groups in the degree that they define TRS as: a place of surveillance; the place of 1st of May; a degenerated place; a separating place; a place showing social change ($p<0.05$). A significant difference is also found among the categories of employment condition in their level of description of TRS as: a societal reference point and a place of citizenship. Looking next at the relationship between work and the mean scores of the 45 possible attributes of TRS, a significant difference is found among the work categories in their level of defining TRS as: a transport and degenerated place. Nevertheless, these findings should be considered in caution due to the limited sample size --leaving even smaller numbers to each of the variable categories, and also the self-constructed 5 point scale in the meaning inquiry (question no. 11) providing the means to be compared.

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As for the usage, the respondents are asked about both their current and old uses of TRS. The following graphics depict these two uses of the same space –place-- at different times. Whereas TRS is currently used by the respondents mostly for meeting people, transport, and entertainment-recreation respectively, it was mainly used by the respondents for art-culture and entertainment in the past.

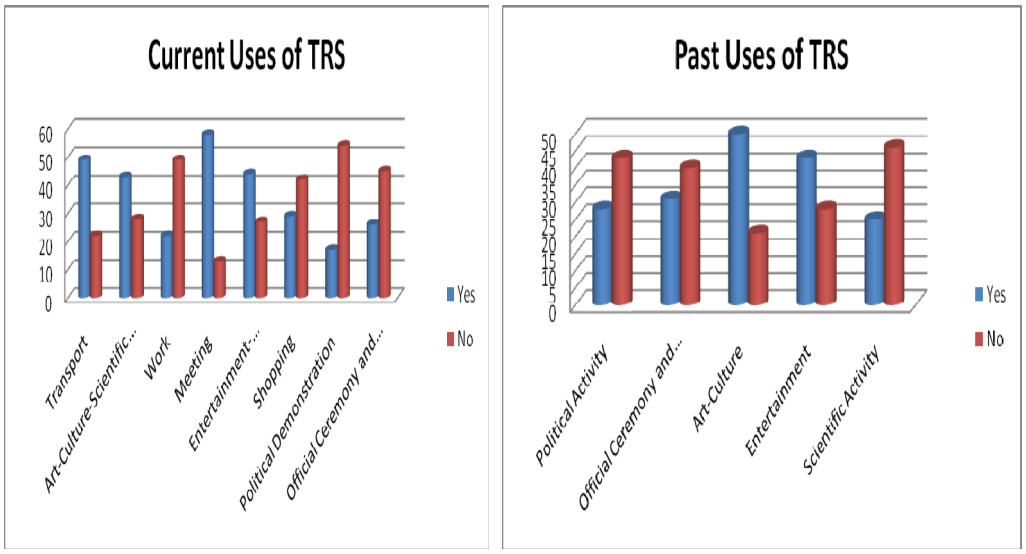

Figure 10. The Current and Previous Uses of Taksim Republican Square by the Questionnaire Respondents

To understand the relationship between usage and meaning, a T-test is applied to see if there is any difference in the amount of use between the respondents who think TRS has a distinctive feature –so, it is meaningful-- (N: 53) and those who do not (N: 18). Whereas the first group of users comes to TRS on average 11.32 days per month, the second group comes there 12.11 days a month. Equal variances assumed, there is no statistically significant difference in the amount of usage of the respondents who find TRS distinctive –meaningful-- and who do not. The assumed relationship between the usage and meaning in the Introduction is thus controversial. A Chi-square is also applied to assess further the relationship between the reasons of being on TRS on that particular moment --one of: transport, art-culture-scientific activity, work, entertainment-recreation, meeting, shopping, other--as one indicator of the use purpose and meaningfulness –frequencies of "Does the square enable events and experiences that you would describe as meaningful?". No statistically significant relationship is found meaning that people who use TRS for a particular purpose do not necessarily find it more or less meaningful than others.

A crosstab showing the relationship between the highest use purposes --in addition to the categories of the reason of being there on that moment mentioned above, it involves political demonstration plus official ceremony and commemoration-- and again,

meaningfulness –frequencies of “Does the square enable events and experiences that you would describe as meaningful?”-- is formed. The similarity between the two crosstabs lies in the closeness of the numbers of respondents, who use the square mostly for transport or being there on that particular moment for transport purpose, answering “yes” and those answering “no” to the meaning question. Hence, the transport function does not seem to have an impact on the meaning dimension of TRS, perhaps because transport activity is devoid of spending the least required time at the place to have a sense of it.

About the usage-meaning inquiry, a statistically significant difference is observed however, in the independent samples T-tests applied to some past uses --yes and no groups, to compare the mean scores of the related attributes of TRS (question no. 11). For example, there is a statistically significant difference found between the respondents who participated in political demonstrations on TRS in the past (mean: 3.54) and who did not (m: 3.16), in their degree of defining TRS as the “place of 1st of May”, equal variances assumed. The same result applies more strongly to the comparison of the mean scores of Taksim as the “place of the Republic” between the respondents who participated in official ceremonies and commemorations in the past on TRS (mean: 3.39) and who did not (m: 2.95) (Appendix C, Table 10). Likewise, a significant difference is observed between the mean scores of TRS as a “place of art and culture”, of the respondents who participated in art and culture activities on TRS in the past and who did not. Accordingly, one could argue that the use, at least in its past form, is not completely unrelated to the sense given or one attributes to TRS.

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The respondents are asked about their evaluations of the existing form or physical arrangement of TRS through an 11-item 1-to-7 disagree-agree response scale and five yes-no questions. The following is a graph showing the mean scores of the 11 items in the scale question –which are also touched upon parenthetically in the meaning chapter. Accordingly, the respondents think that TRS at present is highly accessible and people-oriented. Nevertheless, they find it unsatisfactory in terms of both natural elements like trees or water and visual continuity meaning, it is visually polluted.

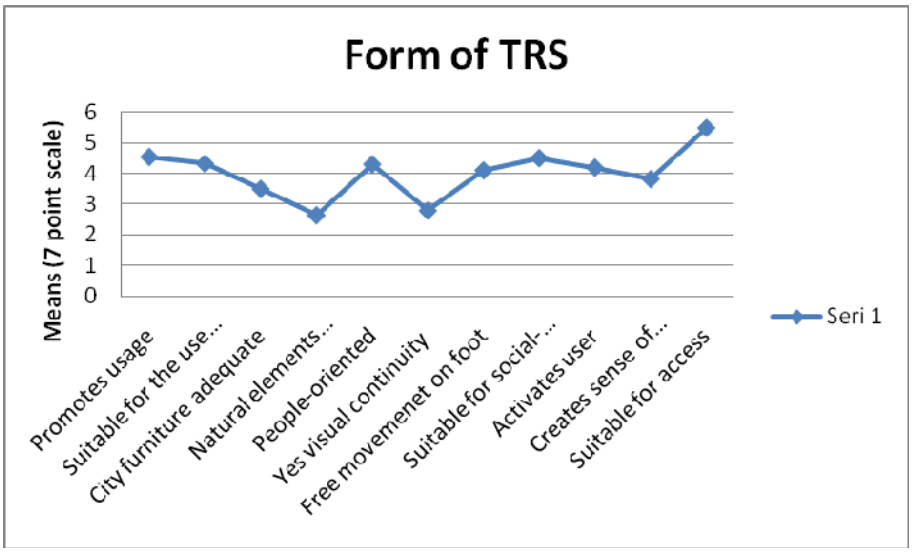

Figure 11. The Form of Taksim Republican Square Rated over a 7-Point Scale by the Respondents

Another graphic about the physical arrangement of the present TRS shows this time, the level of its answering the public space needs of the users. These needs include: usage; comfort; recreation; socialization; and self-development needs (inspired by Carr et al.'s categorization of needs in public space into five as comfort, relaxation, socialization, active and passive engagement, and discovery).

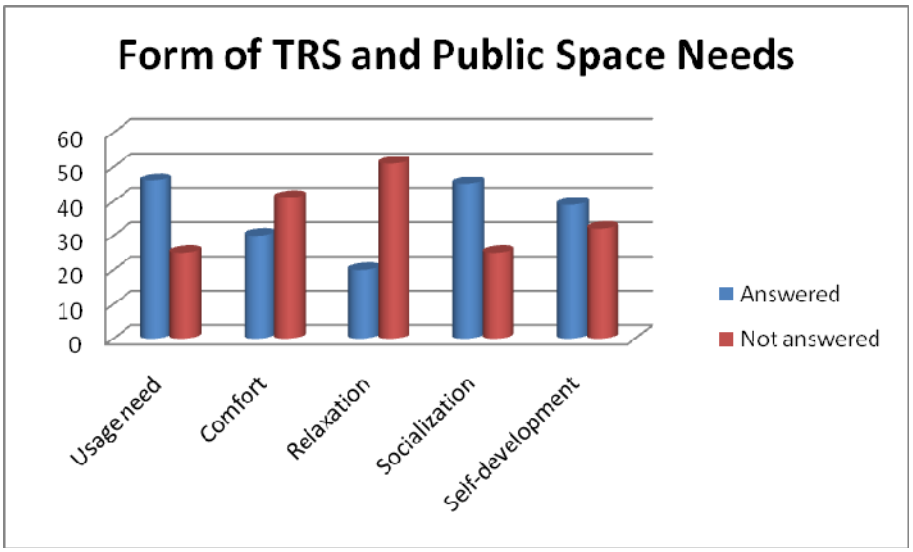

Figure 12. The Form of Taksim Republican Square Evaluated against Public Space Needs

Accordingly, while the current form of TRS seems to answer the usage needs of the respondents in general, it is in its chaotic presence lacking the adequate city furniture and natural elements mentioned above, far from satisfying their needs of comfort and relaxation. Nevertheless, being described as people-oriented by the respondents above and considering that one of its basic function or usage is making people meet, it answers their needs of socialization and self-development. The latter is related to the learning by means of the social mixture of people and the socio-cultural activities.

To have a sense of the relationship between the form of TRS and its usage, a One-way ANOVA test is applied to the variables of: the highest use --categories: transport; art-culture-scientific activity; work; meeting; entertainment-recreation; shopping; political demonstration; official ceremony and commemoration-- and the mean score of the 1-to-7 point scale item, "The square's form today promotes people's usage" (Appendix C, Table 11). There is found a statistically significant difference ($p<0.05$) among the different groupings based on their most frequent or highest use purposes. Albeit requiring more testing, a person's usage thus seems to be related to her or his ideas on the available physical arrangement of the square as presumed in the Introduction.

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Even though no particular assumption is made in the Introduction with respect to the socio-economic status and usage relationship, the following table depicts gender and the most frequent or highest uses of TRS. As the most frequent activity, women use TRS more than men for the purposes of meeting, work, entertainment-recreation, whereas men use it more for transport. On the other hand, women and men seem to use TRS for art and cultural activities equally.

Table 7. The Highest Use Purpose of Taksim Republican Square and Gender of the Questionnaire Respondents

Highest Use/Gender		Gender	
		Female	Male
The Highest Use Purpose	Transport	12	15
	Art-Culture-Scientific Activity	5	5
	Work	5	2
	Meeting	7	3
	Entertainment-Recreation	10	4
	Shopping	1	1
	Political Demonstration	0	0
	Official Ceremony and Commemoration	0	0
	Other	1	0

As for the relationship between education level forming another socio-economic status indicator and again the highest use of TRS –usage variable, a scene as in the below graphic appears. The university graduates use TRS *mostly* for transport, entertainment-recreation, and meeting, respectively. Respondents, who are postgraduates, use it first, for transport and second, for art-culture-scientific activity. Transport also makes up the highest use purpose both for college graduates and respondents with a high school diploma. The numbers of respondents having primary or secondary school diploma are too few to comment upon.

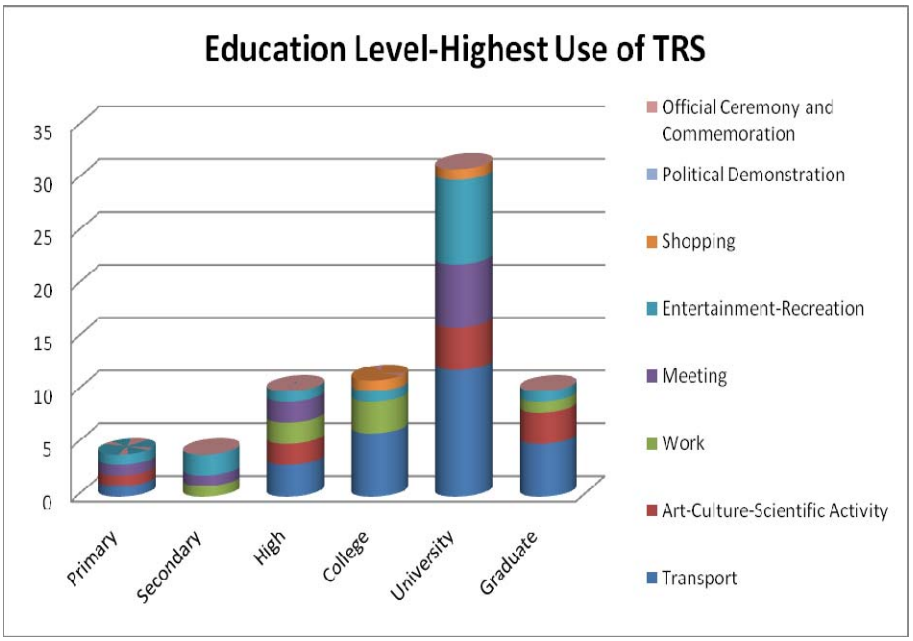

Figure 13. Education Level and the Highest Use Purpose of Taksim Republican Square

To see if there is an age factor in the usage --highest use purpose of TRS, a One-way ANOVA is applied by taking age as the dependent variable and categories of highest use as the independent i.e., transport; art-culture-scientific activity; work; meeting; entertainment-recreation; shopping; political demonstration; official ceremony and commemoration (Appendix C, Table 12). A statistically significant age difference is found among the highest use categories of people ($p<0.05$) meaning that different age groups might be using TRS for different purposes.

Finally, to see the income level and usage relationship, the following table is formed according to the monthly household income levels of the respondents and their highest use purposes of TRS. As one's income level increases, entertainment-recreation and art-culture-scientific activity seem more likely to become the highest use purposes. Nevertheless, some cells have too few respondents and there is such an uneven sample distribution of respondents in terms of their income levels that, it is not very possible to make wide

generalizations with respect to a link between people's main purposes of using TRS and their income levels.

Table 8. The Highest Use Purpose of Taksim Republican Square and Income Level of the Questionnaire Respondents

Highest Use/Income Level		Monthly Household Income			
		0-500TL	501-1000TL	1001-1500TL	1501TL+
The Highest Use Purpose	Transport	1	1	6	17
	Art-Culture-Scientific Activity	1	1	4	4
	Work	0	2	3	2
	Meeting	1	2	2	5
	Entertainment-Recreation	0	2	4	8
	Shopping	0	0	1	1
	Political Demonstration	0	0	0	0
	Official Ceremony and Commemoration	0	0	0	0
	Other	0	1	0	0

6. THE EXPERT OPINIONS ON TRS

As part of the field research, expert interviews are made with institutions, which are related to the realization of TRS, such as Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (İBB), Istanbul branch office of the Chamber of City Planners (ŞPO), again Istanbul Metropolitan branch office of the Chamber of Architects (M.O), and Beyoğlu Beautification and Preservation Society (BGKD). The chambers and the association are asked about their evaluations with respect to: the city square and public space characteristics of TRS; TRS in the light of urban renewal projects in the surrounding area; the relationships of management and society with TRS; TRS in terms of city planning or architecture; the meaning of TRS for them; TRS and the important social events that take place over there; and, how it should be. The municipality representative is asked on the other hand about: the ongoing function of TRS; the positive aspects of the existent situation of TRS, both physically and socially; the problem areas that they observe especially about the current physical organization; and the projects for the future, including what projects should be developed and what projects they already have in process. The aim of applying two different sets of questions is to make the most of both the decision-maker municipality and professional chamber interviews according to their specializations.

In this chapter, these expert opinions are analyzed mainly by relying on the themes arising from the interview questions such as TRS as a city square, as a public space, as a symbolic place, the current situation assessment of TRS in terms of its functions and problems, the expert opinions about the Beyoğlu master plan on the management agenda, and the suggestions of the experts for the existing problems.

6.1. Assessment of Taksim against the Public Square Notion of the Experts

The first question directed to the expert interviewees is their evaluation of the present TRS as a city square by considering the meaning, symbolism, functions of a city square i.e., their notion of a city square, and if possible, comparing TRS to the city squares of other large cities in Turkey or abroad. What the experts emphasized in their answers to such a question included: The uniqueness of TRS as the city square of Istanbul; the comparison of TRS with their public square notion mostly based on the European examples that benefited from the heritage of the ancient Greek Agora and giving references to a square's being a part of a city plan or not, their functional expectations from a city square, the elements they expect

from a city square like symbolic architectural structures or safety, and the similarity of the ideological function of all city squares.

Even though the experts see many problems about the existing situation of TRS they still deem it as the only city square of Istanbul. The representative from the Chamber of City Planners (ŞPO) therefore says, "as a city square, Taksim square is the only area in Istanbul, having the characteristic of a city square," by referring to its central location, which renders it a meeting point for people, with the resulting pedestrian and vehicle traffics, and the places surrounding it. The representative of Beyoğlu Beautification and Preservation Society (BGKD) also remarks that Taksim square is unique in Turkey as a city square where major social events have taken place, and which is identified with the city. Likewise, the representative of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (İBB) claims, Taksim square is perhaps the only defined square in the real sense of Istanbul and the only square formed at the (early) Republican era. This uniqueness of TRS is thus given full credit for, by the interviewees at the expert interviews, before they go on with their critiques of the place again as a city square.

When asked for a comparison of TRS with other city squares, the ŞPO representative takes the question from the ideological aspect of city squares. He interprets public squares as "ideological and symbolic places," and gives the examples of Duomo[11] in Florence, squares of the Soviet Russia, and the town squares of the Turkish Republic –all located in front of a city hall and having an Atatürk monument-- for this symbolic, ideological aspect –Harvey (1990) refers to this ideological use of places by pointing at how the conceptions of space and time are put into use-- of squares since earlier times in history. He chooses to underline in this way, a similarity of public squares rather than their difference all around the world.

The representative of the Chamber of Architects (M.O.) on the other hand, focuses on the discrepancies between TRS and for instance, the city squares of Europe. Her words make it explicit that her notion of --or expectation from-- a city square i.e., "a well defined and non-chaotic place where one could move comfortably and take a stroll" does not fit the view of TRS at present: "If you said the square of that city, I would immediately think of something else but not this." She explains this misfit of TRS with the notion of a city square in the Western sense built upon the ancient Agora, with the simple lack of the public square notion in Eastern societies including Turkey --Webb (1990) calls it, the pertinent cultural

[11] http://www.duomofirenze.it/storia/piazza_eng.htm

code that is, the tradition of shaped public space. Along the lines of this thinking, she suggests:

> Square is a phenomenon born out of West, Europe, taking its source from Agora. For that reason I guess, we cannot know at all, how to use it (laughing). Either we finish the ones that we inherit like Beyazıt or Taksim by 'protecting' them. We block the ways reaching to them or build hotels like The Marmara.

The M.O. representative thus draws attention to the absence of public squares in the social culture of the country as opposed to the Western society's long internalization of the agora like anything that is ancient Greek.

The second, less authorized representative of ŞPO makes a comparison similar to the M.O. representative between Taksim and its European counterparts. Differently however, he also makes a definition of the public square notion, which the M.O. representative suffices to mention. His definition of the European city squares as someone, who has lived in Amsterdam for a while, is as follows:

> There, almost in all cities the roads widen in front of churches or governmental buildings to form a square. Moreover, there is usually a monument in the middle of that square, without any vehicle traffic surrounding the monument. There are pedestrians (walking), children playing, and people sitting in the terraces of cafés, and watching the square, musicians and various artists performing. This kind of squares, I have observed.[12]

In comparison to this description, he finds TRS as more chaotic just as the M.O. representative, and a place that lives based on intertwined functions.

The representative of BGKD finds a comparison of TRS and European squares infeasible, first of all due to the difference in physical, earth conditions, that is, most European cities being flat versus an Istanbul being "the city on the seven hills". In his logic, the flatness of the European cities facilitates city planning in the modernist understanding, that is, based on an integrated approach instead of a particularistic, reformative one. For that reason, he remarks, we can see in those European cities, "immediately near it (the square), rivers, canals … woods, all in harmony," providing one with peace and so, he regrets that Prost's plan has not been implemented fully at the time. Accordingly, the representative of BGKD sees the main difference between TRS and any other public square developed according to

[12] Akin to the description: "Microcosms of urban life, offering excitement and repose, markets and public ceremonies, a place to meet friends and watch the world go by" (Webb 1990, 9).

the Western criteria, as not being part of a holistic city plan in the case of the former and embracing the signs of being thoroughly planned in the latter.

The city planner from İBB compares TRS with the other city squares from two different aspects. First, she compares TRS to other city squares in the world, in terms of the existent architecture in both. She resorts to this architectural type of comparison to arrive at the conclusion that good city squares all around the world have special, highly symbolic buildings, whereas "we do not have such a thing and AKM is one dimension of it". Her second comparison takes as its object, the small –such as Webb (1990) referring to the small neighborhood squares of Paris or Barcelona vs. "the squares that strive too hard to be monumental"-- neighborhood squares of Rome, which are "very beautifully planned, confined, and illuminated", and where she could take a walk with her daughter at 12pm without any discomfort. Her comparisons focus on the architectural, landscape design and safety aspects of TRS --similar to Webb's (1990) emphasis on the delicate balance of security and joy as a success key in public space design-- versus Western (mainly European) public squares.

In their evaluation of TRS as a city square, the experts all recognize TRS as the only city square of Istanbul. While TRS is regarded by them as having the same ideological function with its European counterparts, they think it differs in other aspects from their public square notion based upon the European examples with the Agora tradition. This difference is explained by some experts as a result of several factors including a cultural lack of a public square notion in Turkey or TRS not being a part of an integrated city planning.

6.2. Expert Opinions on Taksim as a Public Space Accessible to All

In expert interviews, the question on the evaluation of the existing TRS as a public space followed the question of its evaluation as a city square. The public space in the question is a public space in the cultural –rather than political-- sense of the term. That is, a place where the strangers met ("The Public Realm"), and one asked to be evaluated by the interviewee, mostly in terms of its accessibility (Low and Smith 2006) by various sections of the society.

Nevertheless, it appears that the publicness in terms of an accessibility of all people to TRS may not mean much or may not create a value in itself for some of the experts. The M.O. representative accepts that everybody can come to TRS but she sees no benefit of this openness to all –publicness-- as long as these arriving people do not actually spend time there, which is exactly the situation today due to an inadequacy of facilities at the place like

cafés, and so on. The BGKD representative thinks the same about the publicness issue, because: “It is now open to everyone but there is no one.” He thinks of this fact as a supply and demand relationship, that is, a lack of qualified and aesthetical city furnitures, and so on (supply) resulting in a lack of motive for people to come there (demand). In the current situation, he cannot find any good reason for people to want to go to TRS.

The second ŞPO representative approaches the matter more positively by saying Taksim square is nowadays open to be used by all kinds of people for festivals, protests, and so on. He claims that TRS comes to the fore as a place that represents all political groups or hosts all kinds of entertainment. Moreover, the municipality directs organized events like festivities to TRS –something mentioned also by the İBB representative-- and he sees it only as normal because of the place’s centrality. Nonetheless, he also claims that TRS has been closed by management to the public in the previous years, especially during the 1st of Mays, which was finally allowed last year. Yet, he does not evaluate this allowance as a gain, because “it should have been open anyway,” and the opposite situation is nothing but, “an ascription of a function other than the meaning of public space by the city management”. So, although TRS is a public space accessible to all in general, there have been attempts by the management like banning 1st of May celebrations, placing police barricades around the Monument or not letting taxis in Sıraselviler at night, to curb this publicness of the place.

On the other hand, the İBB representative thinks of the public realm character of TRS as its most distinctive feature, and “as a matter of fact, the nicest aspect of Taksim”. She explains this characteristic of TRS and İstiklal Street as follows:

> Let’s say like this, you meet everyone from every group, social group, every economic group, every cultural group. A person belonging to the upmost level both materially and culturally passes from there, side by side with another person, who has never been to Istanbul before and is from the lowest cultural level. I mean this doesn’t happen in Etiler for example. This also wouldn’t happen in Eminönü, because very top level person wouldn’t reach to Eminönü. What else, in Kadıköy you could find the averages of both sides but in Taksim…

Then she thinks aloud whether this coming together of diverse groups of people is achieved in the shopping centers nowadays and decides that even if many people are able to reach there, they would not all feel comfortable in a private mall. Her conclusion about the publicness of TRS is summarized in the expression: “Taksim belongs to everyone, just like İstiklal Street”.

Lastly, the ŞPO representative approaches to my question on Taksim as a public space from a more political understanding of the public space concept, and thus, reminding of a more Habermasian or Arendtian perspective to the issue i.e., the discursive public sphere of Habermas or the Arendtian public realm as a stage for political agency. He starts his answer by acknowledging the public space attribute of TRS considered in terms of its openness of to all people but continues by saying that it is a very controversial one, even if so. For him, TRS is probably the most public space of Turkey, because it is a symbolic place, which puts it at the center of many political-ideological debates he refers to as "storms breaking out". Moreover, he suggests that Taksim is in its essence an ideological place, and hence, it is also a place where the debates occurring in the public space are most clearly and severely observed. He indicates some existing structures of TRS like AKM, "Atatürk Monument", water storage, and the intended mosque as some causes and effects of this ideological essence of the place. In any case, his notion of a city square as a highly symbolic and ideological place throughout history matches this public sphere character he attributes to the present TRS. This public spaceness arising from symbolicalness of TRS leads next to the subtitle of Taksim as a symbolic place.

6.3. Expert Opinions on Taksim as a Symbolic Place

Following the more tangible questions of the city square and public space dimensions of TRS the expert interviewees are then asked about the meaning, that is, the symbolic aspect of TRS for them.

The ŞPO representative sees no other symbolicalness of TRS than its ideological character, just as any public square at any place. For him, the symbolic meaning of TRS comes from its being the place of ideological struggles such as in mosque or AKM debates. Therefore, he approaches the meaning issue at more macro-level, rather than searching after the basic units of the sense of TRS, similar to what Castells does in developing his theory of urban social change. In his theory, Castells argues that *urban meaning* is the structural performance target set for a city through a process of conflicts among historical actors. In the case of TRS, the ŞPO representative considers these historical actors not as class actors because of the wide spectrum of social groups found in the place. He sees it as a situation, which renders TRS meaningful for all groups, albeit all acquiring different meanings and who thus want to appropriate it for themselves. He gives some further hints about the identity of these historical actors by dividing the urban management of Istanbul into

different periods, associated with different person's names, their urban projects, and discourses like "global city" or the "Islamic capital of globalization," also involving more specific, issue-based sub-discourses like the "need discourse" for the mosque project. In his opinion, the symbolic discussion is continued by the government, and as the Chamber of City Planners, they are a part of this discussion, at least because they have entered a lawsuit against the 1/5000 scaled land use plan of the metropolitan municipality for its mosque construction item.

The ŞPO representative also emphasizes the Republican origin of TRS in addition to the current ideological struggles over the place. He expresses this origin in the words: "It is a place associated with the Republic, and is said to preserve the Republican values." So, the spatial and temporal mental representation of TRS is connected to the non-spatial values (Lynch 1981) of the Republic, resulting in such a place identity. This identity is made "transparent" or becomes "legible" in the contextual references of the Monument and AKM e.g., "the Republican ideology, that is, the modern public ideology giving importance to art and culture, is reflected there", the latter attacked by the counter-ideology as the "culture center of the status quo". Accordingly, the ŞPO representative thinks that works that transcend the symbolic value of the Monument (or AKM) such as the high, conic monument at the entry of Gezi Park nowadays should be avoided, because TRS is the place of Turkey most in sight.

In addition to the Republican meaning of TRS, the ŞPO representative claims that TRS is also a highly significant, symbolic place for the history of labor in Turkey because of 1st of Mays celebrated there in the past or most recently, in 2010. He concludes rather pessimistically, by saying: "Political Islam tries to reflect its own ideology (against these Republican and labor-associated place identities). The present situation of the square is quite ambiguous."

The symbolicalness of TRS rests upon the "symbolic actions of all people, who want to give a message to the society, who want to give a political message, who want to give an economic message" according to the M.O. representative. There is almost "a race of going up or not going up to Taksim". She reminds that the most important movements in history happened in Taksim, before they were directed to Çağlayan or Kadıköy. She explains this reluctance on the side of the government, in letting public meetings and especially, 1st of Mays in TRS, with the "different message, different meaning that Taksim has," as compared to the other public squares of Istanbul, a meaning that comes from its social events history besides the possibility to make one's voice heard better there. For these reasons, she

concludes that, “Taksim is the square of Istanbul, see. That is to say, it is the most principal square.”

As an architect, the M.O. representative also comments about the symbolism of the structures, already at TRS or the ones that are planned to be there soon. Relatedly, she shares the chamber opinion with respect to AKM being in favor of preserving it as it is, not because it is seen as good or bad, but simply because it represents or is a symbol of the modernist period’s architecture. She explains this judgment with the example of the need to preserve a traditional squatter house (gecekondu) neighborhood because of its reflecting a social historical period. Secondly, she interprets the mosque project as purely symbolic and not related to any need as claimed by the municipality.

The BGKD representative describes Taksim square as a place always recalled with power struggles both in the past and also today. This exposure of TRS to the “power games” of various political groups is something he criticizes, because he practically, as the representative of the tradesmen in the area, envisages TRS as a meeting point of people, festivity and entertainment place, and a place of visual aesthetics. Nevertheless, in the current situation that equals approximately “10 protest marches a day,” TRS signifies an object to be seized as a tour de force e.g., “We went to Taksim on the 1st of May. We got Taksim.” Apart from its being made an instrument of power games, he cannot think of any other symbolic meaning for TRS. Nonetheless, the place leads to some personal connections --called individual connections in Carr, et al. (1992)-- because he has grown there. In connection, he defines Taksim as the uncared center and “brilliant” of Istanbul, which is in turn, a “world city”. His touristic and commercial view of Taksim actually coincides at the economic level with the area projections of the government, represented by the municipality. At some point during the interview, he refers to the Monument in very positive terms, and tells its story, albeit without making any connections between it and the symbolism of the square. The latter is apparently for him, something completely negative, and only concerns the power games that ultimately harm his and others alike economically.

The power game description is used by the second ŞPO representative quite differently from the BGKD representative, to describe the mosque decision of the government:

> Let me say in this way: Governments want naturally to leave a symbol; they want to leave behind a symbol belonging to their governing period. The mosque is as a matter of fact, a decision towards this end. I think it is a political decision. Further, taking a decision of a mosque for Taksim square with no need and placing it there opposite Aya Triada

> Church, opposite Atatürk Culture Center, opposite the Republic Monument is completely a power game. It could be perceived as a serious structure put there by the government.

The need discourse is therefore, an excuse for the political symbolism behind the act of power. The power game is not only done over static structures but sometimes over the dynamic bodies of the security force, permanently present at TRS: "Frankly, I don't know if it is necessary. I think there is more a symbolic side to it. The state's security force being there at attention all the time, feels like a more symbolic condition or attitude" (the second ŞPO representative). So what one sees as "power game" perhaps depends on one's relative condition in social space.

The opinion of the second ŞPO representative regarding the Republican identity of the square is one of disagreement. He attributes the Republican identity to the Monument – note, he is probably the only interviewee to name the Monument correctly as the Republic Monument-- which he deems as historically important, and somehow representing the square. At the same time however, he says Taksim is not Taksim Republican Square: "*Square equals to the Republic Monument* is a perception which I don't have." Although he acknowledges that the Republic phenomenon is emphasized at TRS because of the Monument, he claims that the democracy emphasis in respect of the public protests there, and particularly, the 1st of Mays, is more prominent. For this reason, he appreciates the recent debate of changing the name of the square into 1st of May, as long as there is a "collective agreement" on it, and comments: "Such a thing (suggestion) comes up; this means, the square has such a meaning." He also compares a name change following a collective public debate with a top-down, arbitrary one, for example, "Taksim Tayyip Erdoğan Square," in case it was left fully to the initiative of the decision makers. So, it is actually true that the name of a place is a very important element of its sense (Peace, Holland, Kellaher 2006) and the relationship seems to be a reciprocal one, rather than unilateral like: from the place's name to the sense of the place.

The İBB representative uses the word symbolic in two occasions. One is when she mentions about the Monument as, "special, very symbolic," that thus needs to be better highlighted with special illumination. The second time is as part of her smear campaign against AKM, which goes as follows:

> You know, when we look at the squares in the world, at the good squares; there are very symbolic buildings, very special buildings. They are historical. Or if they are forming the square newly, because city planners can also form squares, things to make that place

> symbolic … We don't have anything like that. AKM is one side of this (issue) too. Now that it is registered … but for example, AKM is a bad building.

She comes back to AKM, while telling about the goals to be developed for the future of TRS, and there again, mentions symbolicalness in that context. She first gives the information that the reason for the registration of AKM is its being "the symbolic building of the Republic period". She defines the immunity of the building for its classic work status as "a meaningless thing," because she regards AKM as a "bad symbol" physically with the justification that "a thing being symbolic does not show that it is good". Interestingly, she emphasizes at several points throughout the interview that, "it is a Republic square and even the only Republic square of Istanbul," and she therefore, finds the 29th of October or the Republic Day celebrations very suitable for TRS e.g., "But for example, you can do the 29th of October activity at Taksim square, it fits very well with the function of the square anyway".

I interpret this political attitude that chastises AKM, while tolerating the Republican identity of the square together with its Monument, celebrations, and so on, as closely related to the economy of the space, that is, the economic rent that could be achieved from the place. Because there is primarily an economic motive behind the managerial approach to issues regarding the physicality of the TRS, while barriers against the commercialization of an AKM highly disturbs the management, a single day celebration of the Republic around a less rentable Monument can be neglected. [13]

Accordingly, the experts evaluate the symbolicalness of TRS by discussing the ongoing power games over the place, its symbolism of the Republic in addition to the 1st of Mays and so, democracy, plus the symbolism of the structures on TRS such as the Monument and AKM.

6.4. Expert Assessment of the Current Functions of Taksim

Before digging into the problems observed by the experts with respect to the present TRS and their suggested solutions to these problems, their identification of the existing situation in terms of function or usage of the place is shared first.

The representative of ŞPO seems to run into a contradiction by arguing that TRS is the busiest point of the city and thus, very functional but at the same time, its current function

[13] I would here suggest reading Bourdieu's (1984) chapter on Culture and Politics in *Distinction,* 397-459.

is “too empty”. What he probably means is that TRS is surrounded with places witnessing diverse activities but it is itself not used as much. On the other hand, he sees the existing situation of TRS, in terms of function, as it should be, because the only functions he attributes to city squares in general, are: being a place of transition –akin to Carr et al.’s (1990) argument that ceremonially intended, monumental public open spaces usually stay *empty* and function solely as *circulation places* for incidental users-- and a place of meeting. He articulates the idea as: “The city is multi-functional and motion among these functions is principal. (Consequently) The transient function of the squares is normal.” His idea of a square is probably a central place that at most connects people to people or people to places, almost denying any possibility of people connecting to the square (no sense of the place) itself.

The normality of a square’s transient function for the ŞPO representative is anomaly for the other institutional interviewees. The M.O. representative for instance, uses a negative tone when claiming that TRS is “just a transition thing. A thing everyone passes,” except the occasional uses of the square like New Year celebrations. She leaves out some parts of the park from this transitional character of the square and underlines the nonexistence of any cafés –places to spend time-- directly on the square to strengthen her observation. The BGKD representative refers to the street vendor culture as the only use of TRS at present by people, exemplified by the new tea seller with his thermos around the Monument or the shabby tea house at the park or the truck selling souvenirs of a sports club, playing loud pop music with its speakers in the midst of the square.

Even if the ŞPO and M.O. or BGKD representatives agree upon the transitional usage of TRS today, they separate in their evaluations of this dominant function as positive or negative. The municipal representative names this function as Taksim’s being a “transport-transfer center” and defines the present TRS as “an area used by people who want to reach from one place to another, rather than people who actually want to come to Taksim”. In her opinion, the people in TRS are there only because buses, subway, funicular are also there and this existing usage is for her, something negative. The second ŞPO representative also evaluates this, in his words, “bus terminal function” negatively, as being too far from the ideal of a city square or agora and adds that: “It is like an area where the transport axes overlap. Otherwise, I don’t think it appeals very much to the urbanite’s form of using the square.” So, transition makes up one dominant function of the existing TRS and the experts usually interpret it as negative while only one of them deem it as normal.

A second function brought up by the experts in the analysis of the existing situation of TRS is its being a meeting point of people, that is, its bringing or connecting people to people as mentioned above. The M.O. representative is referring to this function, when she omits the park to an extent, from the general transitional character of the square, because of its making somehow people meet. Meeting is also one of the two functions that the ŞPO representative attributes to not only TRS, but all city squares in general, the other being their transitional usage. The second ŞPO representative mentions about this meeting function of TRS more at the individual level; living in Elmadağ and working in Beşiktaş, he sees TRS everyday and uses it often for entertaining and meeting with his friends. The metropolitan municipality representative comments, "If you come to Istanbul and want to meet with someone, the only place to reach and find easily is Taksim square, in front of the Monument. I mean no one would get lost, but find here (laughing). It has such an attribute."

Therefore, the experts underline two basic functions of TRS today as transition and people meeting at the square and while they evaluate the former as negative, they deem the latter as positive.

6.5. The Problems Observed about the Current Situation of Taksim

The problem areas regarding the existing organization of TRS that are observed by the experts generally coincide, and could be categorized into three main problem areas: 1) Form-related problems e.g., the condition of the Gezi Park; ugly structures or advertising signboards; the lack of physical borders of the square. 2) Usage-related problems e.g., vehicle and pedestrian traffic; noise pollution; the lack of facilities to experience TRS more like cafés; security problem; commercialization of the area; decreasing quality parallel to the selected usages like putting up tents. 3) Meaning-related problems (involving the management of the place) e.g., ideological debates such as AKM and the mosque project; the lack of a collective decision making process in respect of the changes planned to apply. In this part, I will only present the evaluations of the experts regarding some of the major problems i.e., traffic, the lack of facilities, security, commercialization, quality (usage); the uncared condition of Gezi Park, unclarity of the physical borders (form); and the lack of collective decision-making (meaning or management).

Traffic Although the ŞPO representative considers TRS as a real square, in the sense that it is a center, surrounded with busy locales, and used by people as a meeting point, he also

thinks that it does not qualify as a square, technically speaking. In terms of the technical infrastructure, first of all, “there is a very intense transport demand,” a problem, which is not fully resolved with the rail systems, and continues especially for the “wheeled vehicles” that interrupt the pedestrian traffic, coming out of İstiklal Street. The same problem from the pedestrian perspective is described by the M.O. representative as: “You see, when you attempt to pass from the square, you feel as if passing from a very busy traffic road; I mean, there is no chance of taking a stroll with pleasure.” For this reason, she calls TRS, the “chaos square”, chaotic mostly because of all the traffic-related factors such as the bus stops, the entry of subway creating in turn, a people’s crowd or chaos in the middle of the square. The BGKD representative reacts against the bus stops at the square by asking which country of the world would have it, and self-answering as, not even Congo, Zambia, Tanzania. The İBB representative also evaluates the dominant transport and transfer center function of TRS at present –the second ŞPO representative calls it, the bus terminal function, by also pointing to the intensification of the traffic problem for the pedestrians during peak hours of the day and at the weekends-- as negative and as “the problem to be solved indeed”.

The unclear physical borders The second ŞPO representative observes that the car traffic divides TRS into parts, preventing an integral function of the place, leaving it with small, particularized functions. In his opinion, the car roads that surround the square isolate it further from the people’s usage. Therefore, it becomes a place of transition –the transport-transfer function-- for incidental users e.g., “people who use it to reach from one place to another rather than who want to come to Taksim” (the İBB representative). This disconnectedness of TRS is connected with another problem, that is, the unclarity with respect to the physical borders of the square. The ŞPO representative connects three issues together: the underuse of TRS by pedestrians; TRS being a total of disconnected places without integrity; and, these disconnected areas being allocated mainly to vehicles. The opposite condition is a well “defined” square, a character found in the definition of the desired square, made by the M.O. representative. What exists instead is, “a meaningless thing there that is so empty and you can’t perceive where you head off to” as the İBB representative sees it. As a city planner, she argues people need physical limits in places (and signposts) to have a better sense of direction.

The lack of facilities The lack of signposts for direction at TRS is accompanied with the more general inadequacy of city furniture like enough lighting, banks to sit, shelters from the sun, and so on, a situation that makes the place more difficult to experience for the willing

people. Moreover, this uselessness issue is intensified with the lack of places of leisure like eating and drinking places directly on the square. The M.O. representative underlines the issue, “Now, there is not a place to sit and drink tea or coffee at Taksim square, there is (only) when you enter the (İstiklal) street,” when she comments on the publicness of TRS, which is for her not fulfilled, unless people somehow really use it except for passing. Furthermore, she comments that TRS is a public space, but not one that is used with pleasure, because it does not answer “the functions”. The BGKD representative indicates what substitutes for the void of “functions” such as refreshment facilities at the square: tents; the sports club souvenirs sales truck; tea shop in the Gezi Park, and a tea man with his thermos near the Monument.

Cafés are also mentioned in addition to street artists and performers, playing children, a centrally located monument, and so on by the second ŞPO representative, while describing the European public square examples that he has in mind. The existing eating and drinking places in the current TRS –Starbucks, Kitchenette, Gezi Patisserie—“address a certain upper class”. As a parenthesis, for the same reason, that is, being accessible only to the upper classes with the adequate economic capital and not for instance, to the “stage or decoration worker there”, he objects to the terrace restaurant idea within the AKM project. Even if these places had better be increased in number, the second ŞPO representative thinks that the political authority would still dominate over them with its alcoholic drink licensing authority.

The uncared condition of Gezi Park According to the experts, the existing uncared condition of Taksim Gezi Park contributes highly to this uselessness of TRS, arising from the lack of facilities and city furniture. According to the ŞPO representative, Gezi Park in its current situation “doesn’t look like a recreation area, (but) a concrete jungle; there are more concrete than green”. The BGKD representative regrets that the park, albeit being very beautiful, has not developed as planned (by Prost) according to another Taksim - Maçka axis due to “(economic) rent and structuring”. The İBB representative, perhaps because of seeing there the possibility of rent instead of trees and public value is once again the most aggressive in criticizing the current park: “I mean very bad, very bad! … You see, I don’t know any other place so central to the city and wide, but so badly used or not used.” She enumerates the problems of the park as: physical organization problems like inadequate lighting and no borders; not answering the changing leisure demand of people e.g., “people don’t go any more to the park, sit on a bank and eat sunflower seeds”; place

attractions missing e.g., “where do people sit when they come to wander in winter time?”; and security e.g., “it can’t be used at night, the thing of thinner-addicts, and so on”.

Security Even though the security is not a particularly emphasized problem by the interviewees, it is touched upon, while the İBB representative is speaking about the park or the traffic jam caused by the taxis at night; the BGKD representative speaking about the uncontrollability of public meetings at TRS and the sexual harassments in the New Year, which he expects to increase with the removing of traffic from the square; or even when the second ŞPO representative speaks about his assumption that the continuous presence of a riot police team there causes fear (rather than a feeling of security) in people.

Commercialization of the Area The social profile change matches with the change of places observed especially in the İstiklal Street over the last 10-15 years, all in line with the larger socio-political changes. The ŞPO representative mentions about a commercialization of the area as a problem, parallel to the goals of land use plan on the agenda with respect to the functions ascribed to the area. As regards the problem he says:

> The plan on the agenda gives very mixed functions to the region. For İstiklal for instance, tourism, service, trade functions. Included in this, there is also art center, trade, shopping, cinema and theatre. But if you look at it, there is no cinema center, it (İstiklal) increasingly moves away from its art & culture function. İstiklal Street has become a big AVM (shopping center). Because, there is not a definite function in the plan, it is left flexible. The investor looks at it of course from the profit lens, but the attitude of the municipality allows such a drift.

Commercialization issue –reminiscent of the privatization of public space debates in theory-- is also touched upon by the M.O. representative in the context of AKM project, now stuck judicially. She has concerns about “trade on the square” in the form of “a thing that merges with the large areas behind (AKM), and is inserted big work centers in between”. She finds it as wrong as The Marmara being on the square. For her, a business center “is all we need!” after a spectre-like hotel at TRS.

Quality Moreover, the quality of this commercialization of the area including TRS is defined by the BGKD representative as a “tent culture” --similar to the “lahmacun and whisky culture” definition used by the second-hand book seller among the area shopkeeper interviewees. What he points at is the nature of the activities of the area lately and the commercial ones in particular: “Think, there are 5-star hotels around it (TRS). At 2-3am at night, tea, water pipes, and dancing with a flourish of trumpets. I mean, this is not our

culture. Let's say, making a one-day long international fashion show at Taksim square, (that's) ok."

Figure 14. "Yörük Evi" in Gezi Park during Ramadan in 2010 Source: Adnan Keçeci

My observation about the area is the same with these experts meaning, it is increasingly turning to a consumerist spirit and becoming "popular," as it loses its art-culture places one by one, like the closing movie theatres e.g., Alkazar or Beyoğlu on the brink of closing –art and culture escapes into the private museums and art galleries mushrooming as an opposite trend-- and as it gives way to eating and drinking franchises, retailers of international clothing brands or simply, cheap commodity shops.

The lack of collective decision making One last issue raised by several interviewees of the expert interviews like a common sensitivity is the lack of a collective process for the decisions concerning the arrangement of TRS. The ŞPO representative brings this collectivity problem forward with reference to the 'temporary' conic monument, recently placed at the entry of the park. For it carries the risk of transcending the symbolic value of the Republic Monument. The same thing applies to the AKM problem in his opinion. For the M.O. representative such managerial decisions or projects off one's own bat, are extremely unacceptable, primarily because, "we call it a public square, (public) space … That square is

not the metropolitan municipality's … but the city's." The collectivity of decisions while not a concern for the İBB representative as expected, it is for the second ŞPO representative, who calls the pretension of the decision making institutions to include the people, who could have a say in the decisions about the square, as "hypocritical". The collectivity stays "on paper" to the extent that the meetings take the form of briefing rather than consultation, and the second or correction meetings are scheduled by the notifying bodies just after the first information meetings.

The suggestions of the experts for these problems that they observe in the current situation of TRS are discussed at the end of the chapter, following their evaluations of some items of the Beyoğlu master plan.

6.6. Taksim as an Administered Place

There are two Beyoğlu plans currently on the agenda that are prepared by the local governments and will change TRS, in case implemented: 1/5000 Scaled Beyoğlu Urban Protected Area Land Use Plan for Conservation Purposes ("1/5000 Ölçekli Beyoğlu Kentsel Sit Alanı Koruma Amaçlı Nazım İmar Planı", 21 May 2009) of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and 1/1000 Scaled Beyoğlu Urban Protected Area Implementation Master Plan for Conservation Purposes ("1/1000 ölçekli Beyoğlu Kentsel Sit Alanı Koruma Amaçlı Uygulama İmar Planı", 13 January 2011). The purpose of the second plan (1/1000) is defined as follows:

> … resolving the existing problems; taking into consideration the original identity structure in terms of history, culture, science, art, trade, and tourism at the scales of Istanbul together with the Historical Peninsula and the region; preserving and emphasizing these distinctions; protecting the historical, cultural, architectural values it carries at the regional level and being identical with its historical-cultural values; presenting the qualities of the continuity that could be achieved between the past and future.

The 1/1000 scaled plan consists of the following chapters: Planning Process –historical development; analysis work –historical fabric, conservation areas; Plan Explanation Report [plan aims and goals; plan implementation strategies; plan population; land use decisions (house settlement areas; urban working areas e.g., trade- service-tourism areas; urban social infrastructure areas e.g., sports, education, socio-cultural, health, religion; urban technical infrastructure areas e.g., transport planning approach); areas with special

measures for geological reasons; urban design project areas; urban design guide; renewal areas]; and Plan Provisions.

In respect of TRS, the two plan decisions mostly discussed by the expert interviewees are, (partial) pedestrianization of the square (Plan section: 3.4.4.7.1. Pedestrianization Areas > Taksim Square and Surrounding Pedestrianization Area) and the construction of a mosque at the car park behind the water storage (maksem) (Plan section: 3.4.3.4. Religious Facility Areas[14]).

Figure 15. The Car Park Area behind the Water Reservoir Planned for a Mosque and the Tin Minaret of the Small Mosque (Mescit) at Present Source: Adnan Keçeci

[14] In this section of the plan, about the mosque being planned for the area behind the water storage it is stated: "The mosque area as a regional need is aimed at being preserved in the area determined in the plans valid before the protected area decision and thus the topic's staying out of debate. It is also aimed that the artificially misrepresented idea that a mosque in another size will be made for another place to create an agenda is not revived." (Bölge ihtiyacı camii alanının söz konusu koruma kurul kararları göz önünde bulundurularak, sit kararı öncesi geçerli planlarda belirlenen alanda korunması ile konunun tartışma konusu olmaktan çıkarılması hedeflenmiş olup, suni olarak saptırılan ve gündem yaratmak amacı ile başka alan ve başka boyutlarda cami yapılacağı hususunun tekrar gündeme getirilmemesi amaçlanmıştır.)

The ŞPO representative, seeing himself as a "technical expert," evaluates the pedestrianization project as positive because of the current problematic situation, in which the square is "assigned to the motor vehicles more than the pedestrians," and the pedestrian demand coming out of İstiklal Street is interrupted with the wheeled vehicles at the square. He thinks that by pedestrianization, the functionality of this busy point of the city may be enhanced. However, he is also aware of the general anxiety of people towards such programs of physical change in TRS offered by the prevalent (local) government and says about it:

> Playing with Taksim square creates question marks in people's minds but when we look at it by separating it from ideologies from the perspective of city planning, that is, by moving away from spatial conservatism; its (TRS) pedestrianization will provide a more comfortable usage.

In this way he thinks, a smooth continuity between the intensely active İstiklal Street and the recreative Gezi Park will be achieved. On the other hand, his points of criticism focus on the mosque decision, which he deems not as a real need i.e., the claim of the municipality, but as symbolic --and so, the Chamber of City Planners went to law against it-- and the too much emphasis laid on the tourism and trade functions of the area at the expense of its artistic-cultural character –"because it (area function) is left flexible (in the plan)". Nonetheless, his overall assessment is the plan "gives the impression that the changes will be positive in terms of city planning".

The second ŞPO representative is more abstaining about the pedestrianization project in the plan because of a "problem of confidence" between the decision-makers and nongovernmental organizations, which also applies to the AKM case. He starts by saying that pedestrianization is a positive thing, because it would highlight the square perception of TRS and benefit its use. "But" he continues, "One needs to pay attention, closing there to (vehicle) traffic may not mean its opening to the public." For him, the decisive factor here becomes the functions brought by the municipality, while arranging the place –a similar comment is made by the BGKD representative; being rather pessimistic about the pedestrianization, he still thinks that the quality of the place together with the values attached by the security department and the municipality will determine the outcome in the end-- and this is what worries him, as he expects that the functions with the most economic rent will be preferred by the authority mechanism. He already thinks that the plan reinforces the tourism and trade emphasis in Beyoğlu and especially, İstiklal Street, an

observation that justifies his worries of economic rent being the primary motive behind the land use decisions. About the mosque he also interprets it as a symbolic endeavor or "power game" on the side of the government –a symbolism against Aya Triada, AKM, the Republic Monument all at the same time-- rather than a genuine social need e.g., "It is not a thing stemming from need, it's a symbolic thing".

The M.O. representative rejects the pedestrianization project more on practical grounds, by claiming that it will not be an answer to the traffic problem of TRS: "Its pedestrianization is a good thing. But the coming project thing, pedestrianization doesn't feel correct … taking the main transport arterial road beneath, it doesn't mean pedestrianization. Chaos will be, instead of being exactly on the square, on its side." So, she believes the project "they will do" will not be satisfactory. She finds the whole decision-imposition process incorrect any way. She mentions about the mosque decision in the plan, when explaining what the square must not be like: "I suppose not a square where a massive mosque is built and hundreds of people come and go, which is locked when funerals are held and cars don't know where to park, where there is a race for (building) mosque." Her comment differs in its drawing attention to the practical inconveniences of constructing a large mosque in Taksim like making the vehicle traffic more complicated.

The İBB representative mentions to bits and pieces of the plan, including the pedestrianization, the underground car park, removing of the car park behind the water storage (maksem) allocated to "another function" –the only point, she does not open up as clearly as the other land use decisions in the plan, even the eccentric idea of constructing one wall of the old artillery barracks that used to be in the place of Gezi Park. She is actually a member of the planning team, and speaks of the implementation of the plan in a very authoritarian language:

> All of these were ideas previously you see, they are now the rule. These must be done, because they are in the plan. The master plan is approved and in effect … The master plan produced an allowing, super-ordinate decision mechanism … There is now this promise formally, having the signature of the mayor under it.

The attitude somehow clarifies what the other experts mean in talking about the collectivity problem in taking decisions about the physical arrangement of TRS, and is quite remote from what Carr et al. (1992) suggest for a meaningful public space to occur: a collective effort of the users, designers, and space managers and democratic management initiating meaningful events and elements.

6.7. Taksim as a Representational Space of the Experts

In addition to their criticisms towards the master plan of the metropolitan municipality, the experts have their own lists of what should be done to solve the problems of the present TRS, and render it a more usable place, better qualified as a city square and a public space.

Some of their opinions match with the requirements of the municipal plan. The ŞPO representative for example, thinks that the axis formed among Gezi Park, Taksim square, and İstiklal Street should be connected to each other by pedestrianization of the square so that the pedestrian axis of İstiklal is finished with a green area, a real park as opposed to the existing situation in which the square is like an "emptiness" in between. The ŞPO representative envisages the park as a green finishing point of the İstiklal Street - Taksim axis. He believes that if the park is reorganized, the square will also benefit from it, by becoming a more usable place with a "humanitarian character" as in the foreign examples. Approaching the problem from a city planner's perspective, his priorities become as follows: Creating a really open space for social activities; forming the connection with AKM; and disburdening the pedestrian traffic of İstiklal Street. It is important to him that all of these design projects are applied through discussions, elimination within the process, and consultation with the experts.

The M.O. representative hints at her solution suggestions for the problems throughout the interview, including: first of all, arranging the square according to the preferences of the users or the potential users (collectivity); more frequent activities to increase usage; conserving AKM as a model of its era and definitely not turning it into a trade center; and, not making any architectural additions. But her major emphasis is on the decision-making body's turning to the related groups like the users, potential users, and related professional chambers for the considered changes for the square, because TRS as a significant place first and foremost belongs to people, that is, its users.

The BGKD representative thinks that the users and usage may be oriented by designing TRS as a "meeting, festivity, and entertainment" point, and rendering it more aesthetical through city furniture, lighting, cafés of high quality --his one condition for opening of cafés at TRS summarizes his quality expectation from such facilities: "not with plastic chairs"-- and so on. His evaluation of the place is in terms of tourism and trade, looking after the interests of the area shopkeepers. His desire for quality in TRS reflects in his materialistic suggestions like removing the fast food shops at the entry of Cumhuriyet Street, preventing usages such as putting up tents, trucks selling goods in the midst of the square or tea shops

in the park. Only in this way, that is, by “cleansing that place from the squatter house culture and booths,” TRS will become the desired meeting point of people and “people would experience the privilege of coming out to Taksim”. While he regrets that Prost’s plan concerning the area has not been applied fully, he makes an assertive comment about what has been applied in Istanbul in general: “(Even) if those managing Istanbul didn’t do anything for Istanbul, we would be an open air museum”.

The second ŞPO representative advocates for reinforcing the currently limited square feeling in TRS with small planning touches for transport and other place functions. The square picture he has in mind is one, where AKM is active, the parcel behind the water storage is put to use as an art gallery or somewhere performances are shown, Taksim Gezi Park is not so disconnected from the square, and the riot police is not there. All of this is possible with planning according to him, and the only requirement is “deciding on the priorities of planning,” which is to be done together with Istanbul(ians). In other words, his desired decision-making process is the determination of the priorities of planning, together with Istanbul (people). For the ŞPO representative, this collective procedure should apply to all the decisions concerning the planning of the place for example, a name change. Another important point he shows sensitivity is the need of an integrated approach in city planning rather than piecemeal arrangements such as making changes only in TRS, a problem that causes “gangrenes” in many urban spots.

The İBB representative who believes, “squares are controllable spaces through physical arrangement,” in addition to giving some information on the plan of the metropolitan municipality in whose preparation she took part in, shares as a city planner her own suggestions as well. An original comment of her is the necessity to protect the symbolic accessibility –a right in public space (Carr et al. 1992) -- of Taksim area for all sections of the society in any project considered by the municipality. Practically, she has some suggestions for developing Gezi Park, which she finds very poor in its available condition. Her suggestions for the park include a café, a culture center, book sellers, people selling trinkets –the BGKD representative would probably find the idea cheap-- and perhaps even, a winter garden for the winter usage of the park e.g., “it is 8 months cold in here”. About transport, she firmly rejects bus stops at the square, and for the private transport, she suggests municipality could influence people’s choices by intervening in the availability of public transport or parking facilities. She also seeks for a more regular activity program for TRS, as she finds the activities now, correct but not enough. A more regular activity program for

TRS will benefit the place's security in her opinion, since people will get used to doing things together. She explains her solution as:

> If such a (activity) program happens more frequently, believe me, this security problem would diminish. Both it (TRS) will be used more and people will get used to this, the idea of making something together after a while. I mean, it will change, the profile will change. After a while that profile will not come there or if it does it will stop doing that (harassment). Because now he sees it as a day to get crazy once a year, but think that it becomes more often and thus normalized. I think all will be solved then … Taksim is an appropriate place for it.

Her solution of making people more accustomed to participating in collective activities at public spaces is disputable. Nevertheless, her tone of excusing the sexual harassers as if irresponsible children, annoys conscience so long as it reminds of the good conduct abatements in criminal cases like rape or killing of women as common news in Turkey lately. The İBB representative also suggests more lighting at the square in general, and particularly, for its structural elements like the Monument, water storage, AKM –she says the last more with a disbelief-- to be highlighted. AKM, which does not suit to its place according to her, creates almost a trauma for her, because she longs for the legally stopped project, which she deems as a very good project.

Accordingly, the prominent ideas for the future of TRS include: 1) Its pedestrianization in the real sense 2) Enhancement of Gezi Park as a nice public park 3) Increasing the activities organized in TRS 4) Developing the square aesthetically with the help of city furniture and by preventing low quality uses and scenes 5) Avoiding any new politically symbolic structures that would dominate over the already existing symbolism of the place 6) Again avoiding gentrification in the area as much as possible 7) Increasing eating-drinking facilities of a certain quality standard at TRS 8) Doing all these with an integrated approach and together with the actual owners of the city, that is, with the consent of its inhabiting people.

7. CONCLUSION

This study started out with a desire to know if the current users of TRS have a common feeling of national belonging in this primary Republican square of Istanbul. To have a sense of whether some of our fundamental societal reference points, beginning with the Republic itself, are still in or 'on' place or we are rapidly moving towards a situation, lacking the fixed references for sense-making in a city that exacerbates this constant crises of doubt in its inhabitants, the research question has then become what meaning the current users of TRS attach to this place. The study assumed to find some relationship between people's usage –expected in turn to be influenced by the place's form, primarily shaped by its management-- and the meaning they attach to the square. It also assumed to find that there is not much left from the formerly officially intended national square feeling or meaning for the square regardless of the socio-economic differences of the current users.

Although some statistical tests were applied to check the accuracy of these assumptions about the relationships among the using people's socio-economic status, their ideas on the square's form, usage and assigned meaning, because of the limitedness of the questionnaire sample, the pertinent test results (presented under "The Socio-economic Status, Form, Usage and Meaning in Connection" title) were not very reliable. Nevertheless, depending on the qualitative analysis of the interviews, the Republican meaning that the current users acquire from TRS seems to be limited only to the Republic Monument and not applicable for the whole square. Therefore, the current users of TRS hardly unite at a feeling of national belonging when they are found at this public space and first of all because of the many individual (or group) identity barriers e.g., political, economic, social, etc. against such a national unification (elaborated under "The Users of the Square" title).

There are various reactions on the side of the participants of this study to such an inquiry about the users of TRS meeting at a common point or denominator. Yet, there are few who exactly mention a common citizenship identity achieved at the square. Among the various identities that become prominent instead in their comments, I would argue or propose that the social class identity will have a higher impact on the place identity of TRS, as long as the emphasis on commercialization –already defined as a problem by some experts-- continues to grow, leaving people with the illusion of having more common points because of consuming the same things. Some participants also refer to a rural identity with a "nonadaptive immigrant" construct in their minds, having a different culture than the so-called "Istanbul culture" based on a non-Muslim origin and visualized through the old

Beyoğlu cliché with its people in grand toilette or expressions such as “rules of living in the city”, “an institute of ladhood”, and so on. My second proposition is that this categorization of the city dwellers as urban-rural or Istanbulian-Anatolian might be creating one fundamental barrier against the unification at a common identity on TRS to the degree that it takes the form of non-acceptance of the latecomers or even hate speech towards them. There is also an emphasis made by the participants on another, cosmopolitan identity of Taksim, Beyoğlu in relation to the metropolitan –or even global-- identity attributed to the city of Istanbul. The participants use the word cosmopolitan in the sense of the social diversity of the area, and at times, as a reason for the impossibility of people’s having a common collective identity there. Considering the coexistence of cosmopolitanism and hostility towards the Other in the participants’ speech acts, cosmopolitanism with its focus on respecting difference, which is beneath similarity based on a consumer identity (Zizek), hardly becomes the shared identity looked for.

Besides this identity caused barriers, the limitedness in a common, collective meaning of the square is also very much related to the kinds of usage that the square is currently put. As observed by some participants, the square is less open today to the collective uses of people, which could perhaps inspire a common feeling of national belonging, than individual uses or formal uses such as commercial organizations of the municipality – moreover, a mismatch between the form and content of managerial activities at the place is observed by the participants. Relatedly, while studying the meaning that the current users acquire from TRS, people were categorized into two as the ones, who developed a sense of TRS basically over their usages of the place and the others, whose attached meaning to the place was more an outcome of their symbolic interpretations. Accordingly, we could say that a common, collective meaning of the square is more limited in the case of the first group with a usage-based spatial meaning of TRS than the second, because those uses to inspire the feeling of togetherness are not very much available in the present situation of the square.

Even though, the political use for public meetings as one type of the currently absent collective use takes the lead among the past uses of TRS at least for the older in-depth interviewees, most participants seem to avoid from a political use of TRS at present. It is an attitude I tried to explain with reference to Bourdieu (1986), who makes a definition of moralization or psychologization against politicization, which is related to one’s becoming self-absorbed as she or he dismisses her or his hopes of changing the social world. People’s

dissociating themselves from (street) politics could also be related to what they understand from politics, whether something involved within the practicalities of daily life or some completely separate, 'serious' activity. Still, TRS together with the Republic Monument seems to be primarily a societal source of meaning rather than personal according to the questionnaire findings. I tried to explain this personal meaning falling behind the societal at TRS with the possibility that individuals alone might be lacking those experiences (or uses) counterbalancing the important, historical social events experienced on TRS, to render the place meaningful also for them, both due to the wider depolitization trend and the unprovided opportunity to comfortably experience the poorly organized physical place.

TRS in its existing physical organization or form is seen by some participants as a "lost" or "invaded" place, empty of any "spirit" or aura, and a particular reason for this being lost is shown as the continuous change of the place. One critical comment on the existing form of TRS concerns its size and limitlessness; some participants recall the much smaller and "civilized" TRS of the 1970s. In parallel, small is generally deemed as beautiful in the related city square literature, exemplified by the neighborhood plazas of Barcelona or Paris that are argued to have higher user intensity, for which Galata square is probably a better example located in the wider Taksim, Beyoğlu area than TRS. In terms of the place element of the public space form, participants commonly focus on the inadequacy of places of attraction directly on TRS like cafés, except for the Republic Monument as a place of attraction, which is however seen at present, rather as secluded due to the car traffic disintegrating the square. In addition to the inadequacy of place attractions and the problem of wheeled vehicles traffic, the inadequacy of city furniture at the square creates another form-related problem, decreasing the usability of TRS further –or its symbolic accessibility-- and resulting in an underuse-misuse vicious circle (Carr et al. 1992). Considering all these problems, the present physical arrangement of TRS falls short of answering the basic public space needs of its users primarily comfort and relaxation.

In respect of the meaning of the place, for some participants of the study, it comes out that TRS does not have a very special meaning; a situation explained by themselves as the place's becoming ordinary for them due to overexposure, that is, seeing it every day and therefore, getting used to it. I tried to understand this justification by drawing a parallel between it and Cythia Paces' argument that sometimes the creation of a marker lulls people into complacency, and alleged that if for example, the Republic Monument was removed overnight, it would have meant more for people, who at the moment do not

sometimes even recognize it. The meaning acquired from the existing square is analyzed by focusing on the attitudes of certain in-depth interviewees –taken almost as Simmelian social types—in respect of the meaning issue. Despite the initial expectation of meaninglessness of the present TRS to be shared by all people regardless of their social profile, the unfolding meanings attributed to TRS by the participants of the study, more or less hoped to be represented by these different social profiles looked at in detail, are proposed to be highly shaped by these people's social position –and interests, depending primarily on their compositions of capital i.e., economic and cultural (Bourdieu 1986), plus on the wider context.

In the meaning analysis, for example the fabric tradesman is taken as a representative of the people for whom TRS continues to have its social relevance, who make a strong association between TRS and the Turkish Republic, and probably because they first received this message pertaining to national values from the place in the past, and somehow did not let it pass from their consciousness. This enduring meaning was possible maybe because these people did not develop a sense of the place according to their usage of the square –the fabric tradesman almost never uses TRS-- but their symbolic interpretations. As the opposite cases of the fabric tradesman in terms of the meaning issue, I focus on the publishing employee as a member of the young population and the architect as someone from the older generation with similar views. Depending on the love and hate relationship of the publishing employee with the Republic and its values, and a personal observation of the Turkish youth, there seems to be an anomic situation these days, especially with an impact on young to middle-aged people, leaving them in a state of self-contradictoriness –like the paranoid personae in a paranoid city of Iman Issa. And TRS in its presence, increasingly falling short of providing the right historical references contributes to this anxiety-creating condition of doubt. If the publishing employee remembers murder i.e., 1977, when he thinks of TRS as a symbol, the architect, who defines himself as a "professional volunteer", sees a symbolic violence disguised as anonymity, reflecting from the place. Interpreting the meaning of TRS as the symbolic project of the Republic, the architect claims that TRS is at the center of a clash between the Ottoman –traditional-- and the Republican –modernist—program, and also mentions as a third program, the free market, arising in the 1970s, as an alternative to these preceding two, and which for him now assumes the name of the congress valley. I criticized the architect's approach that feels to me as a local copy of Huntington's famous theory of the class of civilizations, pointing at

its risk of oversimplification, which might lead to a negligence towards interconnections among these projects e.g., the seemingly traditionalist political program and the economic one.

The Republic Monument as a pure symbol requires some special attention in the context of analyzing the symbolic meaning of TRS. Similar to the meaning of TRS, there is again a group of different reactions on the side of the study participants to the Republic Monument as a national monument. The group composed of the people, who really like the Republic Monument, show its human scale, collective representation or "dynamism", and most of all, the independence story behind it, as the main reasons for this appreciation. Their comments show that the intended message of the Monument is well received by them and moreover, spoken back in the same tone. To support the argument that the Republic Monument does not really fit to the description of a violent monument described in theory, people's interactions with it either on special occasions e.g., the May 1, 2010 or on a daily basis e.g., traditionally dressed, old women sitting in the shadow of the Monument, are shown as further evidences. While the monument from a bayonet erected on TRS after one of the military coups is provided as a more suiting example for the violent monument, the conic monument recently placed at the entry of Gezi Park by the municipality, is probably more an example of a monument or 'public art' without a public.

The study revolving around the question of what meaning the users attribute to the current TRS, the symbolicalness of the place is probably not something that the participants think about all the time in daily life, but it comes out from under the surface through occasions such as a public debate for example concerning the Taksim mosque project. One also gets a sense of the meaning of TRS for people, when they claim for instance, that retrogressive activities would not fit the atmosphere of Taksim at all. Or again, the spatial meaning of the place for them becomes apparent, when they reject the acts of benevolence on the part of the management e.g., supplying the poor with food only during Ramadan, the moment they feel some insincerity. Even if the people hardly think of TRS in symbolic terms in daily life, they are well aware of the ideological struggles over the place, based on their comments on the particular issues of the mosque, AKM, 1st of May, the continuous restoration of the Republic Monument, and so on. Moreover, people are disturbed by any act of management that they perceive as an (political) imposition, and not because they are really in politics themselves –it seems they actually rather refrain from politics nowadays.

Depending on the results of the study, the meaning of TRS today is blurred or multiplied for its users due to the multiple temporal and spatial layers involving struggles at various societal levels. On the other hand, it is also true that there is an ideological clash --the argument of the architect-- going on with an almost inevitable physical impact on TRS as the basic public square of Istanbul. This clash or struggle shown at the level of TRS should however be considered at a larger, political-economic scale as well i.e., the wider challenge to the nation-state construct along with globalization and localization, resulting in the predominance of an individual consumer identity and its extensions as long as they do not contradict the former development. Then the question becomes an assessment of the proposed identity instead of the citizenship identity of the nation state construct for example the community, in terms of its level of humanity, without however neglecting the role of the wider political-economy behind it. This could be a topic of interest for further research. One additional point on the ideological clash that is reflected to the appearance of TRS is the inconsistency between the apparent and the actual messages (ideology) or the interconnections between ideologies that differ in their appearances, which makes interpretation harder for the individual reader or receiver. An anecdote could perhaps express this uncertainty of the current situation better.

A man owning a land just opposite a mosque in a small town starts to build a night club on his land. The imam and the community of the mosque resist this construction strongly but cannot do anything except cursing it. A couple of days before the opening of the night club, the building is struck by lightning. The mosque community does not hide its happiness, and the man sues them as responsible from the event directly or indirectly, for damages. The imam and the community reject their responsibility and the possibility of the event occurring from their curses strongly in their defense to the court. In the court, the judge examines the case carefully and declares: “I don’t know how to judge on this issue but looking at the files there is something strange about it. One side is a night club owner who believes in the power of pray and the other is an imam and his community who absolutely do not believe in the power of pray” (Kırıkkanat 2011, 18). For the ideologies appearing physically on TRS, one could perhaps say the same thing: They appear as one thing but are actually inside something else.

Finally, I would like to touch upon the limitations of this research and the possibilities of further research related to this topic. Firstly, the sample of the in-depth interviews is a highly educated group. This is because it is mostly composed of area shopkeepers, who are

more educated than the society in general, in addition to a group of people including an artist, public officer, architect, and so on. Due to a limitation of time and other resources, the questionnaire sample is limited to 71 respondents, some of which are gathered through email during the pretest. Considering the length and relative difficulty –in the sense that it requires the involvement of the respondent-- of the questions, a bigger sample size could only be possible if there were some assistants conducting surveys together with the author. As a suggestion for future research, the form, usage, and meaning analyses of TRS could be developed to include a more comprehensive, generalizable survey sample in terms of sample size. The survey sample composition shall also be taken more care of by applying more complex sampling techniques than a simple reliance on the available subjects, not to miss any important sections of the society and to enhance its representability. Moreover, to be better able to assess the change in the meaning attached to TRS by people, a longitudinal research could be designed. Yet, this study remains at the level of taking a snapshot of the meaning that the people currently acquire from TRS, and hence, does not very much allow commenting upon the change in the place's meaning in time, even though some participants make comments regarding the place's past meaning for them. Finally, the endeavor to search for the the meaning of a highly symbolic public square from an urban sociology perspective could be spread to other public space examples to have a more general perspective on the issue of the sense of an urban space.

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APPENDICES

A: The Field Survey

ODTÜ Sosyoloji Yüksek Lisans Tezi Anketi

Yanıtlarınız ODTÜ Sosyoloji bölümünde bir yüksek lisans tezi için kullanılacak ve onun dışında kesinlikle gizli tutulacaktır. Soruları dikkate alarak yanıtlamanızı ve boş bırakmamanızı özellikle rica ederim. Yardımınız için şimdiden teşekkür ederim.
Meriç Kırmızı

Sayı: .....
Tarih-Gün: .....
Saat: .....

I. Kişi Bilgileri

1. Yaş: .....
2. Cinsiyet: K ( ) E ( )
3. Doğum Yeri: .....
4. Öğretim Düzeyi: Öğretimsiz ( ) İlköğretim ( ) Ortaöğretim ( ) Lise ( )
   Yüksekokul ( ) Üniversite ( ) Lisansüstü ( )
5. Çalışma durumu: Evet ( ) Hayır ( )
   5.1. İş Yeri: Kamu ( ) Özel ( )
   5.2. Nerede ve ne iş yapıyorsunuz? .....
6. İkamet:
   İstanbul ise, Semt: .....
   İstanbul dışı: .....
7. Hane halkı kişi sayısı: .....
8. Aylık hane halkı geliri:
   0-500TL ( )
   501-1000TL ( )
   1001-1500TL ( )
   1501+ ( )

II. Meydanla İlgili Sorular

A. Meydanın Biçimi

1. Meydanın bugünkü geçerli fiziksel düzenlemesi:
   1.1. Kullanım gereksiniminizi karşılıyor mu? E ( ) H ( )

1.2. Rahatlama gereksiniminizi karşılıyor mu? E ( ) H ( )
1.3. Dinlenme gereksiniminizi karşılıyor mu? E ( ) H ( )
1.4. Sosyalleşme gereksiniminizi karşılıyor mu? E ( ) H ( )
1.5. Kendinizi geliştirme (yeni bir şeyler keşfetme, öğrenme) gereksiniminizi karşılıyor mu? E ( ) H ( )

2. Aşağıdaki anlatımlarla ilgili düşüncenize en yakın gelen sayıyı seçerek anlatımın yanındaki boşluğa yazınız.

7: Kesinlikle katılıyorum 6: Katılıyorum 5: Biraz katılıyorum 4: Ne katılıyorum ne de katılmıyorum 3: Biraz Katılmıyorum 2: Katılmıyorum 1: Kesinlikle katılmıyorum

Meydanın bugünkü biçimi (biçiminde):

2.1. insanların kullanımını teşvik ediyor ....
2.2. mekânın kullanım amacına uygun ....
2.3. barındırdığı kent mobilyası (bank, ışıklandırma, süs-bitki) bakımından yeterlidir ....
2.4. barındırdığı doğal unsurlar (ağaç, su) bakımından yeterlidir ....
2.5. için insan-odaklı anlatımı doğrudur ....
2.6. görüntü sürekliliği vardır/görüntü kirliliği yoktur....
2.7. yaya kullanıcılara hareket özgürlüğü sağlıyor ....
2.8. her türlü sosyal ve kültürel etkinlik için elverişlidir ....
2.9. için kullanıcıyı etkinleştirir (aktif kılar) demek doğrudur ....
2.10. kullanıcıda buraya ait olma duygusu yaratıyor ....
2.11. kullanıcıların buraya erişimine uygundur ....

B. Meydanın Kullanımı

3. Bu meydanda şu an bulunma nedeniniz aşağıdakilerden hangisidir? (<u>Tek seçenek</u>)
   - Ulaşım ( ) (Nereye? .....)
   - Kültür-sanat-bilimsel etkinlik ( )
   - Meydanda çalışma ( )
   - Eğlence, dinlenme ( )
   - Buluşma ( )
   - Alışveriş ( )
   - Diğer.....

4. Bu meydanı aşağıdaki amaçlardan hangileri için kullanıyorsunuz?
   4.1. Ulaşım E ( ) H ( ) [Evetse Nereye? .....)
   4.2. Kültür-sanat-bilimsel etkinlik E ( ) H ( )
   4.3. Meydanda çalışma E ( ) H ( )
   4.4. Buluşma E ( ) H ( )
   4.5. Eğlence, dinlenme E ( ) H ( )
   4.6. Alışveriş E ( ) H ( )
   4.7. Siyasal gösteri E ( ) H ( )
   4.8. Resmi tören ve anma E ( ) H ( )
   4.9. Diğer.....

5. Bu meydanı en çok hangi amaçla kullanıyorsunuz? (Tek seçenek)
   - Ulaşım ( )
   - Kültür-sanat-bilimsel etkinlik ( )
   - Meydanda çalışma ( )
   - Buluşma ( )
   - Eğlence, dinlenme ( )
   - Alışveriş ( )
   - Siyasal gösteri ( )
   - Resmi tören ve anma ( )
   - Diğer.....

6. Bir ay içinde yaklaşık kaç gün burada bulunuyorsunuz? .....

7. Geçmişte meydanda aşağıdaki etkinliklere katıldınız mı?
   7.1. Siyasal gösteri E ( ) H ( )
   7.2. Resmi tören ve anma E ( ) H ( )
   7.3. Kültür-sanat etkinliği E ( ) H ( )
   7.4. Eğlence E ( ) H ( )
   7.5. Bilimsel etkinlik E ( ) H ( )
   7.6. Diğer.....

C. Meydanın Anlamı

8. Bu meydanın adı nedir? .....

9. Meydanın bugünkü atmosferini düşününce aşağıdaki özelliklerden hangisi sizce en ağır basıyor? (Tek seçenek)
   - Tüketim ( )
   - Ulaşım ( )
   - Kültür-sanat ( )
   - Turistik alan ( )
   - Tarihsellik ( )
   - Siyaset ( )
   - Gezme-dinlenme ( )

10. Bugünkü durumunda:
    10.1. Meydanın ayırt edici bir özelliği var mı? E ( ) H ( )
    10.2. Meydanla kişisel bir bağ kurabiliyor musunuz? E ( ) H ( )
    10.3. Meydanın yaşantınızda önemli bir yeri var mı? E ( ) H ( )
    10.4. Meydan sizde olumlu çağrışımlar (aidiyet, güvenlik) yapıyor mu? E ( ) H ( )
    10.5. Meydan anlamlı diye nitelendireceğiniz olaylara, deneyimlere olanak sağlıyor mu? E ( ) H ( )
    10.6. Meydanın kullanım rahatlığı var mı? E ( ) H ( )
    10.7. Meydanla kullanıcıları arasında toplumsal bir bağ var mı? E ( ) H ( )

10.8. Meydan toplum için bir dayanak/nirengi noktası özelliği taşıyor mu?

E ( ) H ( )

11. Aşağıda bu meydana ilişkin birtakım özelliklerin listesi yer alıyor. İzleyen soruları bu listeye göre yanıtlayınız.

Anlık Geçiş yeri
Ulaşım yeri
Buluşma yeri
İzleme (seyir) yeri
Turistik-gezi yeri
Resmi yer
Sermayenin yeri
Kamusal yer
Sıradan yer
İşlevsiz yer
Gözetim yeri
Cumhuriyet'in yeri
1Mayıs yeri
Gençlik yeri
Demokrasi ve özgürlük yeri
Suç merkezi
Kozmopolit yer
Siyasi toplanma yeri
Anıtsal yer
Modern yer
Yozlaşmış yer
Kültür-sanat yeri
Ticari tüketim yeri
Toplumsal değişimi gösteren yer
Yurttaşlık yeri
Kalabalık yer
Köyleşmiş yer
Trafik yoğun yer
Yaya yeri
Tarihsel yer
Canlı yer
Ayrıştıran yer
Beton/Yeşilliksiz yer
Aydınlık yer
Plansız yer
Erişilmez yer
Polis yeri
Toplumsal başvuru (referans) yeri
Anlaşılır yer
Karmaşık yer
Gerici yer
Fast-food yeri
Keyif-dinlenme yeri
Düzenli-temiz yer
Sıkışık yer

Bugünkü meydanı:

11.1. En çok niteleyen 3 özellik listeden hangileridir?
.....

11.1.1. Seçtiğiniz bu 3 özellikten en çok niteleyen hangisidir?
.....

11.2. En az niteleyen 3 özellik hangileridir?
.....

11.2.1. Bu 3 özellikten en az niteleyen hangisidir? .....

11.3. Niteleğini düşündüğünüz ama bu listede olmayan özellikler varsa onlar nelerdir?
.....

~

12. Sizin idealinizdeki meydanı niteleyen ilk 3 sözcük sırasıyla neler olurdu?.....

B: The In-Depth Interview Questions

A. Kullanıcılar için Derinlemesine Görüşme Soruları

I. Görüşmeci Bilgileri

1. Yaşınız?
2. Cinsiyet.
3. Eğitim düzeyiniz?
4. Mesleğiniz?
5. Medeni durumunuz?
6. Anne-baba eğitim düzeyi?
7. Anne-baba mesleği?
8. Doğum yeriniz?
9. İstanbul dışı ise İstanbul'a ne zaman geldiniz?
10. Şu an çalışıyor musunuz?
11. Ne iş yapıyorsunuz?
12. Nerede oturuyorsunuz?
    a. İstanbul ise hangi semt?
    b. İstanbul dışı ise hangi il?
13. Kimlerle yaşıyorsunuz? (Hanehalkı kaç kişi?)
14. Eve giren aylık gelir miktarınız aşağıdakilerden hangisidir?
    a. 0-500TL
    b. 501-1000TL
    c. 1001-1500TL
    d. 1501+

II. Kullanım

15. Bu yeri (meydanı) ne amaçlarla kullanıyorsunuz?
16. Bu yeri ne kadar süre ile kullanıyorsunuz?
17. Bu yeri ne sıklıkla kullanıyorsunuz?
18. Bu yerde yaşadığınız en önemli deneyim nedir?
19. Burada olmanın en hoşunuza giden ve gitmeyen yanları neler?
20. Sizce bu yere ne eklense ya da çıkarılsa daha hoşunuza gider? (Örn. Bayrak, anıt, fıskiye, havuz, ağaç, trafik)
21. Sizce burada neler korunmalı ve buraya neler eklenmemeli?
22. Ne tür bir etkinlik sizce buranın ruhuna (atmosferine) en çok yakışır? Ne yakışmaz?

III. Anlam

23. Bu yerden söz ettiğimizde aklınıza ilk gelen şey nedir?
24. Bu yer sizin için ne anlama geliyor? Burada olmak ne anlama geliyor?
25. Bu yer sizce Türkiye tarihinin en çok hangi döneminin izlerini taşıyor? O izler neler?
26. Bu yerin kullanıcıları açısından birleştirici bir özelliği olduğundan söz edilebilir mi?
27. Geçmişle karşılaştırdığınızda bu yerde bir dönüşüm gözlemliyor musunuz? Nasıl, biraz açar mısınız?
    a. Olumlu ya da olumsuza doğru mu?
28. İstanbul'un geneline baktığımızda bu yerin herhangi bir ayırt edici özelliği olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?
29. Türkiye'nin hemen her kentinde meydanlar, anıtsal yapılar, vb. vardır. Bu yeri onlarla karşılaştırdığınızda bir fark gözlemliyor musunuz?
30. Anıt size ne anlatıyor? Anıt hakkında herhangi bir bilginiz var mı? Kentteki öteki anıtlardan farklı yanı var mı?
31. İstanbul'un size anımsattığı ilk resim ne? Niye? Ne ifade ediyor? Sizin o yeri deneyiminiz nasıl?

B. Uzmanlar için Derinlemesine Görüşme Soruları

a. Meslek Odası ve Dernek Temsilcileri için Görüşme Soruları

1. Günümüzdeki Taksim Meydanı'nı bir kent meydanı (bir kent meydanının anlamını, simgeselliğini, işlevini göz önünde bulundurarak) olarak nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
    a. Diğer büyük kentlerin meydanlarını görme fırsatınız olduysa onlarla karşılaştırdığınızda bu meydanı nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
2. Kamusal alan olarak bu meydanı nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
    a. Bugünkü meydanın kamusal kullanıma uygunluğu açısından nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
3. Taksim Meydanı'nın sizin için anlamı nedir?
4. T.M. nasıl bir meydan olmalı?
5. Geçerli kentsel dönüşüm projeleri ışığında bugünkü meydanı nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz? (Meydanı daha geniş bölgesi içinde düşündüğünüzde.)
6. Bugünkü meydanla iktidar ilişkisini nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
    a. İktidar partisi bu meydana nasıl bakıyor? Ve bu yaklaşım, meydanın düzenlemesini nasıl etkiliyor?
    b. İktidar partisinin kent planlamasında öncelikleri neler? Bu meydan bu planların neresinde?
7. Bugünkü meydanla toplumun ilişkisini nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
    a. Bugünkü meydan nasıl kullanılıyor? Nasıl kullanılmalı?
8. Kent planlaması/mimari bakımdan bugünkü meydanı nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
9. Meydanda yaşanmış önemli toplumsal olayların ilişkin genel bir çözümlemesini yapmanız gerekse neler söylemek isterdiniz?

b. Belediye Temsilcisi için Görüşme Soruları

1. Meydanın günümüzde işlevini ne olarak görüyorsunuz? Ne olmalı?
2. Meydanın geçerli fiziksel düzenlemesiyle ilgili olumlu bulduğunuz özellikler neler?
3. Meydanın geçerli fiziksel düzenlemesiyle ilgili gözlemlediğiniz olumsuzluklar var mı? Bunların bugüne dek çözülememesinin gerekçeleri sizce neler olabilir?
    a. Anıt ve çevresi (müze)
    b. Trafik
    c. Gezi Parkı (sergi amaçlı kullanımı)
    d. Kongre vadisi projesi
    e. AKM
    f. Tarlabaşı projesi
    g. İstiklal Caddesi ile ilişkisi
    h. Meydan ve kamusal alan niteliği
4. Meydanın geleceğiyle ilgili:
    a. Ne tür hedefler geliştirilmeli?
    b. Sizin kurum olarak hedefleriniz, kısa, orta, uzun dönemli projeleriniz neler? (Meydanın gelecek vizyonu)
        i. İmar
        ii. Planlama
        iii. Dönüşüm, vb.

C: The SPSS Analyses

Table 9. Crosstab and Chi-Square Test of Income Level and Whether Taksim Republican Square Has a Societal Connection with Its Users

			Bugunku meydanla kullanicilari arasinda toplumsal bag		
			Evet	Hayir	Total
Aylik hane halki geliri	0-500TL	Count	0	3	3
		% within Aylik hane halki geliri	,0%	100,0%	100,0%
	501-1000TL	Count	5	4	9
		% within Aylik hane halki geliri	55,6%	44,4%	100,0%
	1001-1500TL	Count	16	4	20
		% within Aylik hane halki geliri	80,0%	20,0%	100,0%
	1500TL ustu	Count	22	15	37
		% within Aylik hane halki geliri	59,5%	40,5%	100,0%
Total		Count	43	26	69
		% within Aylik hane halki geliri	62,3%	37,7%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7,928[a]	3	,048
Likelihood Ratio	9,081	3	,028
Linear-by-Linear Association	,891	1	,345
N of Valid Cases	69		

a. 3 cells (37,5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1,13.

Table 10. Independent Samples T-test: Participation in Official Ceremony & Commemoration at the Square in the Past and Mean Score of the Place of the Republic

Group Statistics

	Gecmiste meydanda resmitoren ve anmaya katilmismi	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Cumhuriyetin yeri	Evet	31	3,39	,715	,128
	Hayir	40	2,95	,389	,061

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
									95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
Cumhuriyetin yeri	Equal variances assumed	21,815	,000	3,291	69	,002	,437	,133	,172	,702
	Equal variances not assumed			3,068	43,560	,004	,437	,142	,150	,724

Table 11. One-way ANOVA: The Highest Use Purpose and The Square's Form Today Promotes Usage

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	43,607	6	7,268	2,705	,021
Within Groups	171,971	64	2,687		
Total	215,577	70			

Table 12. One-Way ANOVA: The Highest Use Purpose and the Age of the Respondent

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	3356,611	6	559,435	4,168	,001
Within Groups	8590,853	64	134,232		
Total	11947,465	70			