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HISTORY OF PROTEST SPACES IN ISTANBUL

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HISTORY OF PROTEST SPACES IN İSTANBUL

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MASTER THESIS

Submitted to the Graduate School of Kadir Has University in partial fulfillments or the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Architecture and Urban Studies Master Program.

İSTANBUL, AUGUST,2019

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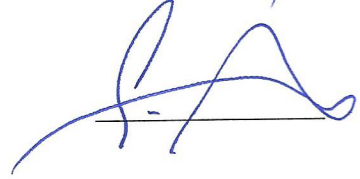
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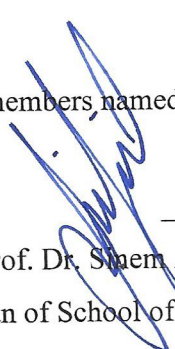
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HISTORY OF PROTEST SPACES IN ISTANBUL

ABSTRACT

Main aim of this thesis is to examine evolution of protest spaces in İstanbul. While examining these spaces, I asked how social movements establish a relationship with the city and whether searching for particular spaces in which this relationship materialized can provide a new way of looking at the history of city and its transformation. For these purposes, a database of manifestations in İstanbul's public spaces have been collected from newspapers and other periodical publications. News from 1960s which can be considered as the era of new wave in street manifestations chosen as start point for archival research whereas 2010 which marks a turning point because of May 1st celebrations in İstanbul marked its ending. This data provided a base for locating distinctive protest spaces in city's borders. By using multi correspondence analysis, protests as well as their spaces, actors, dates and topics have been clustered. In order to understand the continuity and transformation, protest spaces and factors affecting their mobilization singularly examined according to location and in relation to turning points in Turkey's political history. This helped to understand mobilizations of different groups and their relation to particular protest spaces.

Keywords: protest, social movements, public space, protest space, İstanbul

İSTANBUL'UN PROTESTO MEKANLARI TARİHİ

ÖZET

Bu tezin amacı, İstanbul'daki protesto alanlarının evrimini incelemektir. Tez bu mekanları incelerken, toplumsal hareketlerin kentle nasıl bir ilişki kurduğunu ve bu ilişkinin gerçekleştiği belirli alanları aramanın kent tarihine ve dönüşümünü incelemek için yeni bir bakış açısı sağlayıp sağlayamayacağını sorar. Bu amaçla, gazetelerdeki ve diğer süreli yayınlardaki haberler kullanılarak İstanbul'un kamusal alanlarındaki protestoları içeren bir veritabanı toplanmıştır. Sokak hareketlerinde yeni bir dönem olarak kabul edilen 1960'lı yıllar, arşiv araştırması için başlangıç noktası olarak seçilirken İstanbul'da 1 Mayıs kutlamaları nedeni ile bir dönüm noktası işaret eden 2010 son tarihi işaretler. Bu veri, şehirdeki protesto mekanlarını bulabilmek için bir temel oluşturur. Çoklu mütekabiliyet analizi kullanılarak, protestoların yanı sıra mekanları, aktörleri, tarihleri ve konuları kümelendi. Sürekliliği ve değişimi anlamak için protesto mekanları ve mobilizasyonlarını etkileyen unsurlar, buldukları yere göre ve Türkiye'nin siyasi tarihindeki dönüm noktaları ile ilişkili olarak incelenmiştir. Bu, farklı aktör gruplarının ve mekanların diğer tüm değişkenler ile ilişkilerini anlayıp şehir ile bağlantılarını irdelemeyi sağlamıştır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: protesto, toplumsal hareketler, kamusal alan, protesto mekanı, İstanbul

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1. INTRODUCTION

In June 6th, 1992 Milliyet newspaper gave the headline of “resistance trouble”¹. Thirty thousand municipality worker stopped working in İstanbul. Garbage was not collected, buses and ferries did not work. As a result, trash piled up in streets and bus stops emptied while long taxi lines emerged. In the meantime, workers on strike gathered in front of Saraçhane Municipality Building to protest their employer. Affected by earlier meetings in the area, participants did their best to draw attention to their cause, they used every inch of square and its surroundings on their benefit. In addition to discontent of municipality workers, the lack of services they provided created another wave of grievances from citizens. Because of the absence of necessary aid, citizens started to criticize authorities. Resistance of municipality workers and its impact on İstanbul’s inhabitants transformed power structures and altered results of local elections in 1994. Saraçhane symbolizes that change as one of the most important protest spaces for workers in 1990s.



Figure 1.1: Resistance trouble (*Milliyet*, 06.06.1992)

¹ “*direnış çilesi*”. Translation by me.

What is particularly important about Saraçhane example is the illustration it provides about the connection between protest and its space, actors, dates, groups affected by it. If civil servants were living in conditions they wished to have there would not be a strike, Saraçhane was not going to witness this meeting, discontent among citizens were not going to rise and maybe elections result would be different. Saraçhane stands as a key factor within all of these because it provided physical and visual connection among all variables. Therefore, examining the area as a protest space means trying to find out what are other elements that affected the event and what happened afterwards.

Was Saraçhane chosen for that meeting only because of Municipality Building? If not, what other connection area can have to the manifestation? Saraçhane Square is not the only example of protest spaces in İstanbul. It is only natural to find gatherings spread in a city with long history of discontent. Can relation between other protests and their spaces found? Do these areas have any relation to each other because they were in same era or organized by similar actors in close proximity? These questions change the scale of protests. Next to being a key element in manifestations, space of protest also provides a connection between the action itself and the city. This research aims to examine this interdependent relation between city and protests. It asks:

- Which locations in İstanbul can be considered as protest spaces?
- How areas gain the character of being a protest space and according to what this character changes?
- Is it possible to understand urbanization of İstanbul while following protests' traces?

Since the main idea revolves around two key terms, it is important to explain them; protest and space. Although both are widely discussed in literature, pointing out their intended meanings in this writing will help to grasp main aim of the research better. Protest can have wide range of meanings since manifestation repertoire can vary from strikes to machine breaking, occupations to even growing long beards. However, while examining direct relation between space and protest what meant by the term is physical demonstrations; such as mass gatherings, marches, sittings, occupations and so on. Therefore, second term means area that protests are located in; mainly public spaces. But this does not mean cases are just massive gatherings in city squares. Every square is

connected to a road or a public building and in case of İstanbul, protests are even linked to water transportation. For 1990s environmental movement, Bosphorus was the place to manifest. Therefore, what is meant by protest space is every place in which manifestation or its physical effects can be detected.

Protest space creates connection between organizers, dates, other groups affected by it and the city. But these cannot be only factors that affected the manifestation. Decisions of authorities, police forces, physical barriers and so on alter the event too. In a study which tries to find out how all are connected in physical space and where, one should find a way to consider all factors at the same time. This revealed the need for a whole data set which includes information about how each factor contributed to the demonstration. Since there was no ready input in hand, collecting protest news became one of the major tasks of the thesis.

1.1 Archival Resources

Even though there are various ways to collect data about protests, such as oral history or governmental statistics, newspapers and organization archives became major sources for this thesis because they provide much wider information about backgrounds of protests and they are available for longer time intervals than other materials.

There are three major sources that have been used in the data collecting process. Cumhuriyet Newspaper has released three volumes set of 75 Years of the Republic in 1998 for the 75th anniversary of republican regime in Turkey. These volumes contain major turning points in the history, including political and social changes. Therefore, it provided a map and a first source at the beginning of archival research. Since three volumes are made out of Cumhuriyet Newspaper archives, second resource has become the newspaper itself. Following the guideline of 75 Years of the Republic all archive in Cumhuriyet Newspaper, which is digitalized, was scanned for protest events. Next to Cumhuriyet, Milliyet Newspaper's digitalized documents were used for data validation in some cases. Third main resource, Encyclopedia of Unionism in Turkey, served as another fruitful resource to understand both unionism history in Turkey and workers' demonstrations. Next to newspaper archives, secondary resources have been used in

order to find protests events. Some of them are organizations' histories, others are unions' periodical publications and magazines.

After finding out possible main sources and starting to scan them a significant question revealed itself; in the process of gathering data which date one should begin with? Answer to this question should be linked with the actions' use of public space and its effects. According to Çetinkaya, the major public demonstrations and their role in mass politics within this geography's boundaries has been marked with National Marches, *Milli Nümayişler*, in 1908 Revolution (2008, p. 132). Of course, there are earlier examples of movements with political undertones. There were civilian riots in Ottoman at 17th century which addresses political problems and oppressions of Ottoman (Yi, 2011). However, they were not massive mobilizations which aimed to transform any authority or public space. On the other hand, 1908 was marked with mass strikes, election and marches of minorities who were not happy with the electoral results (Çetinkaya, 2008, pp. 135–136). The way masses used streets, from Bab-I Ali to Beyoğlu affected politics and the city (Çetinkaya, 2008, p. 135). Therefore, initial idea at the beginning of thesis was to start with 1908 movement and follow street and square demonstrations until today. However, lack of spatial information about 1908 led research to focus on more recent history and came to 1960s when street demonstrations increased dramatically. 1960s were the era when manifestations of all actors such as students, workers or civil servants on the rise. In fact, 1961 marked a turn point in workers' movement with Saraçhane meeting. According to Koçak and Çelik, subsequent to Saraçhanebaşı demonstration in December 31st 1961, labor movement became more visible than it ever did before (2016). Therefore, 1961 has been chosen as the beginning date of research. However, this revealed yet another question: With which date to stop archival research? The idea at the beginning was to end the research at today, in 2019. However, the rise of protests in 2013 during Gezi have already been largely discussed in the literature.² Including Gezi protests would be repeating what has been said before. In addition to the probability of repetition, pressure of the thesis

² For more information about Gezi protests, Akcan, E. (2015) 'The "Occupy" Turn in the Global City Paradigm: The Architecture of AK Party's Istanbul and the Gezi Movement', Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association, 2(2), p. 359. doi: 10.2979/jotturstuass.2.2.07 ; Batuman, B., Baykan, D. A. and Deniz, E. (2016) 'Encountering the Urban Crisis: The Gezi Event and the Politics of Urban Design', Journal of Architectural Education, 70(2), pp. 189–202. doi: 10.1080/10464883.2016.1197655. and Örs, I. R. (2014) 'Genie in the bottle: Gezi Park, Taksim Square, and the realignment of democracy and space in Turkey', Philosophy and Social Criticism, 40(4–5), pp. 489–498. doi: 10.1177/0191453714525390.

deadline made it necessary to set another date for conclusion, preferably one signaling a shorter time period. During research process, it became clear that May 1st demonstrations, as the main event of year, sets the tone of manifestations. The pre- and pro- May 1st days marks increase of protest events, mainly to put pressure on Governorate of İstanbul for gaining access to Taksim. In May of 2010, for the first time in thirty-two years Taksim meeting was allowed by legal authorities. It created a great deal of excitement and increase in street demonstrations. Since May 1st, 2010 signals a particular meaning, it has been designated as the last date of archival research.

1.2 Data Collecting Method

Newspapers are chosen as primary resources because of easy access and wide time interval they provide. However, they helped more than just supplying data sets for protest events; they provided a map and background information. Using newspapers guidance was useful at defining and limiting the research. News themselves mapped the limitations about protests and prevented falling into what Merleau-Ponty calls “retrospective illusion” (2003, cited in Thrift, 1996, p. 4). Researchers can gain “a logocentric presence which then becomes the precondition of research, a towering structure of categories lowering over the ant-like actions of humans and others which constitutes the 'empirical' raw material” (Thrift, 1996, p. 4). Following narratives that newspapers offered without putting any precondition on data about what the final results would say is an important task for newspaper-based researches and it comes with benefits. Reading through archives also helps to form background information about political, economic and social environment of the era. This was one of the most helpful outcomes of newspaper scanning because it would not be possible to evaluate both movements and their spatiality without considering general grievances. For example, it is not easy to locate June 15th protests and their spaces within general framework without knowing what union rights means at that date. Seeing protest events in between other news helped to locate it in much broader context, in spite of being time consuming.

Using newspaper as source of data also has possible weak points. The most problematic part is validity of newspaper information. It is not so surprising to think that newspaper

articles can be biased, and this can harm newspaper-based researches. Yet there are some precautions that one can take. First measure is to have multiple resources and double check data in hand (Franzosi, 1987, p. 8). But this time-consuming process can be impractical since conflicting information about one event brings out the question of which one to trust. Another approach should be taken. According to Franzosi, not all facts are equally open to reporters' interpretation (1987, p. 7). Newspaper can agree on some facts such as "type of action involved (strike, demonstration, sit-in, etc.), its location and date, the general identity of the participants" when information can vary about violent acts of protestors or how different actors behaved during action (Franzosi, 1987, p. 7). Therefore, only the data with minimal risk of being affected by interpretation was included in data analysis phase. For example, number of participants listed with other information from the news when it was given. But it was neglected during analysis phase since that information can be altered easily by reporters or editors.

Another point to stress in a study based on news is the effect of pressure on media. Parts of movements of minorities or other events that authority did not wish to spread in media is excluded from the data set basically because there was no news about them. However, the lack of information can also give clues about the general political environment of era.

1.3 Methodology: Critical Realism and Multi Correspondence Analysis

After data set is collected, archival findings were processed in order to be prepared for analysis phase. First, images of newspapers were gathered so that it would be possible to restore them in case of sources are lost or corrupted. Second, information of all possible factors which affected the protest searched through the found news. Date, location, type of protest, actor, reasons, slogans, police intervention and any material object which was used during protest event listed down on a table which will provide documents for the analysis in the end.

id	source	date/ newsjd	date_period	name	type	meeting/other location	march starting location	march ending location	location_type
14003	sendikacilik ans	610106	1961.1		meeting	kağıthane			diğer
11006	cumhuriyet	610503	1961.2		meeting	beyazıt			meydan
11007	cumhuriyet	610512	1961.2		meeting	vilayet önu			devlet
11008	cumhuriyet	610704	1961.2		other	taksim			meydan
11009	cumhuriyet	611103	1961.3		meeting	beyazıt meydanı			meydan
11010	cumhuriyet	611231	1961.3		meeting	sarçanebaşı meydanı			meydan
14004	sendikacilik ans	611231	1961.3		march		taksim meydan	sarçane meydan	meydan
11011	cumhuriyet	620107	1962.1		meeting	taksim			meydan
12018	cumhuriyet_ens.	620106	1962.1		meeting	taksim meydan			meydan
11012	cumhuriyet	620211	1962.1		meeting	sarçanebaşı meydanı			meydan
12019	cumhuriyet_ens.	620611	1962.2		meeting	vilayet önu			devlet
12020	cumhuriyet_ens.	621009	1962.3		march		beyazıt meydanı	taksim meydanı	meydan
11013	cumhuriyet	630128	1963.1	27 ocak kibrı	march		cağalođlu	taksim/ aya triada kilisesi dini	devlet
11014	cumhuriyet	630130	1963.1		meeting	vilayet			meydan
12021	cumhuriyet_ens.	630326	1963.1		meeting	taksim meydan			diğer
11015	cumhuriyet	630408	1963.1		meeting	taksim ile dolmabahçe arasındaki güney park gazinosu			diğer
11016	cumhuriyet	630414	1963.1		meeting	taksim aniti			meydan
11017	cumhuriyet	630417	1963.1		march		çarşıkapı	vilayet	devlet
11018	cumhuriyet	630418	1963.1		meeting	istanbul üniversitesi bahçesi			meydan
11019	cumhuriyet	630429	1963.1		meeting	hürriyet meydanı			fabrika
11020	cumhuriyet	630607	1963.2		other	kaveli fabrikası			diğer
11021	cumhuriyet	630920	1963.3		other	sirkeci iskele			meydan
11022	cumhuriyet	631225	1963.3		meeting	beyazıt			meydan
11023	cumhuriyet	640312	1964.1		meeting	tünel meydanı			meydan
11024	cumhuriyet	640316	1964.1		meeting	sarçanebaşı meydanı			meydan
11025	cumhuriyet	640316	1964.1		meeting	taksim			meydan
11026	cumhuriyet	640605	1964.2		meeting	sarçanebaşı meydanı			okul
11027	cumhuriyet	640830	1964.2		march		istanbul üniversitesi bahçesi	harbiye	okul
11028	cumhuriyet	640922	1964.3		other	sarçanebaşı meydanı			meydan
15003	öğrenci postası	641001	1964.3		march		itü gümüşsuyu kampüsü önu	taksim aniti	meydan
11030	cumhuriyet	641104	1964.3		meeting	ataturk heykeli önu			okul
11031	cumhuriyet	641205	1964.3		meeting	istanbul üniversitesi bahçesi			okul
11032	cumhuriyet	650111	1965.1		meeting	eminönü eski halkevi önu			diğer
11033	cumhuriyet	650118	1965.1		march		sultanahmet	taksim	meydan
14005	sendikacilik ans	650430	1965.1		march		kazlıçeşme	topkapı	diğer
11034	cumhuriyet	650503	1965.2		meeting	kazlıçeşme			diğer
11035	cumhuriyet	650528	1965.2		other	taksim			meydan
11036	cumhuriyet	650722	1965.2	protesto ve	march		tophane	taksim	meydan
11037	cumhuriyet	650730	1965.2		march		tophane	taksim	meydan
11038	cumhuriyet	650819	1965.2		other	kadıköy			meydan
11039	cumhuriyet	650819	1965.2		other	sultanahmet			meydan
11040	cumhuriyet	650811	1965.3		meeting	sultanahmet			meydan

Table 1.1: Example of collected data (Fidan, 2019)

Following the completion of data set, the first idea of locating protests within the city showed the necessity of mapping protests. However, after finding approximately a thousand cases, it was obvious that one cannot simply map all events. It is for sure a map that contains all data would look even more chaotic than the situation itself and it would be extremely difficult to read through the totality of factors that affected protest in a map that only shows locations. What is needed was to find a way to cluster data according to all factors and then locate overrepresented protest spaces within found clusters. Therefore, an analysis was necessary to be able to determine level of abstraction. The kind of analysis that was going to be selected should include the totality of the data and help to understand how all of the input, date, place, groups and so on, resulted in that particular action. At this point, critical realist writing became fruitful. Critical realism is “a philosophical position that develops sophisticated claims about what is and should be taken as ‘real’ by the social sciences” (Pratt, 2009, p. 379). The real does not depend on finding out yet another cause effect relationship but it shows the “depth below the surface” (Pratt, 2009, p. 380). It does not just on simply put formulas that can say “the match does not strike due to the introduction of wet or damp” or “the bread does not rise due to the lack of yeast” (Pratt, 2009, p. 380). The very reason of lack of yeast can be related with location or weather conditions of that moment. In order to understand why bread did not rise one must consider all actors at

work in that moment. Rather than thinking just one possible effect, causality should be thought as the sum of all possible “causal mechanisms” (Pratt, 2009, p. 380).

In case of street manifestations, causal mechanisms vary and while clustering the data all of them should be in use. Since this level of abstraction and pattern recognition was much too complex to be done at hand, multi correspondence analysis model was used. Multi correspondence analysis, MCA, is a statistical method which helps to detect patterns or structures that lies within the complete dataset. It is widely known by applications suggested by Pierre Bourdieu. According to him, MCA is a “relational technique of data analysis whose philosophy corresponds exactly to what, in my view, the reality of the social world is” (1992, cited in Grenfel, 2014, p. 29)

To be able to use computational models, all data has to be transformed into a common language. Locations; protests types, marches and meetings; actors, characteristics of the majority of gathering crowd; claims reasons for protest to take place and location types, whether it is related with square, school, etc. have been listed down and coded.

Protest Type		Location Type	
Meeting	1	Square	1
March	2	School	2
Other	3	Public	3
		Other	4
Actors		Reasons	
Worker	1	Claiming Rights	1
Municipality Worker	2	General Protests	2
Civil Servant	3	Commemoration and Celebration	3
Student Left Wing	4	Support	4
Student Right Wing and Conservative Groups	5	Anti- War	5
Student Unknown	6	New Topics	6
Drivers	7	Location	
Private Sector Employees	8	Beyazıt Square	20001
General Participation Left Wing	9	Aksaray Square	20022
General Participation Right Wing and Conservative Groups	10	Cerrahpaşa Hospital	20012
General Participation Unknown	11	Kadıköy Square	30001
Women and LGBTI+	12	Tuzla Docks	30022
Other	13	Büyükçekmece Çatalca Highway	40013

Table 1.2: Coding of protest data (Fidan, 2019)

Following the coding phase, all data was analyzed using MCA computational programs. Analysis calculates a number that could emerge if factors did not have any connection to each other. For example, it assumes that Saraçhane would have the number 1 if it had

no relation to civil servant actions. Then, program calculates another value according to actual percentages of civil servant protests Saraçhane witnessed. If number is higher than 1, there should be a special relation within two factors. It follows same steps on each cell of data and finds out other locations which have particular connections to civil servants. Then, puts factors that have similar value in the same cluster.

One of the most important results of MCA is cartesian charts it generates. MCA puts every case and variable in coordinates according to differences and similarities. Seeing all variables in meaningful distances from each other helps to interpret the data and to name axes of cartesian chart which divides input. For example, it puts Saraçhane next to İstanbul Provincial Directorate of National Education. This helps to understand places' relation to civil servants and protests formed around public buildings.

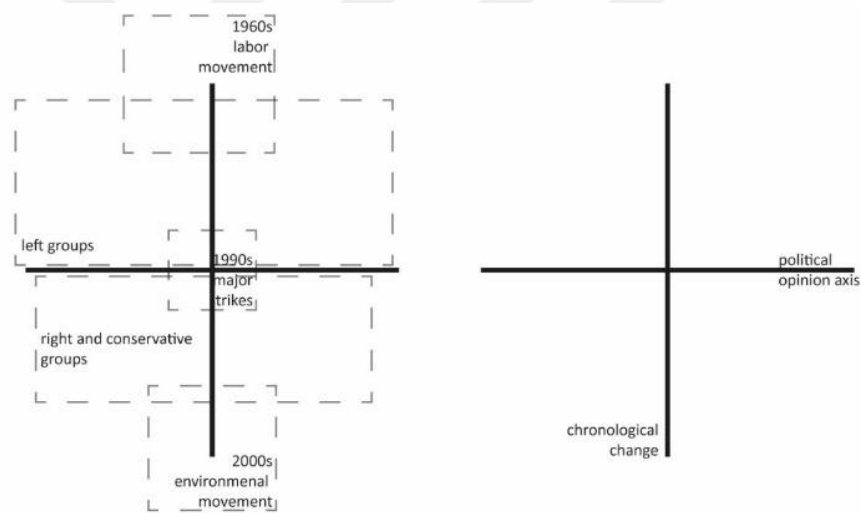


Figure 1.2: Correspondence map of first analysis (Fidan, 2019)

In the first analysis with complete data, first axis of cartesian chart separated left- and right-wing actors as it can be seen in the image above. According to this, labour force, left wing student protests and women's protests are located on one side whereas right wing and conservative students and environmentalists' protests are located on the other. These close coordinates can only be explained with the help of second axis which indicates the timeline. MCA analysis put 1990's protests to the origin point and located 1960s and 2000s on opposite sides. Following this guideline, data was divided into three main categories according to their dates: 1961 to 1979, 1980 to 1999, 2000 to 2010. A secondary level of MCA analysis was done with this divided data.

2 Commemoration and Celebration TAKSIM-DOLMABAHCÉ								
clust	number	%						
	2	67	27					
				Clas/Mod	Mod/Clas	Global	p.value	v.test
end_	end_10002_	taksim square		100	44.7761	14.4928	0	8.5995
start_	start_10002_	taksim square		100	44.7761	14.4928	0	8.5995
location_code	location_code_1_	square		45.9677	85.0746	59.9034	0	5.2617
type_code	type_code_1_	meeting		44.9153	79.1045	57.0048	0	4.5046
reason_code	reason_code_2_	general topics		44.7368	76.1194	55.0725	0	4.2457
actor_code	actor_code_5_	student right and conservative w		70	20.8955	9.6618	0.0004	3.5575
reason_code	reason_code_3_	commemoration and celebration		80	11.9403	4.8309	0.0024	3.0383
end_	end_10014_	dolmabahçe		100	7.4627	2.4155	0.0032	2.9477
start_	start_10014_	dolmabahçe		100	7.4627	2.4155	0.0032	2.9477
actor_code	actor_code_11_	general participants		52.6316	29.8507	18.3575	0.0045	2.8392
date_period	1969_1			64.2857	13.4328	6.7633	0.0138	2.4634
date_period	1964_1			100	4.4776	1.4493	0.0329	2.1335
date_period	1968_1			71.4286	7.4627	3.3816	0.0424	2.0296
date_period	1970_2			0	0	3.8647	0.041	-2.044
end_	end_20004_	sultanahmet square		7.1429	1.4925	6.7633	0.0315	-2.1509
start_	start_20004_	sultanahmet square		7.1429	1.4925	6.7633	0.0315	-2.1509
location_code	location_code_6_	other		20	14.9254	24.1546	0.0306	-2.1629
date_period	1969_2			0	0	4.3478	0.0272	-2.2091
end_	end_20005_	beyazit square		0	0	5.314	0.0119	-2.5163
start_	start_20005_	beyazit square		0	0	5.314	0.0119	-2.5163
actor_code	actor_code_7_	driver		0	0	6.2802	0.0051	-2.7991
location_code	location_code_2_	school		0	0	6.7633	0.0034	-2.9333
location_code	location_code_3_	public		0	0	6.8957	0.0006	-3.432
actor_code	actor_code_1_	worker		3.5714	1.4925	13.5266	0.0001	-3.8419
type_code	type_code_2_	march		14.4928	14.9254	33.3333	0.0001	-3.9871
reason_code	reason_code_1_	claiming rights		8.642	10.4478	39.1304	0	-6.1191

Table 1.3: Example of MCA output (Fidan, 2019)

Another result that analysis provides are tables such as the one above.³ MCA does not just list cases on a cluster but provides information about the most distinct features within that cluster. Rest of the work, interpreting those features and naming clusters are researchers' job. In this example MCA showed that Taksim and Dolmabahçe are important gathering areas for general participants and commemoration meetings between 1961 and 1979. At this point, it is important to stress that this result does not indicate all meetings in Taksim and Dolmabahçe were for commemoration or all commemorations have been held in these locations. Rather, it says that great part of commemoration protests within all data has been held in Taksim and Dolmabahçe.

After the analysis and naming clusters were done, visualizing the data was the next step. To be able to map out overrepresented protest spaces, all areas were located by using geographical information systems. They were matched with location codes of MCA results. Therefore, maps of protest spaces which have particular connection with other factors were drawn. However, map alone cannot visualize all connections, it only shows

³ Table 1.3 and Figure 1.3 are partial results of MCA in the period 1961-1979.

spaces. Other charts in relation with maps were necessary. At this point, legends of maps were produced as diagrams which have a certain way to read.⁴

Cluster Number and Name	Protest Type			Location Type				Actor											Topic				
	March	Meeting	Other	Square	School	Other	Public	Other	Worker	Student-Unk.	Drivers	Civil Servant	Student-RW	Student-LW	GnrI. Part.RW	GnrI. Part. Unk.	GnrI. Part. LW.	Mu.Workers	Wmn.&LGBT+	Claiming Rights	Com. & Celeb.	General Topics	Support
1.Squares for Worker Manifestations 36,23%	69,01%	37,03%		50,81%		16,00%	16,67%	69,34%	75,08%	42,84%	38,46%	54,55%	25,00%	26,95%	31,57%	10,53%	25,00%			48,15%		30,70%	50,00%
2.Student Movements 8,21%	9,25%	9,32%	5,00%	1,61%	92,86%	4,00%				14,29%			5,00%	26,32%	7,29%	5,26%				13,58%	10,00%	4,39%	
3.Meetings for Public Participation and Commemoration 32,37%	14,19%	36,92%	20,00%	45,97%	20,00%			18,18%	3,57%	14,29%		9,09%	70,00%	34,21%	42,86%	52,63%	56,25%	50,00%		8,64%	80,00%	44,74%	50,00%

Figure 1.3: Partial legend of analysis of data between 1961-1979 (Fidan, 2019)

Figure 1.3 shows examples of legends which are diagrams of maps. The first row shows all factors that affected emergence of protests. Following rows are clusters and their features. Bold horizontal lines in every cluster shows average of protests within total data. Boxes in each cell shows the ratio of the protest number of that particular factor to total account. Therefore, if a factor is overrepresented it should be above the average line. Colored boxes in the graphic shows the factor have particular importance for that cluster whereas others are not significantly related to the cluster. On the other hand, the width of every column represents the ratio of that factor to the cluster's total number of protests. Meetings and marches were overrepresented in Cluster 1 and 2; therefore, they were painted with the matching color on map. Since meetings were the most common method of manifestations, its width is larger whereas other methods have lower percentages. Thanks to legend it is possible to see importance of each factor and interpret protest spaces from that perspective.

⁴ Diagrams were produced by using method of Bertin. For more information Bertin, J. (1983) *Semiology of Graphics Diagrams Networks Maps*. Redlands: Esri Press. However, the main source of legends and the idea to link them with produced maps was borrowed from Güvenç and Kırmancı. For more information please see Güvenç, M. and Kırmancı, H. (2009) *Electoral Atlas of Turkey, 1950-2009: Continuities and Changes in Turkey's Politics*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

1.4 Structure of Thesis

Since existing literature does not have much examples on writings about “protest spaces”, thesis needed to draw a framework to understand relation between protest and space. For this purpose, first focus of literature review chapter will be on public sphere and public space to discover their connection to demonstrations. Since one of the most fundamental writings about public sphere was done by Habermas, his ideas will be summarized first. To understand conflict between lifeworld and system, his theory of communicative action will be explained. In the second section of literature review chapter, spaces of contention will be explained to develop an understanding about what features of public space can be related with the emergence of protest space. Third section of literature review will be given to Arendt’s theory on spaces of appearance in order to understand how action creates new spaces and ask if they can endure.

After the general framework of how protest spaces can emerge, empirical results will be examined in close detail. To be able to understand connection between protest spaces and other factors of manifestations, each overrepresented space will be explored separately. This will give the advantage to understand singular cases and find out their one by one connection to İstanbul which in the end help to see protest spaces in bigger scale. However, the decision of singular examination leads to a question: In what order one should write about them? Examining spaces in already divided and clustered three chronological headlines was a way to answer main questions of this thesis. But this method of writing would create disconnection between chapters and would make it hard to understand one spaces’ transformation through time since a protest space can appear in different clusters in each decade. It would also complicate spatial connections between protest spaces which are in close distance to each other.



Figure 1.4: Zoning for protests in İstanbul (Fidan, 2019)

To examine protests and their connections, locations will be interpreted in five headlines which was designated according to the part of the city they are in. Map above shows the zones of city and sections of chapter three within which protest spaces of İstanbul will be examined; *Historical Peninsula*, *Pera*, *Anatolian Side*, *Periphery* and *occupations*. With that method, it will be possible to understand every protest space in relation with its surroundings and connections to city.

To create better understanding in which order spaces were examined another chart is prepared. Table 1.4 shows ordering of singular examination of protest spaces in chapter 3.

LOCATION NAME	1961-1979	1980-1999	2000-2010	ZONE/ CHAPTER	PAGE
Saraçhane Square	Square for Worker Manifest.	Protests aroun. Public Build.	Civil Serv. & Public Parti. Meet.	Historical Peninsula	36
Sultanahmet Square	Square for Worker Manifest.	Square Manifestations	Civil Serv. & Public Parti. Meet.	Historical Peninsula	39
Courthouse Building			Civil Serv. & Public Parti. Meet.	Historical Peninsula	41
Aksaray	Square for Worker Manifest.		Civil Serv. & Public Parti. Meet.	Historical Peninsula	42
Beyazıt Square	Student Movements	Right-Wing and Student Mo.	Student Movements	Historical Peninsula	43
Laleli	Other Meetings Spaces		Student Movements	Historical Peninsula	46
Cerrahpaşa Hospital	Other Meetings Spaces	Protests aroun. Public Build.	Civil Serv. & Public Parti. Meet.	Historical Peninsula	47
Zeytinburnu	Other Meetings Spaces			Historical Peninsula	48
Merter	Other Meetings Spaces			Historical Peninsula	48
Veliefendi	Other Meetings Spaces			Historical Peninsula	49
Sirkeci Post Office		Protests aroun. Public Build.		Historical Peninsula	49
Sirkeci Station		Protests aroun. Public Build.		Historical Peninsula	49
Istanbul Provincial Directorate of National Education		Protests aroun. Public Build.	Civil Serv. & Public Parti. Meet.	Historical Peninsula	50
Bakırköy Freedom Square		Square Manifestations	Student Movements	Historical Peninsula	50
Gazi Neighborhood		New Topics in Manifestations	Meetings for Support	Historical Peninsula	50
Grand Bazaar			Worker &Self-Employed Protes.	Historical Peninsula	52
Yenibosna			Worker &Self-Employed Protes.	Historical Peninsula	52
Taksim Square	Public Part. & Comm. Spaces	Square Manifestations	Meetings for Public Part.	Pera	55
Consulate for Russian or Soviet Federation		Right-Wing and Student Mo.		Pera	58
Galatasaray Square		Square Manifestations	Meetings for Public Part.	Pera	58
French Consulate			Protests aroun. Public Build.	Pera	59
Atatürk Cultural Center			Other Meeting Spaces	Pera	59
Dolmabahçe	Public Part. & Comm. Spaces			Pera	60
Gümüşsuyu ITU Campus	Student Movements			Pera	61
Akaretler	Other Meeting Spaces			Pera	61
Skyframe or Süzer Plaza		New Topics in Manifestations		Pera	62
Park Hotel		New Topics in Manifestations		Pera	63
Harbiye			Meetings for Public Part.	Pera	63
Osmanbey Agos			Meetings for Public Part.	Pera	63
Mecidiyeköy	Other Meeting Spaces			Pera	64
Abide-i Hürriyet Square		Square Manifestations		Pera	64
Şişli Etfal Hospital			Civil Serv. & Public Parti. Meet.	Pera	65
Şişli Cumhuriyet Newspaper			Meetings for Support	Pera	65
Çağlayan Square		Square Manifestations	Meetings for Public Part.	Pera	65
Gayrettepe Turkish Trade Bank			Meetings for Support	Pera	67
Okmeydanı Dikilitaş Park			Meetings for Support	Pera	67
Kadıköy Square	Square for Worker Manifest.	Square Manifestations	Meetings for Public Part.	Anatolian Side	68
Yoğurtçu Park		Square Manifestations		Anatolian Side	71
Haydarpaşa			Protests aroun. Public Build.	Anatolian Side	71
Ümraniye Mustafa Kemal Paşa Neighborhood		New Topics in Manifestations		Anatolian Side	71
Küçükçekmece Municipality Building			Protests aroun. Public Build.	Periphery	74
Büyükçekmece Municipality Building			Protests aroun. Public Build.	Periphery	74
Kartal Municipality Building			Worker &Self-Employed Protes.	Periphery	74
Kartal Theatre Building			Other Meeting Spaces	Periphery	75
Pendik and Tuzla			Worker &Self-Employed Protes.	Periphery	75
Harem Pier	Occupations & Gnrl. Strikes			Occupations	76
Vatan Street	Occupations & Gnrl. Strikes			Occupations	76
Governorate Building	Occupations & Gnrl. Strikes			Occupations	77
Sefaköy		Occupations & Gnrl. Strikes		Occupations	77
Bağcılar TEM			Worker &Self-Employed Protes.	Occupations	77
Avcılar Yeşilkent		Protests aroun. Public Build.	New Topics & Occupations	Occupations	77
Sultanbeyli D100			New Topics & Occupations	Occupations	77
Bosporus Bridge			New Topics & Occupations	Occupations	78
Beşiktaş, Ortaköy, Arnavutköy			New Topics & Occupations	Occupations	80

Table 1.4: Protest spaces index (Fidan, 2019)

2. LITERATURE REVIEW: FROM PUBLIC SPACE TO PROTEST SPACE

2.1 Constitution of Public Sphere

Society comes to walk here on fine, warm days, from seven to ten in the evening, and in the winter from one to three o'clock...the park is so crowded at times you cannot help touching your neighbour. Some people came to see, some to be seen, and others to seek their fortunes; for many priestesses of Venus abroad...and on the lookout for adventures.”

A foreign way of England in the reign of George I and George II (Muyden cited in Girouard, 1985, p. 188)

In the 17th century, London society gained a new habit: Pall Mall (Girouard, 1985, p. 188). It is a game which was played with wooden balls in a long alley with the help of iron rings. The game became a part of everyday life within London's elites (Girouard, 1985, p. 188). Since the play required spatial arrangements, going to Malls evolved into a daily activity as well. The quotation above shows how foreigners see the Malls; people came to be seen by others, flirt and find husbands or wives and so on. Centuries later, similar public scenes from Britain inspired Habermas to write his famous theory about the “public sphere”.

Public sphere can be explained as an abstract space in which people come together to discuss and form public opinion. This abstract space is open to “narrow segments of European population, mainly educated, propertied men” (Calhoun, 1992, p. 3). According to Habermas, “with the emergence of early finance and trade capitalism” the

bourgeois has evolved into a new elite society and thanks to the market places “from the thirteenth century on they have spread from the northern island city-states to western and northern Europe” (1962, p. 14). With the rise of this new elite society bourgeois public sphere was formed.

To examine the relation between protest and space, first focus should be on the constitution of public sphere because of its two vital characteristics; its relation to authority and physical space. Since sphere as abstract space was formed with contemporary topics about politics, it cannot merge without existence of power structures. According to Habermas, the bourgeois sphere in 17th century was formed not against but because of the “corollary of a depersonalized state authority” (Habermas, 1962, p. 19). Presence of a power structure which is outside the public sphere helped bourgeois to develop into an opinion-based group and more importantly to form a collective identity. The very idea of public sphere has evolved thanks to the conflict between authority and bourgeois. And, it continued to transform.

According to Calhoun, main aim of Habermas was to examine how public and “its material operation were transformed in the centuries after its constitution” (1992, p. 5). After the formation of public sphere Habermas’ continues with the explanation of various steps that it goes through. First of all, evolution of public sphere affected the understanding of division between public and private. It caused “blurring of relations” between two separate spheres and this caused “centrally the loss of the notion that private life (family, economy) created autonomous, relatively equal persons who in public discourse might address the general or public interest” (Calhoun, 1992, p. 21). Second effect was about the work environment. With the help of advanced capitalism “occupational sphere became independent” (Habermas, 1962, p. 154). This independent domain joined the public sphere and cultural goods of bourgeois society became “consumption ready” (Habermas, 1962, p. 166). Being consumption ready created a new ‘welcoming’ public sphere. The new openness, with the help of media and easy access to information, caused public sphere to include more people not just from bourgeois society but other classes as well. This transformation led to “loss of a notion of general interest and the rise of a consumption orientation” therefore “the members of

the public sphere lost their common ground” (Calhoun, 1992, p. 25). With these changes, the Pall Mall scene which was quoted above changed. Now, bourgeois is not the only group formed what is called public. Changes in public sphere is materialized in physical area.

Materialization of public sphere brings out the second quality which made exclusion of public sphere discussion impossible in this thesis; the public space. Public space can be explained as “material location where the social interactions and political activities of all members of the public occur” (Mitchell, 1995, p. 116). Debates which formed public sphere in the first place should ‘take place’ in a materialized world. Even Habermas develops his theory taking “British businessmen meeting in coffee houses to discuss matters of trade” as a central point for bourgeois sphere to constitute (Calhoun, 1992, p. 12). Therefore, it is possible to say public space is where public sphere has emerged. Since public space is the embodiment of public sphere, we can start to imagine changes in the Mall picture described above. Fine looking men and women were trying to win the game they play within a park surrounding with green. Now we can add a concrete road and a marketplace next to it. A giant car is bringing what marketplace sells. Groups once were excluded from public space now sightseeing in the space with the help of transportation. The desire to be seen by ‘public’ is not exclusive to the bourgeois anymore, working class is walking in the square as well. Construction continues, public sphere transforms alongside with public space. The tension between different groups and what once Habermas wrote as “depersonalized state authority” increases (1962, p. 19). Following, protests occur. Public space turns into the area where conflict becomes visible.

It is inevitable to return to Habermas while examining conflict’s effect on the constitution of public sphere and space. Habermas splits public sphere into two different parts; the lifeworld and the system. The lifeworld is a part of “communicative practice” which is “bounded by the totality of interpretations presupposed by the members as background knowledge” (Habermas, 1981, p. 13). “The system, in contrast, is the sphere of the economy and the state” (Miller, 2000, p. 30). Lifeworld represents

everyday life whereas system represents its interference. System seeks for the ways to penetrate the lifeworld and this is where the conflict rises.

Habermas' theory of communicative action is one of the keystones to understand social movements and protests in spite of many critics he received.⁵ The conflict between two spheres, lifeworld and system, creates grievances in public sphere. These grievances are materialized in public space which can also be the very reason of complaints to rise. However, examining the rise of grievances does not help to fully grasp how spaces can gain 'protest' character. To understand this, one must certainly read through "spaces of contention" (Tilly, 2000).

2.2 Spaces of Contention

According to Tilly, whether "top- down" or "bottom-up", all confrontations are spatially bound" (Tilly, 2000, p. 139). Grievances which rises on particular places because of system's interference, result in emergence of these confrontations which Tilly considers a part of contentious politics. Contentious politics⁶ can occur "when ordinary people – often in alliance with more influential citizens and with changes in public mood – join forces in confrontation with elites, authorities, and opponents" (Tarrow, 2011, p. 6). Since contentious politics were about "ordinary people", its connection to space starts with spatial routines.

Tilly says "everyday spatial distributions, proximities, and routines of potential participants in contention significantly affect their patterns of mobilization" (Tilly, 2000, p. 138). Even though he uses the example of workplaces in his writing, public spaces can be considered the area in which sphere's routines were established too.

⁵ For more information about critiques of Habermas, Dahlberg, L. (2005) 'The Habermasian public sphere: Taking difference seriously?', *Theory and Society*, 34(2), pp. 111–136. doi: 10.1007/s11186-005-0155-z.; Fraser, N. (1990) 'Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy', *Social Text*, 26(25/26), p. 56. doi: 10.2307/466240. and Garnham, N. (2007) 'Habermas and the Public Sphere', *Global Media and Communication*, 3(2), pp. 201–214. doi: 10.5840/ipq199333219.

⁶ At this point, it is important to stress the difference between contentious politics/ spaces of contention and "protest spaces". Contentious politics includes not just protests but also riots, revolutions, etc. As a result, spaces of contention have larger response in built environment than "protest spaces" do. Therefore, the term of "spaces of contention" is explained by borrowing from Tilly and Tarrow to understand how places can gain "protest character" but not considered as the core of argument.

Therefore, city squares were a part of daily life which made them a part of spatial routines of citizens.

If contentious politics and protests as a part of it can form where spatial routines or patterns are rooted, it is only natural for state authority to want to include itself. This shows similar features with Habermas' model about "system". However, Tilly offers a way to examine system's inclusion spatially. According to him, "governments always organize at least some of their power around places and spatial routines" (Tilly, 2000, p. 138). And when authority decides to interfere or try to include itself in already established spatial routines, it is inevitable for grievances to rise. At this point, an important question rises; how can authority involves in daily life? Of course, there is more than one way to do so. Monitoring spaces with enhanced technology, *GBT*⁷, etc. are accustomed methods. One more way is to construct a monument of power in and around the targeted area. Every construction decision or planning made without consulting the public, especially where routines were rooted the deepest, will form mobilizations. Even when the very reason of construction was to terminate forming mobilizations, governmental decisions can enhance movements and street manifestations. Inhabitants or organizations have the tendency to use it as a tactic.

According to resource mobilization theory, possible participants evaluate outcomes of the movement and "if they find enough resources— such as like media attention, powerful organizers or social networks— people will be encouraged to protest, since only then they believe that their activity will bring effective results" (Alper, 2010, p. 67). "Land, labor, capital, perhaps technological expertise as well" (Tilly, 1977, p. 3.27) can be considered as resources that should be directed. From that point of view, spatial changes can be considered as a tactic too. Even though decisions of authority were made to eliminate any openings, it can still create some possibilities both in terms of mobilizations and physical demonstrations. When a square was closed for gatherings, it is possible to find protests in roads and streets that lead to area.

⁷ *Genel Bilgi Toplama* in Turkish. It can be translated as "Criminal Record Check".

Offering a highway to safe areas or closed city squares are not the only part streets and roads can play in manifestations. What public spaces, squares represents in city centers, streets and roads undertake in periphery (Tilly, 2000, p. 142). Therefore, in locations where it is not possible to meet in large squares, roads can be used for protests. Occupations of road can even give moment of action and protesters power. Next to serving as a tactic, this signals a change in protest repertoire. Different methods of protesting can indicate alteration of topics too.

One of the biggest changes in protest repertoire and topics happened with the rise of new social movements. New social movements consider subject of mobilization as central issue. NSM tries to bring more topics such as everyday life, personal freedoms, etc. into political (Topal Demiroğlu, 2017, p. 136). Therefore, rather than labor movement NSM is mainly about environmental issues, women's right, gender discrimination and so on. Since these themes are not directly related with class conflict, it is commonly argued that NSMs are classless movements (Rucht, 1998, p. 316). However, this idea is not in consensus too. Some theorists believe that these movements cannot be considered as classless, because this is the uprising of "new middle class" who was never "directly involved in the industrial sphere of production, economically secure, sensitive to questions concerning the quality of life, and capable of articulating its views in the public" which makes them "crucial to the promotion of social change" (Rucht, 1998, p. 316). With new actors and topics in protests, new protest spaces emerge. To manifest environmental decisions, Bosphorus joins the protest map in 1990s.

Until this point, main aim was to explain emergence of discontent and how rising grievances can cause protests to form in particular places. Habermas' theory offered a way to understand public sphere's connection to rise of disturbances. Theories of contentious politics helped to grasp why protesters can choose some areas particularly. However, still none explains the continuity of spatial routines after protests.

2.3 Spaces of Appearance and Protest Spaces

According to Hannah Arendt, “the true space of polis” is not related with its physicality but its “organization of people” (1958, p. 198). The city comes into being because of the action itself. If a city can be considered as a ‘city’ because of the togetherness of action, on a smaller scale public space can be created through action itself too. If one can consider the action as a protest happening because of system’s intervention of lifeworld, space that lies between people who are participating becomes the protest space.

With action, participants do not just appear to each other, but action makes them to come into being. Arendt positions appearance as the precondition of existence and says, “the space where I appear to others as others appear to me, where men exist not merely like other living or inanimate things but make their appearance explicitly” (1958, pp. 198–199). When bodies act together, they are seen and alter the space between them in which action is taking place. Arendt names this space in between as the “space of appearance” which “comes into being wherever men are together in the manner of speech and action” (1958, p. 199). When the action is over, space of appearance disappears (Arendt, 1958, p. 199).

Drawing on Arendt, Butler raises a further question that should be discussed side by side the theory of spaces of appearance (2011). According to her, we need to add another dimension to spaces of appearance by thinking about inanimate elements of the existing space (Butler, 2011). Bodies not only interact with each other during action but also with the physical space around them. And in some cases, this physical space becomes the very reason they fight for. Butler draws her ideas from the Occupy Tahrir Movement in which people used spaces of appearance for the very traditional domestic space functions such as sleeping, eating, etc. (Butler, 2011). Blurring of boundaries between private and public spaces caused Tahrir Square to become a space of appearance.

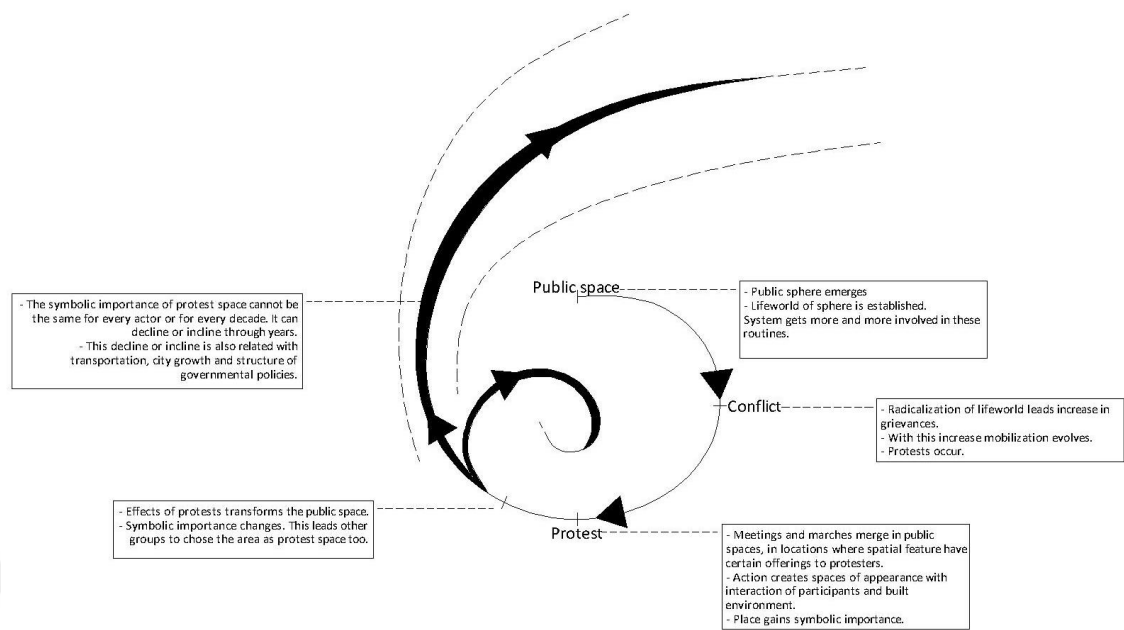


Figure 2.1: Constitution of protest spaces (Fidan, 2019)

Grievances start to rise when system tries to disturb spatial routines of public sphere. When groups find an opportunity, manifestations rise. They use the same spatial routines and governmental decisions and create a space of appearance at the moment of action. Demonstration turns public space into a space of appearance. Protesters became visible to public, to each other and to authority. At this point, I argue that these new spaces created with interaction between bodies and non-human actors does not completely dissolve when action is over. Instead, thanks to the symbolic importance created by demonstration space of appearance turns into protest space. Action itself results in giving that particular space a symbolic meaning and causing other crowds to be attracted to demonstrate in the same place. The same symbolic importance evolves in time with more crowds and demonstrations which can create their own routines in the area at the end.

Until this point my main aim was to explain within which framework protest of İstanbul will be discussed. In three headings I tried to offer a way to understand how protest spaces came into being. In the first section, I stressed that public space is where conflict lies. System's intervention to lifeworld and to established practices creates the environment for grievances to rise. Second idea was, to connect this to space itself.

Protest spaces is where spatial routines and roots of mobilizations form. The process that leads crowds to claim their positions in public space starts in the same place which in the end demonstration will take place. When already established patterns of lifeworld was faced with disturbance with routines that authority wants to establish, groups develops tactics in and around public spaces at the moment when space of appearance emerged. However, none of them disappears when the action dissolves. They stay spatially bound to area. This leads the third part which I tried to explain theories borrowed from Arendt and Butler. Space of appearance created by a group gives that space a particular meaning.

In following chapters, maps of demonstrations and protest spaces will be examined in detail to give a brief information about history of street demonstrations. The formation of protest spaces will be tried to explain within the framework and storyline illustrated in figure 2.1 with the help of theories above.

3. PROTEST SPACES IN ISTANBUL: 1961-2010

3.1 Rise and Fall of Street Manifestations

It is not possible to find movements in history as homogeneously distributed. They continuously change and transform. These transformations can be affected by general political and social environment of the era, particular changes in a location or other social movements. All leads to the rise and fall of street manifestations which in the end alter protest spaces. Whether seen as waves or cycles⁸, the mechanism starts “when political system has generally weakened” (Jasper, 2014, p. 157). After finding opportunities, groups “observe each other only for clues as to where the openings are; eventually the state regroupes and suppresses protest; later the cycle starts again as memories of repression fade” (Jasper, 2014, p. 157). Protests in İstanbul are not different. To understand protest spaces relation to manifestation, pointing out when and how opportunities were found should be the first. For these purposes, turning points that affected street demonstrations will be explained in this section. Following, protest spaces of İstanbul will be examined singularly to understand their connection to city and to each other.

Chart below (Figure 3.1) represents protest percentages according to year. Changes of protest numbers represent critical dates in political history of Turkey which affected street manifestations. Brief information about each date can create better understanding about protest cycles.

⁸ For more information about protest cycles: Tarrow, S. (1972) ‘Cycles of Collective Action: Between Moments of Madness and the Repertoire of Contention’, *Social Science History*, 2 (Summer 1993) and for its relation to social movements in Turkey: Alper, E. (2010) ‘Reconsidering social movements in Turkey: The case of the 1968-71 protest cycle’, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 43, pp. 63–96.

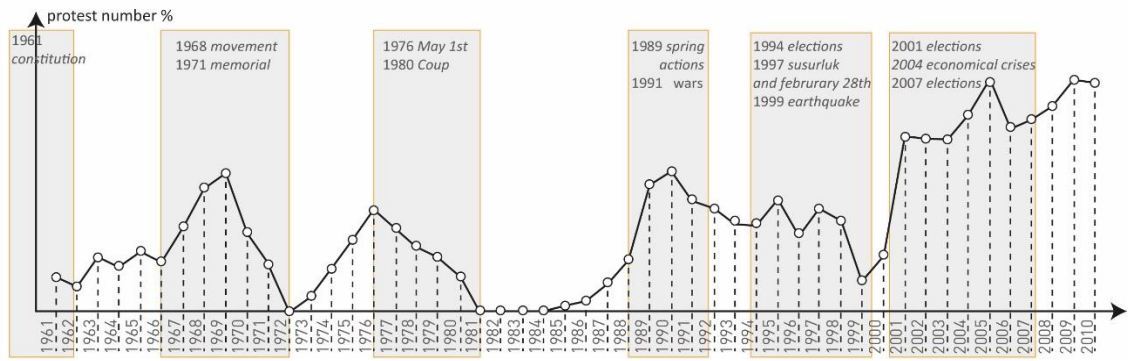


Figure 3.1: Protest percentages according to years in the period 1961-2010 (Fidan, 2019)

1961 marks the beginning year of this research. With Saraçhane demonstration⁹, protests have increased. However, a manifestation itself cannot create the perfect environment for other protests to rise. 1960s signaled greater changes with May 27th Coup and a new constitution. Following year of the coup, one of the most radical constitutions of Turkey has been issued. New laws which altered street demonstrations was legislated. With '61 constitution workers and civil servants were given the right to form a trade union and the right to strike (1961 Constitution, Act 46 and Act 47). With this new right, members of unions have reached highest numbers. In fact, “the golden period of the trade union movement began with May 27 Revolution” (Talas cited in Koçak, 2015, p. 339).

1961 Constitution gave freedom to protests, not just for workers but for every people who wanted to manifest. The right to establish an association and the right to protest without prior permission has been granted (1961 Constitution, Act 28). This helped students organize around associations. With another act, universities were autonomized (1961 Constitution Act 120). The Act provided students areas in which they can speak freely and form organizations. With transnational effects and acts of '61 Constitution, another turning point took place in 1968.

1968 indicates one of the most discussed waves of protest in social movement writing. With 1968 movement which traveled through borders of countries, manifestations of mainly students increased. Today '68 is mostly associated with new social movements,

⁹ The reason why demonstration was chosen as a starting point was explained in Chapter 1.

the rise of ‘new middle class’ that was supported by academics and elites of society. However, the ’68 in Turkey had dramatically different qualities than it did in and around Europe. It was mostly related with what can be considered as accustomed topics such as class conflicts, demands for better working conditions or wage equality. Issues such as personal freedom or gender discrimination were outnumbered by other topics (Alper, 2019). Even though topics were different, protest numbers climbed in 1968 and reached to a peak point in 1969.

After 1969 and 6th Fleet protests, protest numbers which were on rise declined again. In 1969, a crowded group of students which gathered to protest 6th Fleet were attacked by right-wing groups.¹⁰ This event was followed by June 15th and 16th worker protests¹¹ and ’71 Memorial. In June 15th-16th unprecedented masses of workers were protesting in streets. Events were hard to control by authorities, so they declared a curfew in İstanbul which paved the way to military intervention of March 12. Subsequent to this new martial law, protests decreased to their lowest levels. After 1973, there was a new wave in street demonstrations, yet the atmosphere of 1960’s was gone.

Understanding the transformation of protest spaces of 1960s necessitate an understanding of changes in planning, in urban macroform and in the political environment. 1950’s were an era when master plans of Proust were implemented by Adnan Menderes (Akpınar, 2015, p. 5). Demolitions mostly around Historical Peninsula speeded up to enhance the transformation of central business district. In Eminönü and Karaköy buildings were demolished for wider roads connecting Anatolian Side to European Side. At the same period, the Zincirlikuyu- Levent industrial complex spread towards to Maslak- Ayazağa and provided room for new residential decentralization (Öktem, 2005, p. 42). In 1973, first Bosphorus Bridge was inaugurated and connected to main highways. These projects and constructions were slowed down by political unrests.

¹⁰. January 16, 1969, *Kanlı Pazar* will be explained in the section 3.3.

¹¹ More information about June 1970 will be given with Kadıköy protests in the section 3.4.

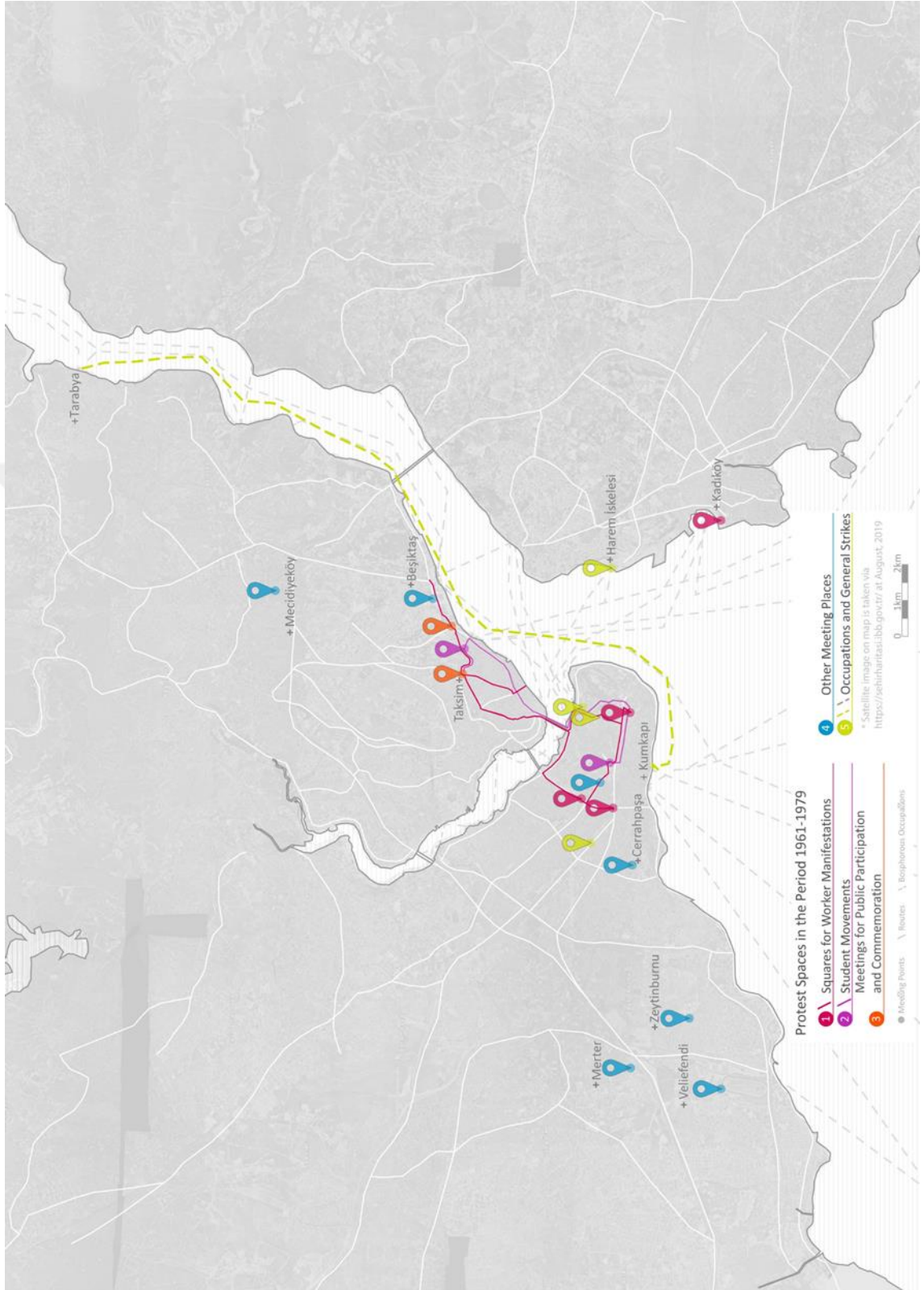


Figure 3.2: Protest spaces in the period 1961-1979 (Fidan, 2019)

Protest spaces of İstanbul which can be seen on figure 3.2, were areas close to Menderes' development operations. Protest spaces of '60s and '70s were evenly distributed between mainly Historical Peninsula and Pera. Two areas were also going through massive spatial changes. At the same period, protests numbers were increasing. 1980 marked one of the most important turning points in the history of Turkey. In spite of efforts, Memorandum of March 12, 1971 fell short to solve problems in political field. Lack of democratic consensus and collaboration between political parties were affecting citizens and the foundation of minority government in 1979 created an atmosphere of distrust. Economic conditions were getting worse. Austerity policy and decisions of January 24 brought about unrealistic decisions (*Milliyet*, 25.01.1980). All created reactions. At the same time, working class movement was back on the political agenda. This developed even a greater conflict between left- wing and right- wing, politicians and authorities. Violent events between all actors were increasing on streets. The need to find a common ground between all actors was apparent, but the way to do it was not so obvious. In the meantime, another turning point affected street demonstrations. May 1st celebrations of 1976 were held in Taksim Square. This led to increase of street demonstrations. However, the same day in the following year ended in with bloody events. The conflict was increasing on streets. In this general environment, in September 12th, 1980 the army seized political power.

The 1980 Coup brought significant changes in the political regime. The revanchist attitude paved the way to executions. Between 1980 and 1984, fifty people were executed by court order (*80 Yılın Utanç Listesi: İdam Kurbanları*, 2002). One of the most important changes which came with 1980 was new constitution. This was definitely the end of 1961 Constitution. The new legislation of 1982 voted through a public plebiscite amended the trade union law and demonstration rights alongside with many others which were guaranteed through the 1961 Constitution. Right to demonstrate and to form a union were limited (1982 Constitution, Act 34 and Act 52). Trade unions were banned from initiating and participating in any kind of political action and right to strike was significantly constrained (1982 Constitution, Act 52 and Act 54). Constitution also gave authorities the right to close any kind of association (1982 Constitution, Act 33). The detention period was extended to forty-eight hours

from twenty-four (1982 Constitution, Act 19). All political organizations and associations were closed. These changes and the increase of police intervention unavoidably affected street demonstrations.

Considering the change of Constitution and violent police behavior on both protesters and arrested, people were reluctant to demonstrate. Figure 3.1 shows that there were no recorded street manifestations for almost five years after the Coup. The political pressure continued in following years, but protests started to emerge after elections. With 1984 local elections, İstanbul Municipality changed hands. After eleven years, the Republican People's Party lost the Municipality and the Motherland Party won the control of Municipality. In 1987, Motherland Party won one more time. Changes triggered protests. Street demonstrations did not just increase in number, but their actors and motivations started to differ. It is important to stress that '80 Coup did not affect all actors in the same way. According to Bora, “the repression and oversight over left after the 1980s really crushed the left- wing” (2017, p. 681). The same Coup added the idea of Turkish- Islam synthesis to already existing war with communism discourses (Bora, 2017, p. 403). We are going to see that the emergence of the cluster labelled “right-wing and student manifestations” as an outcome of this new political conjuncture which will remain up to 1999 (Appendix B1, B2 and B5).

Groups started to reorganize as initial shocks fade away. First big strikes were organized in 1986 and 1987 with the help of trade unions which started to form again.¹² The rise of workers gained more speed in 1989. Limited wage increases were far off from workers' and civil servants' demands. A series of protests and strikes took shape. And with the atmosphere that Zonguldak mineworkers' resistance brought the period today known as “Spring Actions”¹³ started. During this period not just street demonstrations but other forms of protests evolved into a part of daily life. Not going to work (or absenteeism), walking with bare feet, growing long beards and half naked sit-ins were new methods for civil servant and worker resistance. However, 1991 effected what Spring Actions might achieve. Subsequent to 1991 general elections and the start of Gulf War, protests have declined. The Gulf War helped authorities to claim that this was not the time to

¹² Netaş and leather worker strikes in Kazlıçeşme were among the first ones organized after the 1980 Coup. For more information on Netaş; Alpman, N. (2018) *Emeğin Şövalyeleri*. İstanbul: A7 Kitap.

¹³ *Bahar Eylemleri* in Turkish.

manifest. Therefore, they have legally postponed some of the strikes with the power they have gained from '82 Constitution. Another change that came after the Coup was new topics and new actors of manifestations. Women, LGBTI+ and environmental protests which are considered as parts of new social movements became visible on streets and waters of İstanbul in late '80s.

Another turn of events happened in 1994. Local elections affected streets again. With the victory of Welfare Party, municipal administration changed hands one more time. This caused increase of manifestations of civil servants and workers. However, protests of those who wanted to have access to necessary infrastructure services gradually declined after 1994.

1996 marked yet another change. In November, Turkey was shocked with a traffic accident. The group involved with the crash in Susurluk was the fuse for questions about “deep state”. Former Istanbul Deputy Chief of Police, former Vice President of the Idealistic Youth Association, an Interpol wanted, a model, a tribal leader and a former deputy was involved in the same scene (*Milliyet*, 05.11.1996). Main question asked was what this group was doing in the same car. It also created a new protest tradition; “*bir dakika karanlık*” or “a moment of darkness”. Starting from February '97, every night at 9 pm houses were closing their indoor lights and for a minute lights were blinking in the whole city (*Milliyet*, 02.02.1997). Groups were gathering in squares, lighting their candles and making noise with their pots (*Milliyet*, 10.03.1997). Susurluk protests gave momentum to street demonstrations. Rise of protests in 1997 can be seen in the chart too (Figure 3.1). These protests were demanding some explanation about Susurluk. Today accident remains unsolved. But it added a new tradition to street manifestations and an extension to city squares. Houses were literal protest spaces. Groups which were not on streets were protesting at home. As meetings continued, slogans in squares transformed from Susurluk to general manifestations against authorities.

In the context of Susurluk protests, February 28 marked another turning point. In 1997, 18 items were presented to Prime Minister Erbakan and he signed the proposal after a

National Security Council meeting (*Milliyet*, 01.03.1997). The memorandum stipulated the list consisted of items which made closure of lodges, religious sect orders, reduction of the number of vocational schools that form imams and preachers (imam-hatip schools), adoption of 8-years compulsory education and ending corruption in municipalities. (*28 Şubat Kararları*, 2002). Needless to say, decisions were challenged by conservative wing which became visible on streets of İstanbul. Memorandum heated the street protests.

Manifestations lost ground subsequent to the Marmara Earthquake 17 August 1999, where tens of thousands lost their lives, beloved ones and/or homes. The context of the Earthquake was not appropriate for political manifestations, therefore numbers decreased.

In '80s and '90s, İstanbul's population grew rapidly as a consequence of internal increasing with massive integral immigration. This aggravated the existing housing and infrastructure problems especially in and around *gecekondu* areas. Protests were organized in order to address these issues, but decisions about *gecekondu*'s were different than what protesters expected. War against *gecekondu* and demolitions started in '90s. As an alternative, *TOKİ* founded in 1984 was invited to provide low cost housing (Balaban, 2016, p. 25). In the meantime, another construction wave hit the north of city. The central business area of İstanbul located around Eminönü and Beyoğlu shifted towards Mecidiyeköy and Maslak. International companies moved their headquarters to Maslak first and this created the need for new constructions (Öktem, 2005, p. 47). Residential areas as well as offices in towers were built in Taksim- Maslak axis. Highways in the area were connected to second Bosphorus Bridge which was opened in 1988. At the same time a second central business district started to shape between Bakırköy and Küçükçekmece with highways, bus terminals and email transport (Tekeli, 2013, p. 146). In Anatolian Side Kartal and Pendik was planned to evolve into the same function (Tekeli, 2013, p. 146).

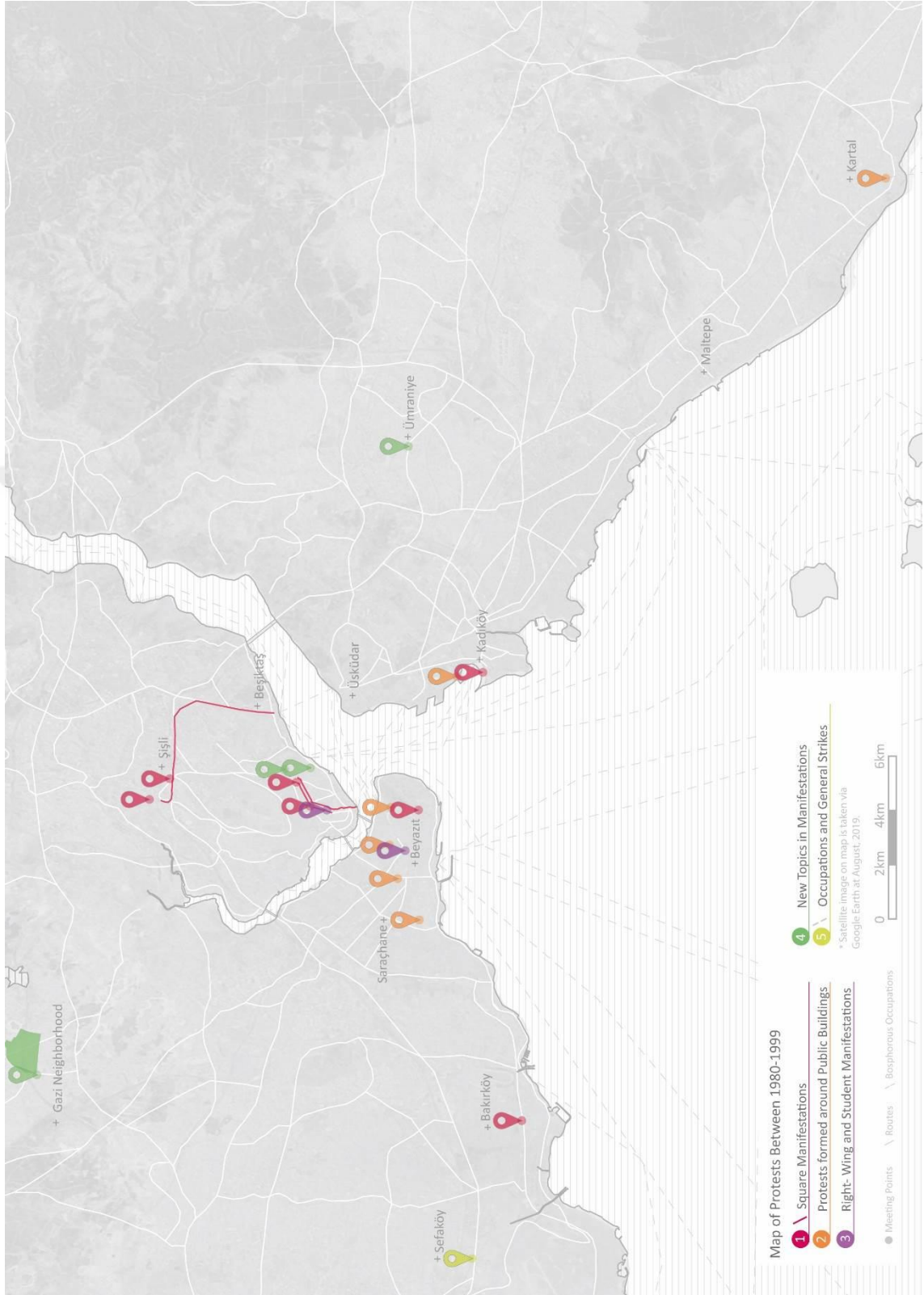


Figure 3.3: Protest spaces in the period 1980-1999 (Fidan, 2019)

These changes in urban macro-form had an impact on the intra-metropolitan distribution of protest spaces as well. The majority of protests took place in Historical Peninsula and Pera between 1980 and 1999 (Figure 3.3) like the preceding 1961-1979 period map (Figure 3.2). However, for the time interval of this chapter scale of İstanbul map needed to be rearranged because of the new distribution of protest spaces. Periphery and north of the city were added to the map by MCA. Kartal, Bakırköy and Şişli, three districts located in the direction of city's growth became part of protests map of '80s and '90s. 1999 Marmara earthquake was a major turning point that caused manifestation numbers to decline. In following years new political happenings affected protests. Justice and Development Party was founded in 2001 to "fill the political vacuum in central right" (Bora, 2017, p. 478). The party came to power in 2002. First five years of this new period was democratization and transformation. However, 2001, 2004 and 2007 were marked economic crisis years. They led to sharp increases in the graph of percentage distribution of protests by years (Figure 3.1). However, 2007, the last date of turning points heralded other changes as well.

The political and social reaction against Justice and Development Party's authority and conservative wing peaked before the presidential elections in 2007. Started as a reaction to AKP's insensitivity to early presidential elections, demonstrations championing Republican ideals known as Republican Meetings, *Cumhuriyet Mitingleri*, spread around the country's major cities. As a new wave of nationalist movement, these meetings fed fuel and encouraged widespread street manifestations.

This was also the beginning of arrestations for membership to an alleged and illegal organization *Ergenekon*. *Ergenekon* was one of those words inextricably coined in Turkish political history and terminology. It started as a small-scale operation against those preparing a coup-d'état in 2007, *Ergenekon* grew bigger as waves. Claims about connection between bombings of the daily *Cumhuriyet* bombings and the organization called *Ergenekon* led to arrests (Aydınlı, 2011, p. 232). Subsequently impressive numbers of military officers, journalists, intellectuals and writers were imprisoned. This period reflected itself on streets as solidarity meetings with the accused.

This was also a period of construction boom. Mass housing complexes, shopping malls and high-rise office buildings were erected in unprecedented numbers and speed all around -especially on the northern sectors- the city and on periphery. In this period, the State-owned Mass Housing Administration, *TOKİ* endowed with impressive executive power became a key actor in housing projects and a game setter in urban mega-projects. Rather than being a financial institution for the housing industry, *TOKİ* transformed itself into a major developer (Balaban, 2016, p. 27). In addition to small and medium scale housing projects, mega projects like the third Bridge over the Bosphorus (today named 'Yavuz Sultan Selim'), Eurasia Tunnel, and the Marmaray that cross the Bosphorus, and major urban transformation projects in and around Süleymaniye Sulukule and Tarlabası started to take shape.

Protest spaces of the period 2000-2010 are shown in map below (Figure 3.4). In '80s and '90s one can easily observe the expansion of protest spaces towards the periphery of the city. (Figure 3.2). In 2000s, as a consequence of rapid metropolitan sprawl and growth protests are diffused as far as Büyükçekmece and Tuzla. Yet the center of gravity of manifestations remains along on the main axis between Pera and Historical Peninsula.

We start to see that turning points, the rise and fall of street manifestations are closely related to changes in political authority in economic conditions and spatial environment even to natural disasters.

Subsequent to this telegraphic overview intended to contextualize protest movements, we can start analyzing manifestations in detail, in relation to other protest spaces to their situation in the metropolitan space. For the clarity of expositions protest movements on the Historical Peninsula, Pera, Anatolian Side, Periphery and occupations in general will be discussed separately.

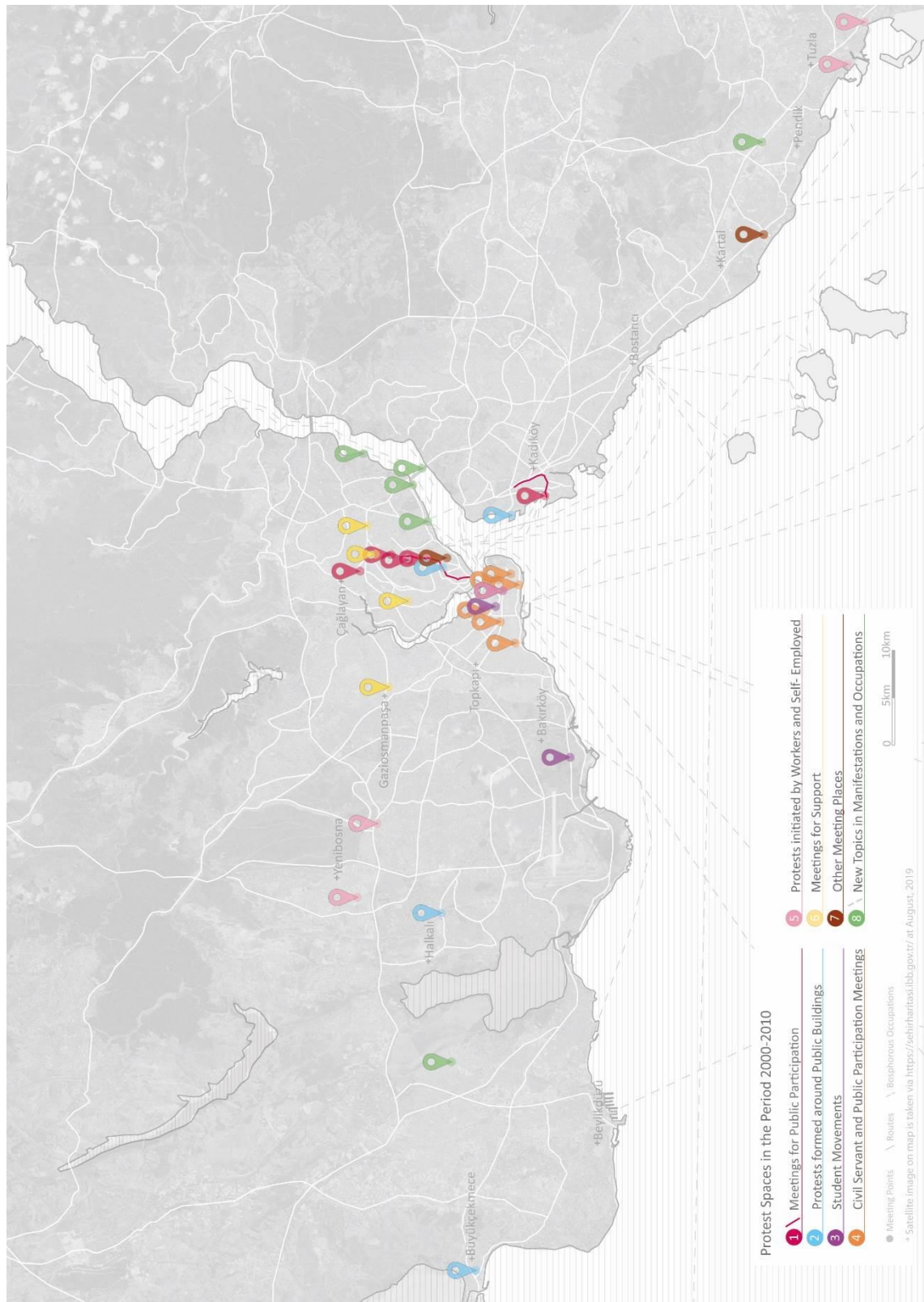


Figure 3.4: Protest spaces in the period 2000-2010 (Fidan, 2019)

3.2 Meetings and Marches at the Center: Historical Peninsula

As a consequence of Istanbul's urban morphology various sectors of Historical Peninsula had an undeniable attraction for different types and clusters of political movements and manifestations determined through the Multiple Correspondence Analysis of Archive Data.

Saraçhane was labelled "square for worker manifestations" (Appendix A1, A2, A3) in the period 1961-1979. It was one of the most popular protest places for workers. Saraçhane has a long history that goes back to the Ottoman era. It was the production complex for leather goods most particularly for those producing horse riding equipment for military and civilian purposes (Pekin, 1993).

The area is located at the crossroads of main transportation arteries within Historical Peninsula; Atatürk Boulevard and Şehzadebaşı Street. The construction of Atatürk Boulevard started at 1925 ('Atatürk Bulvarı', 1993, p. 382). The widening of the existing street was a part of Proust's İstanbul Plan. According to his drawings, the Boulevard was supposed to connect Saraçhane to a cultural zone which was made out of exhibition areas, universities and upper-class housing areas (Proust, 1943). Even though this part of the plan was not implemented, widening of major arteries continued over the years. The importance of Saraçhane was enhanced by the construction of the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Building designed by Nevzat Erol in 1953 and the underpass in 1963 during the term of office of Haşim İşcan. ('Atatürk Bulvarı', 1993, p. 382).

Thanks to its proximity to Eminönü, one of the main centers of İstanbul, Saraçhane transformed itself into a major artisanal production complex specialized in the production of horseback riding equipment. The economic activity in and around Saraçhane continued during Republican era even after the decline of demand for riding equipment. The emergence of worker groups in Saraçhane, starting from Ottoman period created routines for that particular group of employment. However, these routines were to a large extent disrupted by constructions and expropriations in the Historical Peninsula in '50s and '60s. In the same era, the acquisition of rights to form

trade unions, “free assembly and protest” was changed for workers. Union membership was rising every day. One more step to enhance visibility of workers was a mass demonstration. This paved the way for December 31st, 1961 Saraçhane protest. The meeting which gathered approximately 150.000 has later on been named as “the day the working class of Turkey emerged” (Koçak and Çelik, 2016).

Saraçhane was not the intended place for this gathering. In the official application of the meeting, planned place was Taksim Square (Koçak and Çelik, 2016, p. 662). This was not acceptable for the Governorate of İstanbul on the basis of traffic problems that demonstration could generate (Koçak and Çelik, 2016, p. 662). Even though the meeting organization committee revised and renewed its application several times, it failed to get approbation of Ankara (Koçak and Çelik, 2016, p. 663). At the end, the meeting had to take place in Saraçhane.

Ankara’s categorical refusal on Taksim for meetings led workers and their organizations to develop new tactics which in the end reinvigorated Saraçhane’s symbolic power. In Saraçhane, an authorial decision affected worker movement. Not insisting on Taksim as the venue for meeting ‘at all costs’ reflects the rationality and the perspicacity of organizers in evaluating eventual negative outcomes of their actions. The tactic of the organization committee is perfectly in line with the “resource mobilization theory” which stresses that people are rational enough to decide whether or not to participate in a demonstration according to the possible outcomes of their behavior (Alper, 2010, p. 67). Since a meeting in Taksim would in all likelihood face a police intervention, the participation was going to be much lower than what would be obtained in Saraçhane. Thanks to its new symbolic power Saraçhane became the center for a new wave of “protests formed around public buildings” in 1990’s (Appendix B1, B2, B4). When workers reunited in Spring Actions, Saraçhane was a place they were already familiar with.

In the ‘90s, water shortages and the intermitted water supply were important problems for inhabitants of İstanbul. Obviously, housewives were amongst those negatively

affected. Therefore, they were one of the groups protested İstanbul Municipality¹⁴. These manifestations did not only helped women to enhance their visibility in street demonstrations but also, they created new ways to protest. Water cans were important protest objects which replaced banners from time to time (*Milliyet*, 12.06.1990) Newspaper photographs also showed that washing children at the pool in front of the Municipality Building was a part of protest traditions which possibly evolved during 1990s (*Milliyet*, 31.07.1990).



Figure 3.5: Water shortage protest of women in front of Saraçhane Square (*Milliyet*, 31.07.1990)

The complex pattern of actors which showed up in 1990s continued in 2000s as well. Saraçhane witnessed worker, civil servant and general participant meetings in that era (Appendix C1, C2, C6). Saraçhane was the place in which “everyday spatial distributions, proximities, and routines of potential participants” (Tilly, 2000, p. 138) were located. It is possible to say that these routines were challenged by both constructions and lack of new laws which legalizes strikes. The disruption helped mobilizations to form around Saraçhane with the changes in political atmosphere. Then the area became an important center for state power thanks to Municipality Building.

¹⁴ Legend on Appendix B2 showed that women were particularly important for Saraçhane since a serious part of low numbered women protests took place in the Square.

Constructions of roads also made the area vulnerable for any disturbance. Roads were carrying major traffic load and a meeting held near roads enhanced their visibility. This was inherited by other groups in 1990s and new spatial routine of protests were added to events and maintained in 2000s. Therefore, perfect site for demonstration was created. “Getting in the pool of the municipality building” transformed itself into an became an integral part of protest repertoire in Saraçhane whether it was related with water or not (*Milliyet*, 09.06.1992). We start to see that multifaceted perspective on Saraçhane. Cases provide perfect examples of changes that spaces of appearance brought to public spaces and that it can be re-interpreted in more general.



Figure 3.6: Municipality workers protesting in front of Municipality Building, again in the pool (*Milliyet*, 09.06.1992)

Sultanahmet Square is another historically important place for protest and manifestations. During ‘60s and ‘70s it hosted similar events and organizations as Saraçhane and in MCA it shares the same cluster with the latter (Appendix A1, A2, A3). However, as opposed to the Saraçhane which distinguished itself through meetings organized mostly by labour, Sultanahmet was never exclusive for worker protests. It hosted student and general public meetings. To understand its different local meanings, and different attraction for different social strata the following brief summary would be useful.

Sultanahmet Square is the ottoman name Byzantine Hippodrome. Adjacent to Hagia Sophia, Byzantine Hippodrome was the perfect place for imperial games and carnivals. It has also witnessed massive riots and violent events during Byzantine times. Under Ottoman rule, Square lost its character as a Hippodrome. Yet it was still popular for celebrations thanks to the construction of İbrahim Paşa Palace and the cultural Complex surrounding the Sultanahmet Mosque in 17th century (Gedikoğlu, 1996, p. 54). It was also a protest space of janissary rebellions in 17th and 18th century (Gedikoğlu, 1996, p. 54). Sultanahmet's importance within city grew with public buildings erected during period of Ottoman reform Tanzimat and later on by the Republican regime.

Widening of *Divanyolu* during *Tanzimat* enhanced the connection between Sultanahmet, Beyazıt and Eminönü. Opening of horse-drawn tram line the second half of the 19th century enhanced the accessibility of Sultanahmet to rest of the Historical Peninsula (Gedikoğlu, 1996, p. 63). During early years of Republic, Sultanahmet was an important part of the Proust Plan which affected majority of the Historical Peninsula. Sultanahmet Square was “planned to be Republican Square with public buildings surrounding it” (Gedikoğlu, 1996, p. 82). However, subsequent to these constructions of ‘50s and 60’s Square has evolved gradually into a tourism area in ‘50s and 60’s. Yet its character as a protest space continued in spite of its new touristic functions This change might even have created opportunities for protesters, to enhance their visibility and to reach larger audiences.

During ‘80s and ‘90s Sultanahmet hosted numerous events and appeared as an important venue for “square manifestations” (Appendix B1, B2, B3). The area mainly witnessed protests organized for general public from right and conservative wing of the political spectrum. A series of protests which aimed to transform Hagia Sophia into a mosque were organized in Sultanahmet Square because of its adjacency to this famous monument (*Milliyet*, 12.05.1997). At the same time, another set of meetings about closing of *imam hatip* junior high schools were held in Sultanahmet as well (*Milliyet*, 113.05.1997). Because of its proximity to historic mosques and its symbolic meaning as the “heart of a Muslim city” Sultanahmet preserved its character as a protest space.



Figure 3.7: Protests about imam hatip junior high schools (*Milliyet*, 13.05.1997)

In 2000s, Sultanahmet started to be attractive for left-wing and other group's manifestations (Appendix C1, C2, C6).¹⁵ This unexpected development was to a large extent, associated with the presence of lawyers and City's Courthouse called *Adliye Sarayı*¹⁶ in close proximity.

Courthouse situated southwest of the Sultanahmet Square, was constructed on the site of the University building 'Darülfünun' fire stricken in 1933 (Gedikoğlu, 1996, p. 63). "Civil servant and general public meetings" in Sultanahmet Square were also attractive for other actors like lawyers (Appendix C1, C2, C6).

Changes in the legal procedures of custody and imprisonment which took place in at the turn of the century, early 2000s, triggered lawyer's professional organization's reaction. These procedures and enhanced security F-type prisons introduced after military Coup of September 1980, were causes of concern as they led to great deal of isolation and psychological problems to those in jail. In November 2000, hunger strikes mates and their relatives which began to stop this practice widened (Sevinç, 2002, p. 115). Lawyers started to protest as well (*Cumhuriyet*, 11.01.2005). In these cases, Courthouse became the focal point of protests as a result of its multifaceted symbolic repertoire. The

¹⁵ Sultanahmet was put in the cluster called "civil servant and general public meetings". However, the Legend on Appendix C2 shows that within this cluster there are conservative wing and other groups' meetings. Sultanahmet represents that part of the actors'.

¹⁶ A label direct translation from the its French counterpart: '*Palais de Justice*'

Central Courthouse complex, the so called *Adliye Sarayı* building in Sultanahmet continued to be the focal point of manifestations up until the completion of the new courthouse complex in Çağlayan in 2011.

Aksaray was another protest space in which worker manifestations were held in the period 1961-1979. It was part of the cluster “squares for worker manifestations” between 1961 and 1979 next to Saraçhane (Appendix A1, A2, A3). However, Aksaray have a different character than Saraçhane Square which has a long history in the establishment of workers’ spatial routines. Located at the crossroads of main arteries in Historical Peninsula, Aksaray does not have a meeting space at the scale of Saraçhane. In fact, the only small open space it got has been demolished. According to satellite images from 1966, the narrow gathering spot between road and construction area were added to the highway during 60’s (İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality, no date). Therefore, what can be considered as Aksaray Square now is not a grand opening for pedestrian access, but the crossroad of Ordu Street and Atatürk Boulevard surrounded by apartments and Pertevniyal Mosque. Therefore, its appearance in the map and its label as “square” can be misleading as it does not reflect its importance as a meeting space. Nonetheless thanks to its high accessibility as a crossroads it was an attractive public space for worker protests throughout ‘60s and ‘70s. Aksaray was easily accessible as it was the origin and final destination of several bus and *minibus* lines. It is not surprising at all to find several protests taking place in Aksaray thanks to its high accessibility In Aksaray meetings, constructions enhanced Aksaray’s importance. The intervention of system was evolved into a tactic to be used in demonstrations.

The accessibility of the Aksaray Square was enhanced subsequent to the inauguration of the subway station which connects it to the western sectors and fringes of Greater İstanbul Metropolitan area. Easier transportation meant accessibility to higher number potential protestors and observers. The completion of the Aksaray subway station in late 1980s forged the identity of the said Square as the meeting point for “civil servant and general public meetings” (Appendix C1, C2, C6) organized by *KESK*, the Confederation of Civil Servant Unions (*Cumhuriyet*, 28.04.2005).

It is interesting to note that the headquarters of KESK are still located near the same subway station illustrating the weight of historical precedents and overall accessibility. It wouldn't be wrong to assume that highways, subway, Aksaray's location and protests were all on play with the opening of *KESK* office and area's appearance on the map. In Aksaray examples, protests combined with transportation facilities created their own spatial routines.

Beyazıt Square has been one of the most important public spaces in İstanbul, since Byzantine times. It acquired a character of protest space with subsequent to the abolishment of the traditional janissary casernes and transformed into a ceremony space in early 19th century by the reformist Sultan Mahmut II (Yeşilkaya Gürallar, 2007, p. 73). The new arrangement was devised to visualize and legitimize the power of modern military forces, and the new Regime symbolized through the *Serasker Gate* (Kuban, 1993, p. 185).

One of the most important monuments in İstanbul is undoubtedly the construction of Dolmabahçe Palace. "After Sultan Abdülmecit moved his Palace to Dolmabahçe, the connection of the two sides of the Golden Horn became an urgent necessity" (Yeşilkaya Gürallar, 2007, p. 81). That led to the construction of a bridge over Golden horn. The ceremony of Sultan's crossing of the bridge has always been a parade for the inhabitants of the city. This itinerary of Sultan's carriages transformed itself to a favored itinerary of student marches in the 1960s (Appendix A1, A2, A4)

In April 28th 1960, Beyazıt Square was the scene of one of the biggest student protests in İstanbul until that date. After the death of a student, Turan Emeksiz, a crowd gathered in University gates¹⁷. Next day uprising spread to Ankara triggering the events preparing the ground for the military intervention of the 27th of May 1960. In 1963, a memorial has been erected in the spot where Emeksiz was shot (Gülpınar, 2012, p. 164). Located in front of the University gate this monument ended up being a meeting spot and symbol for left-wing student movement. Even though Turan Emeksiz case sets an

¹⁷ Former *Serasker Gate*.

extreme example, it represents how Square's symbolic importance has changed in time through protests.

While the importance brought by manifestation grew, Square's built environment transformed as well. In '60s, the big open area in front of the University was the subject of architectural competition (Kuban, 1993, p. 187). Turgut Cansever's winning project was not fully implemented and the Square was ended up being a parking lot (Kuban, 1993, p. 187). However, this did not stop students to demonstrate in Beyazıt. Hence even as a parking area, Beyazıt did not lose its deeply embedded symbolic meaning as a was a historical protest space.

During '60s and '70s Beyazıt Square provided a safe zone to students because of its proximity to university complex which thanks to the autonomy brought by the Constitution of 1961 benefited an immunity from direct police intervention. This created a safety net for demonstrating students since they were quasi free from the risk of incarceration. This led to an unprecedented increase in the number of left- wing student organizations' meetings.

Beyazıt Square continued to be associated with student manifestations throughout 1980's and 1990's, though the initiators and expressed demands actor's motivations were significantly differed. The square which was known as stage for left- wing student protests, transformed itself into a public platform for right- wing and conservative student manifestations after September 12th Coup. This is clearly visible in the empirical study. Subsequent to 1980, Beyazıt Square is associated with "right- wing and student manifestations" (Appendix B1, B2, B5). This constitutes the reason behind this particular cluster's naming.

Changes in the ways in which the Beyazıt Square was used as a political space were closely related to general political and social context. First of all, the rise of right and conservative wing protests subsequent to the military coup in 1980, can be related to shifts in the political power balance. Secondly for various reasons this particular urban sector hosted more often than not manifestations that were somehow related to

educational issues. At the end of '90s, eight-years compulsory primary education, emphasized in the National Security Council deliberations of February 28th was one of the most debated demands. Located at the gates of one of the most important universities of Turkey, Beyazıt was a perfect stage to challenge and protest the repressive nature of this undemocratic military memorandum and to demand the end of eight years compulsory education (*Milliyet*, 30.08.1997). Similarly, Beyazıt was a perfect public place to reclaim the end of 'the head-scarf ban' in universities which was another heated political topic at the end of 1980's. Hence, sit-ins and meetings of women with turbans were part of Beyazıt Square's daily routine during 1990's. In time, manifestations on head- scarf ban were joined those related to eight- year compulsory primary education because these were closely linked in terms of issues raised and they were in close proximity to each other (*Milliyet*, 08.11.1997). Apart from, educational issues, Beyazıt Square hosted protests against the Karabagh¹⁸ and Gulf Wars in 1990s and discriminatory measures against Muslim communities throughout the globe. These manifestations were also the incubators of new organizations emphasizing the cause of political Islam.

Even though majority of protests in were held by students, it was possible to detect in 2000s a tendency leading to the diversification of organizers of protest actors (Appendix C1, C2, C5). At the beginning the 21st century Beyazıt Square was attractive for both left- and right-wing student groups as well as general public meetings. At some point, one even observes a diversification in time with different group protesting in the same place at different times of the day (*Cumhuriyet*, 07.11.2003).

¹⁸ For more information; De Waal, T. (2003) Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan through Peace and War, Refugee Survey Quarterly. New York: New York University Press. doi: 10.1093/rsq/23.1.237.



Figure 3. 8: “Five different protest in Beyazıt Square” (*Cumhuriyet*, 07.11.2003)

Beyazıt Square’s symbolic importance as a protest space was preserved throughout centuries. In Byzantine times it was a public space associated to a forum, it was transformed into a palace under Mehmet II the ‘conqueror’, transformed into a caserne of Janissaries, than served as the Headquarters of the Chiefs of Staff of the Ottoman Empire (*Harbiye Nezareti*) and finally into a university complex of the new Republic. Continuous formation of Square’s physical environment set the stage for new events which in their turn paved the way to other changes in built spaces and for the consolidation of new routines and social practices. Hence in spite non negligible historical changes Beyazıt Square preserved its protest space identity mostly related to schooling and higher education related issues.

Laleli is a district adjacent to Beyazıt Square and hosts İstanbul University’s Faculty of Science. The entrance of Faculty building is on Ordu Street, leading to the *Seraskerlik* Gate. It would however be misleading to associate Laleli immediately with school-based student movements. If it had been so, Laleli would not appear in the cluster labelled “other meeting spaces” (Appendix A1, A2, A6). Manifestations in Laleli differentiate themselves from the rest since students use Laleli for tactical purposes

mostly to block the roads leading to the university complex. This tactical move helped protesters to disrupt routines of everyday life, to enhance their visibility and the safety of protestors in Beyazıt Square or within the university complex.

Surprisingly subsequent to 1960s Laleli is no longer visible on the map, in spite of the stability of university's location and Laleli's transportation facilities. This can only be explained with reference to general political environment of 1990's. There is a general decline in student protests and occupations for the most part of '80s. Even though immunity of university buildings from police intervention was no longer in effect, Beyazıt Square continued to be a safe haven for student protests in '90s. Yet Laleli was out of the safe zone. Area reappears in 2000's as popular meeting place for right-wing student protests in the cluster of "student manifestations" (Appendix C1, C2, C5). Protests in the area are no longer intended to block roads. But, the proximity to the university complex continued to be an invaluable tactical asset. Students did not intent to block roads but use bus stations as tactical objectives to extend their control over the university complex. According to Tarrow, "innovation in collective action forms often results from the interaction between protesters and their opponents" (Tarrow, 2011, p. 116). In Laleli examples, the face to face interaction between police forces and students created a tactic which was attached to the physical space. With that tactic proximity to school and transportation arteries became the very tools of protesting. This brief micro history, Laleli seem to corroborate with Tarrow's above cited statement.

Areas surrounding *Cerrahpaşa Hospital* are predominantly associated with civil servant protests (Appendix A1, A2, A6). This particular sector of the Historical Peninsula is also called "the hospital zone". Major health complexes like the Samatya Hospital, Çapa Medical School and Haseki Hospital are adjacent to Cerrahpaşa. It is therefore not surprising to find health sector employee protests in the vicinity of Cerrahpaşa. But still this particular location creates a question: How can we explain the concentration of protests at the entrance of Cerrahpaşa space instead of other hospitals? Cerrahpaşa is the largest hospital complex with the largest number of employees hence union members. Since Cerrahpaşa is a University Hospital and do have strong connections to student organizations.

Cerrahpaşa as a protest space for health sector employees grew in the context of Spring Actions through the initiative of Chamber of Medical Doctors of İstanbul. This Chamber was closed in 1980 by the Military Regime together with other civil society associations and organizations but reorganized after '84 (Soyer, 2005, p. 15). 1989 austerity measures triggered a wave of protests known as “Protests in White Shirts”¹⁹ which helped enabled medical doctors to enhance their public visibility and forced authorities to accept their demands. These manifestations enhanced the symbolic importance of Cerrahpaşa as a protest space which continued in following years.²⁰

As distinct from Cerrahpaşa, *Zeytinburnu* only appeared exclusively on the map drawn for 1960s and 1970s and is classified under “other meeting spaces” (Appendix A1, A2, A6). This stems its character as square housing *gecekondu* area and the over representation of industrial establishments and labor located there. Starting from 1950's thanks to existing leather factories and textile firms Zeytinburnu attracted large masses of immigrants (Aşık, 2007, p. 72). This caused significant increase of population and housing demand which met through *gecekondu* constructions. As a consequence of large industrial labor force, and poor conditions they are living in, the frequency of worker protests was especially high in Zeytinburnu Square.²¹

Merter is a neighborhood specialized in production near Zeytinburnu and shares the same cluster with the latter in '60s and '70s (Appendix A1, A2, A6). Yet, protests in Merter have different features than Zeytinburnu's. They were not held at the neighborhood square as it was the case in Zeytinburnu. More often than not these protests took place on the street where Headquarters of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey, '*DİSK*' is located. The increase of industrial workers and workers mobilization led *DİSK* to open a district office in the area. As it was the case

¹⁹ *Beyaz Eylemler* in Turkish.

²⁰ Notice that Cerrahpaşa is an integral part of protest maps from 1961 to 2010. (Appendix C1, C2, C6).

²¹ During this research it was not always an easy task to locate neighborhood centers. Hence, the old Zeytinburnu Square frequently mentioned in news couldn't be located. The point depicting Zeytinburnu Square is its approximate location in 2019. And the area is far from being the old Square. In fact, according to aerial photographs from 1966, 1970 and 1980, it used to be this vacant land surrounded by factories. Even though it is impossible to determine its exact location can hardly be determined the crystallization of workers spatial routines should have taken place in this sector.

with student manifestations and the proximity of the university campus in Beyazıt, the *DİSK* building also provided a safe haven for protesters.

Veliefendi, is a sector assigned to a cluster labelled “other meeting spaces” during 1960’s and 1970’s (Appendix A1, A2, A6). Located to the west of Zeytinburnu, it is famous with the hippodrome complex located there. First horse races took place in early 20th century and since then it has been a place for horse races. Topics of protests were related with that function and addressed irregular malpractices such as race-fixing etc.

Manifestations took place in two distinct sectors of *Sirkeci* one adjacent to the *Central Post Office*²² and the other on *Central Station Square* (Appendix B1, B2, B4).

The function of building served at the center of communications. This added new methods to the entries to protest repertoire; like sending mails collectively which hardly prevented through police intervention. In November 1990 a group of women met in front of Grand Post Office and send telegrams to Mr. Cemil Çiçek in Minister responsible for Family, Labor and Social Services to criticize him for his statements about women who flirt (*Milliyet*, 21.11.1990). The building was conceived and presented as a gateway to Central Authorities in Ankara and enabled protesters to symbolically communicate and interact with authorities in Ankara the Capital. This method became very popular during 1980’s and 1990s.

What was said for the Central Post Building holds true for the Station Building in Sirkeci which had a controversial architectural value and style. Yet this did not prevent this building to constitute one of the most distinctive monumental landmarks of the city. On the other hand, its function as a major transfer center had nothing to do with its design quality. Its function as 'the headquarters of transport workers was much more important, it emerges as a workplace and as a landmark where transport workers expressed their demands. A non-negligible part of manifestations in the transport sector

²² No matter what architectural critiques, say about its size, scale and style it surely is a major and symbolic landmark. As a result, general grievances of this Post service employees were expressed in front of this building. 1990s were the era when this profession’s manifestations have rapidly increased.

like those initiated by tram drivers took place in and around Sirkeci Square in front of the train Station.

İstanbul Provincial Directorate of National Education was an important protest space for both students and civil servants. Since the building was the representation of education in İstanbul, this sector's workers targeted it for manifestations. When civil servant protests rose in '90s, the building appeared in the map as a part of "protests formed around public buildings" (Appendix B1, B2, B4). Students and educators manifested more often not near the building. This did not changed during 2000's and the area evolved into an area where "civil servant and public participation meetings" are organized (Appendix C1, C2, C6). Protesters surrounded the building which symbolized the authority of the Central Government they were protest against. As it was the case in Saraçhane which patronized manifestations related to deficiencies in municipal services İstanbul Provincial Directorate of National Education was *the* place to stage manifests on student loans, rights to be taught in mother tongue or on procedures and regulations pertaining to the assignment of teachers and school directors.

As a district, ***Bakırköy*** is an old settlement, however it did not became part of the protest maps until the ***Freedom (Özgürlük) Square***²³ was built in 1990s. Subsequent to the construction of ***Özgürlük*** Square, subway line which connects Zeytinburnu to Historical Peninsula too reached to Bakırköy.²⁴ In the same era, Square evolved into a protest space because of easier transportation and pedestrian area close to center (Appendix B1, B2, B3). Same Square continued to be a part of protest maps in 2000s with a change in actors (Appendix C1, C2, C5). Students targeted Bakırköy for manifestations because of area's symbolic importance it gained in 1990s.

Located in Sultangazi district, ***Gazi Neighborhood*** is known with violent clashes between police forces and the protesters in 1995. Started as a squatter zone (*gecekondu*) in 1950's Gazi grew bigger in '80s with mainly with a concentration of Kurdish and

²³ The name of the Square was changed to *Cumhuriyet*, Republican Square in early 2000s.

²⁴ According to satellite images from 1982 and 2006, retrieved from <https://sehirharitasi.ibb.gov.tr/>

Alevi migrants.²⁵ In March 12th, a group whose identities remain unknown to this day, opened fire on a local coffeehouse in Gazi and killed an Alevi elderly (*Milliyet*, 13.03.1995). This exacerbated existing tensions and triggered local protests of unprecedented scale transforming the Gazi Neighborhood into almost a battlefield. Inhabitants tried to keep police forces way from streets, barricades were built, and all neighborhood turned into fighting zones where humans and nonhumans are mobilized (*Milliyet*, 14.03.1995). Armed conflict continued until the proclamation of curfew three days later, March 15th.

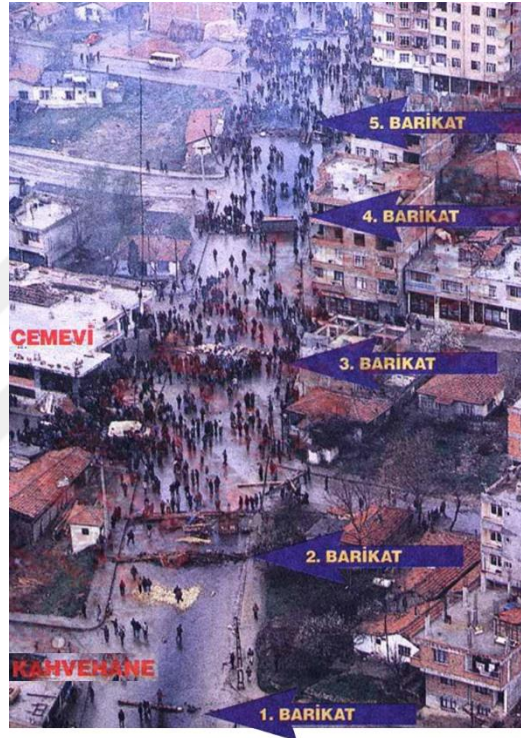


Figure 3.9: Aerial photograph of armed conflict and barricades in Gazi Neighborhood (*Milliyet*, 14.06.1995)

²⁵ Therefore, before explaining what happened in the area that put it in the map, another movement of '90s should be explained. Even though it did not appear in explained turning points at the first section of this chapter, Kurdish movement was an important part of '90s. After the '80 Coup, Kurdish organizations were first ones to group back again. With funerals and *Newroz* discussions movement became visible in the city. Kurdish movement and their protests as a result were facing great police intervention. At this point it is important to stress the lack of data about Kurdish street manifestations. Even though it is widely known that organization were expanding their space of appearances in '90s, news was most probably reluctant to talk about them. As a result, parts of Kurdish movement data are missing from the research output. However, '95 events in Gazi Neighborhood can be found in almost every printed media in '90s because of its dramatic result. For more information; Bora, T. (2017) *Cereyanlar*. 3rd edition. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. pp.821-902

Gazi events point out to a transformation in the geography of protests in Istanbul. Therefore, they were included in MCA and resulted in the cluster named “new topics in manifestations” (Appendix B1, B2, B6). The protest space is no longer a point or a particular square. We see that the entire neighborhood could transform itself into a protest space surveyed and patrolled by police forces. This is the reason why Gazi Events are depicted through areas and are labeled as mass demonstrations expressing dominant ethnic, religious and political views. Although Gazi events were not the only example of this kind of manifestations, they point out to a distinctive turning point in the and a change of scale is the political history and geography of the city. Events of '95 affected the decade after and area also appeared in the map of “meetings for support” in 2000s because of commemorations meetings (Appendix C1, C2, C8).

Grand Bazaar appeared in the map of 2000s and classified under the legend labeled as “protests initiated by workers and self-employed” (Appendix C1, C2, C7). Even though the Grand Bazaar was founded centuries ago, it did not distinguish itself through protest. Protests rose with the economic crisis of 2001 which had an immediate impact on manual workers and artisans. Subsequently Grand Bazaar hosting dense and oldest artisan networks, it evolved into a protest space of petty producer and workers during the economic crisis of 2001.

Yenibosna shares the same cluster with Grand Bazaar labelled “protests initiated by workers and self-employed” (Appendix C1, C2, C7). However, the area as marked with manifestations initiated by workers mostly associated by the regional distribution firm of the Coca- Cola Company. Hence Yenibosna where Coca-Cola premises were established distinguishes itself as the protest space of that company’s workers (*Cumhuriyet*, 24.06.2005).

Marches. In this study, marches were classified with respect to their itineraries by particular actors. In 1960’s the Historical Peninsula was particularly important; marches organized by workers and students, started Historical Peninsula, Beyazıt or Sultanahmet, crossed Goldenhorn through Galata Bridge and to reach Karaköy (Appendix A1, A2, A3, A4). The objective was to reach Taksim Square via Yüksek

Kaldırım up to Tünel Square and İstiklal Streets. Route used most crowded streets at the center of İstanbul. This was the tactic of protestors, claiming busy streets to spread their demands to larger crowds. Another marching route was started from Beşiktaş and terminated at Taksim Square. Main walking path of students were connecting campuses of İstanbul University and İstanbul Technical University than reaching to Taksim Square. Following this route, students of two schools were meeting to demonstrate in Taksim. Historical Peninsula was marking the beginning of manifestations and Taksim was the end. Yet although Taksim Square was the declared destination, the majority -if not all- of marches could not attain Taksim Square, the same holds true for marches organized by university students.

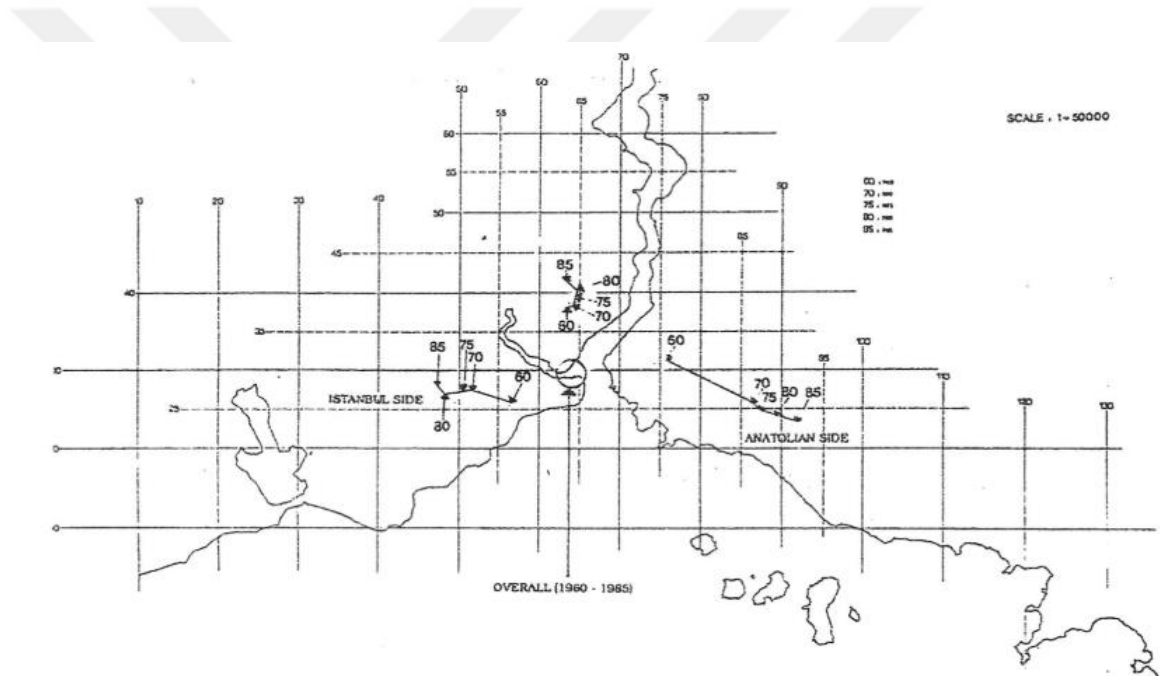


Figure 3.10: Locational shift of the centers of gravity of total metropolitan population & of its geographical components (Güvenç, 1992, p. 119)

Map above shows that center of gravity of total metropolitan population²⁶ was located between İstanbul and Beyoğlu sides in 1961 (Güvenç, 1993, p. 78). However, the deployment pattern and industrial labor force and capital show totally different tendencies. The centers of gravity according to the labor and capital are both located on the İstanbul Side (Güvenç, 1993, p. 78). This shows that even though the number of

²⁶ Shown as the circle at the center of map.

establishments distributed evenly between two sides of Golden Horn, labor intensive units are located predominantly in Eminönü and Saraçhane. At this point, it is important to recall Habermas' theory of communicative action where he explains the concepts of 'lifeworld' and 'system'. System's intervention causes the "colonization of the lifeworld" which affects the daily lives of people when they want to "seek to defend, restore, or create new spaces for a communicatively based life-world" (Miller, 2000, p. 30). The lifeworld was based in and around the Historical Peninsula since it was a center. And because it was the center, it led comparatively to higher densities and higher accessibilities. This should have paved the way to higher levels of "colonization" of lifeworlds situated on the Historical Peninsula and enhanced the eventual impact factor of demonstrations in this sector. One should not overlook the fact that up until 1980's most of the important squares, monuments and public buildings were situated around the Golden Horn. However, being the center was not attractive cannot be the only reason for all protests. We have seen that culturally and/or ethnically motivated manifestations could take place at urban fringes like Gazi Neighborhood manifestations, and have high symbolic impact on social and political agenda.

According to Tarrow, "Particular groups have a particular history – and memory – of contention. Workers know how to strike because generations of workers struck before them; Parisians build barricades because barricades are inscribed in the history of Parisian contention [...]" (2011, p. 14). Even though what Tarrow described was mainly related with protest repertoire, it wouldn't be wrong to consider this repertoire in terms of what protests space offers. The emergence and the continuity of pool protests and their consolidation as a "tradition" in Saraçhane or the emergence of *KESK* headquarters adjacent to Aksaray subway station suggest that actors can develop and construct a socio-spatial memory of contention in totally different contexts. The disturbance of existing spatial routines through innovative manifestations may create, help, consolidate and sustain new protest repertoires.

3.3 Meetings and Marches at the Center: Pera

This section concentrates upon protests spaces in Pera (Beyoğlu) Side. It would be useful to start with the famous Taksim Square, which depicts dramatical changes in

time. Yet we will see that the protest history in this Square is best understood if it is taken up in a wider historical and geographical context.

Taksim Square has been one of the most important public spaces in İstanbul. It was, and still is an attractive protest space for majority of manifestations. Therefore, it is not surprising to find Taksim Square as a part of protests maps in all three eras. However, protests' patterns in Taksim were not the same over decades. To understand the change better, it is important to concentrate upon the ways in which Taksim's symbolic importance is constructed.

Taksim Square and Grand Rue de Pera, the main street, were mainly shaped by non-Muslim communities of during the 19th Century of Ottoman Empire. Built environment of Pera Side and that of Taksim comprises distinctively high numbers of “embassies of Western governments, hospitals, banks, hotels, new businesses and schools” Levantines and Foreigners (Baykan and Hatuka, 2010, p. 52)

Taksim was an important public space at the beginning of Ottoman Reform Period. During this period, an artillery barrack was built as a part of security belt of the newly built Dolmabahçe Palace. The building got damaged in March 31st uprising in 1908 and completely demolished in 1940 (Baykan and Hatuka, 2010, p. 53). Taksim Square's symbolic importance continued under the Republican regime with the construction of Monument of the Republic. In the modernist Prost Plan, “Taksim was allocated to narrow definitions, functions and uses of modernity, exclusive of political representational forms aimed at masses” (Baykan and Hatuka, 2010, p. 56). With construction boom of 1950s and 1960s Hilton Hotel was built, and streets were widened in order to create an international scene (Baykan and Hatuka, 2010, p. 56).

As an important public place Taksim the location to manifest and demands to gather in the Square did not decrease in time. But there was a *de facto* ban for meetings. Only significantly low number of meeting request could get the approval of İstanbul Governorate(Koçak and Çelik, 2016, p. 647). This situation changed after 1960 coup, after which date Taksim was transformed into official venue for State ceremonies

(*Cumhuriyet*, 28.05.1968). This paved the way to put more pressure on Governorate to celebrate May 1st, the Labor Day, in Taksim Square. As a result, Taksim Square emerges as a “commemoration and celebration space” in maps drawn for ‘1960’s and ‘70s (Appendix A1, A2, A5).

May 1st celebrations in Taksim were allowed for the first time in 1976. This gave momentum to street demonstrations. However, same date in the following year was marked with violent events. May ’77 is still remembered as the Bloody Labor Day (*Kanlı 1 Mayıs*). Yet this did not discouraged people. May 1st 1978 demonstrations were as crowded as 1977 if not more. This of course is not at all unique to İstanbul. According to Tilly “contention itself transforms the political significance of particular sites and spatial routines, as when locations of massacres become objects of pilgrimage or when funerals become major occasions for expressions of political preference” (Tilly, 2000, p. 139). Taksim was already an important public space. With events happening in 1955, it was transformed into a quasi ‘pilgrimage’ area. Even today, every May 1st gathering begins with leaving garlands to the Monument and flowers carnations on the Corner of Kazancı Street to commemorate those who lost their lives in the indiscriminate shooting. The Bloody 1st of May of 1977 constitutes a turning point in the social history of Taksim Square. It was already an important public space, yet it evolved into a commemoration space especially for the left. However, this was not to continue. 1st May gatherings were banned in 1979 and Taksim stayed closed to manifestations and celebrations for no less than thirty-two years. Here, the decision to ban meetings showed the need to create alternative areas for May 1st gatherings.²⁷

During ‘80s and ‘90s Taksim was still attracting almost every actor. Its symbolic importance was acknowledged by emerging left- wing organizations and/or challenged by rising conservative groups. Even though majority of meetings faced severe police intervention, Taksim managed to preserve its popularity as a protest space and appeared in the map of ‘80s and ‘90s as an integral part of “square manifestations” (Appendix B1, B2, B3). This led to another group of meetings to target Taksim as well. Starting from

²⁷ Since Taksim was not an option, celebrations were held in various areas such as Kadıköy, Çağlayan or Şişli. All three will be explained in this section as protest spaces.

1994, Republic Day was celebrated in Taksim Square.²⁸ According to Tambar, these celebrations helped the emergence of secular groups in 1990s (2009, p. 531). These new nationalist, secularist and Republican groups mobilized by the thread of political Islam transformed October 29th the Republic Day into a festival (Tambar, 2009, p. 531). These festivals can be considered as pioneers of Republican Meetings held in 2007. They created a path for massive gatherings of 2000s in other locations. In 2000s, Taksim Square was still the desired meeting place (Appendix C1, C2, C3). As a consequence of unending requests Taksim Square finally witnessed another May 1st celebration in 2009, even though it was not legally allowed. Since protesters couldn't be prevented in 2009, meeting requests of the organizers were officially allowed legally 2010. After 32 years, Taksim reclaimed its long-awaited identity as a celebration and commemoration Square.



Figure 3.11: May 1st Celebration in Taksim, 2010 (*1 Mayıs'ın 10 yıllık Kronolojisi (2004-2013), 2014*)

²⁸ Republic Day celebrations are not included in protest data and MCA basically because they were not protests. However, since they were important events in the evolution of Taksim as protest space they needed to be mentioned here.

This historical event gave momentum to street demonstrations and transformed Taksim Square into the desired destination of protest march itineraries. This was coherent with northward urban growth dynamics of Istanbul. The route of 1960s which started from Historical Peninsula and reached to Taksim was fragmented in '90s. The axis between Karaköy and Taksim Square which goes along İstiklal Street evolved into the main marching route of 1990s and 2000s (Appendix B1, B2, B3 and C1, C2, C3). This path had also important stops in front of several symbolic places and intermediary meeting places like Tünel and Galatasaray Squares.

Consulate of Russian or Soviet Federation was one of those places that main marching route traveled through. It was located at the connection of İstiklal Street and Tunnel Square. Meetings in front of the building was triggered by armed conflict in Karabagh between Armenia as a part of Soviet Federation and Azerbaijan (*Cumhuriyet*, 14.01.1980). Until 1991 Soviet Federation was seen as a protector, sponsor and guarantor of left- wing organizations. Subsequent to the the conflict in Karabagh, Russia started to be coded as the enemy of Muslim communities. Protests of right started to address this building. Hence, it appeared in the map as a part of “right- wing and student manifestations” in 1990s (Appendix B1, B2, B5).

In 1990s *Galatasaray Square* was another station on the marching route to Taksim. It gained a well deserved place in the “square manifestations” map subsequent to meetings of Saturday Mothers (Appendix B1, B2, B3). Their manifestations started in May 27th, 1995, approximately three months after Gazi Neighborhood events. As the number of those missing in custody increased and became systematic, Saturday Mothers, a group of Kurdish women which were seeking their missing children started organizing this event with the help of Human Right Organizations (Genç Yılmaz, 2014, p. 53). For this group one of the most important wish was to find a “form of action to make themselves visible and a search for a place to make this form of action noticeable” (Genç Yılmaz, 2014, p. 59). Therefore, they needed a space which shows the particularity of their grievances. This led them to Galatasaray Square. Saturday Mothers became one of the most important movements of '90s which symbolizes Kurdish problem and the tragedy

of Kurdish women and mothers. It also embedded Galatasaray Square with an unprecedented set of meanings.

Protests in this sector continued to diversify after the year 2000 as a part of “meetings for public participation” (Appendix C1, C2, C3). Manifestations of women attracted other groups, one of them was LGBTI+ community which was not visible as they wish to be, even though organizations were formed during ‘90s. In following years, Galatasaray Square hosted anti-war meetings and gatherings of private sector employees who lost their jobs. Galatasaray Square emerges on protest maps subsequent to the activism of Saturday Mothers. Demands of this particular group were dramatically different than what Taksim usually stands for. So, women needed a new place. Galatasaray provided this place with its physical characteristics and proximity to the Taksim Square. As this place turned into a well-known protest area, for other discriminated groups.

In 2001, French government acknowledged the historical veracity of Armenian genocide by adopting a new law. The reaction to this new position of the French Government transformed the *French Consulate* into a center where protests to this deliberation of the French Parliament can be expressed (*Cumhuriyet*, 12.01.2001) and put the building in protest maps of 2000s (Appendix C1, C2, C4). It is important to emphasize that this has been an historical turning point Part of the marches held in İstiklal Street use French Consulate as a start point in 2019, especially when Taksim Monument is closed with police barricades. We start to see that the new law adopted by the French Government has had irreversible impact on the micro level political geography of İstiklal Street and that of and Taksim Square. The area’s transformation as a start point for marches is possibly related with the law that excepted.

Atatürk Cultural Center, the AKM Building emerged on protest maps in 2000s as a part of cluster named “other meeting spaces” (Appendix C1, C2, C9). The building has a long and turbulent history starting from first phases of its construction. Planning for center began in 1939, however the construction was completed in 1969 (Akcan, 2013, p. 1). It was burned down a year after its inauguration and re-opened in 1977 (Akcan,

2013, p. 6). As a monument on Taksim Square, *AKM* developed a relation with Taksim and has been an objective for protests. Its façade was covered with impressive banners of May 1st gatherings in throughout 1970's.



Figure 3.12: May 1st meeting in 1977, Taksim Square and AKM façade in the background with banners (Aysan, 2013, p. 368)

Labor Day meetings are organized and changed Taksim Square. *AKM* building was an important landmark and a meeting in the 2000s. In early years, building was the preferred protest space for theatre artists who wished to bring forth topics related to performing arts (*Cumhuriyet*, 30.08.2005). After 2005, when demolition of the *AKM* was on public agenda and drafts plans were sketched, protests transformed again (*Cumhuriyet*, 27.03.2007). Manifestations organized by artists against the demolition of *AKM* took place in front of the building.

Dolmabahçe constitutes a case apart in the history of protest movements during '60s. As a memory laden historical site Dolmabahçe Palace hosted numerous events to commemorate and celebrate. Besides being the last Palace of the Ottoman Empire Dolmabahçe is also the where Mustafa Kemal, the Founder of the Republic lost his life.

For this reason, it hosts celebrations as well as commemorations. In '60s part of protesters, mainly right- wing student organizations had a tradition to come Dolmabahçe and pledge their commitment to the Republic in the presence of *Ata*. These events led MCA to put Dolmabahçe in a cluster named “meetings for public participation and commemoration spaces” (Appendix A1, A2, A5). However, Dolmabahçe’s symbolic importance was not limited to its functions as Imperial Palace and Mustafa Kemal death.

In July 15th, 1968 American fleet, 6th fleet as widely known, visited İstanbul (*Cumhuriyet*, 16.07.1968). Even though this was not the first time an American fleet came to the city, the 1968’s general political environment caused more reaction than before. From 15th to 17th of July, crowds which mainly formed by students continued their protests. On 17th, they marched from Taksim Square to Dolmabahçe coast. Until the group was dispatched by the police, American soldiers either jumped into the water to escape or were thrown into the sea by the protesters. Same fleet came back to İstanbul in February 1969 and led to events today known as *Kanlı Pazar* in Taksim (*Cumhuriyet*, 17.02.1969). Both events led commemoration gatherings in Dolmabahçe which transformed areas’ symbolic importance.

Gümüşsuyu hosts engineering faculties of İstanbul Technical University was another site for “student manifestations” in the ‘60’s. It’s position and intra urban situation is comparable to Beyazıt Square (Appendix A1, A2, A4). Thanks to its proximity to Taksim Square this university complex was *the* preferred meeting place for manifestation organized by ITU’s left wing students. Even though, Taksim is not an venue for student manifestations, in 1960’s crowds met on Gümüşsuyu Campus for various occasions and could march to Taksim. In 6th Fleet protests, Gümüşsuyu was one of the places to meet. Gümüşsuyu’s presence on the map is closely related to ITU’s location and its proximity to Taksim.

Akaretler is the name of an historical housing complex constructed in 1875 by Sultan Abdülaziz’s order for the high-ranking employees of the Imperial Palace (*Akaretler*, no

date). In 1970s, one of the buildings has been used as the office for *İYÖKD*²⁹, Istanbul Higher Education Cultural Association offices, was a student organization formed in in the same decade.³⁰ The location of this student organization's transformed Akaretler street into a center for student activism. From that perspective, Akaretler resembles Merter. Both sites evolved into centers for political activism as a consequence of administrative Headquarters. Merter constitutes a convenient a "bridgehead" for *DİSK* to mobilize the large population of workers. Similarly, in addition to its proximity to ITU's Gümüşsuyu Campus Akaretler was close ITU's Mining Faculties in Maçka and to student dormitories (the *KYK Dormitories*) located in Maçka. Choosing Akaretler as a center for student organization helped *İYÖKD* to mobilize and to enroll significantly higher number of active students. We start to see that the presence of Akaretler in the protest map of 1970 is closely related to surrounding land uses and functions.

Skyframe or Süzer Plaza was one of the most debated constructions within İstanbul between 1989-1999. It was also one of the protest spaces labelled as "new topics in manifestations" (Appendix B1, B2, B6). Its location, its height and long process of legal permissions created massive reactions from inhabitants and NGOs. Debates about the construction started in 1983 with first legal permissions (Kaplan, 2011, p. 54). Located near İstanbul Technical University and İnönü Stadium, what was planned as a valley of linden trees according to Beyoğlu Master Plan was transformed into a project zone which will consist of tourism center with high building thanks to Tourism Promotion Act brought into force by Ministry of Tourism (Günay, 2005, p. 116). Project faced objections because its location can "cause population density to increase, endow extra floor space to the investors, have negative effect on the silhouette of the city, disrupt the historical and natural character of the district and overload the traffic network" (Günay, 2005, p. 118). However, none of the objections could stop construction. Şişli Municipality rejected objections by claiming that decisions about Skyframe's parcel was theirs to make (Kaplan, 2011, p. 61). After long years of debate building was completed in 2001. Today, the building stands in Gümüşsuyu, 34 stories high and visible in the silhouette of İstanbul.

²⁹ General Directorate of Higher Education Credit and Hostels Institution, *Yüksek Öğrenim Kredi ve Yurtlar Kurumu* in Turkish.

³⁰ *İstanbul Yüksek Öğrenim Kültür Derneği*. Author's translation.

As the construction continued, protests about it rose next too legal oppositions. Starting from 1997, the construction site witnessed manifestations. Protests were organized not just by NGOs but with worker and civil servant associations such as *DİSK* and *KESK*. This showed that ‘new topics’ also created new collaborations. They even caused emergence of different ways to protest. Next to accustomed ways to protests, the human chain around the construction draw a great deal of attention to debates (*Cumhuriyet*, 26.10.1998). Gökkafe construction was not the only building created this amount of criticism.

Park Hotel project was another example of “new topics in manifestations” (Appendix B1, B2, B6). Located at the place of old Hotel, demolition of preceding building and construction of a new one was allowed with the same Tourism Promotion Act in 1984 which also paved the way for construction of Skyframe (‘Tepemize Park geliyor’, 1991). However, it immediately faced resistance and protests formed around the construction area. Started as a family’s effort which was evicted because of construction, Park Hotel resistance evolved into a movement in late ‘80s (‘Tepemize Park geliyor’, 1991). Cutting seventeen stories of building was a result of this resistance (*Milliyet*, 30.11.1993). However, this was not the end for Park Hotel. After the shortening of building completed, construction stayed empty for approximately fifteen years. In 2013, a new hotel was opened in its place.

Harbiye, located near Taksim Square is where officers' club located. In May 2003, Turkey decided to send troops to Iraq where USA army occupied two months earlier (*Cumhuriyet*, 13.10.2003). This resulted in the growth of already existing anti- war movement. And this also marked Harbiye’s spot on the map of 2000 as a part of cluster named “meetings for public participation” (Appendix C1, C2, C3).

Osmanbey appeared on the map as a part of “meetings for public participation” in 2000. (Appendix C1, C2, C3). In January 19th, 2007 Hrant Dink was shot and killed in front of the newspaper he was working in, *Agos* (*Cumhuriyet*, 20.01.2007). His death created great deal of reaction. Protests were held in front of newspaper building to

manifest authorities who filed lawsuit against him for insult to Turkishness and voice the demand to find his killer. In Osmanbey protests, a place of massacre became a protest space. Today the newspaper has moved to another building, however commemorations are still being organized in the old building of *Agos* where Hrant Dink was murdered.

Mecidiyeköy is a part of “other meeting spaces” in 1960s and ‘70s which emerged subsequent to manifestations of workers (Appendix A1, A2, A6). Worker protests in Mecidiyeköy were placed in Profilo Factory which is Profilo Shopping Mall now. This shows that very existence of one factory and labor force in neighborhood led protest to increase.

Abide-i Hürriyet Square or Hürriyet Hill’s history goes back decades ago. Located in Şişli today, area “was the headquarters of the Movement Army who came to Istanbul to suppress the March 31 incidents, and seventy-eight soldiers who lost their lives in the same incidents were buried” in the hill (Avci and Avci, 2017, p. 37). Its importance as a place of memorial grew over the years with the monument erected in the name of soldiers who died. In following years, the hill evolved into a celebration space of 10th of July, the declaration date of constitutionalism (Çetinkaya, 2008, p. 134). The same place was in of protest map of ’90s “square manifestations” (Appendix B1, B2, B3).

In ‘50s and ‘60s, Şişli was transformed into an industrial zone with factories and *gecekondu* buildings (Öktem, 2011, p. 31). Construction of new highways and residences in Taksim- Maslak axis in ‘90s affected Şişli too. The district evolved into a bigger residential area and an extension of Pera. Easier transportation and larger crowds attracted protesters to meet in Abide-i Hürriyet Square and number of protests increased. Part of Spring Action manifestations took place on the hill. In 1989, an attempt was made to celebrate May 1st in Hürriyet Square which ended in armed conflict (*Cumhuriyet*, 02.05.1989). In 2001 May 1st was officially allowed in Abide-i Hürriyet Square. However, in 2002 location changed. The May 1st meeting of 2001 was not enough to put Şişli on the map and in the following decade Square disappeared from

protest maps. Instead, two other location in Şişli district appeared; Şişli Etfal Hospital and Cumhuriyet Newspaper headquarters.

These two locations were part of different clusters. Şişli Etfal Hospital was part of the cluster named “civil servant and general public meetings” (Appendix C1, C2, C6) whereas Cumhuriyet newspaper was clustered with other “meetings for support” (Appendix C1, C2, C8). Şişli Etfal Hospital evolved into a protest space with manifestations of health sector employees. At this point it is important to ask why Etfal protests began in 2000s even though it was opened more than a century ago. When Cerrahpaşa protests began in ‘60s, Etfal was not a part of the map. There might be two possible reasons for that change. First reason is related with main arteries of İstanbul. Etfal protests began or became visible for news as city’s interest on Şişli and Maslak grew. Second reason is related with triggers. A particular event happening in the hospital might be the turning point for doctor’s mobilizations. Cumhuriyet Newspaper protests were triggered by particular events too. Located near Jewish Cemetery in Şişli, the newspaper building was bombed three times in May 2006. This created a protest wave to support Cumhuriyet and its employees. Therefore, protests were formed around the building. Same location was also an important meeting point in 2009 when Newspaper’s Representative of Ankara, Mustafa Balbay was arrested as a part of Ergenekon Lawsuit. The arrest increased already formed reaction and protests in and around the building increased.

Çağlayan Square was another protest space affected by construction wave to north. Located near Abide-i Hürriyet Square, Çağlayan evolved into a part of new central business district. It was also a part of cluster named “square meetings” in ‘90s (Appendix B1, B2, B3). Starting from ’92, Çağlayan was a place to celebrate May 1st. As a large square which has connection to main arteries of the city it provided substitute for Taksim for a while. Since Taksim meetings were not allowed, a part of May 1st celebrations between 1997 and 2004 was held in Çağlayan such as 2002 and 2003 which helped the square to become a part of the map for “meetings for public participation” (Appendix C1, C2, C3). May 1st gatherings affected other events too. In 2007, İstanbul leg of Republican Meetings were held in Çağlayan Square. This was also

the year when metrobus line was opened. Easier transformation and former May 1st gatherings created an image of Çağlayan which was associated with manifestations. This helped the transformation of not just its symbolic importance but also its surroundings. In fact, attempts to change this newly formed public space started in 2005 (Gursel, 2011), when meeting for May 1st in Çağlayan was not allowed in the area anymore.

En büyük uyarı



Figure 3.13: Newspaper front page for Republican Meeting in Çağlayan, “En Büyük Uyarı” meaning “The Biggest Warning” (*Cumhuriyet*, 30.04.2007)

In Çağlayan cases, it is possible to see that area gains importance as transportation arteries reach to north. Even though Çağlayan was a public space in earlier years too, it was not a protest area before May 1st meetings. With new constructions in Taksim-Maslak axis, its importance as a meeting space grew. Republican Meeting was an indicator of this growth. These new constructions have transformed the area’s built environment too. Manifestations targeting legal system and particular lawsuits are now addressing the Courthouse and protesting in Çağlayan.

Gayrettepe was a part of cluster named “meeting for support” in 2000s like the Cumhuriyet Newspaper building (Appendix C1, C2, C8). And again, protests were formed around a building; headquarters of Turkish Trade Bank. In 2001, Bank’s all transactions were suspended by Banking Regulation and Supervision Agency, *BDDK* and afterwards bank was liquidated (Hürriyet, 2002). This led employees of the bank to protest since they had no saying about both Bank and their futures. In following process, not just bank employees but other groups to support them started to protest around Bank’s headquarters in Gayrettepe (*Cumhuriyet*, 13.10.2001).

Okmeydanı Dikilitaş Park provides other protest space for “meetings for support” (Appendix C1, C2, C8). Part of F-type protests and gatherings to support those in hunger strike was held Okmeydanı Dikilitaş Park. Seeing Okmeydanı as an important center for F-type prison protests brings the question of how Okmeydanı was related to this particular topic. In December 2000, three people who were trying to hang a banner about F-type protests faced police attack and one of the protesters was killed while others were injured (Demir, 2002). This empowered already existing left- wing organizations in the area and increased reaction against F-type protests. Afterwards, Dikilitaş Park in Okmeydanı became an important protest space for that particular topic. At this point it might be meaningful to turn back Güvenç’s map (Figure 3.4). Next to Eminönü area, Taksim was marked as another center of gravity of total metropolitan population between 1960 and 1985. Therefore, starting from ‘60s, Taksim was a protest space at the center of city’s most crowded area. Again, because it was the center, the area was easy to reach. But as constructions towards Maslak axis continued, protest spaces in north of Taksim started to appear. The main aim of new trade sector on Maslak was to connect it to Eminönü. This resulted in population growth in those areas as well as new workplaces. It also helped important public spaces to form their spatial routines since intended meeting place of Taksim was not allowed in many examples.

Constructions in and around Pera were showing the authority’s decision to represent itself in one of the most important public and protest spaces of İstanbul’s center. Government were establishing its image in spatial routines of citizens. With new constructions, that establishment started to widen. Where there is a representation of

power, there is a manifestation. Taksim- Maslak axis provides a spectacular example of changing of protest spaces with investments and constructions made with Governmental decisions. Authorial decisions which created Maslak axis and closed Taksim for meetings helped the formation of new protest spaces.

3.4 Meetings and Marches in Anatolian Side

Anatolian Side of İstanbul was a part of protest maps starting from 1960s. However, opening of Bosphorus Bridge and city's population growth resulted in change of existence spaces' characters and addition of new areas. In this section, protest spaces on Anatolian Side will be explained in close detail.

Kadıköy's appearance on the protest spaces is not only related with particular locations within district's boundaries but also with its population growth and its socio-economical characteristics. Therefore, a brief information about Kadıköy should be given in order to understand its growing importance on protests maps.

According to 1960 census, İstanbul's population was around a million within which 769.900 of citizens were living on the European Side and 221.331 were living on the Anatolian Side (*1960 Genel Nüfus Sayımı Raporu*, 1963, p. 8). The majority of population was inhabited in the European side. At this point recalling Güvenç's study is important (Figure 3.4). In his maps, there was a third center of gravity of total metropolitan population which was located near Sancaktepe on Anatolian side (Güvenç, 1992, p. 119). This center shifted towards Kartal in 1980s, as well as center of gravity of industrial capital (Güvenç, 1992, p. 121). In case of a demonstration or a riot, labor force working on Kartal would want to cross Bosphorus to meet other two centers (*Sarıyer and Taksim*). Travelling back and forth between two sides of İstanbul for protest would not be an easy task before 1973 considering this was the date when Bosphorus Bridge was opened. Hence, they would have to stay in Kartal or Kadıköy when transportation was interrupted. This led Kadıköy to appear on the map of "squares for worker manifestation" between '61- '79 (Appendix A1, A2, A3).

After 1961 Saraçhane meeting, another critical point for workers was protests June 15-16th in 1970. Union rights which was given to workers with '61 Constitution was tried to be taken away with a new draft. While labor force was waiting for better working conditions and salary increase, after the news about changes in Unions Act No 274 and Lockout Act 275³¹ they have faced the possibility of losing to have union rights. And they started to go out in the streets. Occupations and meetings began at June 15th and grew bigger at 16th (*Cumhuriyet*, 17.06.1970).

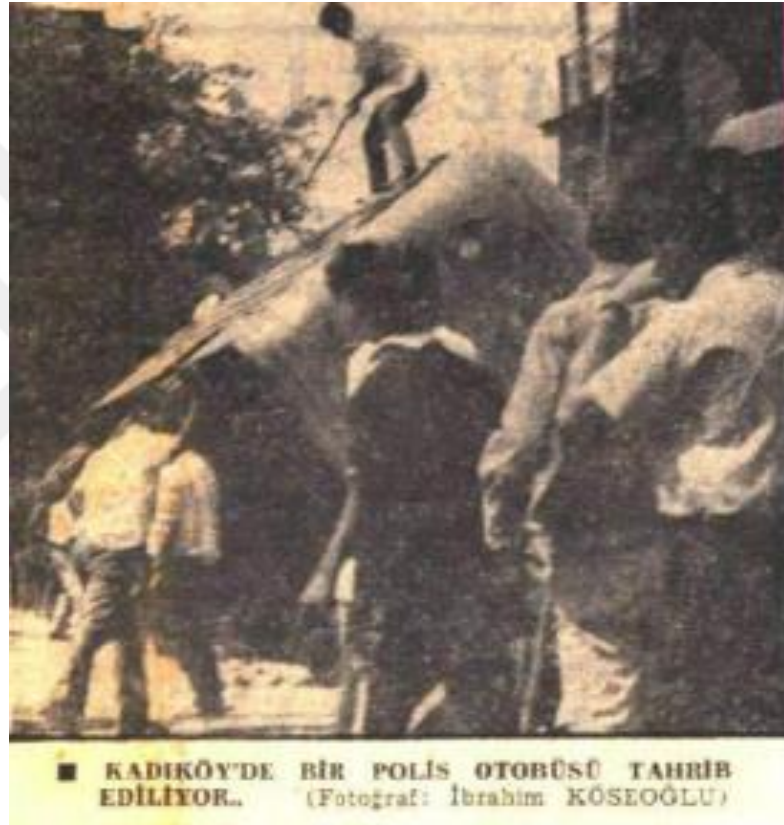


Figure 3.14: A newspaper photograph of June 15th and 16th events in Kadıköy (*Cumhuriyet*, 17.06.1970)

First group of protesters met in Cağaloğlu and Topkapı. This group was workers coming from Saraçhane district. They wanted to get together with other assembly marching from Beyoğlu. However, this was not easy because all bridges on the Golden Horn was closed. Some of the participants travelled with boats to Beyoğlu; however great deal of people was stuck in opposing sides of the Golden Horn. Another group

³¹ In Turkish, 274 *Sendikalar Kanunu* and 275 *Grev ve Lokavt Kanunu*.

was held in Kadıköy. After news of laws travelled, factories in Kartal emptied. Masses occupied Ankara Highway, an old road connects İstanbul to Ankara, and they started to march Kadıköy. Another group came from Sancaktepe to Kadıköy. Without the bridge boats were the only way to travel across Bosphorus. However, water transportation was stopped as well. And, workers simply manifested at the exact place they were in, Kadıköy Square. When crowds didn't leave Kadıköy Pier police fire started, and three workers have lost their lives that day. In following years, Kadıköy became another important location for protests. This does not mean Kadıköy was not a scene for protests before, there are earlier cases. But 1970 protests surely helped the transformation of Kadıköy Square into a protest space.

In this example, Kadıköy was not an intended space of appearance for workers. However, it was the nearest center of water transportation which connects factories in Sancaktepe and Kartal to the Goldenhorn. It was also located near a major highway which was connected to factories. In 1970, the infill area which is now Kadıköy Square was constructed as well. Since Kadıköy was also a new housing area of labor force, it is not a surprise for it to show up in the map. Its location as a transportation hub, amplified workers visibility. Decisions of city authorities about closing bridges and cancelling water transportation have affected protest map of 1961-1979. Therefore, Kadıköy Square evolved into a protest space and led other groups to choose it as a potential area for demonstrations.

After the construction of new bridge and roads connected to it was completed in '80s and '90s, Kadıköy's importance grew with rest of Anatolian Side. Easier transportation resulted in increase of population in Kadıköy. New fill-in areas of Kadıköy shoreline provided the district a larger square. Constructions combined with Kadıköy's symbolic importance attracted protesters. In this period, area was a part of the cluster called "square manifestations" (Appendix B1, B2, B3). In 1996, Kadıköy Square witnessed one of the most crowded May 1st celebrations after 1980 Coup (*Milliyet*, 02.05.199). This celebration shows that Kadıköy's importance as a protest space continued over years. The same importance combined with Kadıköy's social and economic profile created the perfect place for another actor's meetings.

In 1987, a judge from Çankırı rejected the lawsuit of a woman who wanted to divorce because of constant violence she was facing. He said, “One shouldn't leave a women without a bat on her back or a child on her stomach”³² (Şakir, 2019). This caused enormous reaction from women organizations. They protested the judge first in legal ways and then organized a protest about violence against women in Kadıköy. Group of women have met in Kadıköy Square and marched to **Yoğurtçu Park**. Effects of this meeting continued and following years Yoğurtçu Women’s Forum and Mor Çatı Women’s Shelter was founded. This event also put Yoğurtçu Park on the map of “square manifestations” (Appendix B1, B2, B3). The Park is still seen as the place of birth for feminist movement in Turkey. A protest and a place became cornerstones of the movement.

In the meantime, Kadıköy Square’s importance as a protest space was growing too. In 2000s, it was one of the most popular meeting places for almost every actor group and a part of cluster named “meetings for public participation” (Appendix C1, C2, C3). This importance evolved in 2005 when May 1st meeting was held in Kadıköy Square. After Çağlayan was not an option to meet because of plans to build a new courthouse, Kadıköy became the place for May 1st gathering. In 2000s Kadıköy showed complex pattern of protests’ actors and topics.

Haydarpaşa was another protest space within Kadıköy’s boundaries in 2000s. As a part of cluster named “protests formed around public buildings”, Haydarpaşa Station witnessed tram line worker meetings (Appendix C1, C2, C4).

Mustafa Kemal Paşa Neighborhood or May 1st Neighborhood formed in 1970s as a *gecekondu* area (Aslan, 2004, p. 87). Located near the highway which connects Anatolian Side to first Bosphorus Bridge migration and *gecekondu* constructions increased in the same decade. This led the formation of People’s Committee in 1977 to control constructions in the area and to answer possible needs of constantly increasing population (Aslan, 2004, p. 105). Even though the neighborhood did not legally existed,

³² “Kadının sırtından sopayı, karnından sopayı eksik etmemeli.”

they had a local government. Because of Committee and ethnic profile of immigrants, the area was claimed to be in close relation with left- wing organizations. All of these factors created tension between committee, organizations and authorities. Neighborhood faced demolitions while committee was taking steps towards legalization in late '70s (Aslan, 2004, p. 130). With martial law in 1980 and oppression from police forces, for the first time the neighborhood had a legally assigned chief and as a result People's Committee was repealed (Aslan, 2004, p. 180). However, opinions and inhabitants of neighborhoods did not changed as much. And when Gazi events breakthrough in March 15th, a group who wanted to protest what happened organized a meeting (*Milliyet*, 16.03.1995). However, police did not allow them to gather. Armed conflict between two sides resulted in death of four people in the neighborhood. Commemoration of that day continued in following years just like it did in Gazi Neighborhood. Same event resulted in the appearance of May 1st neighborhood in map of "new topics in manifestations" in '90s (Appendix C1, C2, C10).

Marches. A part of worker marches in 2000s took place in Pera in the axis starting from Karaköy and reaching to Taksim.³³ Another part was in Anatolian Side (Appendix C1, C2, C3). Numune Hospital is in close distance to Kadıköy Square and transportation arteries on Anatolian Side. Therefore, it provided a start point for marches which mainly aimed to meet other groups in Kadıköy Square.

Protest spaces on Anatolian Side, other than Kadıköy Square, started to appear in the map in '90s. In the same era, easier transportation provided with bridges and connection roads population of Anatolian Side was increasing. Therefore, number of protests rose, and protest spaces appeared. At this point it is important to note actors and topics of manifestation. In the same decade, conservative wing's meetings were increasing on Historical Peninsula.³⁴ Gatherings for support were on the rise on Taksim- Maslak Axis. However, same wave does not seem to have reached to Anatolian Side.

³³ This part of marching routes was explained in section 3.3.

³⁴ Here I mean mainly meetings in Beyazıt and Sultanahmet. It was obvious that this change was partly triggered by general political atmosphere of the era. But still, it is a valid question why this general environment became visible only in manifestations at İstanbul side.

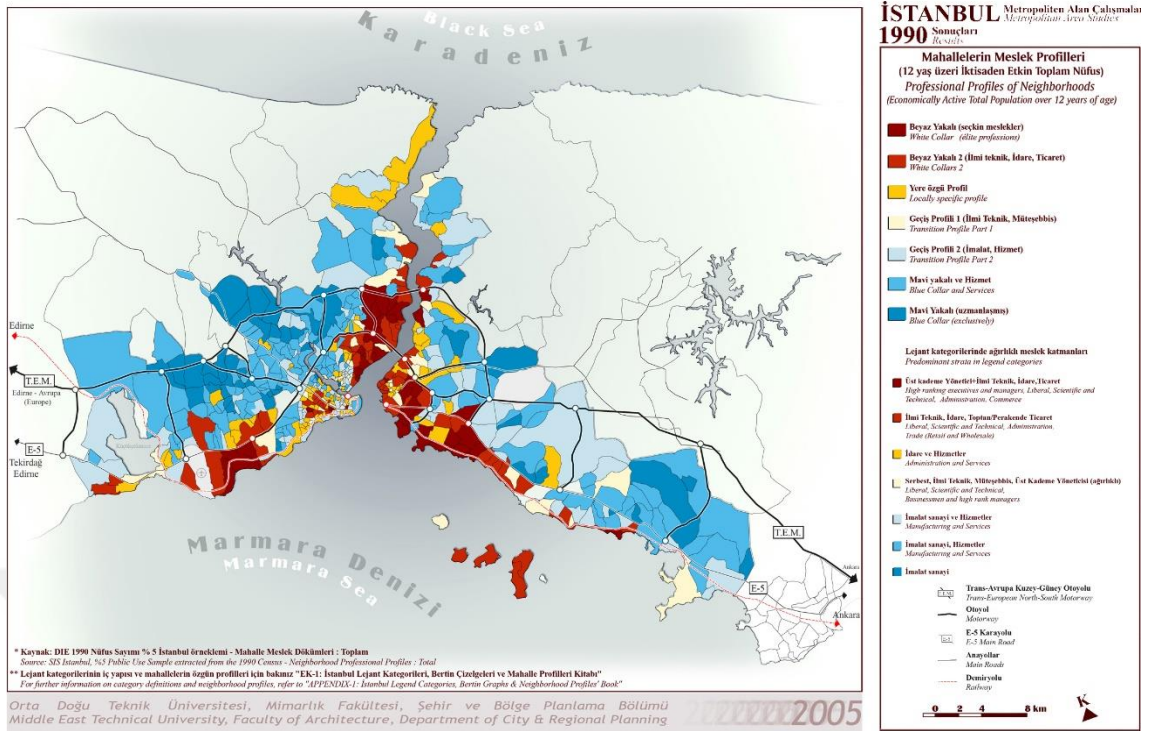


Figure 3.15: Professional profiles of neighborhoods according to 1990 census³⁵ (Güvenç *et al.*, 2005)

Map above shows professions of each neighborhood according to 1990 census. It is possible to see difference between Historical Peninsula, parts of Pera and Anatolian Side. The difference between white collar and blue color areas illustrates not just dominant profession but also contrast in income and educational levels. This contrast between two sides does not only affect manifestations of residences held in the same area they were living but also the possibility of mass gatherings about particular topics. Feminists' decision to meet in Yoğurtçu Park was not basically indicating that all participants were living in Kadıköy, but it was showing Kadıköy was the safe haven for them to gather and manifest because of areas' socio-economic profile. Protest maps and spaces can signal social and economic character of districts in the city.

³⁵ Layout of the page is slightly altered for purposes of this thesis. Please see Appendix D for the original one.

3.5 Meetings in Periphery

In this section, protest spaces outside of city center on both Anatolian and European Side of İstanbul will be explained.

Küçükçekmece Municipality Building became a part of protest maps during 2000s as a part of cluster named “protests formed around public buildings” (Appendix C1, C2, C4). As an old settlement, the Küçükçekmece Neighborhood attracted domestic immigrants because of its close distance to industrial zones, transportation arteries and airport in early ‘80s. With increased population, neighborhood became a district in following years. And the Municipality of district became a protest space in 2000s. Municipality workers who did not get paid organized manifestations in front of the Municipality Building (*Cumhuriyet*, 19.04.2001).

Büyükçekmece Municipality Building appeared on the map in the same period with Küçükçekmece and as a part of same cluster (Appendix C1, C2, C4). It even became a district around the same time with Küçükçekmece. However, actors of Büyükçekmece meetings were not municipality workers but journalists who were demanding better attitude from municipal police (*Cumhuriyet*, 18.09.2003).

Kartal Municipality Building became a protest space which “formed around public building” in 1990s (Appendix B1, B2, B4). According to Soğanlık Master Plan, Kartal was still mainly consisted of industrial areas in 1980s (Sönmez, 2018, p. 410). And workers of factories in Kartal were earning more money than they could do in workshops of Historical Peninsula (Güvenç, 1993, p. 80). This led the population of Kartal to grow. In 1960, Kartal’s population was 68.462 and it was rapidly increasing (*1960 Genel Nüfus Sayımı Raporu*, 1963, p. 289). When population peaked in ‘80s Kartal Municipality Building³⁶ witnessed manifestations from its own workers. The growing number of population, in sync with era’s general atmosphere of grievances led the way for Kartal to appear in the map.

³⁶ The marked area on the map is the new building which was opened in 2013. Before the new construction, Kartal Municipality was functioning in three different buildings. News did not specify in front of which building protesters have gathered. Therefore, the marked point in the map is representing one of the buildings in the name of putting Kartal in the map but not the exact location.

The emergence of protest spaces on periphery is partially related with municipalities. Küçükçekmece, Büyükçekmece and Kartal started to witness high number of protests after becoming municipalities and increase of their population. However, there are other examples that paved the way for evolution of protest spaces.

Kartal Theatre Building is another location within district's boundaries which was a protest space in 2000s (Appendix C1, C2, C9). After the theatre building was declared as not resistant against earthquake, it was emptied. But there was no planning finding or constructing a new theatre building (*Cumhuriyet*, 18.01.2005). This led protests and emergence of Kartal Theatre Building as a protest space on map.

Pendik and Tuzla were other protest spaces which were located on city's outskirts. Since manifestations were in different parts of same shipyards in Aydınli Bay and they were a part of same cluster caused by worker protests in 2000s, it is beneficial to interpret them as a group (Appendix C1, C2, C7). In 1969, Aydınli Bay was designated as shipyard area. However, it took almost 20 years to apply plan (Odman and Akdemir, 2008, p. 51). Area developed into a dock during the last five years of 1980s. As a workspace of labor force, the shipyard area became a protest space with the increase of occupational accidents. Thanks to the work of trade unions, these accidents and deaths they caused became a part of political agenda in 2000s (Odman and Akdemir, 2008, p. 57). As appearance of workers increased, shipyard became a protest space. Spaces of appearance is also related to the visibility on media.



Tuzla'da protesto

Figure 3. 16: Example of protest about deaths caused by occupational accidents
(*Cumhuriyet*, 16.08.2009)

3.6 Occupations and General Strikes

This group of protests consists of occupations and general strikes, two manifestation methods which aim to visualize their claims by disturbing everyday life of citizens. Occupations and general strikes will be examined in three headlines which was decided according to the location and the character of occupied area.

Transportation Facilities. A part these manifestations were occupations of main transportation arteries in the city. Even though actors of these manifestations differ, it is possible to say a big part of road occupations were held by drivers.

During '60s Sirkeci, Harem Ferry Pier and Vatan Street witnessed driver occupations (Appendix A1, A2, A7). In Sirkeci, a group of truck drivers who complain about the lack of ferries to Üsküdar occupied the road as a form of reporting their discontent (*Cumhuriyet*, 20.09.1963). This caused traffic on large portion of the Historical Peninsula. Even after trucks leave, their disturbances on roads continued. Action flashed and suddenly disintegrated, but the effects were visible for a longer period of time. In Sirkeci example, drivers did not target an authority, they simply protested in the place they were already in and couldn't leave. On the other hand, Harem and Vatan Street manifestations were planned reactions. In both locations, minibas drivers protested the priority of buses in particular locations (*Cumhuriyet*, 05.10.1967). Driver occupations increased in '90s with demonstrations of taxis. Protests of what called Yellow Fury, *Sarı Öfke* in Turkish, became an important part of daily life in İstanbul. Claiming that they have no life assurance when they are at the road, taxi drivers took their manifestation to main arteries of the city, including Bosphorus Bridge.



Figure 3.17: Example from occupations of taxi drivers (*Milliyet*, 12.03.1997)

Transportation facilities were not targeted by only drivers but citizens on foot as well. During '60s, Governorate Building and occupations in front of it were one of the examples which addressed a certain authority and by using occupation as a method to be heard (*Cumhuriyet*, 30.09.1977).

Occupation as a protest method was used by inhabitants in certain moments when discontent is peaked. For these crowds, occupying the area in which they were in close distance means appearing to larger crowds, like riots on a highway³⁷. Sefaköy protests were examples of riots which protest maps showed (Appendix B1, B2, B7). In Sefaköy examples, crowds met within their neighborhoods because of lack of water and marched to nearest highway to protest by stopping the traffic in the road (*Milliyet*, 20.11.1994). In another road occupation in **Bağcılar**, actor of protests was different, they were artisans (Appendix C1, C2, C7). Artisans working in Bağcılar were affected by 2001 economic crisis and they showed their manifestation by occupying the TEM highway (*Cumhuriyet*, 07.04.2001). As a result, traffic on the road stopped. Even after crowds were dismissed, traffic continued.

Other two occupation areas of 2000s showed change in demands of manifestations. Avcılar and Sultanbeyli, as two urban transformation areas, witnessed occupations which aimed to stop demolitions (Appendix C1, C2, C10). In 2000s, **Avcılar** Yeşilkent inhabitants protested the police who came to the neighborhood to force eviction of houses that was decided to be demolished (*Cumhuriyet*, 30.03.2005). Households and other neighborhood residents occupied Atatürk Street which was close to demolition zones. **In Sultanbeyli** examples, inhabitants were facing forced eviction too. However, rather than a street within neighborhood they choose to occupy D100 highway (*Cumhuriyet*, 03.06.2009). In both examples, protesters were not organized by an association, they were inhabitants of houses which was going to be torn down. These manifestations took occupations to another level and used their close distance to transportation facilities as a tactic. Even though they couldn't stop demolitions, effects of their protests were felt in a large part of city.

³⁷ The term riot is used not because protests were violent but because they were sudden reactions.

Bosphorus. In terms of occupations, İstanbul stands as a unique city. Highways or streets are not only subjects of occupations. Since water transportation is crucial to everyday life of the city, its disturbance is another way to create spaces of appearance. 1990s were the era when topics related with new social movements began to rise in İstanbul (Appendix B2). Skyframe and Park Hotel protests were examples of these new topics, they were environmentalist protests. Bosphorus occupations represents another part of these manifestations. Even though there are few earlier examples,³⁸ Bosphorus occupations evolved in '90s. Increase in tanker traffic in Bosphorus created a reaction wave. What provides a better way to protest tankers other than stopping them to enter Bosphorus waters? Using fishing boats to stop tankers provided environmentalist a way to appear in the eyes of others while creating a barrier for petrol tankers (*Cumhuriyet*, 13.06.2005). These occupations also affected water traffic. Disturbing everyday life of city and its inhabitants helped environmentalist movement to appear larger crowds and gave them a better chance to explain their claims. Occupations of Bosphorus waters continued in 2000s even if their numbers got smaller.



Boğaz'da tekneli eylem

Türkiye Çevre Kozası İnisiyatifi, Türk Boğazları ve Karadeniz'deki tehlikeli madde taşımaları sırasında meydana gelebilecek kazalara dikkati çekmek amacıyla İstanbul Boğazı'nda eylem yaptı. Yüzlerce balıkçı teknesinin katıldığı ve boğazın bir saat süreyle gemi trafiğine kapatıldığı eylemde, boğazlardan tanker geçişi protesto edildi. Türkiye Çevre Kozası İnisiyatifi'nin çağrısıyla Paşabahçe açıklarında toplanan balıkçı tekneleri, Deniz Arama Kurtarma botları ve yolcu tekneleri, "El ele verelim, koruyalım" ve "İstanbul'u seviyorum" yazılı pankartlar açtılar. Ortaköy'e doğru hareket eden tekneler siren çaldı, çevreciler de "Boğazda tanker geçişi istemiyoruz" sloganı attı. Eylem sırasında havada 3 planör "El ele koruyalım" yazısı taşıdı.
(Fotoğraf: GÖKÇE UYGUN)

Figure 3.18: Example of Bosphorus occupations (*Cumhuriyet*, 13.06.2005)

³⁸ There is one protest in Bosphorus between '61- '79. In June 1st, 1970 boats which travels back and forth between Kumkapı and Tarabya occupied this line. They were extracting sand from Bosphorus and when extraction was banned, they have protested. Boats' protest affected less people than road occupations because of the low number of users.

Waters of İstanbul was not the only area that shows uniqueness of the city in terms of manifestations. **Bosphorus Bridge** was another protest space (Appendix C1, C2, C10). On one hand, occupying the Bridge meant spatially claiming the road, like manifestations on road did. But the decision of occupying it can also give protesters the control over one of the most iconic physical structures of İstanbul and help them to louden up their demands. Starting from 1990s, this was what Bridge occupations represent. And manifestation of Bergama villagers provides one of the representative examples. In August '97, a group of women from Bergama came to İstanbul to make sure people in the big city knew about their resistance to gold mines (*Milliyet*, 27.08.1997).³⁹ Occupying the Bridge which was actually on their way while entering the city was surely a clever way to do so. Occupation of Bridge was another tactical decision of protesters to gain more attention by interrupting daily life of city, it also meant spatially claiming one of the most important constructions within city to take their claims to the authorities in İstanbul.



Figure 3.19: Protest of women from Bergama at Bosphorus Bridge (*Milliyet*, 27.08.1997)

³⁹ For more information about Bergama resistance, Altunok, Ç. (2000) *Toplu Bir Direniş ve Sivil İtaatsizlik Eylemi Olarak Bergama Çevre Hareketi*. Ankara Üniversitesi.

Next to Bridge, environmental claims created other protest spaces. Bosphorus occupations of 2000s spread along the shoreline. Even though they were not occupations, meetings in *Beşiktaş, Ortaköy and Arnavutköy* are included in this section because of their topics. These three Bosphorus villages appeared on the map of 2000s as a part of cluster named as “new topics in manifestations and occupations” (Appendix C1, C2, C10). Bosphorus was a part of everyday life in these three locations and it was connected to spatial routines of inhabitants. Therefore, a possible accident in the water would have affected them the most. But a tanker accident was not the only change that Bosphorus was facing. Statements about 3rd Bosphorus bridge started in late 2000s. Even though there were no construction or public plans made for it, rumors about a new bridge started a wave of uprisings (*Mega İstanbul*, no date). These three neighborhoods located near water were most likely to be affected by a new bridge and their inhabitants were first ones started to protest.

General strikes were not physical demonstrations like meetings or marches. At this point, it might be useful to turn back to the definition of protest spaces one more time.⁴⁰ In this writing, what is meant protest space is every place in which manifestation or its physical effects can be detected. Strikes of civil servants have physical effects on İstanbul. Therefore, they needed to be examined too.

It is possible to find general strikes in İstanbul starting from ‘70s. However, numbers reached to peak point in 1990s. Subsequent to the atmosphere that Spring Actions brought, strikes of civil servants increased, so as their effect on daily life. As a result of immense efforts to mobilize all officers not just in İstanbul but around the country, general strikes increased. These events are results of long mobilization processes, different than occupations caused by momentarily discontent. Trade unions were needed to organize all civil servants to stop working. When civil servants stop working, post offices, buses, minibuses and ferries do not function. Streets become bus free, lines of people increase, boats overflow with groups which try to go to their jobs. Although these movements do not occupy streets, their effects on the street become visible.

⁴⁰ Page 3.

However, this time effect is created not by bodies working in alliance but by the lack of bodies and services they provided.

Memur hayatı durdurdu

Kamu Emekçileri Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (KESK), yüzde 30'luk ücret zammını protesto etmek amacıyla dün tüm yurttaki iş bırakma eylemi yaptı

Eylem nedeniyle trenler çalışmadı, vergi daireleri ve Bağ Kur'da işler durdu, hastanelerde acil vakalar dışında iş yapılmadı, dersler boş geçince okullar tatil edildi

ANKARA'ın Sazlıca meydanındaki eylem, polisleri itiraf etmemeye rağmen kamu çalışanlarının dört lokandan meydanı davul zurna eşliğinde girmesiyle başladı. "Sokakları değil toplu sözleşme", "Zaten direnen emekçilerin", "Şişli baharını çevireceğiz", "Söz verdi karar çalışanlara" sloganlarının atıldığı eylemde, Mesut Yılmaz'ın "İşyan etmeyen memurun

insanlığından şüpheli duyurum" sözü parkleri silerek başladı. Geniş güvenlik önlemlerinin alındığı ve yaklaşık 10 bin kamu çalışanın katıldığı eylemde 2 bin 500 polis görev yaptı. KESK Merkez Yürütme Kurulu adına çalışanlara hitap eden Hakan Hayri, siyasi iktidarın emekçilerin ekonomik ve sosyal haklarına gaspetmeye giriştiğiyle iktidarcıların bu hareketi, "Düğü yarıdan doğdu" diye

yürütüldü. İktidar emekçileri barıştırdığına değil, yetersiz ücretler ücretlerine karşı "saldırı" değil, toplu sözleşme talebiyle hizmet üretiminin durdurulmasını istediğini söyleyerek işleri emekçileri barıştırdığını iddia ederek yeniden ayağa kalkmasını dedi.

İstanbul felç oldu

Eylem nedeniyle İstanbul'da trenler çalışmadı, vergi daireleri ve Bağ Kur'da işler durdu, hastanelerde acil vakalar dışında iş yapılmadı, dersler boş geçince okullar tatil edildi.



KÖPRÜ KILITLANDI İstanbul'da Dağazıp ve Fındık Sultan Mehmet Köprüsü'nün geçişinde çalışan memurların eylemi nedeniyle trafik altüst oldu. Günün her saatinde sığışık olan köprü trafiği, bu kez adeta felç uğradı. Sığışık geçiren trenlerin saatlerine kadar sürdü.



Figure 3.20: Example of general strikes and lack of services they created (*Milliyet*, 12.12.1997)

According to Butler, bodies who act with each other and with non-human agencies around them creates spaces of appearance (2011). In driver occupations, it was not just bodies in alliance which created the space of appearance, protesters were helped by vehicles they were using. In general strikes, bodies were not even subjects who created the space of appearance. Even though garbage men did not gather in streets, they created an alliance when trash was piled up on streets of İstanbul. These examples left images of long queues or empty streets, not thousands of people in city squares. The lack of bodies turned whole city into a protest space.

One of the main tasks of this writing was to locate protest spaces in İstanbul and understand how they have gained this character through decades. In this section, overrepresented public spaces provided by MCA such as squares, public buildings, school areas, roads and many more were examined singularly to understand the entanglement of actors, topics, transportation facilities and politics in different parts of the city. As a result, maps and legends showed that various parts of the city witnessed grievances about particular topics. This resulted in transformation of areas' symbolic importance.

4. CONCLUSION

By mapping protest spaces of İstanbul, this research aimed to entangle the complex relation between manifestations and city. At this point, it is important to turn back main questions of thesis and explain what has been done in effort to answer them.

First question asked was where protest spaces located within İstanbul's borders. Archival research and analysis phase were completed to find out where manifestations took place. Maps and legends in the appendix show overrepresented protest spaces in relation to methods, dates, actors and topics (Appendix A, B, C). While trying to understand what these locations and events mean, a theoretical framework needed to be drawn in order to understand what would "protest space" mean. Discussions on public sphere helped developing an understanding on "lifeworld" while "contentious politics" and "spaces of appearance" paved the way to understand how protest spaces can emerge.

Locating protest spaces lead to the second question of thesis which was about addressing the ways of how areas can gain protest character. Singular examination of overrepresented locations was the key to understand how spaces can develop this feature. Spaces themselves in relation to manifestations they witnessed, gave clues about how a location can whether a city square or a highway can evolve into protest space.

First factor helping emergence of protest spaces is political changes. Mobilizations and street demonstrations search for an opening to form. Protests use that opening as an opportunity. One of the most important points to stress here is that physical elements can be a part of this opportunity structure. Large city squares or roads connected to it

can give possible participants an advantage. And even when decisions were made in effort of making up for any gap in terms of spatial or political, authority can create new opportunities. Banning meetings in Taksim was a decision of authority so that organizations cannot take advantage of Taksim's symbolic importance to gather larger crowds. However, this evolved into a tactic of protesters and they managed to form a massive meeting in Saraçhane, located near main transportation axis which possibly helped to gather more people than they could in Taksim. Prohibition of Taksim led to the evolution of Saraçhane meetings.

This makes authority and its decision-making mechanism an important part of emergence of protest spaces around the city. However, decisions about where meetings can be held were not only factors that affected street manifestations. Every political act can create public reaction and mobilization to resist or support. February 28th process empowered conservative wing and led protests emerge in areas that were associated with opposite opinion in earlier decades.

But how can a space be associated with particular opinion? Surely, former events must have an impact on this. Places of distinctive events create pilgrimage zones that opinion-based groups might want to revisit. Taksim and Dolmabahçe were examples of commemoration spaces that evolved into protest space because of former events. But massacres were extreme cases where a certain protest was united with what that particular area reminds.

At that point one of the main factors in the evolution of protest spaces shows itself, spatial routines. Disturbances of these routines can cause unrest and protests. This disturbance can be caused by many factors, such as political changes or massacres. However, an addition to the list can be made, spatial changes. New constructions can trigger manifestations by changing built environment and social profile in a particular location. All factors can help protests to rise. In return, manifestations create their own routines in the area. And they are one of the ways how a space can be associated with particular groups. The death of Turan Emeksiz added a new symbolic meaning to Beyazıt Square and a new tradition to meet at the monument. Women protests in

Saraçhane and their tradition to enter the pool changed how area was used in the moment of manifestation.

Authority is another factor that affects establishment of spatial routines of both citizen and protests. Workers' "lifeworld" was challenged by new constructions in Saraçhane which in the end created an opportunity for workers to protests. Constructions alongside Taksim- Maslak axis paved the way for mass gatherings in Çağlayan. However, decision to plan a new courthouse complex in Çağlayan shows decisions of authority were affected by protests as well. A new address for mass gatherings were closed with this new construction. But this decision created a new opening as well. In following years, Çağlayan courthouse have become another protest space as well thanks to manifestations targeting the building itself.

Another factor that affects emergence of protest spaces is addressing. Not just groups with particular opinions but every citizen can have a target in mind to manifest. And these targets can be embodied somewhere in the city. Since civil servants mostly complain about their employee, the Municipality, it was important to meet in front of Saraçhane building. For employees of Turkish Trade Bank, the figure at the center of manifestations was the Bank itself. Therefore, their protests were located at the headquarters of the Bank. Workplaces or buildings as authority figures can attract protesters.

Addressing the protest also means attracting the right crowd. Participants join the event because they also have problems concerning the same authority. And having larger audience can help groups to appear and strengthen their voices. Since "appearing" mean existing to other groups as well as to authority, it is only natural for protesters to gather in zones which they can show themselves to bigger crowds and can gather larger masses of protesters. Meetings in city squares create larger "spaces of appearances" because squares can welcome bigger crowds thanks to their size. And majority of squares are located at crossroads which can help protesters to be seen. Being close to transportation facilities enhances the size of "spaces of appearance" since it can give protesters the control over daily life of citizens and disturb their spatial routines. Marches and

occupations are other methods which help participants to express their demands by interrupting daily life in transportation facilities. Therefore, highways and Bosphorus, emerge as protest spaces that can be followed through with main arteries of city.

From that perspective, closeness becomes important for the emergence of protest spaces. Being in close distance to transportation arteries, physical representations of authority or already symbolically important public spaces creates new areas for manifestations.

Another question of this writing was about following protests and asking if it is possible to find clues about urbanization and growth of İstanbul through protests. Map below (Figure 4.1) shows changes of areas in which protest spaces were located. During '60s and '70s it is possible to see majority of protests at the center of city, Historical Peninsula and Pera. However, with '80s and '90s protest spaces starts to spread to southwest and southeast of the city. Still centered in Historical Peninsula and Pera, spreading continues in 2000s. Historical Peninsula and Pera keeps its character as central business area even when its extension reached to Maslak. With this axis, new housing areas developed at the north of the city. Therefore, a protest in those areas would create larger spaces of appearance as well as it can do in periphery because of growing population. As number of inhabitants and new constructions increase, protest spaces expand.

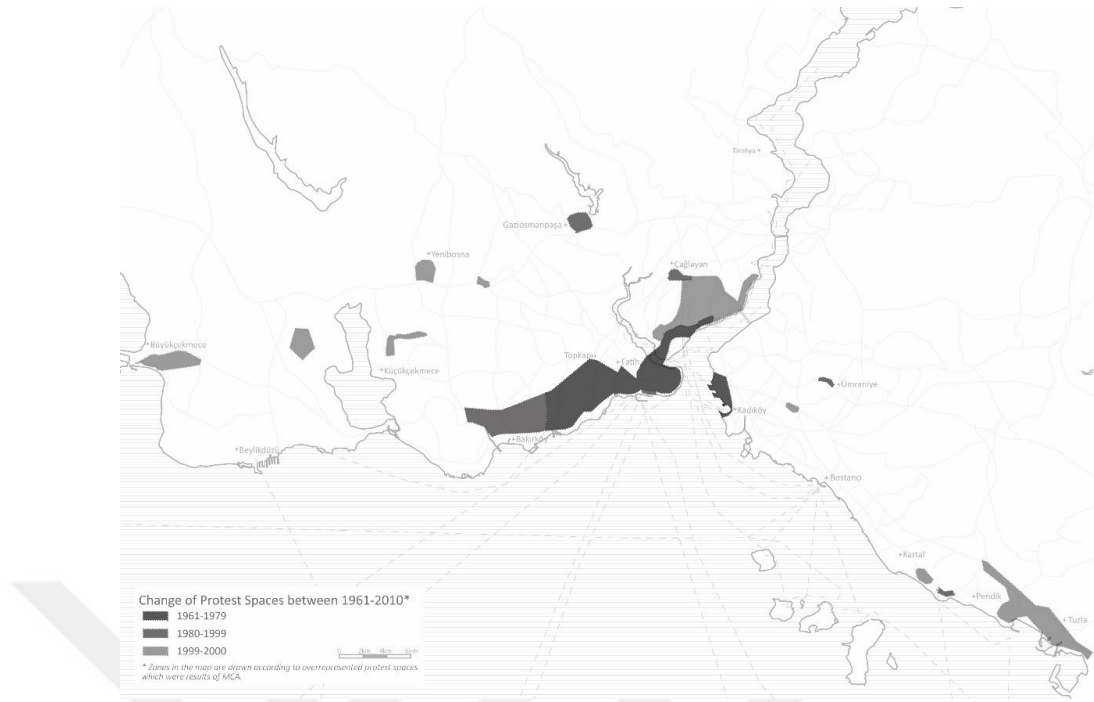


Figure 4.1: Change of Protest Spaces in the Period 1961-2000 (Fidan, 2019)

Protest spaces in İstanbul changed throughout forty years of this research. While concluding, change of protest spaces leads to another question; what would happen if archival research continued after 2010? Surely, a turning point would show itself in 2013 with Gezi movement. Manifestations that Gezi brought about transformed understanding of public space in Turkey. It also affected protest spaces of İstanbul and methods of manifesting. Next to the emergence of new protest spaces, Gezi altered the meaning of existing ones. Demands to gather in Taksim increased as well as unequal police force. After Gezi, almost every meeting in Taksim faced police intervention. Closing entrance to the Monument area and Gezi Park at important dates became a common practice. Taksim is not the only area that has changed after 2010. Çağlayan is the location of Courthouse and there are no May 1st gatherings in the area anymore. Haydarpaşa Station is not even functioning as a station building. However, grievances did not decrease and the need to protest and form public gatherings did not disappear. And, when authority did not allow protesters to meet or spatial features made it impossible for them to gather, they tend to find other places. Gezi or emergence of online manifestations can be seen as the result of this process. This led to construction of new public areas to have better control on demonstrations. Yenikapı fill area which

located at the center of Historical Peninsula is one of the new meeting areas' examples. Maltepe fill area on Anatolian Side represents another public space which was done by sea embankment. They are new protest spaces which are emerging not because of former events or spatial routines but because there is no alternative to gather without facing police intervention. They are not produced by protesters or city itself but given as designated gathering areas. That was part of the reason why they were widely criticized. The change of protest spaces after 2010 were largely affected by urban macroform and political environment as it did in earlier years. It appears that protest spaces of İstanbul will continue to change in following years while constructions continue.



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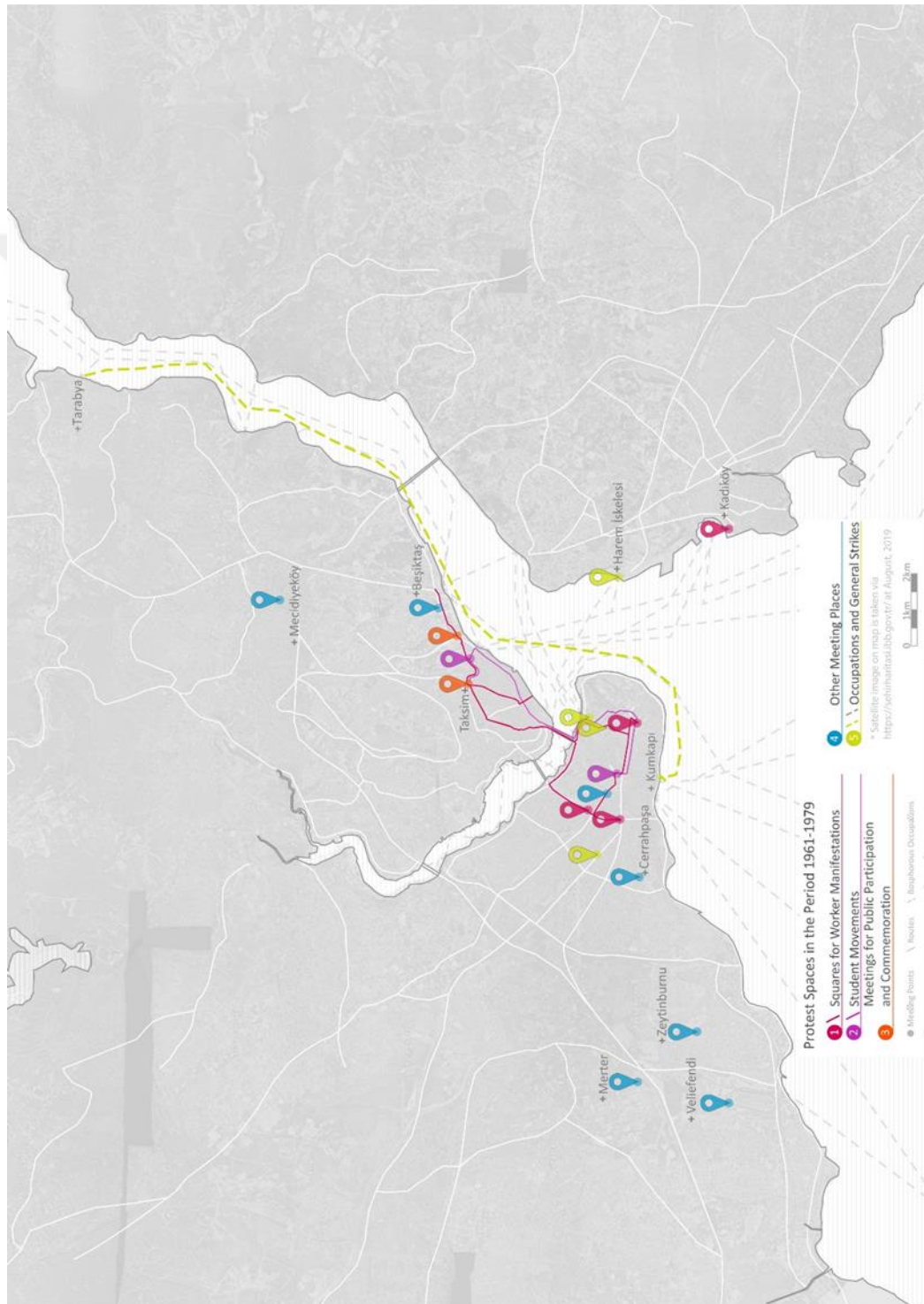
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APPENDIX A: MAPS OF PROTEST SPACES BETWEEN 1961-1979

A.1 General Map

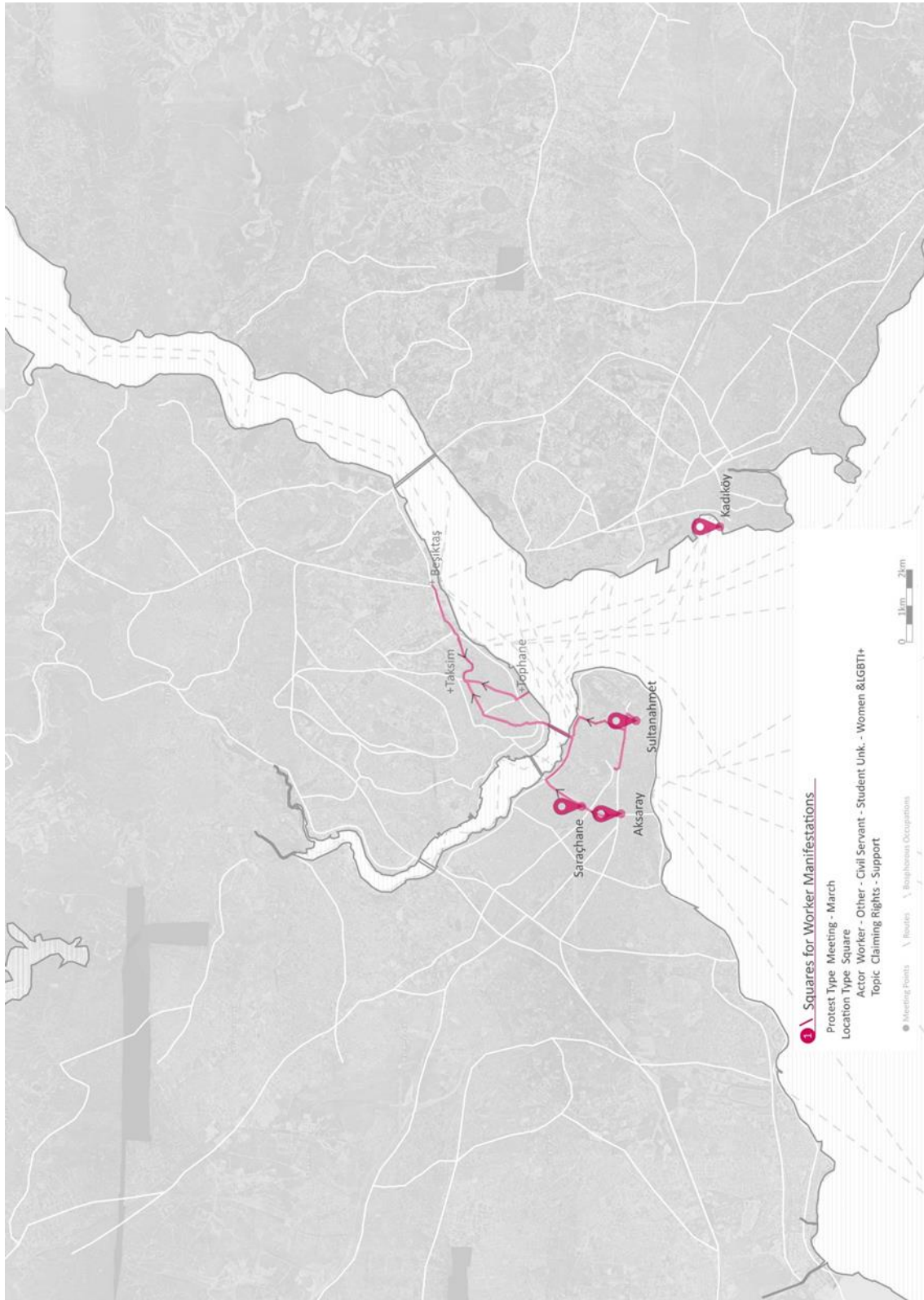


A.2 Diagram of Protest Percentages

Cluster Number and Name	Protest Type			Location Type			Actor										Topic								
	March	Meeting	Other	Square	School	Other	Public	Other	Worker	Student- Unk.	Drivers	Civil	Servant	Student- RW	Student- LW	Gnl. Part. RW	Gnl. Part. Unk.	Gnl. Part. LW	MuWorkers	Wmn.&LGBT+	Claiming Rights	Com. & Celeb.	General Topics	Support	
1.Squares for Worker Manifestations 36,23%	69,01%	37,03%		50,81%		16,67%			75,00%	42,84%	38,46%	54,55%		25,00%	28,95%	31,57%	10,53%	25,00%		50,00%	48,15%		30,70%		50,00%
2.Student Movements 8,21%	9,25%	9,32%	5,00%	1,61%	92,86%	4,00%				14,29%					26,32%	7,29%	5,26%				13,58%	10,00%	4,39%		
3.Meetings for Public Participation and Commemoration 32,37%	14,19%	38,92%	20,00%	45,97%		20,00%			3,57%	14,29%		9,09%		70,00%	34,21%	42,86%	52,63%	56,25%	50,00%		8,64%	80,00%	44,74%		50,00%
4.Other Meeting Spaces 4,83%	1,75%	6,63%			7,14%	18,00%			14,29%	14,29%		9,09%				2,00%	5,26%				7,41%		3,51%		
5.Occupations and General Strikes 18,36%	5,80%	8,10%	75,00%	1,61%		42,00%	83,33%		7,14%	14,29%	61,54%	27,27%			10,53%	16,29%	26,32%	18,75%	50,00%		22,22%	10,00%	16,67%		

*Column widths represents actors' percentage within total data.
 ** Horizontal bold lines represents every clusters' percentage within total data.
 *** Colored areas represents over- represented actants and their ratio.

A.3 Squares for Worker Manifestations



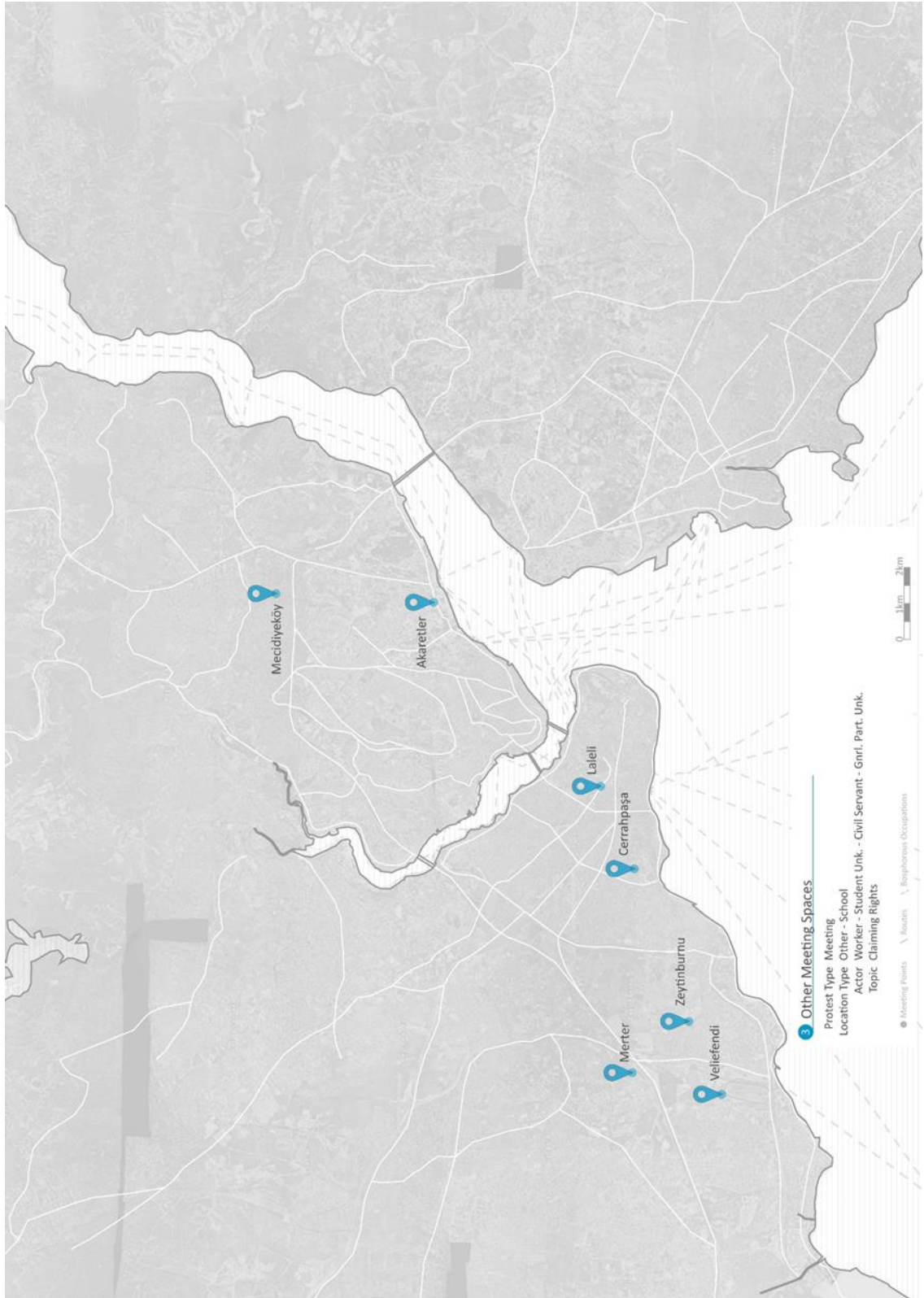
A.4 Student Movements



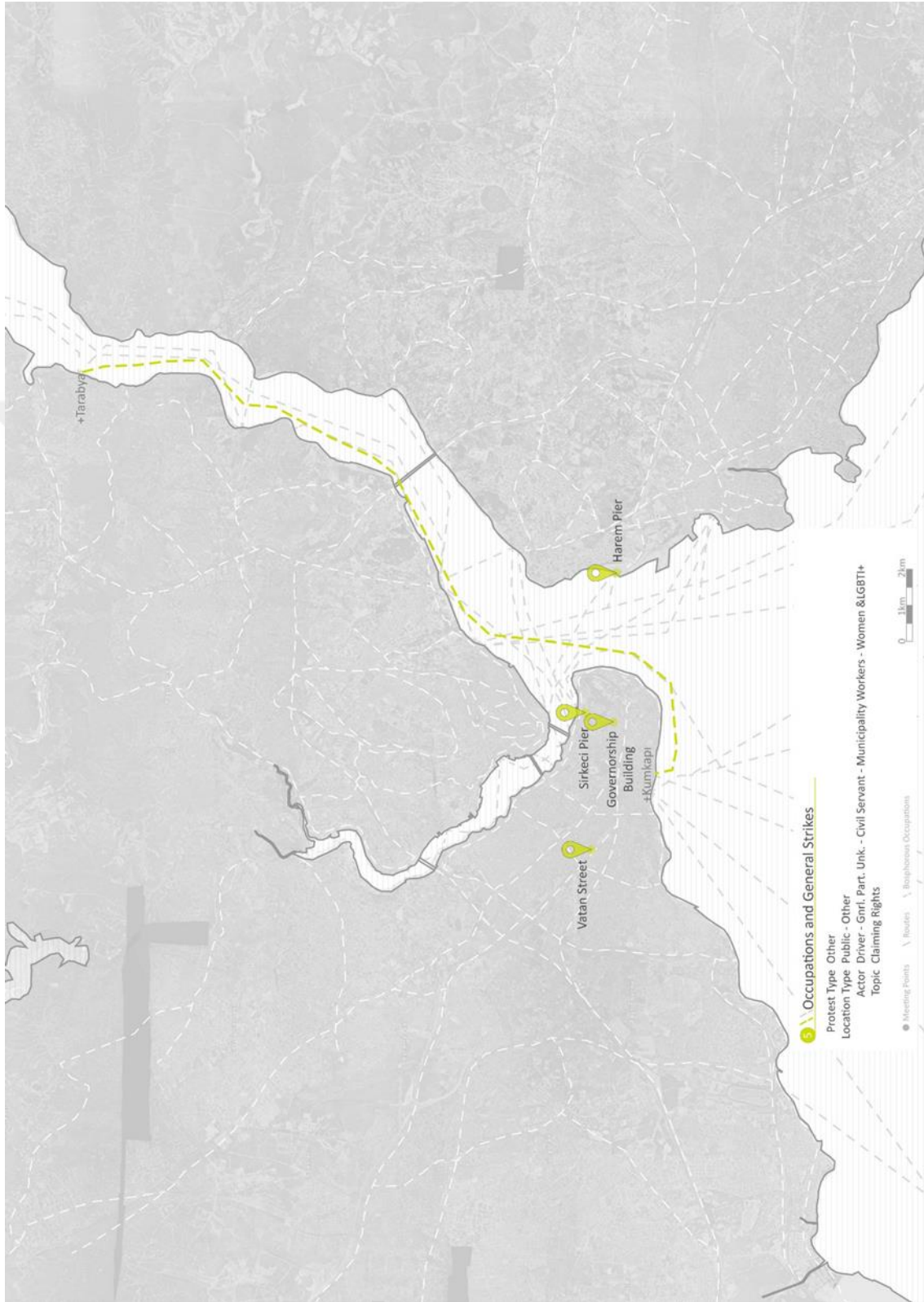
A.5 Meetings for Public Participation and Commemoration



A.6 Other Meeting Spaces

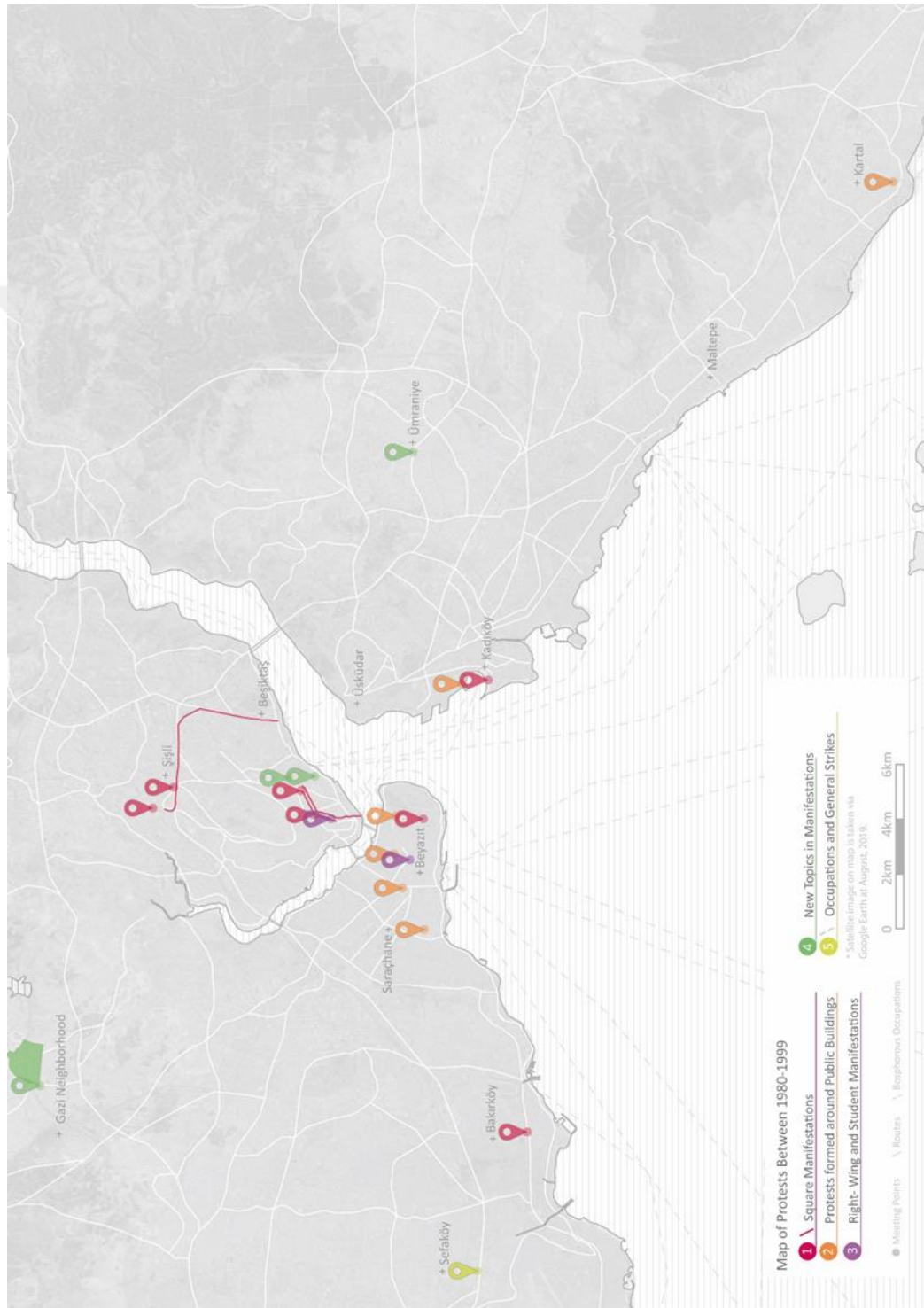


A.7 Occupations and General Strikes

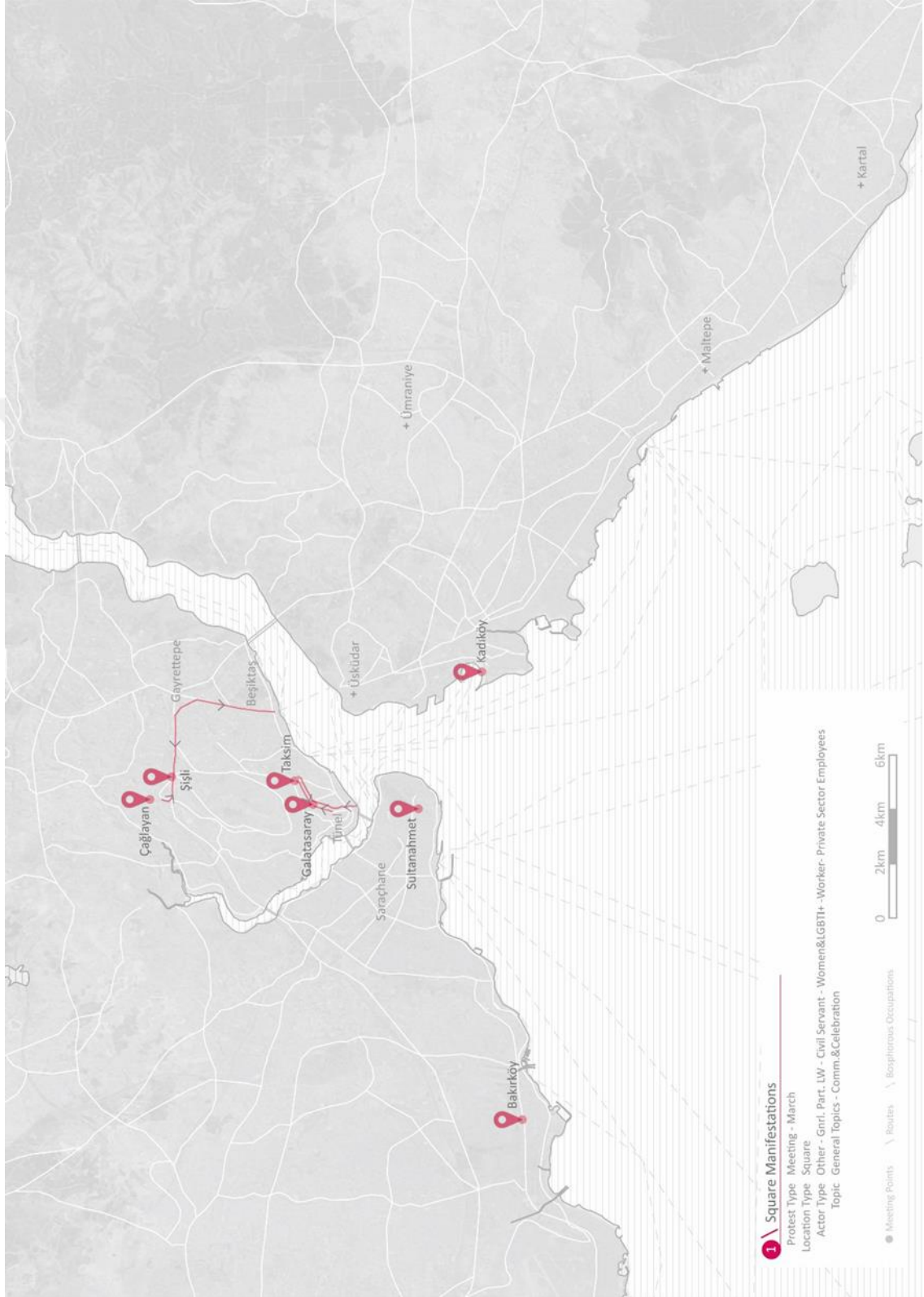


APPENDIX B: MAPS OF PROTEST SPACES BETWEEN 1980-1999

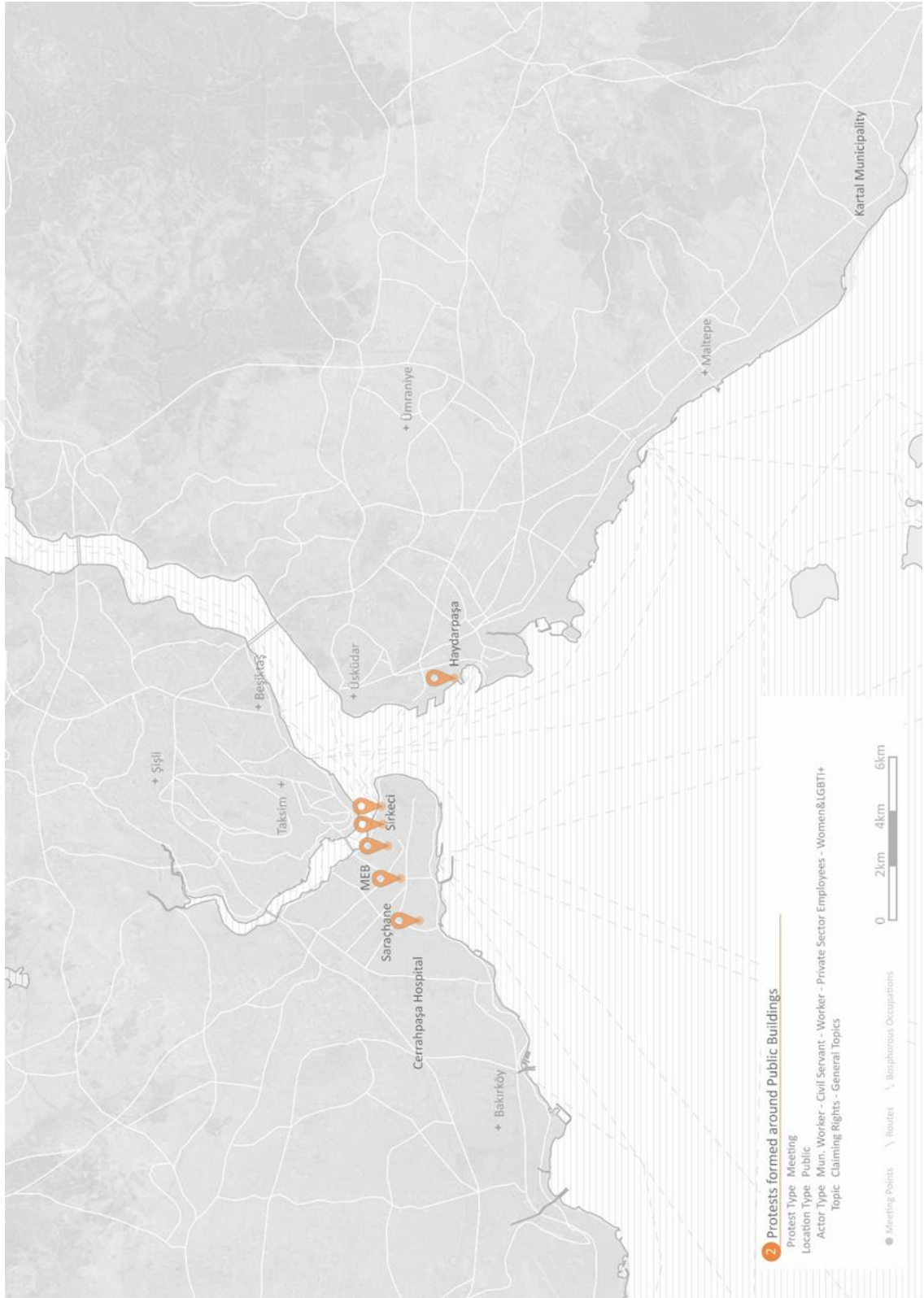
B.1 General Map



B.3 Square Manifestations



B.4 Protests formed around Public Buildings



B.6 New Topics in Manifestations

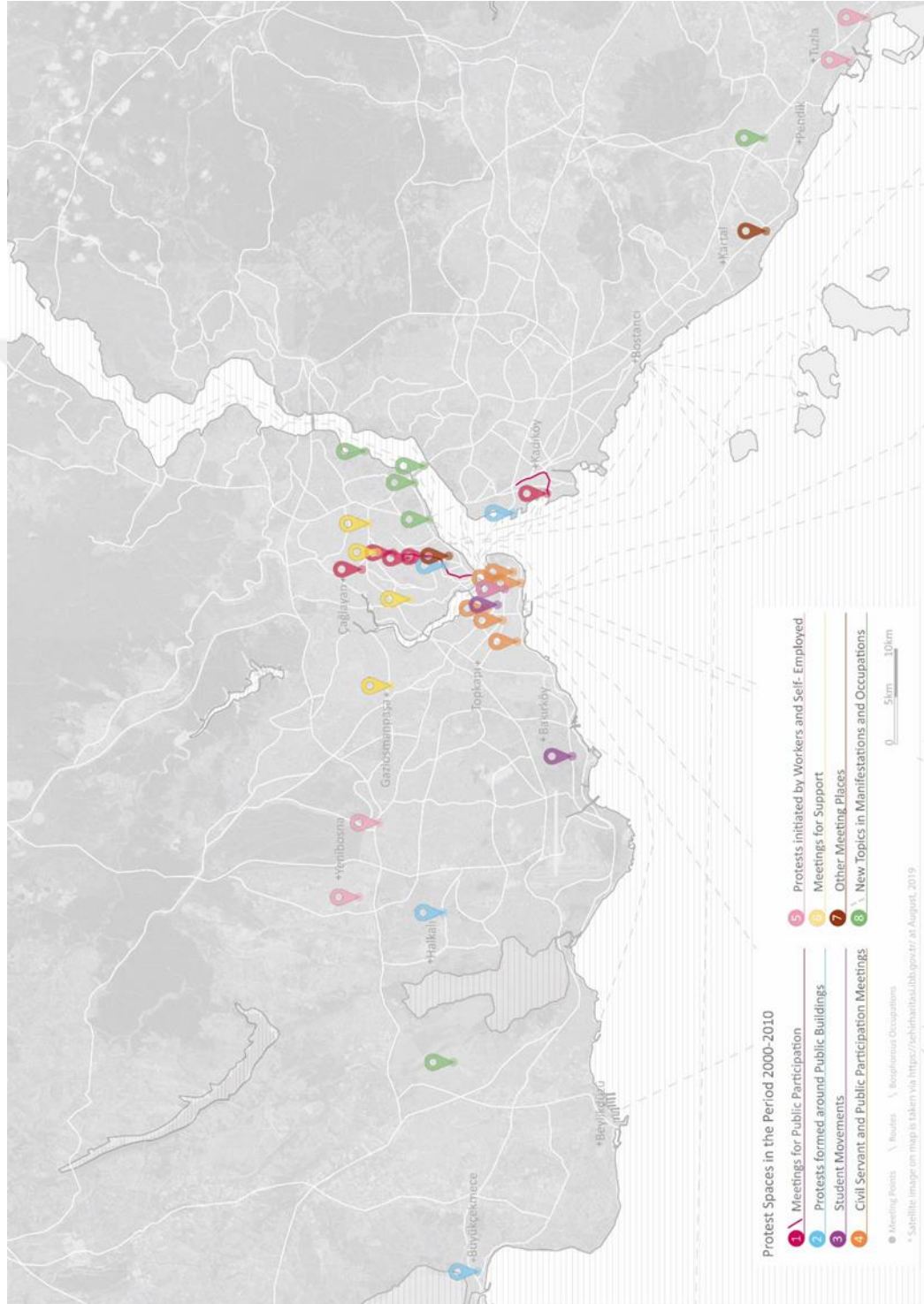


B.7 Occupations and General Strikes



APPENDIX C: MAPS OF PROTEST SPACES BETWEEN 2000-2010

C.1 General Map



C.2 Diagram of Protest Percentages

Protest Type	Location Type	Actor	Topic					
			Anti-War	Com. & Celeb.	General Topics	Support	Claiming Rights	New Topics
1. Meetings for Public Participation 36.44%	Meeting	37.18%	50.00%	55.56%	44.76%	28.13%	24.19%	27.03%
	March	56.86%						
2. Protest formed around Public Buildings 2.13%	Meeting	2.61%						
	Public	14.04%						
3. Student Movements 14.10%	Meeting	15.29%						
	School	100%						
4. Civil Servant Protests and Public Participation Meetings 13.30%	Meeting	14.31%						
	Public	70.18%						
5. Protests initiated by Workers and Self-Employed 3.46%	Meeting	4.23%						
	Other	7.88%						
6. Meetings for Support 14.89%	Meeting	15.96%						
	Other	4.23%						
7. Other Meeting Spaces 4.26%	Meeting	4.91%						
	Other	9.80%						
8. New Topics in Manifestations 11.44%	Meeting	5.51%						
	Other	100%						
1. Meetings for Public Participation 36.44%	Meeting	37.18%	50.00%	55.56%	44.76%	28.13%	24.19%	27.03%
	March	56.86%						
2. Protest formed around Public Buildings 2.13%	Meeting	2.61%						
	Public	14.04%						
3. Student Movements 14.10%	Meeting	15.29%						
	School	100%						
4. Civil Servant Protests and Public Participation Meetings 13.30%	Meeting	14.31%						
	Public	70.18%						
5. Protests initiated by Workers and Self-Employed 3.46%	Meeting	4.23%						
	Other	7.88%						
6. Meetings for Support 14.89%	Meeting	15.96%						
	Other	4.23%						
7. Other Meeting Spaces 4.26%	Meeting	4.91%						
	Other	9.80%						
8. New Topics in Manifestations 11.44%	Meeting	5.51%						
	Other	100%						

* Column widths represents actants percentage within total data.
 ** Horizontal bold lines represents every clusters percentage within total data.
 *** Orange boxes represents over-represented actants and their ratio.

C.3 Meetings for Public Participation



C.4 Protests formed around Public Buildings



C.5 Student Movements



C.6 Civil Servant and General Public Meetings



C.7 Protests initiated by Workers and Self-Employed



C.8 Meetings for Support



C.9 Other Meeting Places

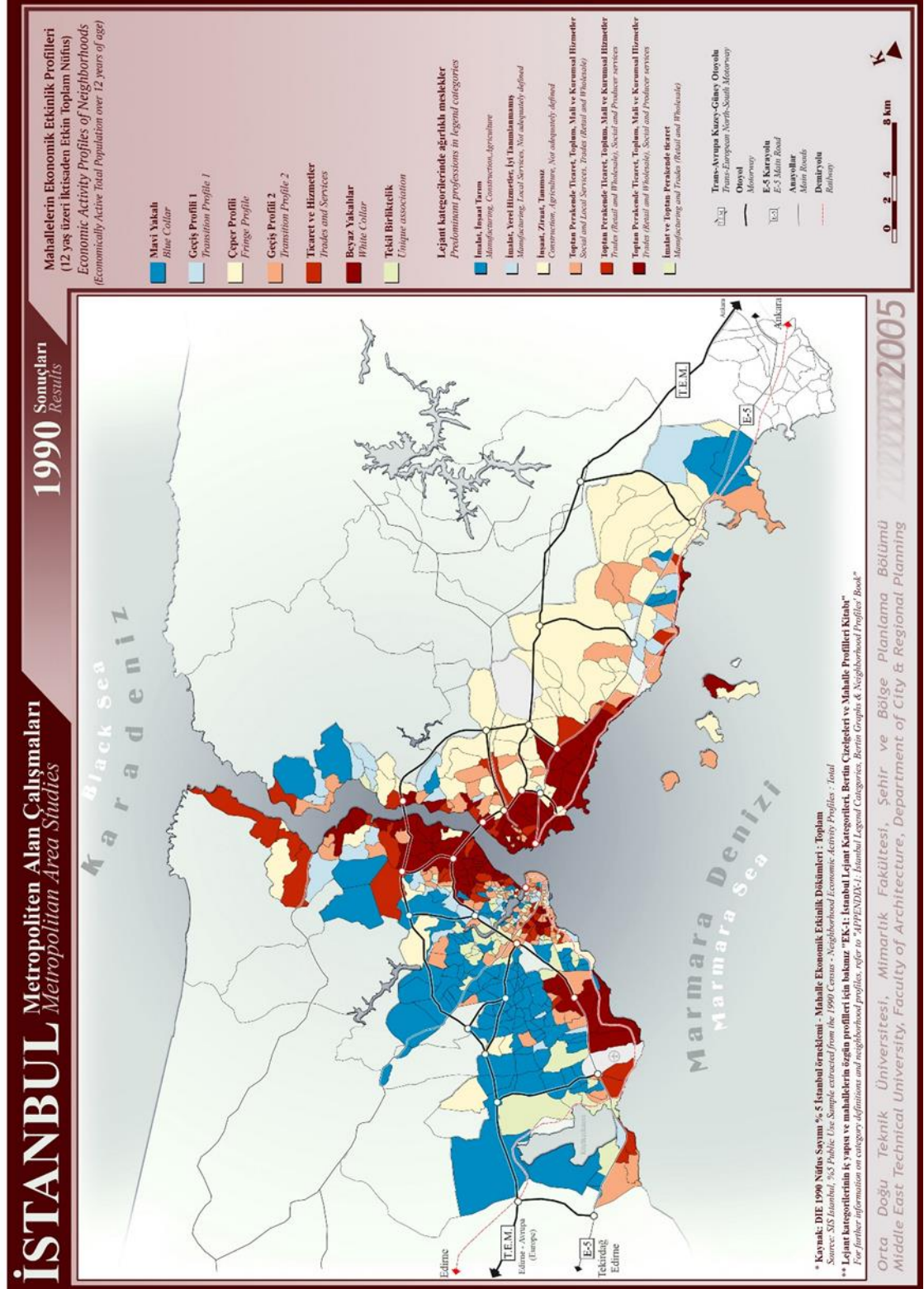


C.10 New Topics in Manifestations and Occupations



APPENDIX D: MAPS OF PROTEST SPACES BETWEEN 2000-2010

Source: Güvenç, M. et al. (2005) İstanbul Metropolitan Area Studies. Ankara.



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