A SOCIO-SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF STADIUMS IN ISTANBUL (1890-1980)

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
İSTANBUL ŞEHİR UNIVERSITY

BY

SELİMCAN AZİZOĞLU

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
IN
SOCIOLOGY

AUGUST 2019

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology.

Examining Committee Members:

	DECISION	SIGNATURE
Assoc. Prof. Eda Yücesoy (Thesis Advisor)	Accepted	
Prof. Ferhat Kentel	Accepted	
Assist. Prof. Mehmet Ali Akyurt	Accepted	

This is to confirm that this thesis complies with all the standards set by the Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences of İstanbul Şehir University.

Date

23.08.2019

Seal/Signature

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and standards of ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and standards, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

First Name, Last Name: Selimcan Azizoğlu

Signature:

ABSTRACT

A SOCIO-SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF STADIUMS IN ISTANBUL (1890-1980)

Azizoğlu, Selimcan

MA in Sociology

Thesis Advisor: Assoc. Eda Yücesoy

August 2019, 102 Pages

This thesis aims an exploratory attempt to analyze the transformation of football stadiums in Turkey from late 19th century, when the history of football in Turkey has started, until 1980s, when the stadiums have faced new chapter of transformation through globalization and commodification of football all over the world. To ease this initial attempt on stadiums research, first I scope down the focus only to football stadiums in Istanbul where is the hegemonic home of football in Turkey and in particular to its stadiums hosting first league of professional football in Turkey. Second, I draw broad and multifaceted level of analysis by focusing on key elements of transformation of Istanbul stadiums through a documentary research methodology and a theoretical framework built on Lefebvre's spatial triad. This thesis provides initial insights into the social spatial production of stadiums in Istanbul, associated with transformations of football and its stadiums globally, and social, economic and political shifts of Turkey and particularly of Istanbul.

Keywords: Football, Stadiums, Istanbul, Spatial Triad, Critical Realism, Turkish Modernization

ÖZ

İSTANBUL STADYUMLARININ SOSYO-MEKANSAL ANALİZİ (1890-1980)

Azizoğlu, Selimcan

Sosyoloji Yüksek Lisans Programı

Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Eda Yücesoy

Ağustos 2019, 102 Sayfa

Bu tez Türkiye'deki futbol stadyumlarının, Türkiye'de futbol tarihinin başladığı 1800'lü yılların sonlarından, futbolun dünya genelinde küreselleşmesi ve metalaşmasıyla stadyumların yeni bir değişim dönemiyle yüzleştiği 1980'lere kadar olan dönem içinde yaşadığı dönüşümü analiz etmeye çalışan keşifçi bir teşebbüs yapmayı amaçlamaktadır. Stadyum çalışmalarıyla ilgili bu ön teşebbüsü kolaylaştırması amacıyla, ilk olarak çalışmanın kapsamını sadece Türk futbolunun hegemonik merkezi olan İstanbul'un stadyumları ve hatta bilhassa Türkiye profesyonel futbol ligine ev sahipliği yapan stadyumları olarak daralttım. İkinci olarak, döküman analizi metodu ve Lefebvre'in mekansal üçlemesi üzerine inşa edilen bir teorik bir çerçeve vasıtasıyla, İstanbul stadyumlarının dönüşümünün temel unsurlarına odaklanarak, geniş ve çok katmanlı bir analiz taslağı çıkardım. Bu tez futbolun ve stadyumlarının küresel olarak geçirdiği dönüşümleri, ve Türkiye'nin ve özellikle İstanbul'un geçirdiği sosyal, ekonomik ve politik değişimleriyle ilişkili ön bir kavrayış sunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Futbol, Stadyumlar, İstanbul, Mekansal Üçleme, Eleştirel Realizm, Türk Modernleşmesi

To Ginatom and Toppiskom

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this thesis could not have been possible without the participation and support of so many people and other creatures whose names may not all be enumerated. Their contributions are sincerely appreciated and gratefully acknowledged. Deep appreciation is specially addressed to the following: Assoc. Prof. Eda Yucesoy, Prof. Ferhat Kentel and Prof. Murat Guvenc.

To all relatives, friends, colleagues, and others who in one way or another shared their support, either morally, physically, and time-wise, thank you.

Above all, to the Great Almighty, the author of knowledge and wisdom.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Locating the Research

The literature on football in Turkey has been profoundly increasing within a wide range of disciplines, from sports studies to various social science studies, mainly political sciences and cultural studies. However, football stadiums in Turkey have received little attention in the literature. Yet there is no study known which sociologically investigates emergence and transformation of football stadiums in Turkey and link them with existing stadium literature worldwide.

With this thesis, I aim an exploratory attempt to analyze the transformation of football stadiums in Turkey from late 19th century, when the history of football has started in Turkey, until 1980, when the stadiums have faced new chapter of transformation through globalization and commodification of football. To ease this initial attempt on stadiums research, first I scope down the focus only to football stadiums in Istanbul (hereinafter, Istanbul stadiums) where is the hegemonic home of football in Turkey and in particular to its stadiums hosting first league of professional football in Turkey. Second, I draw broad and layered analysis by focusing on key elements of transformation of Istanbul stadiums, associated with architectural, political, cultural and urban codes, more specifically through references to 1) transformations of football and its stadiums globally; 2) social, economic and political shifts of Turkey and 3) particularly of urban Istanbul.

In the existing football stadiums literature, I can categorize the main research objectives into four approaches. First approach focuses on the architectural transformation of football stadiums from late 19th century to the contemporary and provides historical (linear) footprints on the changing architecture of stadiums. Second approach is

concerned with very various, diverse studies on spatial practices and related reproduction of identities among various actors, fans, local communities and urban communities in and around stadiums. Third approach investigates mass politics relations on football and its reflections on stadiums. Fourth approach looks at how stadiums are represented through complex symbols and images. With this in mind, this study aims to elaborate these three approaches together to more comprehensively understand and document the transformation of Istanbul stadiums within historical flow from late 19th century to 1980. In this respect, the literature related to football, stadiums, modernization and urbanization in Istanbul and Turkey will be the source of the story of Istanbul stadiums and discussed concurrently within the sections examining transformation of Istanbul stadiums.

The thesis has been constructed around five major chapters. In the introduction, a broader literature review mostly citing European literature on football stadiums is covered to help positioning this study in the stadium literature. The second chapter starts with an experimental attempt to construct the theoretical framework on how to research issues related to stadiums holistically, from macro level political/economic ideologies to micro level identity formations with bodily embodiments by applying Lefebvre's spatial triad. This part aims to theoretically elaborate and justify why I associate key elements of transformation of Istanbul stadiums with references to global transformations of football, social, economic and political shifts of Turkey and particularly of urban Istanbul. Hence this part proves how studying stadiums incites one to do an interdisciplinary research.

The third chapter provides a brief definition and overview of phases of Istanbul's modernization and its relation to space making, in line with Tekeli's classification. The fourth chapter initially investigates the emergence of football in Turkey and its first spaces during Ottoman era, particularly in Istanbul. The chapter then follows the transformation of these spaces to modern stadiums while the formation of Turkish

Republic was happening and their further transformations during later terms until 1980. The last chapter, the section of discussion and conclusion, includes recoding of spatial productions of Istanbul stadiums and underlying mechanisms generating relations of such social productions. The chapter brings five main findings of the research and concludes example of further studies which can be complimentary to this research.

1.2. Understanding Modern Football Stadiums

To understand moderns football stadiums, it is important to underline historically how football stadiums have been transformed to the contemporary stage. The introduction of such literature will explain on why stadiums have become an academic interest as a sport-space and how stadiums after 19th century, so called modern stadiums have changed over the time.

Stadiums, as an idea and a practice, came to the stage during the Ancient Greek civilizations and have evolved substantially, even though the design and meaning of stadiums have been basically similar with their predecessors and successors.[1] Variety of literature on the history of stadiums from Ancient Greek times, including the first antique stadiums of Anatolia, exists but throughout the thesis I will only cover the literature of stadiums after the 19th century, modern football stadiums, in line with our interest.

Quick literature review on the subject will probably take you to the one of the most valuable pieces on football stadiums research, John Bale's book, *Sports, Space and The City.* In his book, Bale conceptualizes changing nature of football space, modernization of football landscapes and its impact on modern cities.[2] He identifies the transformation of modern football space within four-stage model[3], which implies the transition from

---

[1] Emet Gürel and Uğur Akkoç. "'Stadyum: Benzerlikler, Koşutluklar ve İzdüşümler." *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* 4, no. 19 (2011): 5.
[2] John Bale. *Sport, space and the city*. Routledge, (1993): 134.
[3] Ibid.

the folkloric spaces of football games to the industrial, specialized closed spaces in a period of about 100 years. As depicted in Figure 1.1, Bale classifies four stages of football spaces as open spaces with weak rules of exclusion (stage 1 and 2), closed commodified spaces with initial attempts of segregation within crowd (stage 3) and technological spaces with strong rules of exclusion and surveillance (stage 4). His model demonstrates the transition of spatial closure in football stadiums and more precisely how weak permeable boundaries reach its highest level of segregation progressively within different stages. There is also an important reference to be highlighted in the view of this model is that Bale analogically draws a parallelism with Foucault's description for transformation of punishment from its public execution to the enclosed, highly sophisticated surveillance sites in specialized jails.
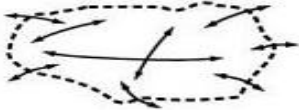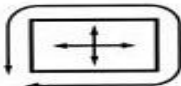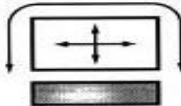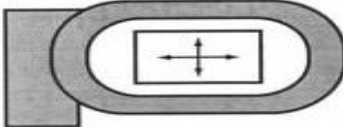
STAGES	ENVIRONMENT
	PERMEABLE BOUNDARIES WEAK RULES OF EXCLUSION No spatial limits; uneven terrain; spatial interaction between 'players' and 'spectators'; diversified land use.
	ENCLOSURE Limits of pitch defined; players segregated from spectators.
	PARTITIONING Embankments, terraces,grandstands; payment for entry; segregation of spectators by social class; start of segregation within crowd; specialized land use.
	SURVEILLANCE Enclosed ground; synthetic pitch and concrete bowl; TV replay screen; total segregation within crowd; panopticism; diversified land use. RULES OF EXCLUSION STRONG IMPERMEABLE BOUNDARIES

Figure 1.1. John Bale's four-stage model explaining the evolution of the modern stadiums. In the model, the lines represent the freedom of movement of the actors and the spectators (adopted from Bale, 1993)

4

Another important source examining the changes in architectures of the stadiums is Rod Sheard's work, called, *The Stadium: Architecture for the New Global Culture*. In his work, Sheard divides the stadiums into five generations.[4] An example of *1st generation* is Panathenaic Stadium (Figure 1.2), the home of first modern Olympic games in 1896, was built in the 18th century and restructured as a "U" type for the Olympics and became the first sport-space model of modern stadiums. In Britain, this order was later adapted to the early stadiums as Olympic games need for an athletic track, though initially it emerged in a rectangular parallel arrangement to the ground. The first and most important example is the White City Stadium, where the 1908 London Olympics were held (Figure 1.3).
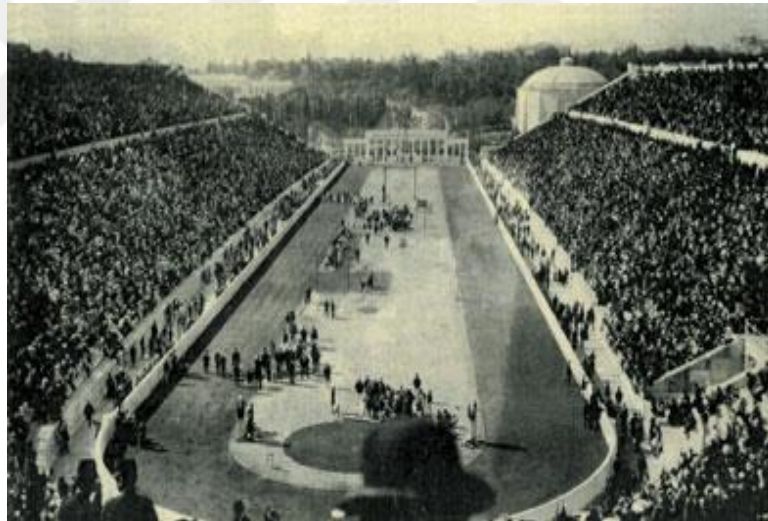
Figure 1.2. Panathenaic Stadium in Athens (1896). Original source unknown. Source: https://tr.pinterest.com/pin/354588170645117753, accessed December 03, 2017.

---

[4] Rod Sheard, Robert Powell, and Patrick Bingham-Hall. *The Stadium: Architecture for the new global culture*. Singapore: Periplus, 2005.

Figure 1.3. White City Stadium in London (1908). Original source unknown. Source: http://www.complex.com/pop-culture/2011/03/50-demolished-sports-stadiums-we-love/white-city-stadium, accessed December 03, 2017.

In the beginning of 1900s, modern stadiums emerged as an uncomfortable, irregular constructions with a low architectural value intending to contain the intense crowd inside. As seen in Stamford Bridge (Figure 1.4), still the home of Chelsea FC, stadiums were built to absorb a homogenized very large crowd located in a single area. Football that spread from England to Europe and Latin America took these stadiums as a model. One common feature of these models is also *the marathon tower*, which allow the stadiums to be easily spotted in the city (see Figure 1.5 for Amsterdam Olympic Stadium).

Chelsea v Arsenal - 12/10/1935
A section of the record 82,000 crowd at Stamford Bridge

Figure 1.4. Stamford Bridge in London (1935), Original source unknown. Source: http://www.chelseafc.com/the-club/history/style/statistics/attendance-statistics.html, accessed December 03, 2017.

Figure 1.5. Amsterdam Olympic Stadium (1928), Original source unknown. Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Olympic_Stadium_Amsterdam_1928.jpg, accessed December 03, 2017.

2nd generation stadiums were emerged at the end of the 1950s. With the start of the TV broadcasting, the uncomfortable seating plans and the limited visibility of the pitch led to fall off in the number of the matchday attendance. Thereof, in order to attract more spectators, some rehabilitative actions on the physical structure of stadiums were

7

applied such as putting seating chairs, building retractable roofs, increasing the number of toilets, placing food and drink stands. On the other hand, the rehabilitation of the stadium infrastructure only regarded inside of the stadiums and did not include outer necessities, such as exterior architecture of the stadiums and matchday security arrangements in the neighborhood. Providing a secure environment for the large crowd inside the stadiums was still a matter of problem remained unsolved in the *2nd generation* stadiums. Some of the most important examples of this generation are the Rome Olympic Stadium (Figure 1.6), which was home to the 1960 Olympics, and FC Barcelona's famous home, Camp Nou stadium.

Figure 1.6. Rome Olympic Stadium (1960), Original source unknown. Source: http://olympics.ballparks.com/1960Rome, accessed December 03, 2017.

3rd generation stadiums became available with Taylor Report (1990) during Thatcher's government in UK which led to major reforms in the stadiums in the UK due to numerous incidences of wooden tribune's fires near 1990s, growing football hooliganism, and most prominently Heysel and Sheffield Hillsborough disasters. The fully seated stadiums, emergency precautions with entry and exit doors became mandatory not only in England, but also in the whole of Europe. Hence, the capitalization of football order started to penetrate stadiums through mostly security rules. Stadiums became much more accessible, safer and more comfortable and this led wider group of audience to come to stadiums to see games. Therefore, *3rd generation* stadiums were reshaped by being center of commercial attraction. Bolton Reebok Stadium (Figure 1.7) and the

renovated Berlin Olympic stadium can be given as examples of commercialized sport spaces which also includes shopping centers, restaurants which run seven days a week.

Figure 1.7. Bolton Reebok Stadium (1997), Original source unknown. Source: http://www.worldstadiums.com/stadium_menu/architecture/historic_stadiums.shtml, accessed December 03, 2017.

4th generation stadiums came to the stage after the successful diffusion of commercial stadiums over Europe. With an increasing non-football use of these sport spaces, more technological solutions were applied to the stadiums design with retractable roofs, mobile tribunes, visual devices, interchangeable multipurpose fields built to maximize comfort of users and efficiency of operation for both football and other sports as well as non-sporting usage. Amsterdam Arena (Figure 1.8) and Stade de France can be given as the most well-known examples of the *4th generation* multipurpose (flexible) stadiums.

The latest, *5th generation* stadiums emerged with increasingly high-tech solutions and extraordinary focus on exterior design. These very expensive stadiums have been considered very important in the applications for hosting international mega-sports events and seen as icons of cities, even countries. Well known examples of *5th generation* stadiums, also called "urban icons", are Istanbul Atatürk Olympic Stadium (Figure 1.9), with an exterior design representing Istanbul where unites Asia and Europe; Wembley Stadium, Arsenal Emirates Stadium, the Munich Allianz Arena and maybe the most cited one, Beijing Olympic Stadium, looks like a bird nest. These examples with

huge investments are increasing day by day with all controversies in many aspects like the design, meaning and economic feasibility.

Figure 1.8. Amsterdam Arena (2001), Original source unknown. Source: https://www.tripadvisor.com.tr/Attraction_Review-g188590-d245166-Reviews-Amsterdam_ArenA-Amsterdam_North_Holland_Province.html, accessed December 03, 2017.

Figure 1.9. Ataturk Olympic Stadium in Istanbul (2005), Original source unknown. Source: http://mapio.net/pic/p-2870209, accessed December 03, 2017

As summarized earlier, the second main research approach in the football stadiums literature consists of various, diverse cultural studies which investigate social-spatial reproductions in relation to football stadiums. Most of these studies mainly examine

football stadiums as a social-space which enable people's collective practices and identity formation embodied with football, sport clubs and stadiums.

In anthropology, the identity formation is usually utilized in two ends, one end refers to self-identity with uniqueness and individuality and another end refers to collective identity with sameness within groups or communities.[5] Most of early research on stadiums had taken the critical position in examining identities formed around football clubs and stadiums. Especially after series of violent incidence in 1980 and 1990s, the academic focus was limited with finding ways to control crowds in and out of stadiums and stadiums were frequently incorporated with hooliganism and violent masculinities.

Lately in post-modern context, this critical stance in academia has shifted away from crowds to various governing bodies and ideologic streams which increasingly exert crowd control practices over stadiums. This shift produced new space for various studies which aim to draw particular attention upon pro-creative potentials of communities of stadiums, fans or other groups. In this context, a prominent football researcher, Bale identifies football communities in two forms; 1) urban community where the clubs live in and can be said to represent; 2) fans and other actors (people, businesses) which experience the practices of football stadiums. [6]

This identification takes us to a point, which is straightforward but still worth to mention, to underline the stadiums' simultaneous interactions with the urban community, fans and local neighbor community. As football changes, stadiums change; as stadiums change its urban relations/representations as well as the stadium practices of fans and neighbor communities change.[7] Bale's such differentiation of football communities is rather more critical in our study in terms of identifying the extent of

---

[5] Reginald Byron. *Identity. In Barnard, Alan, Spencer, Jonathan (eds.) Encyclopedia of social and cultural anthropology,* London & New York: Routledge, (1998): 292.
[6] John Bale. "The changing face of football: Stadiums and communities." *Soccer & Society* 1, no. 1 (2000): 91-101.
[7] Ibid.

communities of Istanbul stadiums. Istanbul clubs and their football stadiums represent wider network all over Turkey, rather than an urban community in Istanbul, due to Istanbul clubs' hegemonic position in Turkish football, but in the meantime, most of Istanbul stadiums have quite strong relations with local neighborhood which they reside in.

In this regard, comparable to Istanbul stadiums, I may note a very useful field study on contemporary stadiums in Buenos Aires, Argentina to facilitate exploring fragments of football communities/actors and gameday actors. Although our study will cover the stadiums until 1980, this is still important to mark the current diversity of the football communities and their practices. In this study, Gaffney practically differentiates actors in and around stadiums, how these actors are represented and particular to his research interest, how they collectively produce and control of violent spectacle during a gameday. Gaffney identifies four principal actors in male-dominated stadium spaces of Buenos Aires; clubs, fans, police and the media, whose complex relationships are practiced by corruption, gentlemen's agreements and mutual exploitation. Additionally, he reveals unequal representation of fans in terms of sex, age, and social class which are well reflected in the use, function and perception of stadiums[8].

Geoffrey further explains how differentiated spatial practices in and around stadiums reproduce a hierarchy to fandom in Argentina (as Simpatizante, hincha, hinchada and the barra brava) and how this hierarchy reproduces back the different fandom identities, coded based on their spatial positions in the stadium as well as their potential to conduct physical violent acts. Referring to Armstrong and Giulianotti's interpretation of which "fan cultures are saturated with communal identifications and sectarian antagonisms towards other teams"[9] Gaffney asserts this antagonism is not only towards other teams

---

[8] Chris Gaffney. "Stadiums and society in twenty-first century Buenos Aires." *Soccer & Society* 10, no. 2 (2009): 160-182.
[9] Richard Giulianotti and Gary Armstrong. "Introduction: reclaiming the game-An Introduction to the Anthropology of Football." *Entering the field: New perspectives on world football* (1997): 1-29.

and he displays confrontations in Buenos Aires stadiums, either physical or symbolic, between fragments of fans (barra brava, ultras) as well as more broadly between fans, police, clubs and the media, in the context of producing and controlling the violence. This spatialized violence and its control in and around stadiums reflect the ritualized combat between various actors with clashing identities over masculinity, class, ethnic, labor or geographical differences. In a more broadly view, stadiums used to become a representational space absorbing clashes in the society through spatialized actors and practices of the stadium.

For Bromberger, football's ability to mobilize the expressions of collective identities and antagonisms along with physical contact and genuine competitiveness in the context of sustaining the ritualized combat defines the popularity of football[10]. In this regard, citing Norbert Elias and his theory of Civilizing Process[11], Bromberger says "a football stadium is one of those rare places in modern societies where collective emotions are unleashed and socially taboo values are allowed to be expressed"[12] (in the words of Norbert Elias, controlled decontrolling of emotions). In practical sense, I may note Bromberger's study on stadium of Olympique de Marseille to extend the example of Buenos Aires stadiums in terms of spatial positioning of various fan sub-groups in stadiums. Likewise, Bromberger analyzes gameday spectators, their identifications, practices in line with their positioning in stadiums but additionally Bromberger examines another dimension, the spectators' relation with the city of Marseille itself (in 1980s). To connect the dot with the city of Marseille, he analyzes the spectators attending football matches of the Olympique de Marseille by mapping the geographical and social re-composition of the Marseille city clustered in the stadium tiers. In our study, it is rather difficult to collect such data for the earlier period of Istanbul stadiums before 1980s, but this is still worth

---

[10] Christian Bromberger. "Football as world-view and as ritual." *French Cultural Studies* 6, no. 18 (1995): 293-311.
[11] Eric Dunning and Norbert Elias. *Quest for excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process*. London: Basil Blackwell, 1986.
[12] Christian Bromberger. "Football as world-view and as ritual."

to consider for a potential fieldwork to interpret stadium practices of fans via correlating their social-economic positioning in the urban setting as well as in the stadium's tiers.

In addition to actors and their practices over stadiums, another important end, which is the third and last based on my classification, of the stadium's literature focuses on mass politics and power relations linked with stadiums. With the emergence of mass sports, mainly through Olympic games, the function of stadiums in mass politics have been prominent in many political, ideological movements. After World War 1, in early 1930s, football spaces have seen new era of the development with the many brand-new stadiums built across European cities, earlier implied as the second generation of football stadiums.[13] In those new football stadiums, spectators had started to develop more advanced festive or carnivalesque practices and collective slogans, therefore stadiums were being a space to collectively experience and express emotions which wouldn't be easily unleashed in daily life. Little later, radical nationalist governments of the time pursued sports (and football) as a symbol of national pride to claim their superiority over others. In Mussolini era, communal stadiums were built throughout Italy to symbolize the new regime and to remind past glories of the Roman Empire.[14] Also in 1930s of France, there had been modernist discussions on stadiums especially when the prominent architect of the time, Le Corbusier proposed an enormous multipurpose stadium to be built in Paris (with a crowd of 100,000) for the world's fair hosted by the French capital in 1937.[15] Design of the proposed stadium was not only to accommodate sports activities as a mean of modernist view of athletic body but also propaganda events in the form of political speeches and national parades. In the mid-1930s, Nazi Germany model of mass athletic-political spectacle was most obviously

---

[13] Juan Luis Paramio, Babatunde Buraimo, and Carlos Campos. "From modern to postmodern: the development of football stadia in Europe." *Sport in society* 11, no. 5 (2008): 517-534.

[14] Gaffney, Christopher, and Gilmar Mascarenhas. "The soccer stadium as a disciplinary space." *Esporte e sociedade* 1, no. 1 (2005): 1-16.

[15] Joan Tumblety. "Rethinking the fascist aesthetic: mass gymnastics, political spectacle and the stadium in 1930s France." *European History Quarterly* 43, no. 4 (2013): 707-730.

displayed in the Berlin Olympic Stadium rebuilt for 1936 Olympics games.[16] With continuous expansion in spectator numbers and physical size, football stadiums had become an important modernizing space to help civilizing process of the society as well as symbolically unifying space for the society, as dictated by the governing political movements. This athletic-political attitude on stadiums began to fade away when coming to late 1970s and replaced with another political attitude with a more controlling nature. The main reason of this transformation was because stadiums had been less appealing to spectators due to uncomfortable, aged stadiums, start of live TV coverage of football games, and violent incidences in stadiums. As Schäfer indicates for the changing nature of stadiums, "on the one hand, some social, infrastructural and architectural features help to arouse and intensify team support by enhancing positive emotions; while others are used to control aggression and violence".[17] By 1980s, with the capitalist push over global football governance, this new political attitude is being realized with increasingly disciplinary manner through panoptic mechanisms inside and around stadiums.

Complimentary to above review of stadiums literature, with a Lefebvrian spatial analysis, one may look at how stadiums are represented through complex symbols and images. Flowers asserts that stadiums are understudied as sites of symbolic activity comparing to any other monumental sites. Accordingly, he explores the representation of stadiums through means of "the architecture and iconography of the football stadium as well as its multiple uses as a way of cultivating and communicating the identity not just of a club but of a place. Like a football team, the stadium can stand in for a worldview, a political position, a geographical or oppositional identity."[18] Flowers proposes alternative taxonomy of stadiums which link the architecture and symbolic

---

[16] Ibid.

[17] Mike Schäfer and Jochen Roose. "Emotions in sports stadia." *Stadium worlds: Football, space and the built environment* (2010): 229-244.

[18] Benjamin Flowers. "Stadiums: Architecture and the iconography of the beautiful game." *The International Journal of the History of Sport 28* (2011): 1174-1185

representation of stadiums. These are defined as *death and destruction, war incubator, symbol of alternative identity, symbol of hegemonic authority, symbol of imagined national consensus, and the materialization of transnational capital flows.*[19]

Most common representation of stadiums is *death and destruction*, due to well-known tragedies and violent activities in stadiums, such as Heysel, Hillsborough incidences. Also, there had been some moments when stadiums were used to imprison, isolate, torture and execute enemies, like practiced in Chile during the dictatorial regime. Stadiums had sometimes been a part of radical urbanization practices and destroy older way of life of vulnerable communities, like practiced in Romania during Ceauscescu era as well as in Beijing and Johannesburg lately.[20] Stadiums can be symbolically represented by *war incubator* as stadiums create an enabling environment for the national, regional, ethnic, class conflicts and antagonisms in almost everywhere as Kapuscinski reported in *The Soccer War* through his diaries and reportages in Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East.[21]

Alternative identity stadiums generally compose alternative geographic or ethnic identities. Among many, one may name example of *alternative identity stadiums* of Nou Camp in Barcelona for Catalan identity and likewise San Mames in Bilbao for Basque identity as these clubs and their stadiums are symbols of political struggles for self-determination not only to their respective fans, but to others around the world[22]. As Flowers states "it is no surprise that Barca, seen by Franco as a threat to his authority, had a fan club in the USSR."[23] Another representation is *Hegemon*, one of best example is the Santiago Bernabeu, located in the capital city, Madrid and represents the joy of

---

[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Richard Kapuscinski. "*The Soccer War, translated by William Brand*." (1990): 189-90.
[22] Benjamin Flowers. *The International Journal of the History of Sport.*
[23] Ibid.

Spanish elites therefore always receives special attention by political authorities in Spain, from Franco, King Carlos and their followers.[24]

Imaginary national consensus stadiums have the responsibility of materializing national identity and expressing a national consensus. "These stadiums were also meant to show a global audience the breadth and depth of a nation's architectural and engineering proficiency."[25] Examples of these stadiums range from Wembley to Ataturk Olympic Stadiums or Beijing National Stadium (the Bird's Nest). Stadiums represented as m*aterial expression of transnational capital flows* is the latest type of stadiums, very visible in contemporary stadiums and express commodification of global football. Flowers summarizes two common features of this type of stadiums; first these stadiums have "an emphasis on the production of an iconic elevation that lends itself to reproduction in graphic illustration. A second common feature is that these stadiums are often named not for the community in which they sit, or the club that plays there, but for some wealthy corporate entity that heretofore few if any associated with sporting activity."[26] Some examples are Allianz Arena for FC Bayern Munich (named after an insurance company), Emirates Stadium for Arsenal FC (named for an airline) and Vodafone Arena for Besiktas JK (named for a telecommunication company).

In summary, during my literature review, I could find comprehensive literature on studies related to football in many subject areas and almost all football literature would touch on stadiums at some degree but there are very few studies taking stadiums to the center of the research. In this writing, among many studies on football, I only covered those solely focusing on stadiums from different dimensions in line with my broader research objective 1) architectural transformations of stadiums, 2) stadium actors, communities and their practices, positioning in and around stadiums as well as in the urban setting, 3) mass politics using stadiums and lastly 4) broader representation,

---

[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.

meanings, illustrations of stadiums. In next chapter, I aim to explore the theoretical background to conduct a comprehensive and layered analysis for stadiums research and by specifically reviewing Lefebvre's model on production of space, I aim to develop on my research structure and methodology on exploring Istanbul stadiums.

CHAPTER II

EXPLORING HOW TO EXPLORE FOOTBALL STADIUMS

In this chapter, I aim to explore how I would conduct an exploratory study on football stadiums, therefore, first I try to elaborate a theoretical framework to be able to cover diverse elements of stadiums' studies within a holistic manner. The review of existing stadium literature confirms co-existence of social structures and individual actions which shape transformations of football stadiums. Therefore, this chapter starts with a critical realist inquiry to provide an ontological basis of structure/agency dilemma to ease this study's effort to conduct holistic approach and to inform this study's theoretical framework, which is extensively built on Lefebvre's spatial triad model. Following the introduction of spatial triad and its adoption to this study of football stadiums, the chapter concludes with the methodology of the study, documentary research.

2.1. A Critical Realist Inquiry

In the literature, numerous studies try to bridge the micro/macro gap by the dialectical interplay of external and internal structures in the transformations of social forms. To explain critical realist approach on the structure/agency dilemma, it is important to underline how critical realism evaluates the main types of structure conceptualizations. Porpora identifies four main conceptualizations of social structure: "Patterns of aggregate behavior that are stable over time; law-like regularities that govern the behavior of social facts; collective rules and resources that structure behavior; and systems of human relationships among social positions."[27]

---

[27] Douglas V. Porpora. "Four Concepts of Social Structure." *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 19, no. 2 (1989): 195-211.

According to first conceptualization, patterns of aggregate behavior that are stable over time, there is no such thing as social structures as macro-phenomena. There are only individual people acting in micro-situations. This position is clearly based on individualism. The idea that society consist of only people is re-defined by Bhaskar as "the material presence of society is sum of persons and the (material) results of their actions."[28] According to Bhaskar, social structure is more than a material presence as "they contain independent and unobservable causal forces that are presupposed for the individual to act and by ignoring this, the individualist makes the error of voluntarism (ignoring the pre-existence of society)."[29] The second conceptualization, law-like regularities that govern the behavior of social facts, is most often associated with Durkheim and methodological collectivism/holism. In this concept, macro-phenomena are related to each other by patterns of law-like regularities. According to the critical realist, methodological collectivist/holist makes the error of reification (ignoring the activity dependence of society).[30]

The third conceptualization, collective rules and resources that structure behavior, is associated with Giddens' structuration theory. Giddens refers the structure as the inter-subjective reality between social objects and subjects to organize principles behind the actual actions.[31] Critical realist approach brings three critical arguments to Giddens' theory of structuration.[32] First, Giddens' theory does not extensively deal with material states; it only mediates among the subjective states of reality.[33] Second, Giddens gives relatively low emphasis on the role of actors as well as the causal powers of relationship

---

[28] Margaret Archer, Roy Bhaskar, Andrew Collier, Tony Lawson, and Alan Norrie. *Critical realism: Essential readings*. Routledge, 2013.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Anthony Giddens. *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Univ of California Press, 1984.

[32] Jesper Aastrup. "Change in networks: a critical realist interpretation." In *16th Industrial Marketing and Purchasing (IMP) Conference*. 2000.

[33] Douglas V Porpora. "Four Concepts of Social Structure."

in causal explanation. Third, Giddens' theory refers to the simultaneity of structure and agency whereas critical realist approach claims the pre-existence of structures.[34]

The last, fourth conceptualization, systems of human relationships among social positions, is the critical realist position (similar to Bourdieu's position) which claims that structure and agency should be viewed as distinct strata of reality. But in the meantime, social structure manifests itself only in and through human agency; and simultaneously constitutes actors and their practices. "This structure provides the agent certain powers to act, but these powers are not necessarily activated. Thus, structures must be considered as something distinct from human agency, as they must exist whether or not they manifest themselves in concrete actions"[35] and as Bashkar argued below:

> People and society are not, I shall argue, related *dialectically*. They do not constitute two moments of the same process. Rather they refer to radically different kinds of thing. I want to distinguish sharply, then, between the genesis of human actions, lying in the reasons, intentions and plans of people, on the one hand, and the structures governing the reproduction and transformation of social activities, on the other.[36]

Thus, unlike Giddens' structuration theory, critical realist position takes social structure as pre-existing necessary condition for social action. Actors can never create social structures, but rather through their actions they reproduce or transform them. Consequently, in critical realism there is logically a temporal relation between given structures and given actions. Archer clearly emphasizes that structures necessary for future activities will always be transformed or reproduced by past activities.

The reason I take pre-existing social structure as an important element in my theoretical background is not merely to investigate structure agencies relations on spatial

---

[34] Margaret Archer. "Introduction: Realism in the social sciences." *Critical realism: Essential readings*, 2013.

[35] Jesper Aastrup. "Change in networks: a critical realist interpretation."

[36] Margaret Archer, Roy Bhaskar, Andrew Collier, and Tony Lawson. *Critical Realism: Essential Readings.*

productions, itself. I also aim to explore a framework of scientific investigation to reveal the underlying structures and generative mechanisms constituting the social space.

But this is particularly related to understanding of ontological assumptions on the reality and knowledge. Bourdieu sees the knowledge as "it cannot and should not be confused with the recording and analysis of the *pre-notions* that social agents engage in the construction of social reality; it must also encompass the social conditions of the production of these pre-constructions and of the social agents who produce them."[37] In line with Bourdieu's remark on knowledge, this study can have a quest to investigate the pre-constructions and underlying mechanisms of relational processes within social conditions enabling production of spaces. This is where one can embrace critical realist ontology on the stratification of realities for proper scientific investigation, theorized by Bhaskar.

Bhaskar argues that "events must occur independently of the experiences in which they are apprehended. Structures and mechanisms then are real and distinct from the patterns of events that they generate; just as events are real and distinct form the experiences in which they are apprehended."[38] As illustrated in Figure 2.1, this critical realist ontology claims going beyond empirically-observed events to determine the causal mechanisms in the real domain that result in those events, unlike positivism which operate only in the empirical and actual domains.[39] In critical realist perspective, this study, thus, should target to examine empirical and actual domains to provide causal explanations to the generating mechanisms in the real domain.

---

[37] Pierre Bourdieu. "Participant objectivation." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 9, no. 2 (2003): 281-294.

[38] Roy Bhaskar. *A realist theory of science*. Routledge, 2013.

[39] Corina Raduescu and Iris Vessey. "Methodology in critical realist research: The mediating role of domain specific theory." *AMCIS 2009 proceedings* (2009): 433.
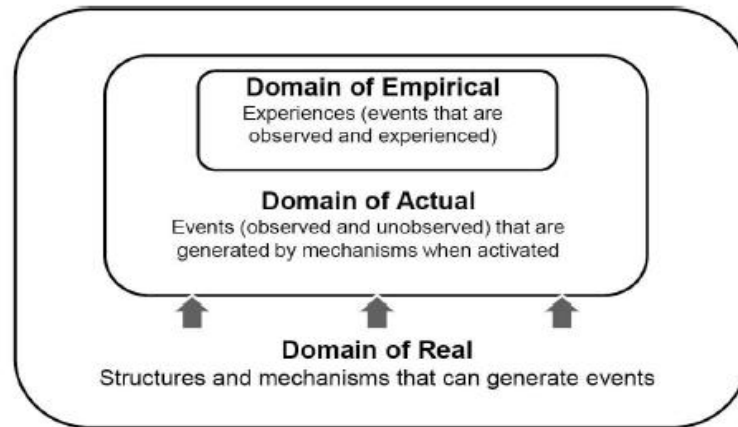
Figure 2.1. Domains of reality in critical realist ontology (adopted from Mingers, 2014)[40]

2.1. Spatial Triad Model

> [to reveal the production of space] We should have to study not only the history of space, but also the history of representations along with that of their relationships - with each other, with practice, and with ideology. History would have to take in not only the genesis of these spaces but also, and especially, their interconnections, distortions, displacements, mutual interconnections, and their links with the spatial practice of the particular society.[41]

Inspired by above quote, theoretical framework of this study is primarily informed by Henri Lefebvre's work, *Production of Space*, since his theory provides holistic approach which helps me to navigate on my exploratory attempt to research on stadiums whose emergence and transformation are inherently associated with complex natured structures and actors.

Lefebvre was among the first thinkers putting emphasis on questions of spatiality,[42] "which was earlier under a profoundly Kantian dualism, in which the social was

---

[40] John Mingers. "Real-izing information systems: critical realism as an underpinning philosophy for information systems." Information and organization 14 (2004): 87-103.

[41] Henri Lefebvre and Donald Nicholson-Smith. *The production of space*. Vol. 142. Blackwell: Oxford, 1991.

[42] Stuart Elden. *Understanding Henri Lefebvre*. A&C Black, (2004): 169.

separated from the spatial. Many of spatial processes were described in terms of formal language systems, especially geometry and probability theory."[43]

Lefebvre does not consider the space as an inert entity but as a living one, interacting with and influencing on involved subjects. For Lefebvre, "(social) space is a (social) product".[44] The space produced can also be considered as a tool of thought and action. The space is neither tangible nor controllable and it moves in relation to the conditions of people living within it.

Lefebvre's triad spatial model (the perceived, conceived space and lived space) has been an important source of inspiration for my thesis.[45] First, the relationship and the difference between these lived spaces (or, 'representational spaces'), conceived space ('representations of space') and perceived space (spatial practices) must be revisited to clarify the positioning of this study's theoretical framework. Zhang defines the conceived space as "an abstract space of pure mathematical figures and verbal messages – manifested in the design of offices, organizational rules and symbols."[46] It can be said that conceived space is the conceptualization of the places according to the possible consequences of a design. According to Harvey, the perceived space consists of "the flows of labor, money, information and every physical movement of employees."[47] These actions such as the opening of doors, sipping coffee, etc. is called spatial practices in Lefebvre's terminology. In other words, the perceived space is the realization of the conceived space. Watkins asserts that "the lived space is a space of pure subjectivity, of human experiences, of people's sense-making, imagination, and feeling."[48] It is crucial

---

[43] Derek Gregory and John Urry. "Social relations and spatial structures." (1988):2.

[44] Henri Lefebvre. *The production of space*. 26.

[45] Ibid. 33-39.

[46] Zhongyuan Zhang. "What is lived space." *Ephemera, Theory & Politics in Organization* 6, no. 2 (2006): 219-223.

[47] David Harvey. *The condition of postmodernity*. Vol. 14. Oxford: Blackwell, 1989.

[48] Ceri Watkins. "Representations of space, spatial practices and spaces of representation: An application of Lefebvre's spatial triad." *Culture and Organization* 11, no. 3 (2005): 209-220.

to remember that all these spaces (*conceived, perceived* and *the lived space)* cannot be thought as separate entities, and they must be studied in unison. Lefebvre tries to outline the dialectical relationship between spatial practices (or the perceived), representational space (or the lived), and representation of spaces (or the conceived), as well sketched in the below diagram produced by Wong[49]:
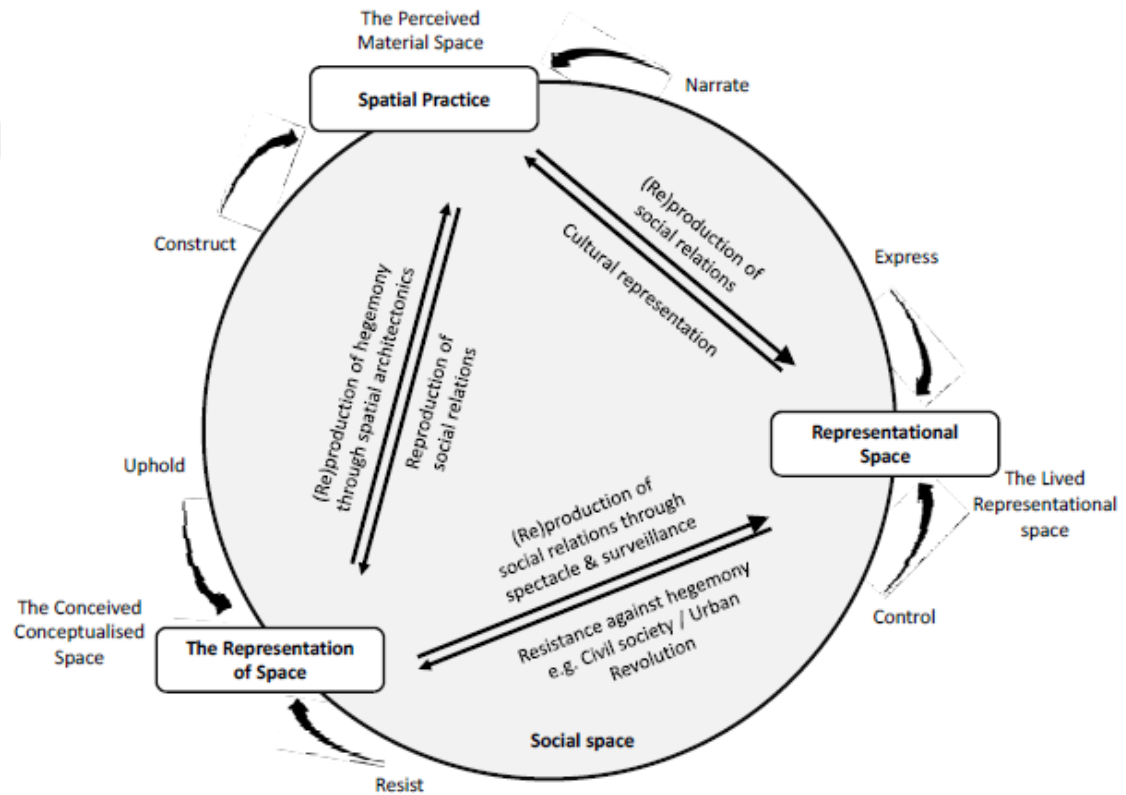
Figure 2.2. Lefebvre's spatial triad (adopted from Wong, 2014)

As illustrated in Wong's sketch of Lefebvre's spatial triad, the dialectic relations among spaces are extended with another set of practices in a dialectical way (uphold-resist; construct-narrate; control-express). Certainly, these practices can be easily equated with another conceptualization, De Certeau's distinction between with *strategy* and *tactics*, which he utilized to understand the oppositional practices of everyday life. For

---

[49] Pui Fung Wong. "Shanghai, China's capital of modernity: the production of space and urban experience of World Expo 2010." PhD diss., University of Birmingham, (2014): 21

De Certeau, the strategy is only available to the realm of will and power and "postulates a place susceptible of being circumscribed as a proper and of being the base from where relations can be administered with an exteriority of targets or threats (clients or competitors, enemies)."[50] He defines the tactics as "the calculated action which is determined by the absence of place and embodied by the field of the weak but in the enemy's field of vision."[51] The relationship between strategy and tactics are being two sides of a power relation representing discipline and anti-discipline as well as control and resistance. In Lefebvre's spatial triad, one can say that strategy is the practice constituted in the realm of the conceived space (representation of space) and tactics are constituted in the realm of the lived space (representational space). In Lefebvre's terminology, both practices, strategy and tactics, can serve as a mediatory process to perceive respective spaces (representation of and representational) and also provide a direct dialectic interplay between the conceived and lived spaces, as sketched in Wong's diagram.

In fact, during my literature review on Lefebvre, I came across with some critics to Lefebvre on his theory of production of space. Among them, Unwin asserts that Lefebvre lacks in much considering individual or agency in his model and is unable to address the role of human agency that has in shaping its own future as well as the resistance.[52] This critic to Lefebvre for dehumanizing the space is, no doubt, an important but too sophisticated for the scope of my thesis. Though, my attempt to consolidate the concepts of strategy and tactics from De Certeau with Lefebvre's spatial triad would still be a useful mediation while acknowledging Unwin's critic.

Overall, Lefebvre's spatial triad offers a holistic knowledge of a space "bringing the various kinds of space and modalities of their genesis together with a single theory."[53]

---

[50] Michel De Certeau, Fredric Jameson, and Carl Lovitt. "On the oppositional practices of everyday life." *Social Text* 3 (1980): 5.
[51] Ibid, 6.
[52] Tim Unwin. "A waste of space? Towards a critique of the social production of space…." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 25, no. 1 (2000): 24.
[53] Henri Lefebvre. *The production of space*. 16.

Lefebvre's powerful instrumentality with the spatial triad overlaps with my interest on this thesis to analytically identify and map various dimensions to investigate in the research on football stadiums. In the meantime, Lefebvre sees the space, itself, as an instrument to exercise power and control by the subject, of will and power. He thoroughly explains how such power is exercised through the production of space via relations of macro and micro or structures and agencies. Lefebvre sees the structure and agency exist in different strata, his spatial triad assumes space making as always in progress between structure and agency along with practices which may mean that both simultaneously constitute each other, but structuring affects already achieved. Therefore, Lefebvre's triad takes social structure as pre-existing necessary condition of the social production. In this view, the spatial triad confirms and applies the critical realist ontology which helps to conceptualize the generative mechanisms of the spatial relations between structure and agencies.

To summarize what has been discussed as part of the theoretical setting of this thesis, I can outline three premises I have raised, as follows: First, I consider football stadiums as social spaces, thus Lefebvre's triad of production of space fits very well on the theoretical framework of my research that I intend to conduct an initial, exploratory study on social history of Istanbul stadiums. The spatial triad is used to provide a holistic approach for compiling various spaces and relations over football stadiums. In this sense, Lefebvre's spatial triad is an instrumental tool in my thesis to analytically differentiate actors and networks and to investigate their relationships in and around stadiums. Second, I consider equating De Certeau's terms, strategy and tactics, with dialectic practices of the triad, which are applied between layers of the spaces, as sketched in Wong's diagram. This will reinforce to easily understand conceptualization of my narrative on Istanbul stadiums. Third, I aim to reveal generating mechanisms which pre-construct the subject of will and power exerting power to agencies. Hence, the spatial triad model, confirmed by critical realist ontology, will contribute to nonlinear and stratified historical analysis for spatial transformations of stadiums as well

as will reinforce the design of the research to extract generative conceptualizations out of the spatial triad.

2.3. Exploring How to Research Istanbul Stadiums

The purpose of this section is to apply the theoretical setting discussed in this chapter to the context of the research on Istanbul stadiums. It is worth to note again, in the literature, there is no study found which focuses on emergence and transformation of football stadiums in Turkey. Due to methodological complexities, understandably, there is also no complete study which identifies and examines various aspects of the transformation of stadiums comprehensively in a single study, including architectural, ideological, social and cultural codes. Therefore, in this thesis, my attempt is an exploratory to understand possible dimensions of stadium research, their relations and pre-constructing mechanisms, including social structures, agents and conditions, which produce and transform the space of football stadiums. In this introductory study, I limit the scope at certain level to properly deal with high number of dimensions associated with Istanbul stadiums. First, this study covers the examination of Istanbul stadiums only until the period until 1980, when the stadiums have faced new chapter of transformation through globalization and commodification of football all over the world. Second, I focus on football stadiums only in Istanbul, where is the hegemonic home of football in Turkey and in particular to its stadiums hosting first league of professional football in Turkey.

In the view of the theoretical framework discussed above, I put Lefebvre's spatial triad into the center of the study on Istanbul stadiums. As Lefebvre analytically simplifies three moments or spaces as perceived, conceived and lives spaces, respectively conjugated with spatial practices, representation of space and representational space, I offer re-defining these three spaces in the context of football stadiums.

Stadiums and Spatial Practices:

These are everyday life practices formed in and around of physical and built environment of stadiums. Football play, fans in the tribunes, shape of tribunes, chants, protests, violence, goal celebrations, national anthems, security announcements, etc. all details in the material environment of stadiums, in repetitive manners, produce and re-produce the social and spatial continuity of the stadiums.

Spatial practices encompass the material space to be perceived by both individual subjects and society. They interrelate conceived and lived spaces through differentiated practices. De Certeau's terms, strategy and tactics elucidate well to conceptualize this differentiation. While the strategy is a form of spatial practice which extends the realm of conceived space to construct the material space; in response, the tactics oppose the strategy in the realm of lived space and narrate itself into the material space. Thus, conceived space tends to dominate the lived space through strategic practices, in response the lived space resists with tactical practices.

Spatial practices over stadiums are, predictably, very diverse and their empirical investigation is relatively accessible since they are experienced in material space. The historical transformation of stadiums can be read through the changes in the physical space of stadiums. Therefore, in the spatial triad model of this study, spatial practices or perceived space of Lefebvre's model can be equated with football and stadium practices (including architectural changes), with the differentiations among strategies and tactics.

Stadiums and Representations of Space:

These are spaces conceptualized by dominant powers informed by knowledge and ideology. Representations of spaces are produced by spatial experts through designs, plans mostly in formal ways, in written, visual formats. They are visible in architectural plans, urban master plans etc. and built in the view of rational knowledge and the

dominant ideology. They are continuously conceived by dominant powers with dominant ideologies to define the spatial practices and meanings, and then to control and subordinate them through practices of strategies.

Football have always been in the realm of hegemonic ideologies with political and economic interests, therefore its stadiums, as massive social spaces, cannot be detached from conceptualization of hegemonic powers. A research on stadiums should responsibly investigate the hegemony, possibly in political, economic terms, in relation with the dominant ideology of the football and of the place, context where stadiums are perceived and lived. Accordingly, the spatial triad model of this study can replace the conceived space of Lefebvre's model with the sphere of ideologies conceiving the representations of football and stadiums.

Stadiums and Representational Spaces:
Representational spaces or spaces of representation are lived through complex symbols and images of the physical spaces. They constitute narratives, interpretations of social life by inhabitants. These are very fluid, dynamic, subjective spaces developing tactical spatial practices to resist against to dominating conceived spaces. In the example of stadiums, representational spaces are moments of meanings, narratives, artistic interpretations, memories, images etc. symbolically produced out of experiences of individuals over stadiums. These are meaningful at their own subjectivity and their own context. In the spatial trial model of this study, representational spaces of stadiums can be interpreted through symbolic meanings of stadiums which can be extracted from narratives or artistic works.

In summary, below figures show how Lefebvre's model of spatial triad (Figure 2.3) is applied to the context of researching football stadiums (Figure 2.4).
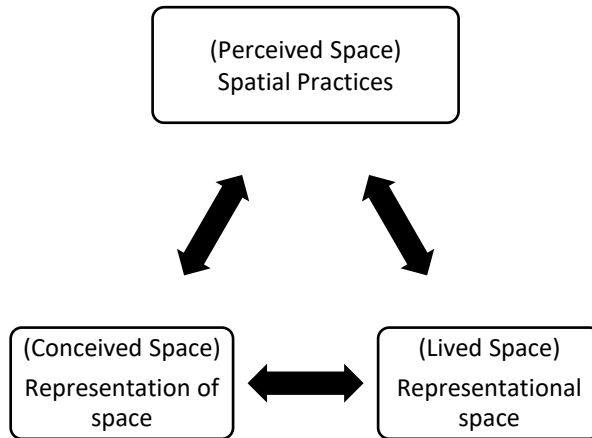
Figure 2.3. Lefebvre's model of spatial triad.
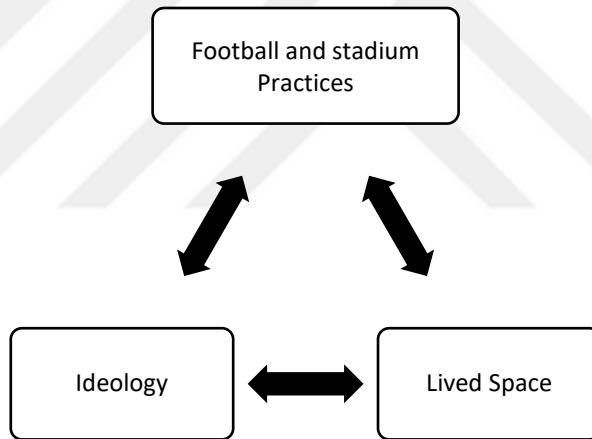
Figure 2.4. Proposed spatial triad model for this study

Above proposed model is mainly an instrumental apparatus to enable the identification of key elements of stadiums and analyze their interrelations comprehensively. Considering the historical scope of this thesis on Istanbul stadiums, the spatial triad, with stratified ontology, can explore mechanisms generating transformation of Istanbul stadiums within and between specific historic periods of the social conditions when the transformation of Istanbul stadiums had occurred.

With the proposed spatial model, this study can examine the emergence and transformation of Istanbul stadiums in three layers. As Lefebvre indicates, in most cases, the most decisive space is the conceived space. Thus, this study can first explore key decisive ideologic moments and then periods in respect to political, economic, architectural and cultural codes, respectively over football, Istanbul and Turkey. Second, upon the definition of historical periodization, production of space of Istanbul stadiums through the football and stadiums practices can be examined in respect to their relations with ideologies and symbolic experiences over stadiums. Finally, this study can possibly suggest some causal explanations for mechanisms which generate decisive influences on the transformation of football stadiums in Istanbul.

2.4. Applying Documentary Research Method

As explained the introduction chapter, this research is an initial attempt to conduct socio-spatial analysis of Istanbul stadiums. In other words, it aims and requires identifying and mapping the existing knowledge on the subject for its systemic analysis via theoretical apparatus framed earlier. As Pile and Thrift defines for human geography mapping, this study considers mapping as a way finding which aims to visit most of positions to constitute the field of football stadiums.[54]

Sources of these knowledge and types of methodologies would be extensive for such historical study. Acknowledging that there is no sociological study in Turkish football or relevant literature taking the stadiums as its research objective, this study considers extracting the knowledge relevant to Istanbul stadiums from the various other studies on the football and stadiums, social, economic, political shifts of Turkey and in particularly of Istanbul. Most of the knowledge on the subject is documented in a purpose of other than this study's, but it still expresses indirectly about social practices and context which transform Istanbul stadiums.

---

[54] Steve Pile and Nigel J. Thrift, eds. *Mapping the subject: geographies of cultural transformation*. Psychology Press, (1995): 1.

Considering the study of an understudied area and historical periodization, the direct access to the resources would be either non-existent or challenging to obtain or if obtained, they are varied over different time periods. Consequently, indirect or mediate access becomes necessary to infer past social practices from its material traces.[55] As Payne and Payne (2004) suggested, these material traces can be categorized, investigated, interpreted and identified, most commonly through written documents whether in the private or public domain.[56] Therefore, this exploratory study adopts the documentary research to provide many characteristics of socio-spatial practices and context of Istanbul stadiums which are not directly referred in the social science studies related to the Turkish football and its urban spaces.

Sources of these indirect mediate access would be extensive, such as, literature reviews, meta-analysis, secondary data analysis, archival research and policy research, which also overlap significantly among each other.[57] Among such documents, there are two types of documents, primary (referring documents produced by who witnessed the things) and secondary (referring to documents produced by secondary people who compiled the witnessed things).[58] In this study, although primary documents are covered in many occasions, the secondary documents, which compiled these primary sources, are more frequently utilized especially in the part for earlier years of Istanbul stadiums, especially before 1950s. Among these secondary documents, there are documents compiled and reviewed in the existing literature of Turkish football and related social studies, mainly political sciences and cultural studies. In addition to these academic literatures, this study aims to identify and investigate documents with everyday life reflections, mainly referring to primary documents, such as archives of newspapers, opinion columns from earlier periods, old football magazines, archive of clubs, excerpts from novels of famous authors, football chants, slogans etc.

---

[55] John Scott. *A matter of record: Documentary sources in social research*. John Wiley & Sons, 1990.
[56] Geoff Payne and Judy Payne. *Key concepts in social research*. Sage, 2004.
[57] Malcolm Tight. *Documentary Research in the Social Sciences*. SAGE Publications Limited, 2019.
[58] Monageng Mogalakwe. *The use of documentary research methods in social research*. African Sociological Review, 2006.

Like other social science methodologies, documentary sources need to be handled scientifically, though each source requires a different approach. Referring to Scott (1990), Mogalakwe (2006) summarizes four criteria for the quality control of handling documentary sources as follows:

> These are authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning. Authenticity refers to whether the evidence is genuine and from impeccable sources; credibility refers to whether the evidence is typical of its kind, representativeness refers to whether the documents consulted are representative of the totality of the relevant documents and meaning refers to whether the evidence is clear and comprehensible.[59,60]

This study aims to ensure these four criteria in handling the documentary sources. According to Platt (1981), authenticity can be assured by both authenticating the document and the author.[61] The large part of documents is to be reviewed in this study includes evidences provided by the academic literature which are peer-reviewed, and the authors are also authenticated as being scholars. Authenticity of other sources, mainly primary documents, such as excerpts from novels, newspaper columns were also confirmed with their frequent use in various sources. With regards to credibility of resources, as indicated for authenticity, the primary and secondary documents are mainly peer-reviewed and thus can be considered reliable. Also, for such historical analysis related to stadiums, there is usually no expected conflict of interest for the authors, related to the subject area.

Compared to authenticity and credibility criteria, representativeness of documents related to Istanbul stadiums is relatively limited due to the nature and the scope of this study. In most cases, evidences are provided on a basis of experiences related to a specific stadium in Istanbul, therefore, they are time and context specific. On the other

---

[59] Ibid

[60] John Scott. *A matter of record: Documentary sources in social research*.

[61] Jennifer Platt. "Evidence and proof in documentary research: 1 Some specific problems of documentary research." *The Sociological Review* 29, no. 1 (1981): 31-52.

hand, exploratory approach in this study within historical periods requires to include elements with capacity to represent some level of generalization to come up with earlier concepts of Istanbul stadiums. Acknowledging this limitation, the scope of this study has been scaled down to most influential stadiums of their time (Papazin Cayiri, Taksim and Inonu Stadiums, respectively), mainly hosting games of three big football clubs of Istanbul. In order to tackle these challenges, in later chapters, evidences are reviewed and complemented with supportive, contextual discussions to assist the representatives of evidences. Finally, with regards to meaning criteria of the documentary research, most of documents in this study contain elements with both literal and interpretative meanings. If clear and comprehensible, both meanings are necessary in the view of theoretical framework of the study and then in later chapters, they are carefully categorized and then situated especially within the spatial triad.

CHAPTER III

REFLECTIONS OF TURKISH MODERNIZATION IN SPACE MAKING

Like any other massive social spaces, stadiums, cannot be detached from conceptualization of hegemonic powers. As discussed in my theoretical framework, stadiums should be studied in relation with the dominant ideology of the football and of the place, context where stadiums are perceived and lived. Therefore, it is inevitable to think that transformation of Istanbul stadiums is inseparable from the key ideologic shifts on political, economic, architectural and cultural codes, respectively over football, Istanbul and Turkey. In the introduction chapter, I already provided a brief summary on the physical and ideological evolution of football and its stadiums globally. In this chapter, I aim to complement it with a brief analysis of dominant ideology of the place (Istanbul and Turkey) which politically and economically shapes the transformation of stadiums.

Due to changing nature of ideological contexts where stadiums perceived and lived in, there is a need for classifying and conceptualizing historical periods and decisive moments of ideological shifts for Istanbul stadiums. For this classification, dominant ideologies can be examined in the view of the reflections of Turkish modernization into the space making in Istanbul. To this end, Ilhan Tekeli's characterization and classification of Istanbul's modernization, is very useful and also shows strong parallelism with chronologic evolutionary classification of football stadiums globally. Therefore, my formulation on distinct periods of the transformation of Istanbul stadiums is, in line with Tekeli's classification, within four periods, 1890-1923; 1923-1950; 1950-1980; and 1980-today.

Therefore, this chapter is structured in a way to fulfil my theoretical spatial triad by covering the brief introduction on the history of Turkish modernization and its reflections on space-making in Istanbul, as Istanbul's modernization, in order to investigate the dominant ideology and social context where Istanbul stadiums are spatially re-produced. In the next chapter, this will follow with the review of existing literature on Istanbul stadiums and interpretation of practices in and around Istanbul stadiums within historical periods discussed in this chapter.

3.1. Turkish Modernization, Nation Building and Architecture

Modernization process of Turkey has a strong impact on the architectural transformation of the country. Especially during the early Republican years coinciding with 1920s and 30s, molding a brand-new nation from the ashes of an empire went hand in hand with the changing understanding in space making which is a mixture of rejection of the cultural heritage and the architectural forms of the Ottomans, and admiration towards Western counterparts.

Before elaborating on the parallelism between the modernization of Turkey and changing architectural forms, I will shed light on the process of modernization. Although, definitions and concepts such as *modern*, *modernization* and *modernity* can refer to various meanings at various contexts, in this research by modernization of Turkey, it is meant that all the practices, and regulations aiming at Westernization of the country. Although it is known that these are distinct concepts, in Turkey's case, it would not be an exaggeration to say that modernization was equated with Westernization and these concepts were nearly used for substitution for the other. This was mostly because of the fact that Westernization was promoted among the ruling class of the Ottomans during the 19th century since an alliance and identification with the West was thought to be the

best policy for the state.[62] Daniel Lerner's *The Passing of Traditional Society*[63] and Bernard Lewis's *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*[64] are considered as the classical texts of the modernization literature.[65] It is stated that in such works "Turkey's apparently successful adoption of Western norms, styles, and institutions, most conspicuously in education, law, social life, clothing, music, architecture, and the arts, was portrayed as testimony to the viability of the project of modernity even in an overwhelmingly Muslim country."[66] It is easily discerned from the writings and the images of modernization period that the biggest emphasis was put on westernized practices of every day lives such as "unveiled women working next to clean-shaven men in educational and professional settings, healthy children and young people in school uniforms."[67] New architectural forms were given importance especially at spaces open to public use. It was possible to observe the traces of the modernization at "the spectacular performances of the sports events, national theatre, symphony orchestra, opera, and ballet, and proud scenes of agriculture, railroads, factories, and dams" especially in Ankara, Istanbul and other big cities.[68] In *The Story of Istanbul's Modernization*, Tekeli classifies the phases of Istanbul's transformation into a modern city into four periods:

> First, the era of *Shy Modernity*, which lasted from the 1860s until the collapse of the Ottoman Empire; second, the phase of *Radical Modernity*, which commenced with the declaration of the Turkish Republic in 1923 and ended after the Second World War when Turkey accepted a multiple-party policy; third, the period of *Populist Modernity*, which took place during the multiparty system until the 1980s; and finally, the period that began at the end of the 1980s and continues to the present day, which can be regarded as the *Erosion of Modernity*.[69]

---

[62] Halil Inalcik. "Turkey between Europe and the Middle East." *Journal of International Affairs* 3, no. 1 (1998): 5-18.

[63] Daniel Lerner. *The passing of traditional society: Modernizing the Middle East*. No. HN660. 8 L43. 1958.

[64] Bernard Lewis. *The emergence of modern Turkey*. No. 135. Oxford University Press, 1961.

[65] Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, eds. *Rethinking modernity and national identity in Turkey*. Vol. 7. University of Washington Press, 1997.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid.

[69] İlhan Tekeli, "The Story of Istanbul's Modernization." Architectural Design 80, no. 1 (2010): 32-39.

As indicated at the very beginning of this part, nation-building was an essential part of the modernization of Turkey and it was taken literally. In other words, the space-making process of the country was in the high consideration of the engineers of nation-building. In the eyes of the secularist policy-makers, building a nation was only possible with molding and reshaping everyday spaces and practices. Clearly enough, architecture was one of the main tools of this space-making process. Furthermore, architecture can be considered as a crucial actor of the visual culture of the modernization period. Thus, the aim of this part is to elaborate on the relationship between urban modernization process and the architectural transformation of Istanbul as all these relations in some way reflect the pre-condition of the architectural transformation of Istanbul stadiums. I will try to follow İlhan Tekeli's classifaction while reviewing the architectural changes. Again, it is necessary to remind that the era of *Erosion of Modernity* will not be covered in this part since the time period after 1980s is beyond the scope of this research.

3.2. Shy Modernity

To begin with Shy Modernity in the history of Istanbul's modernization - although the traces can be seen earlier - it is possible to say that the beginning of Turkish modernization marked with the "first systematic attempts to understand the difference between the Ottoman and the European military systems"[70] in the 18th century. The establishment of disciplined troops as a replacement of janissaries is considered as one of the first practices to westernize the state.[71] Following this, Tanzimat Reforms were declared by Sultan Abdulmecid in 1839. Tanzimat Reforms, consisting of new regulations in education, justice system and in general administration, are interpreted as pivotal "in the transformation of the patrimonial Ottoman Empire into a modern state."[72]

---

[70] Ayşe Kadioğlu. "The paradox of Turkish nationalism and the construction of official identity." *Middle Eastern Studies* 32, no. 2 (1996): 177-193.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Haldun Gülalp. "Using Islam as political ideology: Turkey in historical perspective." *Cultural Dynamics* 14, no. 1 (2002): 21-39.

Western effect on the architecture of Shy Modernity is interpreted as "a mirror image of the declining state of the late Ottoman Empire which sought to extend its lifetime through reforms following European models."[73] Even the architectural education program started in 1882 in the Academy of Fine Arts of Istanbul, was borrowed from the Ecole des Beaux-Arts of Paris.[74]

Architectural traits were not the only things that were borrowed from France. Contrary to Anglo-Saxon secularism, which followed an evolutionary process, the French way of laicism had a tendency to get rid of the political, social and cultural symbols of the old regime.[75] By empowering the central state and reducing the effect of the religious establishments, Tanzimat Reforms had a huge effect on the secularization of the Empire. The secularization effect of Tanzimat Reforms "caused a serious split within the state between the ulama[76] and the other bureaucratic elements."[77] With these reforms, it was observable that there was a tendency to apply a French way of laicism. But with the establishment of a new republic in 1923, it became obvious that Atatürk and his successors were under the influence of the French model of laicism.

3.3. Radical Modernity

With New Turkish Republic, Atatürk's efforts in secularizing the country became more apparent, and the regulations and reformations towards a more secular state were accelerated. Among the reforms and regulations led by Atatürk; the abolishment of the caliphate, the disestablishment of the state's religion, the abolition of the Ministry Affairs and other pious Foundations, prohibition of some kinds of religion-based clothing, the adoption of Western (Gregorian) calendar instead of Islamic calendar, and

---

[73] Ibid.

[74] Nuray Özaslan. "The Role of Architectural History in Building Modern Turkish Architecture." *Journal of International Social Research* 4, no. 17 (2011).

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ulema refers to religious-based ruling class in the Ottoman context.

[77] Ümit Cizre Sakallioğlu. "Parameters and strategies of Islam–State interaction in Republican Turkey." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 28, no. 2 (1996): 231-251.

the shift from the Arabic alphabet to the Latin alphabet can be listed.[78] Therefore, it is interpreted that "by adopting this form of secularism, the Kemalists sought to destroy the political legitimacy of the Ottoman Empire".[79]

A new architectural style appeared denoting "the ideological aspirations and cultural complexities of the late empire".[80] While called *First National Style* by architectural historians, later it started to be known as *National Architecture Renaissance*. Essentially, this style was the combination of classical Ottoman architecture such as semispherical Ottoman domes, pointed arches with beau-arts design and new construction techniques borrowed from West. *First National Style* was mainly used for cinemas, banks, and offices in Istanbul. *National Architecture Renaissance* is considered as "the first systematic engagement of Turkish architects with new building types, construction techniques, and design principles".[81] But more importantly, it was the first time that architects were aiming for identity construction and nation building with their actions. From an alternative perspective, the *National Architecture Renaissance* can be interpreted as the "last breath of Ottoman-Islamic architecture before its final eclipse in the republican period".[82] Bozdogan evaluates Ottoman revivalist *National Architecture Renaissance* in three phases. Considering the setting of this text, it can be concluded that during Shy Modernity era, first, Ottoman revivalist *National Architecture Renaissance* emerged, then it was approved by Turkish nationalists and finally it was rejected by the Kemalist revolution.[83]

---

[78] Pinar Tank. "Political Islam in Turkey: A state of controlled secularity." *Turkish Studies* 6, no. 1 (2005): 3-19.
[79] Ibid, 6.
[80] Sibel Bozdoğan. (*Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (University of Washington Press, 2001), 21.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.

In early 1930s, *First National Style* was left behind swiftly since *New Architecture (Yeni Mimari)* also known as the *Modern Movement* emerged in Turkey. Republican architects were searching the ways to split from any features that was related to Ottoman architectural heritage.[84] *Modern Movement* was promoted by modern architects "as the most appropriate expression of the rationalist and positivist ideals of Kemalism."[85] Although, the movement had a claim in being *brand new,* it bore hardly any *avant-garde* characteristic since, the well-known formula of symmetry and order, and traditional elements like vertical windows and stone cladding were still in use.[86] Therefore, rather than the style, it was the understanding which was referred with the *new*. In other words, it was an attempt to articulate and integrate into a more Western architectural world.

Bozdogan states that it was not only understanding but also pragmatic reasons that led a new movement in architecture. Due to the big losses in the first World War, there was the lack of skilled labor for traditional crafts in stone, marble, and tile decoration.[87] "Especially in the aftermath of the economic crisis related to Great Depression, the unadorned simplicity and austerity of modern forms became an appealing option, with their connotations of rationality and economy of means."[88] Still, the key reason for the breakup with past habits was ideological. In other words, there was a strong intention towards building a new nation state which led a period called Radical Modernity in İlhan Tekeli's terms. Tekeli describes this period as follow:

> The Radical Modernity process followed spatial strategies at two different levels: first, it focused on the transformation of the country into a nation-state; second, cities were to become places of modernity. The first step in the creation of the nation-state was to declare Ankara as the capital city. Next came the

---

[84] Ibid, 59.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Eren Gazioglu. "Politics and architecture in Turkey (1923–1960)." *Estudo Prévio* 11 (2017).
[87] Sibel Bozdogan. *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, 61.
[88] Ibid.

construction of railway networks to integrate the domestic market, followed by the creation of industries in small-scale Anatolian cities in accordance with the government's industrialization policy. In addition to this was the founding of Halkevleri (community centers) in every Anatolian city in order to introduce modern lifestyles and values across the country.[89]

A reflection of an understanding of "binary oppositions such as anachronism versus progress, tradition versus modernity, and obscurantism versus enlightenment"[90] was easily observed in Kemalist culture of the 1930s and on the architecture of the age. Ankara was declared as the capital city of new Turkish Republic in 1923. A great number of educational institutions, parks, state buildings, squares, and stadiums were built in Ankara in the 1930s. "Ankara was the ultimate embodiment of youth and health, and these attributes found their more literal spatial expression in places of public recreation and collective sports where the regeneration of the body and, in turn, of the nation was to take place."[91] Great emphasis was put especially on sport complexes and activities, as "being young and healthy signified a state that had successfully broken ties with the old empire or the sick man of Europe, as the Ottoman Empire was known in the nineteenth century."[92] The declaration of *Youth and Sports Holiday* in 1938 resulted in the construction of new stadiums and parks with a special emphasis on youth, health, and modernist architecture. But above all, Ankara's swift transform into a capital city owed its success to the understanding that the national unity could only be achieved within a more introverted place rather than the cosmopolitan atmosphere of large port cities.[93] "It was hoped that an emerging middle class could establish new standards and values which would serve as an example for the whole country."[94]

---

[89] İlhan Tekeli. "The Story of Istanbul's Modernisation", 36.
[90] Sibel Bozdogan. Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic, 62.
[91] Ibid, 75.
[92] Ibid, 62.
[93] İlhan Tekeli. "Cities in modern Turkey." *Istanbul. City of intersections* (2009): 16-17.
[94] Ibid, 1.

During the early of the 1930s, the conflict between the traditional and modern architecture was eliminated by the efforts of Sedat Hakkı Eldem.[95] Eldem asserts that a style of the national architecture can be reproduced from the Turkish domestic architecture.[96] In addition, he rejects the imitation European style although he was educated in Munich, Paris and Berlin.[97] "His experience and studies led Eldem to discover the modern qualities of the Turkish House such as lightness, transparency and modular logic both in structure and building design."[98] In 1932, Sedat Hakkı Eldem started a seminar series on the national architectural style focusing especially on the encouragement of making use of a new, modern Turkish style, at the Academy of Fine Arts. "The seminar was so influential that resulted in the development of a new architectural style commonly known as the *Second National Architecture*, which replaced the Cubist forms that had developed during the early republican period in Ankara."[99] The examples of *Second National Architecture are* Ankara Railway Station, Anıtkabir, the mausoleum of Atatürk and the Faculty of Literature and Sciences in Istanbul.[100]

3.4. Populist Modernity

The transition from the single party era to a multi-party period is considered as one of the crucial turning points of Turkish Republic started in 1950 with the victory of the Democratic Party (DP). The monopolized power of the government shifted rapidly from elites to more local reigns. "The landlords and professionals acquired governmental power and replaced the bureaucratic intelligentsia" since the new political order trusted

---

[95] Nuray Özaslan. "The Role of Architectural History in Building Modern Turkish Architecture."

[96] Sedad Hakki Eldem. "Toward a Local Idiom: A Summary History of Contemporary Architecture in Turkey." *Conservation as Cultural Survival* (1980): 89-99.

[97] Taha Toros Arşivi. Kişisel Arşivlerde İstanbul Belleği. *Cumhuriyet Kitap*, No 185 (Library Archive, Sehir University: İstanbul), 8-9.

[98] Nuray Özaslan. "The Role of Architectural History in Building Modern Turkish Architecture."

[99] Ibid.

[100] Eren Gazioğlu. "Politics and Architecture in Turkey (1923–1960)."

on small landowners, merchants, and craftsmen.[101] Karpat asserts that "The Democratic Party rule was indeed a period of quantitative growth in every field."[102] The adoption of a multi-party regime in government brought some changes such as liberal economic policies, rapid industrialization, fast growth in population and migration from the peripheries to metropolitans.[103]

Coinciding with Populist Modernity, which is one of Tekeli's phases, this time period between 1950 and 1980, is categorized by some scholars as the era of the *housing boom*[104] or *housing miracle.*[105] Especially domestic migration from periphery to center led a serious lack in the housing industry. Even building cooperatives were not providing solution for the demand. Consequently, "two forms of housing supply were to emerge in response to the housing shortage: *gecekondu* (squatter housing) and *yapsatçılık* (build-and-sell)."[106] As Tekeli indicated "this led to the formation of residential areas with inadequate infrastructure and densities far higher than those foreseen in plans."[107] Consequently, three largest cities of Turkey; namely Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir faced similar problems such as "expansion of the city along intercity motorways, high-density inner-city development, and growth of the central business district toward high-income neighborhoods."[108]

The transition from the single party era to a multi-party period in 1950 can also be marked as the era of Istanbul's regaining its popularity. The focus shifted from Ankara

---

[101] Kemal H. Karpat, ed. *Social change and politics in Turkey: A structural-historical analysis*. Vol. 7. Brill, 1973.
[102] Ibid, 58.
[103] Korkut Boratav. *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi,* 1908-1985. Vol. 1. Istanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1988.
[104] Deniz Baharoglu. "Housing supply under different economic development strategies and the forms of state intervention: the experience of Turkey." *Habitat International* 20, no. 1 (1996): 43-60.
[105] Ayşe Öcü. "The politics of the urban land market in Turkey: 1950–1980." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 12, no. 1 (1988): 38-64.
[106] Dilek Özdemir. "The role of the public sector in the provision of housing supply in Turkey, 1950–2009." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 35, no. 6 (2011): 1099-1117.
[107] İlhan Tekeli. "Cities in Modern Turkey."
[108] Ibid.

to Istanbul after Ankara started to lose its bureaucratical fame which paved the way for Istanbul's taking stage as an industrial and commercial center. One of the major reasons for the revival of the jewel of Turkey, Istanbul; is the constant emphasis on the importance of Istanbul made by Adnan Menderes, Prime Minister of the period between 1950-1960. In addition, Menderes' speech at National Assembly in 1957 entitled as "We are, once more, going to conquer Istanbul"[109] is considered as one of the milestones of the huge transformation of the city. Menderes stated at the press conference that the former aim of this urbanization plan is "beautifying of Istanbul and glorifying its Ottoman past"[110]. "Escorted by a team of architects, planners, bureaucrats, and engineers, Menderes was personally involved with the urban demolitions and urban reconstruction to such detail that he was nicknamed as the head architect of Istanbul." [111] A great emphasis was put on the demolishment of the buildings and other constructions at main roads and construct huge streets and city squares.

Although the former aim of Menderes' urbanization plan was to beautify Istanbul and glorify the Ottoman architectural heritage, the outcomes were not parallel with the ideals. First of all, the excess of demolitions, constructions and/or reconstructions accelerated the emergence of a disorganized and unplanned urbanization model. Secondly, "the internal immigration from rural areas to Istanbul and the external emigration or exile of non-Muslims from Istanbul to European countries caused dramatic changes into the urban identity of Istanbul."[112] While becoming more local and national, "Istanbul's population changed between 1930 and 1960, becoming markedly less cosmopolitan."[113]   Although the demolition plans were not directly against the ethnic minorities, they were flocking around the areas where mostly non-Muslims resided. The internal immigration and the external emigration both helped the

---

[109] Ipek Akpinar. "Urbanization represented in the historical peninsula: Turkification of Istanbul in the 1950s." In *Mid-Century Modernism in Turkey*, pp. 74-102. Routledge, 2018.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Ibid.

formation of a new identity for Istanbul: *Turkification*. While non-Muslims and ethnic minorities abandoned or exiled from Istanbul, the internal immigration flow was creating new group dynamics. Whenever an immigrant came, his relatives, friends and people from his village followed him, and they, recreating thus their own village within a neighborhood, a social event is described as chain migration.[114]

In addition, to deal with the intensive population migrated from smaller cities, there needed to be make comprehensive and effective investments. Nevertheless, this could not be achieved during this period of populist modernity, because of lack of capital accumulation of the state. Also, the ability to adapt to new lifestyles and professional jobs in cities was quite challenging for the newcomers of the big cities which lead the emergence of urban slums.[115]

---

[114] İlhan Tekeli. "The Story of Istanbul's Modernisation."
[115] Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

ISTANBUL STADIUMS (1890-1980)

This chapter includes review of existing literature on Istanbul stadiums and interpretation of practices in and around Istanbul stadiums within historical periods of Istanbul's modernization in the view of Tekeli's classification; shy modernity era, until 1923; radical modernity era, 1923-1950; and populist modernity era, 1950-1980.

4.1. Istanbul Stadiums, 1890-1923

Football was introduced in Ottoman Empire at the end of 19th century during the reign of Abdulhamid II. This was the period which contradictorily experienced both the traditional Ottoman and the Western life practices simultaneously.[116] Although many steps were taken on Westernization especially in developmental objectives, football was as a symbolic expression of Western culture and seriously discouraged by the Hamidian regime, at the time, for instance, Muslim Turks were not allowed to engage in football.[117] In this context, football was introduced and played only among non-Muslim communities, especially British living in cosmopolitan cities, first in the port cities, Izmir and Thessaloniki, and later brought to Istanbul in early 1890s. Green fields in Kadikoy were the first fields hosting football games within very weak spatial rules and uneven terrains.[118] Sermet Muhtar Alus, in his long quote below, very well portraits how first football games, played by non-Muslim community were spatially harmonized with everyday life, mesire or promenade, practices of Muslim community.[119]

> It was almost many years since the first football game had begun to be played for the first time as the way known today in England, 1823. Finally, when the

---

[116] Şerif Mardin, Peter Benedict, Erol Tümertekin, and Fatma Mansur. *Super Westernization in urban life in the Ottoman Empire in the last quarter of the nineteenth century*. Brill, 1974.

[117] Cüneyd Okay. "The introduction, early development and historiography of soccer in Turkey: 1890-1914." *Soccer & Society* 3, no. 3 (2002): 1-10.

[118] This can be considered as the 1st stage of Bale's model for the evaluation of football stadiums.

[119] Sermet Muhtar Alus. "Kadıköy'ünde ilk futbol." *Tarih Hazinesi Dergisi.* 274 (1951): 6.

1890s came, the English living in Moda was also quite impressed by this delightful game and started playing the football in those fields of Kadıköy that were glamorously green. It was only natural and even inevitable for this highly delightful to watch game to draw the interest of the Turkish youngsters around Kadıköy and to make them like this sport. However, because it was forbidden for Muslim Turks to establish an association and even to join an already existing one due to the monarchic regime which was ruling at that time, only the Greek youngsters could accompany the English youngsters playing football in the meadows of Kadıköy. Nevertheless, almost every evening, especially these football matches or practices in Kuşdili Meadow were attracting most of the Kadıköy's residents. These practices were prompting the local people who were going to come in groups from Kalamış, Moda, Kuyubaşı and even Haydarpaşa and their surroundings, to watch this football game, which was usually played in the evenings even if it was just for the fun of it, in small or large clusters depending on the day and the weather. Most of the Kadıköy's locals used to get up on their feet around afternoon, and if it wasn't Friday or Sunday, meaning if the improvisation company of Funny Hasan wasn't playing in the shabby theater next to the Kurbağalıdere, they would take to the road towards Kuşdili Meadow. And if it was Friday or Sunday, they would take to the road towards Moda or Papazın Meadow where today's Fenerbahçe Stadium is located. Comrade-looking youngsters from different ages with handlebar mustaches, grannies and middle-aged ladies with children in different heights next to them, Arab sisters, life-long friends and gentlemen who were tired of drowsing in the coffee house would surround the meadow all around. They would spread the rugs women brought, and some men would sit on the bare ground cross-legged, some would sit on a relatively large stone and some would stand. People who were selling water, ice creams, wafers, bagels, balloons and also the toy-sellers from Eyüp, shortly every kind of seller would make an appearance here and make this place no different from a fair. And in the middle place, which was to be the pitch, a bunch of men with muscled and upright bodies, bare chests, shorts coming to their knees, sleeves of the shirts rolled up and heads bare would run breathlessly, crashing each other again and again. They would struggle, push and pull each other and call it playing football. Inspired by this way of playing football, some youngsters would aspire to play football like them in the fields or large meadows of Kadıköy. In a topsy-turvy way, they would go noisily and hastily, and the one hitting the ball the most and the one making the ball go the highest in the air were considered the masters. But after a while, in other words as the 1900s came closer, Moda's English youngsters' starting to play modern football and therefore their making the way they played the game more desirable to watch as time goes by was causing hearts of Kadıköy's youngsters to leap who were watching them in admiration while starting to turn their desire to form an organized team as they had done into an indispensable passion.

Following years, football games in these green fields had become more structured and collectively organized by applying modern football rules. This helped football to gain more popularity among both players and spectators in Istanbul. In 1895, the first football club in Istanbul was established by British families in Moda and named as Kadikoy Football Association. Same year, to adopt modern football rules, the club re-organized the green field in Kusdili area of Kadikoy through spatial enclosure segregating the players and spectators and arrangements on the field dimensions and markings. This field, called Papazin Cayiri, has been considered as the first football pitch in Istanbul and such spatial arrangements in Papazin Cayiri represent the evolution from the 1st stage to 2nd stage referring to Bale's four stage model of modern stadium's evaluation.

The first football teams and the first league, Istanbul Clubs League, were formed by the Greek, Armenian and Jewish communities in Istanbul.[120] With the more frequent games, Papazin Cayiri became a central field for the league in Istanbul. Due to Abdulhamid II reign's suppressive attitude on football, first football practices of Ottoman Turks had to be tactical. Fuad Husnu Bey, a student at the Naval Academy and the first Turk known to have played football, formed the first Turkish football team but in English name, Black Stockings, to escape from the Palace or regime informers. [121] Anyway, they were reported to the Palace and had to end their activities. Coming to the end of Abdulhamid II era, Ottoman Turks started to develop on football and become more visible in the field with the accompanying discourse of playing against Westerns.

First Ottoman Turks football team, Galatasaray, was established by 5th grade students of Mekteb-i Sultan, led by Ali Sami Yen. In 1905, Ali Sami Yen and his friends, under Galatasaray, started to play in the Istanbul League. In 1907, this followed the formation of Fenerbahce by Ottoman Turks in Kadikoy and further their participation to Istanbul

---

[120] Dağhan Irak. "The Transformation of Football Fandom since the 1970s." *Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü, İstanbul* (2010).
[121] Cüneyd Okay. "The introduction, early development and historiography of soccer in Turkey: 1890-1914."

League. In 1908, this progress made Ottoman Turks win the first championship in the Istanbul Clubs League and then they never handed back the title to foreign teams during the history of the league.

Same year, 2nd Constitutional Era was established and made way for political domination of Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), or Ittihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti. CUP believed that football could be an apparatus to diffuse Turkish nationalism[122] and consequently used football as a space to challenge conservative Muslim population through reinforcing modern bodily practices (via football play itself) and nationalism (via rivalry against to non-Turks). With the increasing demand and supportive political environment, football gradually became popular amongst Ottoman Turks and open grounds for games hosted thousands of spectators, women and men. However, due to absence of a field in Kadikoy with a proper structure for spectators to sit down and socialize, English and Ottoman-Turkish founders of Union Club together had a private initiative to establish a football stadium, first of its kind, in Papazin Cayiri area. In his diaries, Cemil Topuzlu shared his first discussions with Whittall on this stadium:[123]

> Paşa, thank God, you have obtained freedom. Now it will be easier for your youth to gather together. I see that you [the Turks] have recently become interested in football; however, in England, this sport has developed into a public and national game (*umumi ve milli bir oyun*). Football has a number of important benefits for the improvement of the race and youth of a people. I sincerely want football to develop among the youth in Turkey (*Türkiye*). As such, why don't we establish a football stadium in Kadıköy? In doing so, we will increase the popularity of football, develop the game, and we will benefit financially as the owners of this club.[124]

---

[122] Ibid.

[123] Murat Cihan Yildiz. "Strengthening Male Bodies and Building Robust Communities: Physical Culture in the Late Ottoman Empire." PhD diss., UCLA, 2015.

[124] Cemil Topuzlu. *İstibdat, Meşrutiyet, Cumhuriyet devirlerinde 80 yıllık hâtıralarım*. İstanbul Üniversitesi Cerrahpaşa Tıp Fakültesi Yayınları, 1982. – Translated by Yildiz, Murat Cihan. "Strengthening Male Bodies and Building Robust Communities: Physical Culture in the Late Ottoman Empire." PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2015.

The area in Papazin Cayiri was rented by Cemil Topuzlu and the construction started with investments from English and Ottoman-Turkish founders. The stadium was named after Union Club, whose name represented the unity of Istanbul's multiethnic residents. Construction was finished in 1909 and the Stadium had a football field with an athletic track, grandstand for 1000 people, separate boxes with a capacity of 150 seats, and a club house (see Figure 4.1).
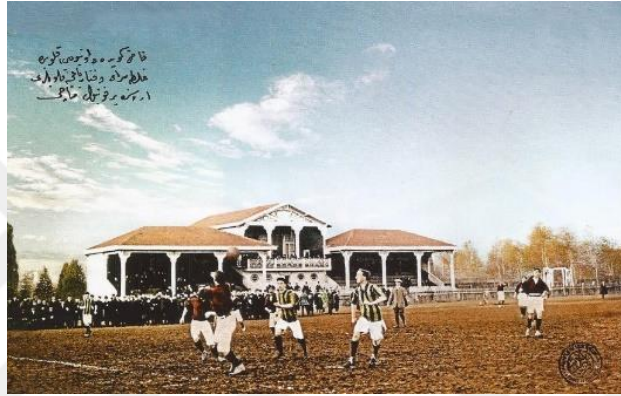
Figure 4.1. Union Club Stadium (1914), Original source: Ferdi Ibrahim, NTV Tarih Sayi 49. Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fenerbah%C3%A7e-Galatasaray_kar%C5%9F%C4%B1la%C5%9Fmas%C4%B1,_4_Ocak_1914.jpg, accessed January 03, 2017

Yildiz noted that entrance to Union Club Stadium was not free and depending on seating plan, there were three ticket options with different fees. Therefore, the stadium was known as hosting first paid experiences for football spectators. Stadium's seating arrangements with boxes also facilitated women's attendance to games. Union Club Stadium was not only used for football games, it served to host various sporting competitions, including athletics, gymnastics, weightlifting and sports festivals, including Jewish sports tournament (tournoi sportif), Armenian Olympics (Haygagan Voghimpiyagan) and 1914 Sports Holiday (Idman Bayrami) organized to display young men in athletic attire to demonstrate the robustness of civilized communities in multi-

ethnoreligious environment as portrayed in the caricature (see Figure 4.2) published in Idman, illustrating the diverse group of people attending those sports events. [125]
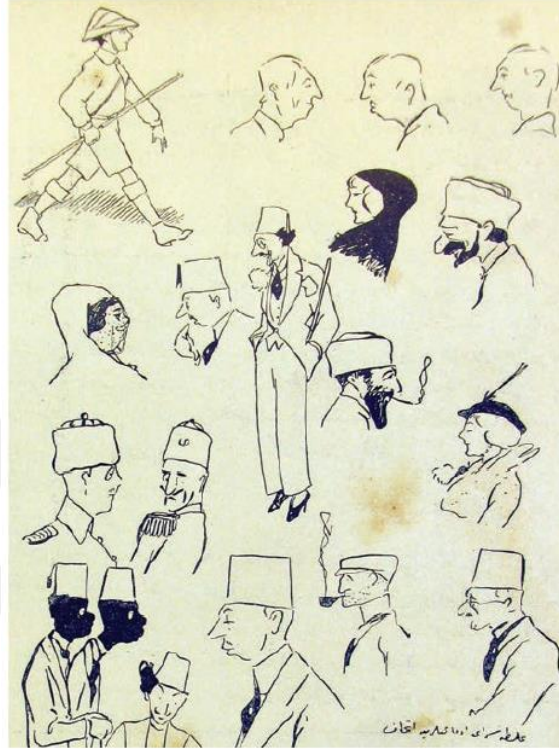
Figure 4.2. Face of sports in late Ottoman Istanbul (1914). Original Source: Sedat Suleyman, "Idman Meydanlarinda Gorulen Simalar," Idman, May 4, 1914, p.460. Source: Yildiz, PhD Diss.[126]

Grandstands, segregated seating plans, payment for entry and start of segregation within crowd were all signs existed in Union Club Stadiums, therefore the stadium was the Istanbul's first example of Bale's 3rd stage of modern stadiums. This period until early years of first World War, witnessed emergence of some other early football fields in different parts of Istanbul, representing Bale's 2nd stage of modern stadiums. These

---

[125] Murat Cihan Yildiz. "Strengthening Male Bodies and Building Robust Communities: Physical Culture in the Late Ottoman Empire."
[126] Ibid. 209.

fields were mostly used for training purposes due to their remote locations and quality of fields. Those known are as follows[127]:

- Beykoz Çayırı: Established in 1911 and served to Beykoz Şark İdman Yurdu football club.[128]
- Anadoluhisarı Er Meydanı Field: Established by Anadoluhisarı İdman Yurdu in 1915. 1915.[129]
- Erenköy Hilal Field: Established by Hilal Sports Club in 1912 in Erenkoy, Kadikoy, located next train station.[130]
- Hasköy Maccabi Field: Established by Jewish community in Haskoy of Halic, in 1913[131]

Increasing popularity of football also paved a way for publications boosting more interest on football. Okay highlighted two key early publications on football, both called Futbol. [132] The first one was the first sports magazine in Ottoman Empire published in 1910 with an editorial article by Burhan Felek. In his article called, *To Those Against Football*,[133] Felek was referring to Muslim Community who was conservative and against to the football. Every issue of Futbol magazine explained the rule of sport and spatial information related to pitch size and other field descriptions. The first sports magazine, Futbol, only survived seven issues and mainly included news related to football games in Istanbul and emphasized the importance of physical education with football in schools.[134]

Second key publication Okay highlighted was the book, similarly called Futbol, written by Selim Sirri Tarcan. In his book, Tarcan provides a brief overview on history of football

---

[127] TFF Yayınları, Türk Futbol Tarihi, 1904-1991.
[128] https://beykozskdernegi.tr.gg/Tarih%E7e.htm
[129] http://www.ahisar.com/dagarcik/anadoluhisari-idman-yurdu.html
[130] http://www.aydinfskd.org/fskd/turkfutbolu.html
[131] http://www.salom.com.tr/haber-77408-maccabi_spor_kulubunun_tarihi_Istanbulun_100_spor_kulubunde.html
[132] Ibid.
[133] In Turkish, Futbol Muarızlarına
[134] Hamza Çakır. "Türk basınında ilk spor gazetesi "Futbol"." *Sayı 26 Kış-Bahar 2008* (2008): 169.

and its transformation to a mass and commercial sport in Western Europe. Further, Tarcan suggests the inclusion of football into school curriculums and into Ottoman army by referring European examples. The book also includes Turkish translation of the football rules also introduces Turkish equivalents for some of football terms such as hakem, serbest vurus, ofsayt, aut and gol[135] which are still in current use. In addition to those, in this period many other sports magazines came to life, Terbiye ve Oyun, İdman, Sipahi Mecmuası, Spor Alemi and Şa Şa Şa.[136] They were all short-lived journals but all noteworthy in terms of introducing and spreading of the football into the larger population. In terms of stadiums, all these early publications helped public to grasp spatiality of football and served only to geometric conceptualization of stadiums.

Overview:

In its very early period, football in Istanbul was initially spatialized by non-Muslim communities, primarily by British community. Consequently, first football areas appeared in Moda, Kadikoy where British population was clustered at the time. Hence, urban setting of Istanbul was decisive on where football was rooted in Istanbul and the location of the first modern stadium, Papazin Cayiri in Kadikoy. This urban setting was also decisive on Ottoman-Turkish urban elites, who lives geographically and culturally in close proximity of British community, in terms of adopting and fore-fronting the game. In the meantime, locals experiencing Mesire areas and there watching football of Westerns harmonized the football with leisure concept at the time, which built up the first spectator experiences as part of a leisure activity and thus facilitated football's acceptance and rapid diffusion among urban eites. All these reflect the significance of Istanbul's cultural geography, paving way for cooperation, negotiation and rivalry among the ethnoreligious communities,[137] through the spatial production of early Istanbul stadiums.

---

[135] Respectively, referee, free kick, offside, out and goal.
[136] Hamza Çakır. "Türk basınında ilk spor gazetesi, Futbol"
[137] Cem Emrence. "From elite circles to power networks: Turkish soccer clubs in a global age, 1903–2005." *Soccer & Society* 11, no. 3 (2010): 242-252.

Due to social, political context of the period, initial practices of around football fields for Ottoman-Turks were tactical in three folds; first was the against to Hamidian regime's suppression on football (until 1908) to bodily exercise the game; second was culturally against to dominant conservative community to defend the modern values associated with the game; and third was the patriotic and nationalist stance in the football field to gain a symbolic victory against to European communities, especially after the start of the first World War (1914).

In summary, within tactical nature, the early stadiums were largely shaped through urban and cultural dynamics of Istanbul, in other words, by the potency of the lived space of the spatial model of this thesis. Early stadiums were not under the pressure of any dominant ideology at this stage yet (except the ideology of early football itself), thus there is not a strong structural/strategic order imposed on the lived space and spatial practices on initial footballing spaces. By the 2nd Constitutional era and Galatasaray's first title in the Istanbul League, 1908 can be symbolically considered an interim milestone for the football and its stadiums in Istanbul. After 1908, football became more and more popular and the first modern football stadium, Union Club Stadium was constructed in Papazin Cayiri area with a multi-ethnoreligious private initiative. This stadium happened to be the center of football and various sport events, representing the 3rd stage of Bale's model. After 1908, one can summarize that football and stadiums had been progressively bodily practiced and stadiums became relatively more of physical entity and space, compared to the earlier period. In the meantime, with the start of first World War, football fields appeared to be more tactical against to both local conservatives and Europeans through increasing sentiments of nationalism and Western modernism.

4.2. Istanbul Stadiums, 1923-1950

This early Republican period, termed as radical modernity, broadly reflects revolutionary nation building process by challenging the foundational basis of Ottoman

Empire. In this period, football was not considered as a structure inherited from Ottomans, hence it continued its momentum gained after 1908 within relatively liberal context. Yet, in the 1930s, when the significance of sport became more apparent in shaping the social structure, this relative independence of sports ended at least in the political level, and the sport started to be controlled by the state.

Taksim Stadium can be given as an example of the context that the forgetting Ottoman's process initiated by the new regime did not primarily affect sports and especially football. Taksim Barracks, where later will be converted to a stadium, remained in the hands of the First Artillery Regiment (*1. Topçu Alayı*) for so many years during the Ottoman period. When Istanbul was occupied, Senegalese soldiers stayed at Taksim Barracks and later, it transformed into a place where Russian migrants organized horse races. The growing interest in football and amateur football games attracting big crowds in the Talimhane area, next to Taksim Barracks encouraged Çelebizade Said Tevfik Bey - who was publishing a sports magazine at that time - to turn the courtyard of Barracks into a stadium. The stadium, which was opened in 1921, later mainly hosted games of Galatasaray, which made it represent home of Galatasaray for a certain period. In line with the liberal political tendencies of the period, the stadium continued to be governed by a private operator and also at the hands of Turks, instead of foreign bodies as earlier, deemed important in terms of the nationalist stance in the early Republican period.

Turkey's first sports organization, Turkey Training Community Alliance (*Türkiye İdman Cemiyetleri İttifakı*), was founded in 1923. Accordingly, the first soccer federation was founded under the name of *Türkiye Futbol Heyet-i Müttehidesi*. The federation officially became a member of the International Football Federation (FIFA) and its first national game was played on November 26, 1923 against Romania at Istanbul Taksim Stadium. At the beginning, especially the games of Turkish teams against the British and French occupation forces were of great interest and Istanbul Taksim Stadium was becoming the home of a new national football age.
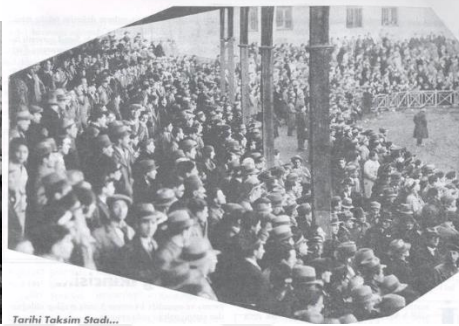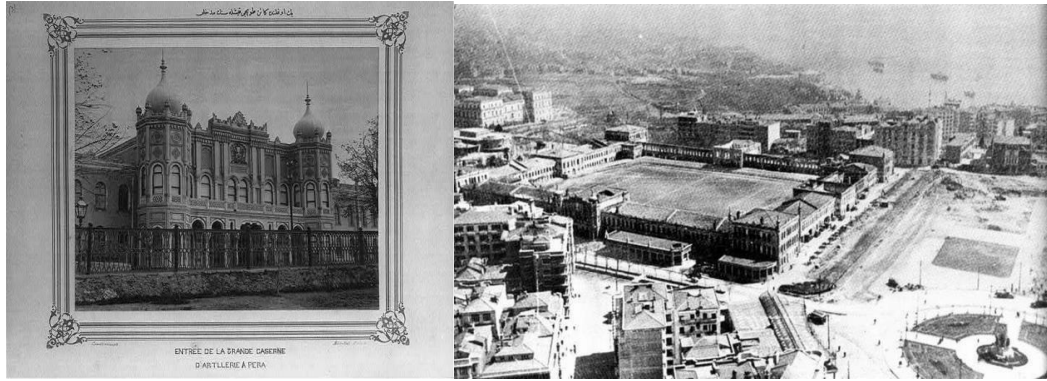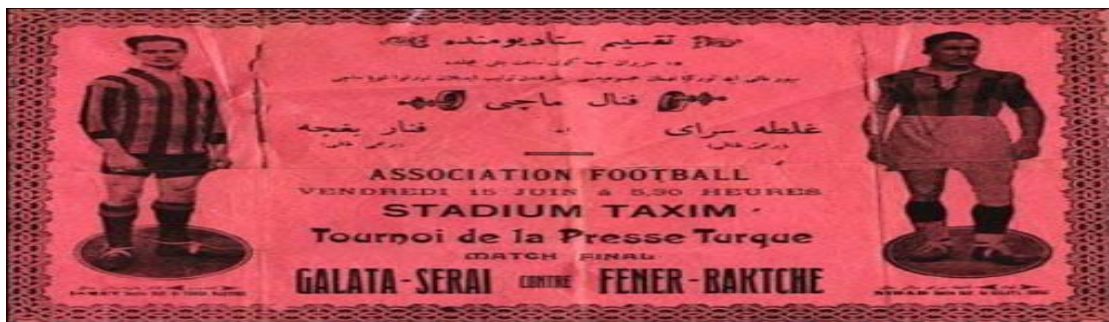
Figure 4.3. Photos of Taksim Stadium, Source: http://kentvedemiryolu.com/yikilan-yalnizca-bir-tribun-mu/ accessed January 03, 2017

Beside football, The Taksim stadium began to host wrestling, athletics and cycling races. Around 8000 people could fit within two wooden tribunes (please see selected photos from Taksim Stadiums in Figure 4.3). Attending matches at Taksim Stadium with a certain dress code, was an indication of elite class practices at the time. It was common to see women coming to stadium as well as it was explicitly written at the entrance gate of the stadium that *Free for Ladies*.

During its early years, Taksim stadium was leased to Galatasaray and Besiktas to play their matches and became the center of football in Istanbul at that time. Until the 1930s, Fenerbahce was not allowed to play their matches in Kadikoy. In this period of Turkish football, the footballing hegemony of Fenerbahce, Galatasaray and Besiktas began to emerge visibly. These major clubs then started to consider playing in their own stadiums to better manage the increasing interest in football by themselves.

Consequently, Fenerbahçe hired a stadium in Kadıköy in 1929 and only three years later, they could take the ownership of the stadium in 1932, as a result of specific legislation, supported by the Minister of Justice, Şükrü Saraçoğlu. In the same period, Besiktas was also given a special permission by political elites to have a say in Taksim Stadium. However, Besiktas requested to have a separate stadium belonging to them. For this purpose, the garden of Çırağan Palace, which was in ruins since a big fire happened in the Palace in 1910, was provided to Besiktas with permission to organize the area as a stadium. The project, which was brought to the agenda by Şeref Bey, was carried out with the support of Recep Bey who was one of the influential politicians of the period. As a result, the area was leased to Beşiktaş for 99 years, with a symbolic fee. The foundation was laid on 11 January 1933. The stadium was constructed in a 110m x 75m area with tribunes in front of the high wall of the street side and low wall of the sea side. Besiktas called the stadium as Şeref Stadyumu in memory of Şeref Bey who was the key figure of this establishment. Şeref Stadyumu had an estimated capacity of 6000 people, was actively used until 1947.

Overall, transition of stadium ownership from private operators to the clubs contributed to the political agenda of the nationalization of urban setting of Istanbul, which was a highly cosmopolite city of that time. The involvement of political elites who facilitated the transition also signifies the early notice of emerging relationship between clubs and politics in making or re-arranging football spaces.

Towards the second half of the 1930s, it has been relatively clear and visible that the single-party regime intervened in the sport. In 1936, Ankara 19 Mayıs Stadium which was built by famous Italian architect Paolo Vietti Violi, was inaugurated as Turkey's first modern stadium. The chief editor of various newspapers and the politician Falih Rıfkı Atay, in his article published at Ulus Newspaper[138], clearly reveals the period's governing atmosphere towards stadiums:

> Recently, the situation of the Turks in cities have become sorrowful. Especially in Istanbul, which raised and shaped the elites of the country until recently, immobility became a sign of wisdom and good manners. Even a running became a sign of defectiveness. The last generations of Ottoman cities have collapsed due to this inactivity. When the vigorous country boys enrolled in the Ottoman schools or started to live in the Ottoman community in big cities, they were obliged to comply with the requirements of this discipline. (...)Inonu governments did anything to motivate people for sports. Sports, again, has owned by Turkishness. (...) The nation-building process of Turkey needs citizens who are healthy, strong, patient, perseverant, endurable and have strong character. Turkey will remain an area of more than a few generational struggles. The stadiums are as important as the schools for our youth.

It can be said that the single-party regime preferred sportive investments in Ankara rather than Istanbul which was the center of football, in line with regime's general approach devaluing Istanbul's Ottoman history and favoring athletics branches over football. Till 1930s, the state was unable to make enough investment to Istanbul and its stadiums. There are two possible reasons for doing that; in the early period of the Republic the new regime was in the process of nation-building and there was a tendency

---

[138] Falih Rifki Atay. "Ankara Stadyumu", *Ulus*, 1,5, 1936.

towards enforced forgetting the history. The second reason might be the global effect of the Great Depression. Therefore, it is not possible to see the traces of First National Architectural Movement or Neoclassical Turkish Style among early Istanbul stadiums.

However, during the second half of 1930s, the effects of radical modernity become more apparent in space making with spatial interventions by the regime. For instance, after being appointed as governor and mayor of Istanbul in 1938, what Lütfi Kırdar immediately put into practice the development plan prepared by Henri Prost for Istanbul. Taksim Barracks and Taksim Stadium were demolished and replaced by today's Taksim Gezi Square. 18 new city squares such as in Şişhane, Taksim, Üsküdar, Beşiktaş were designed. In addition to Yıldız, Emirgan parks, facilities such as Theater (*Açıkhava Tiyatrosu*), Sports Exhibition Center (*Spor Sergi Sarayı*), Opera House (*Atatürk Kültür Merkezi*) were constructed. Dolmabahçe Imperial Stables (*Dolmabahçe Has Ahırları*, current space of Besiktas stadium) and Palace Theatre (*Saray Tiyatrosu*) were also demolished to broaden main roads. During the reign of Lütfi Kırdar, the public investments in Istanbul accelerated and early Republican years of stability in Istanbul has turned to an active era of modernization of urban Istanbul, which produced above examples of Second National Architectural Movement, architectural style influenced by the rising totalitarian and nationalist ideas of the period.

Inonu stadium, one of the most important examples of the Second National Architecture Period structures, was built after the demolition of the Taksim Stadium. In 1939, the world-renowned architect Paolo Vietti Violi, Turkish architects Fazil Aysu and Şinasi Şahingiray, prepared a construction plan which would fit into the old imperial stables of the Dolmabahçe Palace (*Dolmabahçe Has Ahırları*). The foundation of the stadium was laid on 19 May 1939, however, the challenges brought by World War II prevented the completion of the construction and a foundation ceremony could only be held on 19 May 1943. The stadium could be completed after 4 years of construction. The stadium was named after İsmet Inonu and inaugurated in 1947 with a Beşiktaş game.
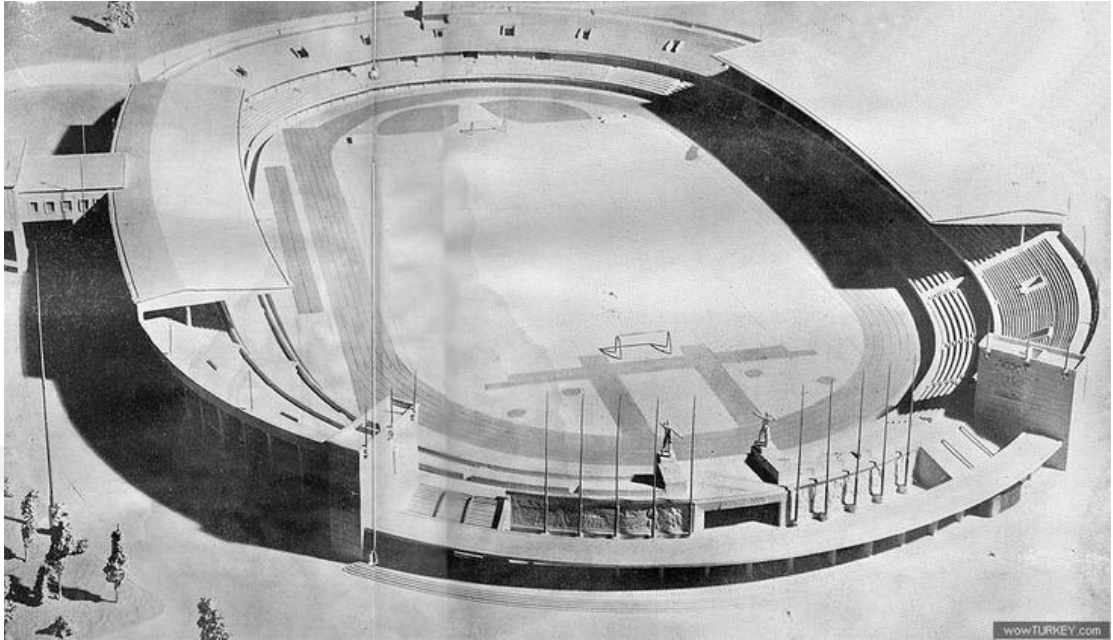
Figure 4.4. Photos of the protoype of Inonu stadium, Source: https://www.pinterest.ch/pin/423760646181426812/?lp=true accessed January 03, 2017

Fazıl Aysu, one of the architects of Istanbul Inonu Stadium, tells the story of the construction in 2008 when he was 96 at an interview to Serencebey newspaper:[139]

> When the idea of building a stadium in Istanbul was put forward, a delegation of 40 people gathered and the most suitable location in the city was searched. Finally, an area attached to the Dolmabahçe Palace which was used as a stable was identified as a most suitable place to build the stadium. At first, there was a strong opposition on the idea of building a stadium there as this land was seen as very precious at that time. An industrial building was also not desired at this historic area. For this reason, we struggled not to have an industrial-looking stadium here. That's why we designed a horse-shoe shaped stadium and avoided to occupy a huge area at the palace's a front. At that time, stadiums' being in the heart of the city center was not preferable. Therefore, we limited the audience capacity of the stadium. For this newly established country, this stadium project was very important. There was no Turkish architect who works on stadium design, therefore the project was delivered to the Italian architect Vietti Violi. I was assigned with Şinasi Şahingiray to help Violi in this project. To identify the design of the stadium, we visited many European countries with Vietti Violi

---

[139] http://rakamla10.blogspot.com/2008/11/inn-stadyumu-1930larn-hitler-mimarisi.html, accessed January 03, 2017

62

including Germany, and conducted a research on similar stadium projects in Europe. In the end, we designed the Inonu Stadium inspired by the German architecture of Hitler in the 1930s.

As indicated in the above quote by Fazil Aysu, the general approach was to build the sporting spaces in the periphery of the city. This was also in line with Henri Prost's master plan in 1937 including an Olympic Stadium construction, in case of a possible Olympic Games application for Istanbul. In his plan, Prost advises that stadium should be built out of the walls of Istanbul, on the valley of Yenibahçe, with possible restoration of the walls (sur) in the area to avoid any harm to historical picturesque and the original landscape of the city.[140]

Contrary to the general architectural approach and the architectural advises of Henri Prost, with Lütfi Kırdar's support, the Inonu stadium was built at Dolmabahçe, in a central place and by demolishing the parts of the Imperial Palace. This decision can be interpreted as an example of ideological effort to forget the Ottoman history and to show the power and existence of the new Republican regime, in the era of Radical modernity.

Another important reference provided by the architect Fazıl Aysu, is that the Inonu Stadium was inspired by the sportive architecture of Hitler's Germany in the 1930s. In 1936, Berlin was home to the Summer Olympic Games and the Berlin Olympic stadium was built by the Nazi regime. As Rod Sheard, whom we discussed in the first chapter, said, the construction aim of the Berlin Olympic Stadium was beyond the sportive needs. With its strong concrete buildings, and its elliptic geometry, this stadium was a symbolic representation of the image which Nazi regime wished to present itself to the world. Referring to the regime's totalitarian mass politics, stadiums have emerged as elliptical, plain, solid geometrical structures which make the crowd appear or be seen as one-

[140] Cânâ Bilsel and Halûk Zelef. "Mega Events in Istanbul from Henri Prost's master plan of 1937 to the twenty-first-century Olympic bids." *Planning Perspectives* 26.4 (2011): 621-634.

piece crowd. The main construction material used, concrete enabled the increasing capacity in the space without sacrificing comfort and order. As shown in Figure 17, the characteristic marathon towers of the time are also found in this Berlin Olympic stadium structure.
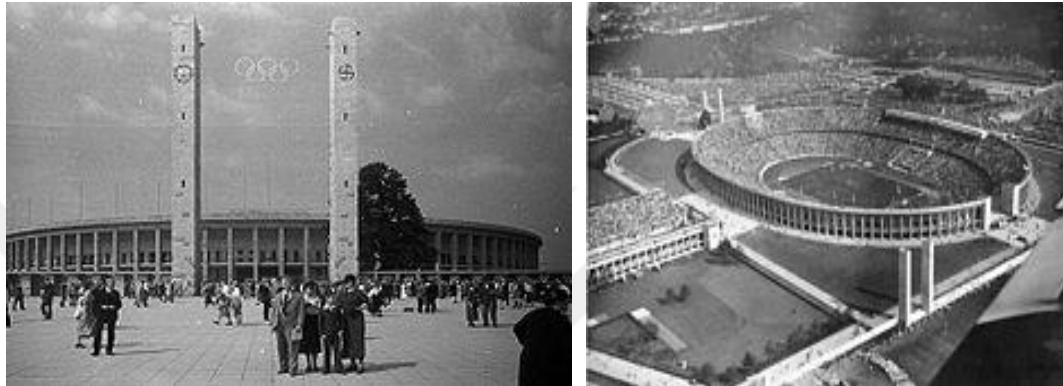
Figure 4.5. Berlin Olympic Stadium, Source: https://www.warhistoryonline.com/world-war-ii/1936-nazi-olympic-venues-now.html accessed January 03, 2017

Apparently, it is not possible to compare Berlin Olympic Stadium with Inonu stadium. First of all, there is no structure or building called as marathon tower, and also the marathon stands are covered in Inonu Stadium. The main marathon tribune was standing on the side that the sun would not affect and stadium stands at the seaside were built lower to not block the Bosphorus view. Yet, still we can see the impact of the German stadiums of the 1930s, as Fazıl Aysu indicates, in its elliptical structure and other architectural features, especially with the two-tier stands.

Another information that may support the existence of Nazi German architectural influences on the Inonu stadium lies in the desire of the single-party regime to directly organize the sport within a state programme. In this regard, Dr. Carl Diem, the founder of Hitler Jugend (Hitler Youth) which was a Nazi organization in Germany, was invited to Turkey to advise on how to structure a state programme on sports at national level. In accordance with the report of Carl Diem, a Turkish sports association affiliated directly to the Party was established and subsequently in 1936, all athletic clubs naturally

became the members of the Party. In this respect, German influence in the sport policies of the period, can provide a background of the understanding of the single-party regime over the stadiums and their practices.

On the other hand, when we examine other small Istanbul stadiums of the period, we cannot see many new stadiums emerged except followings:

- Karagümrük Stadium – established in 1926 on the open cisterns called *Çukurbostan* remaining from the Byzantine period. In 1942, it was taken from Karagümrük Sports Club and given to Vefa Sports Club, by the Minister of National Education, Hasan Ali Yücel.
- Feriköy Field – established in 1927 in Feriköy district near Feriköy Graveyard and mainly used by Feriköy Sports Club.

Overview:

In this radical modernity era, we see two different periods for the evolution of the Istanbul Stadium. First is the period from the foundation of the Republic, which we call the early Republican period, to the 1930s, and second is from the 1930s to the 1950s, when the administration of the single party regime began to become more hegemonic.

In the period up to the 1930s, sports and stadiums were not among the priority area for the new regime. First of all, stadiums and the football in general was something that the Ottoman administration had been opposed. Also, during those years the new regime was struggling with the economic difficulties caused by the Great Depression. Therefore, stadiums were in the political agenda of the state yet. In this respect, until the end of the 1930s, the center of the football was Taksim Stadium, which was before an Ottoman Barrack. Taksim Stadium's presence did not contradict with the values of the new regime at all since especially during the period of the War of Independence, the stadium was perceived as the space for the rivalry between Turkish and non-Muslim teams and

therefore contributed to the reproduction of national consciousness. Complying this, first national games during the early Republican period were played in Taksim Stadium, owned by private Turkish operators.

In addition, being an attraction spot for elite classes and the presence of common identities extended the life of this stadium in the regime. If we listen Nazım Hikmet about this issue, we can easily see the traces of the liberal atmosphere at Taksim Stadium.[141]

> Those who watch the game were divided into two. Each of them was encouraging the players of their own team while swearing the other. Everyone would say whatever they wanted. Everyone was yelling as much as they could wish. Words, ideas, freedom were floating in the air. I would be lying if I say I did not like many sides of this story. In a certain sense, those who want to understand democracy should go to Taksim Stadium.

By the end of the 1930s, the effects of radical modernity on sports and stadiums became more apparent. The construction of the Inonu stadium inspired by the stadiums of Nazi Germany reflects the perspective of the single-party regime towards sports in many ways. The Republican regime which left the clubs relatively independent in sporting activities until 1930s, after the introduction of state-led sport policies, related to the body and the culture, limited this independence and made all sports activities organic part of the Party to be controlled by state actors.

Like other regimes of the time, the single-party regime considered that the sport must have a role in physical and cultural development of the masses, as well as to be an abstract tool for unifying the masses. That is in line with what Norbert Elias called "Civilizing Process" or, in the words of Falih Rifki, stadiums were as important as schools.

---

[141] Zahide Korkmaz. "Ankara 19 Mayıs Stadyumu'nu (Ankara Milli Stadı'nı) Okumak: Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Mekân, Toplumsal Yaşantı ve İdeoloji İlişkisi." Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Gazi Üniversitesi Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, Ankara (2007). - Hikmet N., "Bir Maç Seyrettim", "Türk Edebiyatında Futbol" içinde, ed: Çeliker T., Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 66,67 (2002)

In contrast to these ideals of the Republic in its early years, after a while, sports clubs could not delivery the intended societal unification, instead started to create some class-based tensions among different groups. Therefore, the sports were started to be seen by the regime as primitive structures which would disrupt those ideals, and which would need to be controlled.

This critical approach of the regime was also related to the nature of football attached to the individuality, the amateurism and the competition which was not seen as instrumental as planned in promoting national collective sense. Although professionalism was banned, there were also initial attempts as hidden professionalism, especially with the emergence of big football clubs/rivalries in Istanbul. Through these rivalries, the formation of different identities was favored and even created an environment for opposing orientations, with tensions and violence, such as experienced in Galatasaray – Fenerbahce games at the time, which was also frequently cited by regime's elites to curb the importance of football in the regime's political agenda.

As a result, we can claim that the architecture of the Inonu stadium was also the result of regime's critical approach to the football. Design of Inonu stadium was not on accepting and reflecting the realities of the public space, but instead to conceal, correct economic, political and ethnical differences in the society and idealize the egalitarian representation of the public space.

4.3. Istanbul Stadiums, 1950-1980
In the era of Populist Modernity, with the implementation of the multi-party regime and the disappearance of the state's sporting policies, football was popularized much faster. Besides, improved economic situation after World War II, the increase in productivity in the agricultural, and the most important of all, immigration received from suburbs of Anatolia to big cities resulted in massive change on the socio-economic political context in Turkey. These changes are reflected in the architecture, symbols and practices of

Istanbul stadiums. Particularly, the spread of football in Anatolia within a populist discourse extended the football market and the first professional football league was established in 1959 with the establishment of Anatolian clubs.

Unlike the previous period, football stadiums became spaces of representation of differences and more specifically, where geographically a larger population of Turkey represented. The relationship between football and politics has been further developed, but unlike the one-party regime seeing football as a means of civilization and development, it has become a center of bilateral, mutual relations with short-term interests.

Especially after 1960s, the import-substituting industrialization reduced the investment in Istanbul and invested in state economic enterprises (SEE) to support local production in Anatolia. As a result, Istanbul stadiums did not get enough economic support from the state during this period and in many districts of Istanbul, new teams and small stadiums emerged with little financial resources.

Turkish football became more in the form of domestic competition and rivalry mainly due to political instability with military interventions of 1960, 1971 and 1980. In this respect, football became popular in wider geography in Anatolia, and a sport for masses in Turkey, which weakened elite class representation in the footballing space. Professional football league started to include foreign players and managers (mainly from eastern European countries) and game against to teams from Europe had created an atmosphere of inferiority in the game against to Europeans which might be one of reflections of country's context at the time with an external source dependency, especially for the economic development agenda.

In this period, the center of Istanbul teams had been the Inonu stadium, which was the architectural product of the previous period, due to the lack of new stadiums which can

serve the increasing interest in football during the period. The other stadiums of this period were the Fenerbahçe Şükrü Saraçoğlu stadium and the Ali Sami Yen stadium, completed in 1945 with a low standard but turned into a modern stadium in 1964. Galatasaray could not use the Ali Sami Yen stadium for many years because of challenges on its distance from the center, wind and ground problems, and played their games at Inonu stadium until 1981. It should be noted that due to growing market of football, the needs of fans and players, and security challenges of big crowds, the stadiums in Istanbul started to necessitate upgrades and renovations both in size and the quality of the service.

In this period, the Inonu Stadium hosted many Istanbul clubs' matches. Approximately 8 matches played consecutively each week, which transformed the Inonu Stadium into domestically very cosmopolite nature. The football fans coming from many districts of Istanbul, and even from many different cities, were watching the match in the same stands. Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu, in his poem[142], depicts very well the picture and practices at Inonu stadium at that time:

> The word Istanbul reminds me
> Of a stadium
> Twenty-five thousand people against the sun, against the day
> Our national anthem, Istiklal Marsi pouring out of their lips
> Clouds dashing across the sky piece by piece
> Twenty-five thousand people, I melt down in their radiance
> I am in seventh heaven, no exaggerations
> If they wanted, I would leave my place to them
>
> The word Istanbul reminds me
> Of a stadium
> To the people of my motherland
> I take a shine; it is as bright as the sun
> I want to get closer to them, and closer
> I too squall with them loud
> Squall my lungs out

---

[142] Bedri Rahmi Eyuboğlu. "İstanbul Destanı", "Türk Edebiyatında Futbol" içinde, ed:Çeliker T., Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 78,79 (2002)

Bravely, with no fear I shout
Leave it to Lefter and just sit back

Of a stadium
The word Istanbul reminds me
The level of joy, born from
The same feeling felt by thousands at the same time
I think of its magnificence
All of them, adding them up in my head
Thousands, hundreds of thousands, millions
Then a line takes off from the paper, afraid
With a sleeper sharing a sleep with the loved one

Overview:

In this populist modernity era, accelerated growth of football globally and its subsequent transformation in stadium architectures were also reflected in Istanbul stadiums through minor refurbishments of the space with the partitioning of stadiums stands and segregation of spectators. Professionalism of football actors along with the establishment of professional football league paved way of transition of stadium's rights of use to the football clubs, more independently. These practices show of a particular relation with Turkish modernization, especially strategically to uphold the physical and economic disciplinary of the individual and social actors.

In this period, comparing to the radical modernism era, Istanbul stadiums became more of a tactical space in two folds; first with the expression of inter-city rivalries between Anatolian cities experienced through domestic migrations to Istanbul, and the second, with the resistance to the ethno-religious urban setting of Istanbul, through popularization of conservative values. Istanbul stadiums were used by populist modernity again as a controlling tool, but with a different purpose than the approach of single party regime. Istanbul stadiums, especially Inonu Stadium became instrumental for the dominant ideology, first to make social differences apparent, and second to control the decontrolling of social aggressions related to economic competition, ethnic

rivalries and religious differences in the society, emerged upon the rapid urbanization of Istanbul.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1. Recoding Re-productions of Istanbul Stadiums through Spatial Triad

The analytical framework of this study was built on examining the moments of the social production of stadiums. Three moments were described earlier in the spatial triad model which outlines the dialectical relationship between spatial practices (or the perceived/physical space), representational space (or the lived/social space), and representation of spaces (or the conceived/mental space). As sketched in Wong's diagram (see Figure 2.2), the dialectic relations among spaces are extended with another set of practices (uphold-resist; construct-narrate; control-express) which are equated with dialectic relations of strategy and tactics. In the spatial triad, strategy mainly refers to spatial dimension of the space, whereas due to its nature, tactics refer to temporal dimension. These oppositional practices are not constituted in same spaces but extended in different spaces. Briefly, within this extended spatial triad model, *spatial practices* in physical space are tactically *expressed* on the lived/social space and they are strategically *upheld* on the conceived space (ideology in mental space). Whereas *the ideology* or conceived space strategically *constructs* spatial practices and perceptions and also *controls* the lived space. In return, the lived space tactically narrates practices and perceptions, and also resists against the dominant ideology.

Following this theoretical framework, this section aims to restructure the elements of spatial production of Istanbul stadiums, which are summarized in the narratives of previous chapter. This will not only help recoding key social/spatial elements contributing the transformation of Istanbul stadiums but also facilitate the analysis of generative mechanisms governing these transformations. It should be noted that this re-coding can be considered as a mapping exercise which serves to the main objective of this study. Although, most of details in this mapping are extracted from the previous

chapter of story of Istanbul stadiums, we can highlight the fact that it is overall an interpretative effort. Therefore, some of such interpretations might be arguable in terms of its definition and classification; and for most of them, it cannot be easily investigated empirically due to methodological limitations (referring to discussion on earlier chapter section of documentary research), but all seem to be in line with explorative, descriptive nature and aim of this study.

Accordingly, Table 5.1 overviews and combines spatial practices and re-productions of Istanbul stadiums into the extended analytical structure of spatial triad model. The table first outlines the dialectic practices associated with three layers of the spatial triad, then in line with these dialectic practices, spatial practices over stadiums are identified within the context of history of Istanbul stadiums. Each of these spatial practices is then translated into its realization as one of key social re-productions over Istanbul stadiums.

It is important to note that conjugation of dialectic practices into this spatial overview provides simplification and comprehensiveness to the analysis, therefore serves well to the one of the primary objectives of this study, which is to provide an analytical mapping for spatial re/productions of Istanbul stadiums. Consequently, below listed 12 dialectic practices are identified as key practices exerted by each spatial layer, which shape realization of spatial re/productions of Istanbul stadiums. I believe these could arguably be referenced for similar spaces as well:

Within the realm of the perceived/material space (comprising both strategic and tactical practices):

1. Expression of physical-material environment of stadiums
2. Expression of cultural relations over stadiums
3. Physical-economic discipline of individual actors
4. Spatial-economic discipline of social actors, structures

The conceptualized/mental space (comprising strategic spatial practices):

5. Hegemonic construction of perceptions on social cohesion

6. Hegemonic construction of coherent individuals

7. Disciplinary control of physical, economic, and spatial social practices

8. Disciplinary control of cultural relations

The lived/social space (comprising tactical spatial practices):

9. Temporal narration of collective experiences/values

10. Temporal narration of social interactions

11. Resistance to cultural conceptions

12. Resistance to physical-material conceptions

Each layer of space is spatialized dialectically with specific spatial practices identified as above. As tabulated in Table 5.1, it can be said that perceived space of physical-material environment of stadiums is expressed on lived space with physical spatialization of footballing areas in line with architectural transformations (forming 1st, 2nd generations stadiums throughout the historical periods). Cultural and social relations over stadiums also produced new social spaces with leisure/mesire concepts[143] (in the late Ottoman period), then transformed to spectatorship as cultural activity[144] (in early Republican period) and then this spectatorship has been embodied with football clubs and generated identity formation (in populist modernity era). In the meantime, perceived/physical space upheld the physical and economic discipline of individual actors, first via initial introduction of football as a bodily practice, which was later promoted as amateurism by the early Republican regime, then professionalism was mainstreamed by the populist regime after 1950s. This disciplinary flow was coupled through spatial and economic governance of the stadium's space itself, with the question of ownership and usage rights. From 1890s to 1980s, the transition of stadium

---

[143] Sermet Muhtar Alus. "Kadıköy'ünde ilk futbol." 6.
[144] Falih Rifki Atay. "Ankara Stadyumu"

ownership had happened from privately owned/managed (in late Ottoman period) to state owned/managed (in early Republican period) and then to state owned but sports club managed stadium spaces (populist modernity era). This confirms state's disciplinary presence on physical and economic spatialization of stadiums. Both dialectic practices, express and uphold, exerted on different spaces, lived and conceived spaces respectively, therefore they also constitute tactical and strategic nature of practices respectively, although not as strong as dialectic practices between lived space and conceived space, such as construct vs narrate or control vs resist. In short, social, spatial productions through dialectic practices of perceived space are experienced in material space, therefore empirical investigation of this spatial layer would be relatively easier, which would explain the fact that most cited stadium studies are on architectural transformation of stadium spaces.

With regards to dialectic practices over conceived/mental space, two key practices are identified as to construct and to control. Lefebvre's spatial triad precedes structuring effect of conceived space; thus, this space aims to construct practices and perceptions over stadiums, which are then to be socio-spatially re-produced through other dialectic practices. In the context of Istanbul stadiums, the key ideologic constructions were based on Turkish modernization which predictably aims to construct both society and individuals coherent to its modernist agenda. On society level, stadiums became a space to idealize the social cohesion, first by CUP (in late Ottoman period) with emerging nationalization efforts[145], then by the early Republican regime with the nation building agenda and lately nationalist stance, this time associated with conservative values, was re-produced by decentralization agenda of the populist regime, when stadiums became a space of an interest for localized identifications. In the meantime, construction of individuals coherent to the dominant ideology within stadiums discourse aimed to orient such individuals first by introducing geometric spatiality of the football game[146]

---

[145] Murat Cihan Yildiz. "Strengthening Male Bodies and Building Robust Communities: Physical Culture in the Late Ottoman Empire."
[146] Hamza Çakır. "Türk basınında ilk spor gazetesi "Futbol"."

and its areas (in late Ottoman period) and then by mainstreaming the civilized body with robust, fit and healthy bodily practices (in the early Republican period). The geometric conceptualization, first, of the football space, and second, of the civilized body, were later re-constructed with geographic construction with identities associated with local/regional connections. For the disciplinary control of spatial practices over lived, social spaces; first, the ban of football due to conservative values (before 1908) and later sports policies of early Republican period strictly controlling the sports' actors represent the governing regimes' insecurity and inability to utilize football areas in promoting its hegemonic constructions. By 1950s, the populist party facilitated the opening up of football and stadiums into wider population to be instrumental in controlling the masses to relieve social, emotional aggressions emerged in the society with economic competition, ethnic rivalries and religious differences. Therefore, in the mental space, new social space of stadiums was conceived as a space for controlled decontrolling of social emotions/aggressions. At more abstract level, same aim of controlling aggressions was also applied to societal relations with non-Muslims in Istanbul, to challenge their supremacy and to control social emotions emerging out of struggles among Muslims and non-Muslims (in the late Ottoman period). During the early Republican period, this agenda was later re-produced with the ideologic mainstreaming of new modern architectural styles (particularly 2nd national architecture) to challenge and control the Ottoman history of Istanbul with an aim of forgetting Ottomans, especially in the example of Inonu Stadium which was positioned and built in Dolmabahce, Ottoman's imperial neighborhood. Then during the populist era, economic recession of the state was re-produced in Turkish football and Istanbul stadiums with comparisons between football and stadiums in Europe and in Turkey, referenced as inferior to Europe. The reflection of this perceived inferiority was socially expressed with the involvement of increasing number of international actors in Turkish football and positive references to European football and stadiums at the time, especially in the late 1970s.[147]

---

[147] Can Kozanoğlu. *Türkiye'de futbol:" Bu maçı alıcaz!"*. Kıyı Yayınları, 1990.

Last, the lived space was dialectically practiced with narration on social practices/perceptions and resistance to ideological conceptions. In its early phase, Istanbul stadiums became a space for temporal narration of collective experiences, first with football's own values. In the early Republican period, this was mainstreamed as collectivist, national values as constructed by radical modernist agenda. In the populist era, this narration was transformed to make social differences. In the meantime, stadiums generated social reproductions through temporal narration of social interactions, first as reflection of cooperation, negotiation and rivalry with ethnoreligious communities of Istanbul during late Ottoman period. Later, this reflection was transformed to national pride rivalry with Western countries, as kind of extension of shy modernity, during the early Republican period. During the populist era, with the flow of domestic immigration to urban areas, Istanbul stadiums, especially Inonu Stadium, were narrated with domestically very cosmopolite space as earlier portrayed in Bedri Rahmi Eyuboglu's poem on Istanbul and its stadiums. In the meantime, dialectically direct response to hegemonic construction of conceived space, the lived space of Istanbul stadiums tactically resisted to dominant ideologies. This resistance was first against to Islamic-Ottoman conservative values against to football's modern values and ban on exercising football for Ottomans during the late Ottoman period. In the early Republican period, the actors of stadiums resisted the radical collectivist stance with applications of hidden professionalism (while professional contracts were not allowed, there were number of cases with football players/coaches given big money professional contracts secretly).[148] This resistance was also couple with increasing number of international recruitments and games with foreign teams during the late 1940s.[149] In the populist era, rapid urbanization with the mass flow of immigration from Anatolia to urban Istanbul was also reflected in resistance perceived over Istanbul stadiums. As the case of Inonu stadium, coming to 1970s, there were cases of cursing slogans targeting to specific groups identified either with Istanbul or Anatolian cities.[150] The example of

---

[148] Can Kozanoğlu. *Türkiye'de futbol:" Bu maçı alıcaz!"*.
[149] Ibid.
[150] Ibid.

Inonu stadium reflects not only the geographic rivalry between Istanbul and Anadolu cities, but also, bourgeoise against to elites or periphery against to center, as which can be example of the concept widely referenced from Serif Mardin.[151] Lately in 1970s, Istanbul's and specifically cosmopolite contexts of Inonu Stadiums, on the other hand, began to be challenged and resisted with stronger identification of Istanbul clubs. Additionally, due to recessive economic conditions of Istanbul and its stadiums with lack of funding, the deteriorating context coupled with resistive club identifications generated romantic songs, chants associated with Istanbul clubs, such as *Cimbombomsun sen bizim canımız, sarı-kırmızı akar kanımız*, as one of the early examples of romanticism in football spaces,[152] which will be widely narrated within Istanbul stadiums, especially after 1990s. Overall, above reading of dialectic relations among different layers of spaces of Istanbul stadiums may have produced some of arguable conclusions at some extent which will probably require further investigation. But in the meantime, they can provide a mapping of key social/spatial productions over Istanbul stadiums within a comprehensive and holistic manner, as tabulated in Table 5.1.

---

[151] Şerif Mardin. "Center-periphery relations: A key to Turkish politics?." *Daedalus* (1973): 169-190.
[152] Emin Kuru. "Türkiye'de spor seyircilerinde oluşan kitlesel tezahüratın geleneklerle ilişkisi." *Milli Folklor* 21, no. 82 (2009): 162.

Table 5.1. Overview of key elements of spatial reproductions over Istanbul Stadiums

Spaces	Dialectic Practices	Spatial Practices over Stadiums	Key social/spatial (re)productions over Istanbul Stadiums		
			1890-1923	1923-1950	1950-1980
Practices (physical-perceived)	Express (on lived/ social space)	Expression of physical-material environment of stadiums	Early football fields with weak rules of exclusion and spatial interaction between players and spectators	Enclosure of fields, emergence of 1st generation stadiums	Partitioning of stadiums stands, segregation of spectators, emergence 2nd generation stadiums, mainly minor refurbishment of 1st generation stadiums
		Expression of cultural relations over stadiums	Leisure/mesire practices in and around stadiums	Spectatorship as cultural activity	Identity formation/embodiment with football clubs
	Uphold (ideology/ conceptions)	Physical-economic discipline of individual actors	Initial physical (bodily) introduction of football	Amateurism of football actors	Professionalism of football actors
		Spatial-economic discipline of social actors, structures	Stadiums with private ownership and management	Stadiums with state ownership and state management	Stadiums with state ownership but club management

Table 5.1. Continued

Spaces	Dialectic Practices	Spatial Practices over Stadiums	Key social/spatial (re)productions over Istanbul Stadiums		
			1890-1923	1923-1950	1950-1980
Ideology (mental-conceived)	Construct (practices/perceptions)	Hegemonic construction of perceptions on social cohesion	CUP tailored nationalization (after 1908)	Nation building: Collectivism against individualism	Decentralization, localization, regionalization through football and stadiums
		Hegemonic construction of coherent individuals	Informative constructions on the spatiality of football (after 1908)	Representation of bodily civilizing process	Representation of social differences and their reconnection with local/regional identities
	Control (on lived/ social space)	Disciplinary control of physical, economic, and spatial social practices	Ban on football due to conservative values (before 1908)	Social control of sports, actors, clubs	Control of social aggression with economic competition, ethnic rivalries and religious differences
		Disciplinary control of cultural relations	Cultural supremacy of non-Muslims	Forgetting Ottomans (particularly via 2nd National Architecture)	Realization of inferiority, external source dependency

Table 5.1. Continued

Spaces	Dialectic Practices	Spatial Practices over Stadiums	Key social/spatial (re)productions over Istanbul Stadiums		
			1890-1923	1923-1950	1950-1980
Lived space (social)	Narrate (practices/ perceptions)	Temporal narration of collective experiences/ values	Values of football and body exercises	National and collective values	Opening up with conservative values
		Temporal narration of social interactions	Cooperation, negotiation and rivalry with ethnoreligious communities	National pride rivalry with Western countries	Inter-city rivalries between Anatolian cities experienced through domestic migrants in Istanbul
	Resist (ideology/ conceptions)	Resistance to cultural conceptions	Resistance to Islamic-Ottoman conservative values	Resistance to radical collectivism: Hidden professionalism	Anatolia against to Istanbul (periphery against to center; bourgeoise against to elites)
		Resistance to physical-material conceptions	Resistance to ban on football (before 1908)	Resistance to radical centralization of sports: international recruitments and games with foreign teams	Resistance to domestically cosmopolite context of Istanbul

5.2. Analysis of Generative Mechanisms

The spatial triad model has been instrumental to comprehensively identify and map spatial practices and reproductions over of stadiums. Considering the historical scope of this thesis, the spatial triad is applied/repeated separately for each of three periods (1890-1923; 1923-1950; and 1950-1980). Within its multiple application, the triad can also provide some causal explanations for mechanisms, which generate decisive influences on the production of space of Istanbul stadiums through the football and stadiums practices. These practices are already examined through spatial triad in respect to architectural, political, cultural and urban codes.

As Bhaskar argues that structures and mechanisms are real and distinct from the patterns of events that they generate. Therefore, this study aims going beyond empirically-observed experiences/events to determine the causal mechanisms that result in those events and experiences. From the spatial triad for Istanbul stadiums in Table 5.1, I could extract following three key causal mechanisms which contributes to the social reproductions of the Istanbul stadiums.

The first is obviously *the evolution of football* itself, which defines and shapes social, spatial practices in and around of stadiums. For Istanbul stadiums, evolution of football shows its actual presence more dominantly with global growth/diffusion of football, transformation of football stadiums globally and in a more local setting, the evolution of Turkish football. The second mechanism, already pre-assumed with the periodization of this study, is identified as *the Turkish modernization*, more specifically, of its actual reflections on space making in Istanbul with periods classified as Shy Modernity, Radical Modernity and Populist Modernity. The third mechanism is revealed as *the urban setting of Istanbul*, associated to Istanbul's ethno-religious setting and urban Istanbul's changing contexts through social/economic stagnation and rapid urbanization of Istanbul.

Extending the Table 5.1, Table 5.2 additionally adds these mechanisms into the spatial triad and associates each of key social productions with its generative mechanisms. It should be noted that some linkages between mechanisms and events might be questioned as some events can be generated by multiple generative mechanisms, therefore all abstractions used here do only show the dominant mechanisms contributing to the realization of these productions. Briefly, Table 5.2, as well as, Table 5.1 provide nothing more than theoretical abstractions, just as a continuation of analytical approach to reveal elements of social, spatial structure and productions of Istanbul stadiums.

In summary of Table 5.2, it is to note that expression of physical-material environment of stadiums was consistently under generative mechanism of evolution of football. Expression of cultural relations over stadiums first generated by ethno-religious urban setting of Istanbul (during late Ottoman period) but then more dominantly by the effects of radical and populist modernity respectively in later periods. The similar generative mechanism profile was identified for spatial-economic discipline of social actors, structures related to stadiums ownership and usage rights. This similarity shows the generative parallelism for stadium ownership with spectatorship.

Through the spatial practices within the realm of conceived spaces, hegemonic constructions of perceptions on social cohesion mainly with nationalist stances were generated by modernist agenda in all periods. The similar profile was noted for disciplinary control of physical, economic, and spatial social practices. On the other hand, urban setting of Istanbul was relatively more decisive in disciplinary control of cultural relations exerted on lived space, which is yet to be controlled by the ideology of Turkish modernization.

Within the realm of lives space, temporal narrations of social practices and perceptions provide social and cultural representations of Istanbul stadiums and it is noted that all

three generative mechanisms contributed to this narration practices. On the other hand, resistance to physical and cultural conceptions was tactically exerted against to dominant ideologies, thus, resistance was still shaped by generative effects of the dominant ideology, which had been mostly the Turkish modernization during the period after 1923.

Table 5.2. Overview spatial reproductions over Istanbul Stadiums, with associated generative mechanisms

			Key social/spatial (re)productions over Istanbul Stadiums					
Spaces	Dialectic Practices	Spatial Practices	1890-1923	Generative Mechanism	1923-1950	Generative Mechanism	1950-1980	Generative Mechanism
Practices (physical-perceived)	Express (on lived/ social space)	Expression of physical-material environment of stadiums	Early football fields with weak rules of exclusion and spatial interaction between players and spectators	Evolution of football	Enclosure of fields, emergence of 1st generation stadiums	Evolution of football	Partitioning of stadiums stands, segregation of spectators, emergence 2nd generation stadiums, mainly minor refurbishment of 1st generation stadiums	Evolution of football
		Expression of cultural relations over stadiums	Leisure/ mesire practices in and around stadiums	Urban setting of Istanbul	Spectatorship as cultural activity	Turkish modernization	Identity formation / embodiment with football clubs	Turkish modernization
	Uphold (ideology / conceptions)	Physical-economic discipline of individual actors	Initial physical (bodily) introduction of football	Evolution of football	Amateurism of football actors	Turkish modernization	Professionalism of football actors	Turkish modernization
		Spatial-economic discipline of social actors, structures	Stadiums with private ownership and management	Urban setting of Istanbul	Stadiums with state ownership and state management	Turkish modernization	Stadiums with state ownership and club management	Turkish modernization

Table 5.2. Continued

| Spaces | Dialectic Practices | Spatial Practices | Key social/spatial (re)productions over Istanbul Stadiums | | | | | |
			1890-1923	Generative Mechanism	1923-1950	Generative Mechanism	1950-1980	Generative Mechanism
Ideology (mental-conceived)	Construct (practices / perceptions)	Hegemonic construction of perceptions on social cohesion	CUP tailored nationalization (after 1908)	Turkish modernization	Nation building: Collectivism against individualism	Turkish modernization	Decentralization, localization, regionalization through football and stadiums	Turkish modernization
		Hegemonic construction of coherent individuals	Informative constructions on the spatiality of football (after 1908)	Evolution of football	Representation of bodily civilizing process	Turkish modernization	Representation of social differences and their reconnection with local/regional identities	Urban setting of Istanbul
	Control (on lived/ social space)	Disciplinary control of physical, economic, and spatial social practices	Ban on football due to conservative values (before 1908)	Turkish modernization	Social control of sports, actors, clubs	Turkish modernization	Control of social aggression with economic competition, ethnic rivalries and religious differences	Turkish modernization
		Disciplinary control of cultural relations	Cultural supremacy of non-Muslims	Urban setting of Istanbul	Forgetting Ottomans (particularly via 2nd National Architecture)	Urban setting of Istanbul	Realization of inferiority, external source dependency	Turkish modernization

Table 5.2. Continued

Spaces	Dialectic Practices	Spatial Practices	Key social/spatial (re)productions over Istanbul Stadiums					
			1890-1923	Generative Mechanism	1923-1950	Generative Mechanism	1950-1980	Generative Mechanism
Lived space (social)	Narrate (practices / perceptions)	Temporal narration of collective experiences/ values	Values of football and body exercises	Evolution of football	National and collective values	Turkish modernization	Opening up with conservative values	Turkish modernization
		Temporal narration of social interactions	Cooperation, negotiation and rivalry with ethnoreligious communities	Urban setting of Istanbul	National pride rivalry with Western countries	Turkish modernization	Inter-city rivalries between Anatolian cities experienced through domestic migrants in Istanbul	Urban setting of Istanbul
	Resist (ideology/ conceptions)	Resistance to cultural conceptions	Resistance to Islamic-Ottoman conservative values	Turkish modernization	Resistance to radical collectivism: Hidden professionalism	Turkish modernization	Anatolia against to Istanbul (periphery against to center; bourgeoise against to elites)	Turkish modernization
		Resistance to physical-material conceptions	Resistance to ban on football (before 1908)	Evolution of football	Resistance to radical centralization of sports: international recruitments and games with foreign teams	Turkish modernization	Resistance to domestically cosmopolite context of Istanbul	Urban setting of Istanbul

Attachment of generative mechanisms into the spatial triad enables the model to express and classify linkages among spatial reproductions and generative mechanisms. Extracted from Table 5.2, Table 5.3 provides an overview of these linkages based on number of spatial productions generated by each of causal mechanisms (please note that total of 12 spatial productions were identified for each time period, as per the spatial triad in Table 5.2).

In Table 5.3, right below the number of spatial productions, the distribution over the dialectic nature of the practices were also indicated (S refers Strategy practices; T refer Tactic practices). Such indication of Strategy/Tactics demonstrates that causal mechanisms can generate practices of both strategy and tactics, which confirms the dialectic nature of space making, as envisaged by the spatial triad.

Overall, Table 5.3 confirms that all generative mechanisms contribute, with changing extents, in shaping the transformation of Istanbul stadiums in each of historical periods. More specifically, the table can provide following outcomes:

- Istanbul stadiums were first shaped by the football's own ideology (especially through practicing football as leisure activity) and urban setting of Istanbul (especially related to ethno-religious setting of the city) until 1923.
- After 1923, radical modernity became quite decisive in shaping the transformation of Istanbul stadiums and during 1950-1980, it was with less but still most dominant generative mechanism.
- After 1923, the evaluation of football, as a generative mechanism, was very limited in shaping the transformation.
- During the period of 1950-1980, although Turkish modernization was still very dominant in generating the social space, urban setting of Istanbul was relationally more decisive in explaining the shifts comparing to the previous period.

- Evolution of football generates social productions more dominantly via tactical practices, whereas, the Istanbul's modernization is more dominantly via strategy practices.
- Urban setting of Istanbul generates strategy and tactical practices in a balanced way. After 1923, urban setting of Istanbul was second dominant mechanism, especially with the economic stagnation of the city or lack of investments in Istanbul and its stadiums, which also diminished the effect of generative capacity of evolution of football/stadiums.

Table 5.3. Brief overview of time periods with the magnitude of generative mechanisms

Generative Mechanisms	Istanbul Stadiums 1890-1923	Relative Change	Istanbul Stadiums 1923-1950	Relative Change	Istanbul Stadiums 1950-1980	Istanbul Stadiums Total observance
Evolution of football	5 (S:2, T:3)	Negative	1 (S:0, T:1)	No change	1 (S:0, T:1)	7 (S:2, T:5)
Turkish modernization	3 (S:2-T:1)	Positive	10 (S:5, T:5)	Negative	8 (S:5, T:3)	21 (S:12, T:9)
Urban setting of Istanbul	4 (S:2-T:2)	Negative	1 (S:1, T:0)	Positive	3 (S:1, T:2)	8 (S:4, T:4)

Table 5.4. Brief overview of layers of space with the magnitude of generative mechanisms

Generative Mechanisms	Perceived, physical space (Social Practices)	Mental-conceived space (Ideology)	Social space (Lived)	Total observance
Evolution of football	4 (S:1, T:3)	1 (S:1, T:0)	2 (S:0, T:2)	7 (S:2, T:5)
Turkish modernization	6 (S:4, T:2)	8 (S:8, T:0)	7 (S:0, T:7)	21 (S:12, T:9)
Urban setting of Istanbul	2 (S:1, T:1)	3 (S:3, T:0)	3 (S:0, T:3)	8 (S:4, T:4)

Similarly, Table 5.4 provides number of spatial productions generated by causal mechanisms, this time as per specific layers of spaces. This table also may briefly show followings:

- Each of generative mechanisms have changing level of spans over different spatial layers in generating spatial productions.
- Each of generative mechanisms can underlay spatial productions both through strategic (mainly on conceived space) and tactical practices (mainly on lived space).
- Evolution of football generates most of social productions through spatial practices, everyday life practices which are very diverse and relatively accessible as they are experienced in material space, therefore they are more of tactical practices within the perceives space.
- Turkish modernization is quite decisive in all layers of spaces and predictably, most decisive through the ideology or in conceived space within abstract forms.

5.3. Concluding Remarks

This study, an exploratory analysis of social reproductions of Istanbul stadiums, first aims to analytically identify and map various dimensions transforming Istanbul stadiums. Then, by focusing on Lefebvre's spatial triad, it also aims to analyze inter-relations of these dimensions to study underlying causal mechanisms generating such relations. The historical nature of the analysis requires a periodization of the decisive shifts of the transformation, which are traditional reflections of dominant ideologies. Therefore, for this classification, dominant ideologies can be examined in the view of historical periods of Istanbul's modernization. In line with Tekeli's classification, these periods were identified as the era of shy modernity in 1890-1923; radical modernity in 1923-1950; and populist modernity in 1950-1980. Although these periodization of Istanbul's transformation into a modern city is very widely cited, this study also observed possible further classification in the view of transformation of Istanbul stadiums. These are based on key decisive dates for Istanbul stadiums, as mentioned in

the previous chapter, 1908 and early 1930s. Therefore, possible historical classification would be alternatively proposed with four periods as follows: 1890-1908; 1908-1930; 1930-1950; and 1950-1980. In this study, I still followed Tekeli's classification to not further complicate the analysis with additional period.

During the period of 1890-1923, very early example of stadiums in Istanbul was emerged in Kadikoy, Papazin Cayiri area, as a multi-ethnoreligious private initiative, with weak rules of exclusion and spatial interaction between players and spectators. Within tactical nature, such early stadiums were largely shaped through early footballing practices, reactions against shy modernity and ethno-religious urban setting of Istanbul. After 1908, football and stadiums had been progressively bodily practiced and stadiums became relatively more of physical entity and space, compared to the earlier period. In the meantime, with the start of first World War, football fields appeared to be more tactical against to both local conservatives and Europeans through increasing sentiments of nationalism and Western modernism. Early stadiums were not dominantly under the pressure of any strong political ideology at this stage yet (except the ideology of early football itself), thus there was not a strong structural/strategic order imposed on the lived space and spatial practices on initial footballing spaces.

During the period of 1923-1950, in earlier period, Taksim stadium was a central place for Istanbul stadiums, emerged as 1st generation of modern stadiums, with enclosed space. At first, football was not considered as a structure inherited from Ottomans, hence it could continue its momentum gained after 1908 within relatively liberal context. Yet, in the 1930s, in contrast to regime's ideals on stadiums as a unifying space, Istanbul stadiums became visible with some class-based tensions among different groups. Therefore, the football and its stadiums were started to be seen by the regime as primitive structures which would disrupt those ideals, and which would need to be controlled. The architecture of the Inonu stadium was also the result of regime's critical

approach to the football, and to conceal, correct economic, class-based and ethnical differences in the society and idealize the egalitarian representation of the public space.

Overall, in this period (1923-1950), Istanbul stadiums reflect the architectural changes in parallel with the evolution of stadiums globally, as the case of Taksim and Inonu stadiums. Urban setting of Istanbul was less decisive in this period as the single-party regime preferred investments in Ankara rather than Istanbul in line with regime's general approach devaluing Istanbul's Ottoman history. Therefore, this stagnation period for Istanbul as well as the global effect of the Great Depression limited the emergence of new stadiums. Although transformation in the physical, perceived space was limited, regime's critical approach to football and stadiums became decisive in shaping this period of Istanbul stadiums. Stadiums became a space of control, and social order, therefore in return, produced tactical practices, for example, the rivalry against western countries, which is later reproduced early sentiments of rivalry between Istanbul teams. The regime's approach was only on the basis of controlling differences and did not have any intention/capacity to construct the stadium's social/spatial context. Therefore, reproductions of relations happened almost equally within the nature of control and resistance. Istanbul stadiums became a more of abstract space, with this control/resistance practices, which didn't enable a strong narration of Istanbul stadiums at the time but harvested the spatialization of rivalries, class based and ethnic based, which will be apparent in the following period of populist modernity.

During the period of 1950-1980, the spread of football in Anatolia within a populist discourse extended the football market in the country. Football stadiums became spaces of representation of geographic, inter-city differences and rivalries as well as identity formation embodied with the football clubs. Unlike the single party regime seeing football as a means of civilization and development, the football has become a center of bilateral, mutual relations with short-term interests. The relationship between football and politics has been further developed, and the stadiums and transfer of its

usage rights to clubs became an important element of this mutual relations with politics. Like the previous period, Istanbul stadiums could not receive enough supports from the state during this period and in many districts of Istanbul, new football teams and small stadiums emerged with the support of local politics and bourgeoisie.

In the architectural sense, partitioning of stadiums stands and segregation of spectators in this period reflected the emergence 2nd generation stadiums through a minor refurbishment of 1st generation. In addition to architectural refurbishments, establishment of professionalism of football actors and professional football league in parallel with the global popularization of football were all translated into spatial practices in physical space but not much at conceived and lived spaces. Due to lack of investments for sporting areas during this period, Inonu stadium became the center of the football in Turkey and hosted many Istanbul clubs' matches in a same day, which helped the representation of Inonu Stadium as domestically very cosmopolite image. Comparing to the radical modernism era, Istanbul stadiums became more of a tactical space, especially through the expression of inter-city rivalries between Anatolian cities experienced by domestic migrants in Istanbul. Istanbul stadiums were also used by populist modernity again as a controlling tool, but with a different purpose than the approach of single party regime. Istanbul stadiums, especially Inonu Stadium became instrumental for the dominant ideology, first to make social differences apparent, and second to control the decontrolling of social aggressions coming out of economic competition, ethnic rivalries and religious differences in the society, emerged upon the rapid urbanization of Istanbul and overall populist agenda.

In the discussion chapter, reproductions of spatial relations over Istanbul stadiums are re-coded through the extended spatial triad and then the analysis of spatial triad aims to explore underlying mechanisms generating social relations and spatiality. This explorative effort brings following five main findings over the spatial analysis of Istanbul stadiums.

First, capturing of dialectic relationships between spatial practices, conceived spaces and lived spaced was important to identify the twelve spatial practices which strengthen the conceptual capacity of the spatial triad. These twelve spatial practices identified and listed in Table 5.1 can also be a reference for similar social spaces to analytically examine key social reproductions of the spatial relations.

Second, three key underlying generative mechanisms are identified, as described earlier, the evolution of football, Turkish modernization and the urban setting of Istanbul. Table 5.2 details these generative mechanisms associated with key social, spatial reproductions. Identification of generative mechanisms makes the analysis more explicit and contributes to the evaluation of the changing spatial relations over different historical periods.

Third, in the view of changing spatial relations over different periods, it is also meaningful to see relational shifts among underlying mechanisms. Table 5.3 confirms that the stadiums in Istanbul were first shaped by the football's own ideology and urban setting of Istanbul during the period until 1923. Then, radical modernity became quite decisive in mental spaces, mainly through controlling practices. During the period of 1950-1980, although Turkish modernization was still very dominant in generating the social space, urban setting of Istanbul was relationally more decisive in explaining the shifts comparing to the previous period. As discussed earlier, this shift was preceded in the radical modernity era which tactically harvested the spatialization of rivalries, class and ethnic based struggles, into the conceived/mental space. Then during the 1950-1980, in the view of rapid urbanization of Istanbul with migrants from Anatolia, representations of these struggles became a key element of social reproductions over Istanbul stadiums. Therefore, on the reproduction of these struggles in the environment of Istanbul stadiums during 1950-1980, one can reveal traces of two generative mechanism together; urban setting of Istanbul, but also the populist modernity with

continuing effect of shy modernity from the earlier period. This shows both the complexity of the inter-linked relations among underlying mechanisms in co-generating the social re-productions and the continual relations between periods.

Fourth, with the analysis given in Table 5.4, the magnitude span of generative mechanisms over layers of space shows that Turkish modernization is very dominant in all layers of space with relatively more in mental space, and through relatively more strategic practices. Evolution of football is again relatively more significant on spatial practices or physical, perceived spaces, and exerted mainly through tactical practices. The urban setting of Istanbul almost equally contributes to the social reproductions over all spatial layers and dialectic practices (strategy and practices). Thus, urban setting of Istanbul can be considered as balancing generative mechanism which actualizes the abstract space into the physical and social spaces, and therefore, verifies the continuation of a social spatial formation in a cohesive manner.

Fifth, during late Ottoman period, while stadiums are more of physical, bodily practiced spaces; after 1930s, stadiums became more of abstract, mental space and therefore became more of space of struggles than spaces of sportive competition/interests. Here, we can refer again to Bromberger's explanation on the popularity of the football, expressed as football's ability to mobilize the expressions of collective identities and antagonisms along with physical contact and genuine competitiveness in the context of sustaining the ritualized combat. Consequently, especially after 1930s, Istanbul stadiums gained this ability to reproduce such antagonisms of social struggles, therefore a shift, from absolute space of sportive interests to abstract spaces of social contradictions, became more apparent.

In conclusion, this study on Istanbul stadiums can be considered as an initial attempt for a comprehensive analysis of social spatial reproductions of Istanbul stadiums. The methodology of the analysis is not designed to historically narrate the story of Istanbul

stadiums. But the study aims to perform an analytical mapping exercise through spatial triad to identify, classify and relate key social relations shaping the transformation of Istanbul stadiums, and explore underlying mechanisms in generating such social relations. The scope of the study is therefore limited only to certain periods (until 1980s) and key stadiums in Istanbul (only stadiums hosting games of three big Istanbul clubs). In this regard, building on this study, further research efforts can be applied to the period after 1980s. These efforts can also cover social, spatial productions of the remaining stadiums, mainly local stadiums in Istanbul, utilized by specific neighborhood or communities. A comparative study of spatial triad and generative mechanisms analysis between such studies and the current one can also complement to have a complete picture for Istanbul stadiums. In the end, with its limitations, this thesis will hopefully contribute to the scholarship by filling the gaps in this understudied area of social spatial emergence and transformation of football stadiums in Turkey.

REFERENCES

Aastrup, Jesper. "Change in Networks-a critical realist interpretation." In *16 th Industrial Marketing and Purchasing (IMP) Conference*. 2000.

Akpinar, Ipek. "Urbanization represented in the historical peninsula: Turkification of Istanbul in the 1950s." In *Mid-Century Modernism in Turkey*, pp. 74-102. Routledge, 2018.

Alus, Sermet Muhtar. "Kadıköy'ünde ilk futbol." *Tarih Hazinesi Dergisi. Syf* 274 (1951): 6.

Anthony Giddens. *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Univ of California Press, 1984.

Archer, Margaret, Roy Bhaskar, Andrew Collier, Tony Lawson, and Alan Norrie. *Critical realism: Essential readings*. Routledge, 2013.

Atay, Falih Rifki. "Ankara Stadyumu", *Ulus*, 1,5, 1936.

Baharoglu, Deniz. "Housing supply under different economic development strategies and the forms of state intervention: the experience of Turkey." *Habitat International* 20, no. 1 (1996): 43-60.

Bale, John. *Sport, space and the city*. Routledge, 1993.

Bale, John. "The changing face of football: Stadiums and communities." *Soccer & Society* 1, no. 1 (2000): 91-101.

Bhaskar, Roy. *A realist theory of science*. Routledge, 2013.

Bilsel, Cânâ, and Halûk Zelef. "Mega Events in Istanbul from Henri Prost's master plan of 1937 to the twenty-first-century Olympic bids." *Planning Perspectives* 26, no. 4 (2011): 621-634.

Boratav, Korkut, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi,* 1908-1985. Vol. 1. Istanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1988.

Bourdieu, Pierre. "Participant objectivation." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 9, no. 2 (2003): 281-294.

Bozdogan, Sibel. *Modernism and nation building: Turkish architectural culture in the early republic*. University of Washington Press, 2001.

Bozdoğan, Sibel and Reşat Kasaba, eds. *Rethinking modernity and national identity in Turkey*. Vol. 7. University of Washington Press, 1997.

Bromberger, Christian. "Football as world-view and as ritual." *French Cultural Studies* 6, no. 18 (1995): 293-311.

Byron, Reginald. *Identity. In Barnard, Alan, Spencer, Jonathan (eds.) Encyclopedia of social and cultural anthropology,* London & New York: Routledge, (1998): 292

Çakır, Hamza. "Türk basınında ilk spor gazetesi "Futbol"." *Sayı 26 Kış-Bahar 2008* (2008): 169.

De Certeau, Michel, Fredric Jameson, and Carl Lovitt. "On the oppositional practices of everyday life." *Social Text* 3 (1980): 3-43.

Dunning, Eric, and Norbert Elias. *Quest for excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process*. London: Basil Blackwell, 1986.

Eldem, Sedad Hakki. "Toward a Local Idiom: A Summary History of Contemporary Architecture in Turkey." *Conservation as Cultural Survival* (1980): 89-99.

Elden, Stuart. *Understanding Henri Lefebvre*. A&C Black, 2004.

Emrence, Cem. "From elite circles to power networks: Turkish soccer clubs in a global age, 1903–2005." *Soccer & Society* 11, no. 3 (2010): 242-252.

Eyuboğlu, Bedri Rahmi. "İstanbul Destanı", "Türk Edebiyatında Futbol" içinde, ed:Çeliker T., Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 78,79 (2002)

Flowers, Benjamin. "Stadiums: Architecture and the iconography of the beautiful game." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 28, no. 8-9 (2011): 1174-1185.

Gaffney, Chris. "Stadiums and society in twenty-first century Buenos Aires." *Soccer & Society* 10, no. 2 (2009): 160-182.

Gazioglu, Eren. "Politics and architecture in Turkey (1923–1960)." *Estudo Prévio* 11 (2017).

Giddens, Anthony. *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Univ of California Press, 1984.

Giulianotti, Richard, and Gary Armstrong. "Introduction: reclaiming the game-An Introduction to the Anthropology of Football." *Entering the field: New perspectives on world football* (1997): 1-29.

Gregory, Derek, and John Urry. "Social relations and spatial structures." (1988): 2.

Gülalp, Haldun. "Using Islam as political ideology: Turkey in historical perspective." *Cultural Dynamics* 14, no. 1 (2002): 21-39.

Gürel, Emet and Uğur Akkoç. "'Stadyum: Benzerlikler, Koşutluklar ve İzdüşümler." *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* 4, no. 19 (2011): 5.

Harvey, David. *The condition of postmodernity*. Vol. 14. Oxford: Blackwell, 1989.

Inalcik, Halil. "Turkey between Europe and the Middle East." *Journal of International Affairs* 3, no. 1 (1998): 5-18.

Irak, Dağhan. "The transformation of football fandom since the 1970s." *Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü, İstanbul* (2010).

Kadioğlu, Ayşe. "The paradox of Turkish nationalism and the construction of official identity." *Middle Eastern Studies* 32, no. 2 (1996): 177-193.

Kapuscinski, Richard. "The Soccer War. Translated by William Brand." 1990.

Karpat, Kemal H., ed. *Social change and politics in Turkey: A structural-historical analysis*. Vol. 7. Brill, 1973.

Korkmaz, Zahide. "Ankara 19 Mayıs Stadyumu'nu (Ankara Milli Stadı'nı) Okumak: Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Mekân, Toplumsal Yaşantı ve İdeoloji İlişkisi." Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Gazi Üniversitesi Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, Ankara (2007). - Hikmet N., "Bir Maç Seyrettim", "Türk Edebiyatında Futbol" içinde, ed: Çeliker T., Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 66,67 (2002)

Kozanoğlu, Can. *Türkiye'de futbol:" Bu maçı alıcaz!"*. Kıyı Yayınları, 1990.

Kuru, Emin. "Türkiye'de spor seyircilerinde oluşan kitlesel tezahüratın geleneklerle ilişkisi." *Milli Folklor* 21, no. 82 (2009): 162.

Lefebvre, Henri, and Donald Nicholson-Smith. *The production of space*. Vol. 142. Blackwell: Oxford, 1991.

Lerner, Daniel. *The passing of traditional society: Modernizing the Middle East*. No. HN660. 8 L43. 1958.

Lewis, Bernard. *The emergence of modern Turkey*. No. 135. Oxford University Press, 1961.

Mardin, Şerif. "Center-periphery relations: A key to Turkish politics?." *Daedalus* (1973): 169-190.

Mardin, Şerif, Peter Benedict, Erol Tümertekin, and Fatma Mansur. *Super Westernization in urban life in the Ottoman Empire in the last quarter of the nineteenth century*. Brill, 1974.

Mavridou, Magda. "An investigation of the relation of space to society: a discussion on A. Giddens, H. Lefebvre and space syntax." PhD diss., UCL (University College London), 2003.

Mingers, John. "Real-izing information systems: critical realism as an underpinning philosophy for information systems." *Information and organization* 14, no. 2 (2004): 87-103.

Mogalakwe, Monageng. "The use of documentary research methods in social research." (2006). Okay, Cüneyd. "The introduction, early development and historiography of soccer in Turkey: 1890-1914." *Soccer & Society* 3, no. 3 (2002): 1-10.

Öcü, Ayşe. "The politics of the urban land market in Turkey: 1950–1980." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 12, no. 1 (1988): 38-64.

Özaslan, Nuray. "The Role of Architectural History in Building Modern Turkish Architecture." *Journal of International Social Research* 4, no. 17 (2011).

Özdemir, Dilek. "The role of the public sector in the provision of housing supply in Turkey, 1950–2009." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 35, no. 6 (2011): 1099-1117.

Paramio, Juan Luis, Babatunde Buraimo, and Carlos Campos. "From modern to postmodern: the development of football stadia in Europe." *Sport in society* 11, no. 5 (2008): 517-534.

Payne, Geoff, and Judy Payne. *Key concepts in social research*. Sage, 2004.

Pile, Steve, and Nigel J. Thrift, eds. *Mapping the subject: geographies of cultural transformation*. Psychology Press, (1995): 1.

Platt, Jennifer. "Evidence and proof in documentary research: 1 Some specific problems of documentary research." *The Sociological Review* 29, no. 1 (1981): 31-52.

Porpora, Douglas V. "Four Concepts of Social Structure DOUGLAS V. PORPORA." *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 19, no. 2 (1989): 195-211.

Raduescu, Corina, and Iris Vessey. "Methodology in critical realist research: The mediating role of domain specific theory." *AMCIS 2009 proceedings* (2009): 433.

Sakallioğlu, Ümit Cizre. "Parameters and strategies of Islam–State interaction in Republican Turkey." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 28, no. 2 (1996): 231-251.

Schäfer, Mike S., and Jochen Roose. "Emotions in sports stadia." *Stadium worlds: Football, space and the built environment* (2010): 229-244.

Scott, John. *A matter of record: Documentary sources in social research*. John Wiley & Sons, 1990.

Sheard, Rod, Robert Powell, and Patrick Bingham-Hall. *The Stadium: Architecture for the new global culture*. Singapore: Periplus, 2005.

Tank, Pinar. "Political Islam in Turkey: A state of controlled secularity." *Turkish Studies* 6, no. 1 (2005): 3-19.

Tekeli, Ilhan. "Cities in modern Turkey." *Istanbul. City of intersections* (2009): 16-17.

Tekeli, İlhan. "The story of Istanbul's modernisation." *Architectural Design* 80, no. 1 (2010): 32-39.

TFF Yayınları, Türk Futbol Tarihi, 1904-1991.

Tight, Malcolm. *Documentary Research in the Social Sciences*. SAGE Publications Limited, 2019.

Topuzlu, Cemil. "İstibdat, Meşrutiyet, Cumhuriyet devirlerinde 80 yıllık hâtıralarım." *İstanbul Üniversitesi Cerrahpaşa Tıp Fakültesi Yayınları*, 1982.

Toros, Taha Arşivi, "Kişisel Arşivlerde İstanbul Belleği." *Cumhuriyet Kitap*, No 185 (Library Archive, Sehir University: İstanbul), 8-9.

Tumblety, Joan. "Rethinking the fascist aesthetic: mass gymnastics, political spectacle and the stadium in 1930s France." *European History Quarterly* 43, no. 4 (2013): 707-730.

Unwin, Tim. "A waste of space? Towards a critique of the social production of space…." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 25, no. 1 (2000): 11-29.

Watkins, Ceri. "Representations of space, spatial practices and spaces of representation: An application of Lefebvre's spatial triad." *Culture and Organization* 11, no. 3 (2005): 209-220.

Wong, Pui Fung. "Shanghai, China's capital of modernity: the production of space and urban experience of World Expo 2010." PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2014.

Yildiz, Murat Cihan. "Strengthening Male Bodies and Building Robust Communities: Physical Culture in the Late Ottoman Empire." PhD diss., UCLA, 2015.

Zhang, Zhongyuan. "What is lived space." *Ephemera* 6, no. 2 (2006): 219-223.