

SPACE AS A SOCIAL PRODUCT: IZMIR CUMHURİYET SQUARE

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Abstract

Urban spaces are formed by shaping of social relations, lifestyles, daily life practices, and political discourse in physical space. Squares, one of the most important urban spaces, are focal points of the city that serve gathering and socialization needs of people, as well as where social movements take place. The socially produced space finds expression in urban squares. In this study, it is investigated how the change of Cumhuriyet Square, which is one of the important squares of Izmir, has changed spatial practices and representation of space during historical process. Production of space takes place through processes such as political decisions, historical events, reactions to these events, and changing daily practices because of them. Because of this situation, production of space is analyzed by making use of Lefebvre's triple dialectic. Relationship between social and cultural events and production of space is tried to be established through example of Cumhuriyet Square.

Keywords: Production of Space, Lefebvre, Cumhuriyet Square, Urban Square.

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SOSYAL ÜRÜN OLARAK MEKAN: İZMİR CUMHURİYET MEYDANI

Öz

Kentsel mekanlar, toplumsal ve sosyal ilişkilerin, yaşam tarzlarının, gündelik yaşam pratiklerinin, iktidar söylemin fiziksel mekan içinde şekillenmesi ile oluşmaktadır. En önemli kentsel mekanlardan olan meydanlar, insanların toplanma, sosyalleşme ihtiyaçlarına hizmet eden, aynı zamanda toplumsal hareketlerin gerçekleştiği kentin odak noktalarındandır. Toplumsal olarak üretilen mekan, kentsel olarak da meydanlarda ifade bulmaktadır. Bu çalışmada İzmir'in önemli meydanlarından biri olan Cumhuriyet Meydanı'nın tarihsel süreç içinde değişiminin mekansal pratikleri ve mekan temsilini nasıl değiştirdiği araştırılmaktadır. Mekanın üretimi, siyasi kararlar, tarihsel olaylar, bu olaylara verilen tepkiler, bu olayların gündelik pratikleri değiştirmesi gibi süreçlerden geçerek gerçekleşmektedir. Bu durumdan dolayı, Lefebvre'nin üçlü diyalektiğinden faydalanarak, mekanın üretimi analiz edilmektedir. Toplumsal ve kültürel olaylar ile mekanın üretimi arasındaki ilişki Cumhuriyet Meydanı örneği üzerinden kurulmaya çalışılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelime: Mekanın Üretimi, Lefebvre, Cumhuriyet Meydanı, Kent Meydanı.

INTRODUCTION

Cities are formations that consist of physical spaces and social relations are produced in these spaces. Henri Lefebvre, one of those who do research deeply about space, argues that space is produced through social relations. Space is both an abstract concept and a concrete, that is, a physical concept. For this reason, space is produced with flows that are perceived, interpreted and experienced in different dimensions. In other words, space is a result of social productions, that is, it is a social space.

Understanding the urban space can only be possible through the analysis of these social relations and social spaces. The radical changes, cultural and political events that took place in cities throughout history have also led to the transformation of urban space. The change in spatial practices also affects the representation of space, and the city is constantly evolving like an organism. Social practices, human relations, political authorities, changing production relations also ensure the transformation of urban space.

The city of Izmir has also experienced many ruptures throughout history, and paradigm shifts have taken place in urban space. The city, which was a commercial center in the Ottoman period, was destroyed by Izmir fire and the city was re-planned in the Republican period. In 1965, the face of the city changed with 'condominium law', and the highway project planned to be built in Kordonboyu in 1991. Finally, the implementation of neoliberal policies after the 2000s has also shown its effect on urbanization and has led to transformations in Izmir. These are the important turning points for Izmir.

This study discusses these transformations and paradigm shifts in Izmir through Cumhuriyet Square, one of the most important squares in Izmir. It is aimed to evaluate the transformations

of space and how the use and representation of the square are affected by social events and relations through Lefebvre's (1991, p. 16) concept of the production of space. Discussing the framework presented by Lefebvre through Izmir Cumhuriyet Square enables the analysis of sociality and spatiality, which are produced together and affect each other, and to reveal the effects of social transformation and ruptures on space.

The spatial theory presented by Lefebvre is very important in that it allows to make sense of socio-spatial processes and to examine them in the historical process. The reciprocity production of space and society paves the way for space to be a social product on the one hand, and a production type on the other hand. This study is directly related to the dimension of space as a product. Within the scope of this study, it will be focused on the fact that space is a social product and will be examined through Izmir Cumhuriyet Square. In this study, space as a social product will be evaluated within the historical process of Izmir Cumhuriyet Square and the effect of space on spatial practices, its relationship with social events and becoming a new product as a result of social/political events will be evaluated.

1. LEFEBVRE'S THEORY OF SPACE

Throughout the history of philosophy, certain perspectives on the concept of space have emerged. Lefebvre states that understanding and interpreting space is possible by understanding society. That is, the theory of space is intertwined with the sociality. Lefebvre has integrated topics such as daily life, urban space, and the right to the city with this theory while constructing the theory of space.

Lefebvre sees time and space as both the result and the precondition of social production. These two concepts are historical concepts that can be understood in the context of society because they are produced socially, not universally (Schmid, 2008, p. 29). The abyss between mental, physical and social space can be eliminated by defining an integrated theory of space. This theory can only be produced with a dialectical method by evaluating the contradictions existing in the space and looking at the dimensions of the space (Avar, 2009, p. 8). Lefebvre discusses the concept of space with emphasis on production. It is necessary to reveal the productive aspect of the space and investigate how the space is actively produced. This leads us to the importance of the production process. Lefebvre says 'creation is, in fact, a process'. According to the Lefebvre, the space is alive and fluid rather than dead, inert and objective (Merrifield, 2000, p. 171).

The idea that the space is produced socially has been supported in recent years by cultural and social studies (Unwin, 2000, p. 11). Space is neither just abstraction nor physical and tangible (Avar, 2009, p. 8). As mentioned in the unitary theory, space consists of physical space, namely nature and cosmos, mental space and finally social space. What is really important here is not to create a clear and unchangeable discourse on space, but producing space by combining various spaces around a single theory (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 11).

Similarly, the production of urban space cannot be limited to the production of physical spaces, it is produced through social relations. Lefebvre interprets urbanism as a social practice rather than defining it as a structure that deals only with spatial forms and is based on space management (Lefebvre, 2016, p. 57). Therefore, the production of urban space includes producing and reproducing urban life in all its aspects (Purcell, 2002, p. 102). This emphasis on the production of urban space through society brings with it the right to the city. Lefebvre expresses the right to the city “as a transformed and renewed right to urban life” (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 158). The right to the city gives all residents right to speak in the use and production of urban space. This right to speak on urban space paves the way for spatial transformations and social relations to be managed by the inhabitants of the city rather than by political power and capital (Purcell, 2002, p. 101). In other words, the right to the city gives people freedom in the production of urban space (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 159).

The right to the city includes the right to participation and the right to appropriation (Lefebvre, 2016, p. 151). The right to participation implies that the inhabitants of the city should directly contribute to the production of urban space. Lefebvre emphasizes that the decision mechanism regarding urban space should be inhabitants of the city rather than hegemony and capital (Purcell, 2002, p. 103). The right to appropriation is the right to produce urban space beyond using the urban space physically. Appropriation entitles inhabitants to ‘full and complete usage’ of urban space. For this reason, the production of the space must also take place depending on these conditions (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 179). In fact, appropriation aims to remove the city from the hegemony of capital practice and to produce a structure constructed with social practices (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 76).

Urban space embodies all urban possibilities, unrealized potentials of the city. The city bears its own negation as well as the physically existing reality in its own structure. In fact, the city is full of contradictions, and "urban space is a concrete contradiction" (Lefebvre, 2013, p. 41). Contradictions play an important role in the production of space, as in urban space. The contradictions that arise in the relations during production are transferred to the production

process of the place. New spaces are produced in the transitions between production styles. While the spatial qualities of the existing mode of production are determined, the arrangement of the new space that emerges during the transition is included in the new space. The history of the space is also present in this production process where contradictions are transferred. The history of the space makes the production process periodic (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 52). History is also important in the production of urban space. As the relationship of the city with the society has always continued, its relations with the history of the society also continue. Throughout history, the city also transforms as society changes (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 100).

Lefebvre perceives space as multidimensional and examines it with a holistic approach. One of his most important contributions to theory of space is that he evaluates all spatial discourses together. In order to better understand the production of space, it is necessary to examine the concept while the development of the concept continues. Thus, the truth of the production of the space can be achieved (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 67).

1.1. Three-Dimensional Dialectic

According to the dialectics of Lefebvre, space goes beyond the abstract and concrete dichotomy, which is experienced and designed, with the existence of social space. The overcoming of contradictions between abstract and concrete and the elimination of conflicts occurs through social production practices (Avar, 2009, p. 9). The dialectic produced as a result of these contradictions produces three equal concepts that do not prevail and do not produce each other (Schmid, 2008, p. 33).

The most important part of the dialectics of space is to comprehend the three dimensions perceived, conceived and lived (Gottdiener, 1993, p. 131). These three dimensions mark the phenomenological structure of the space production by emphasizing the structure defined in social processes. These concepts refer to both individual and social self-production. The perceived space revealed by the comprehension of the space by the senses, the conceived space that combines knowledge production and thought, and the lived space that including the experiences of the space, is the phenomenological concepts that express the individual and social processes (Schmid, 2008, p. 39).

Lefebvre interprets the perceived, conceived and lived space through the concepts of spatial practice, representation of space and spaces of representation. Thus, while the space is both

concrete and abstract at the same time, it also contains individual and social production and awareness of individual and social processes (Avar, 2009, p. 10).

Spatial Practice is the concept that includes production, reproduction, social continuity and community-specific spaces and sets (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 38). Spatial applications provide the connection of the individual's daily activities through the routes, communication and interaction channels between defined places for work, entertainment, leisure. spatial practices that create the space of the society are directly related to the perceived space. Just as Lefebvre's dialectical concept is based on concrete foundations, spatial practice also places on the basis of perception, which shows that perception is not only in the thoughts of the subject, but in a concrete basis (Andrew Merrifield, 1993, p. 524).

Representations of Space become synonymous with the conceived space. These are the spaces produced by planners, urbanists, architects, and scholars to create and define what is lived and perceived. It consists only of representations that contain the common language and symbolic expression of these scientists, which cannot be clearly perceived by other segments of society (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 38). It is a dominant field in society because it is based on the relations of production and the order formed by these relations. Also, because it contains ideology and knowledge, representations of space are abstract space (Andrew Merrifield, 1993, p. 523).

Representational Space is the space of those who use the space and describe it, which includes everyday life and its criticism. It is the space established with the images and symbols of those who experience the space and the users of space (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39). The representative space by Lefebvre is explained as the space of daily life, lived space (Merrifield, 2000, p. 174). Representational space refers to concepts such as the divine, power, logo, state instead of the place itself. This dimension is explained by the necessity of material assets in the process of making sense of production of space (Schmid, 2008, p. 37). Representational space is fluid, qualitative and variable. It is only the place that is felt without thinking and it also contains the hidden points of social life. It can be defined as an experience for the living space. The conceived and perceived space tries to dominate and rationalize the lived space (Avar, 2009, p. 13).

1.2. Space as Social Production

“(Social) space is a (social) product.” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 26). Because when social space is separated from mental and physical space, it reveals its specificity. In other words, while society exists in the place it produces, it actually produces itself. Considering the concept of space as

production requires that the space be considered as a process that includes products as well as production (Avar, 2009, p. 9). It is a process because it is not something that can be realized in a day to produce the space and the formation and shaping of the creative society's own representation within it. Produced social space includes reproduction relations, social functions, biological and physiological relations and production relations (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 69). If the city is considered as an “oeuvre”, the production of the city is the production and reproduction of people by people rather than a material production. Social relations play a major role in the production of the city, just like production of space (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 101).

Space as a product is a result of social production relations (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 154). Social space is not defined as any product, it is a concept that contains social relations, order and disorder. When examining the social spaces, the problematic of whether to be considered as a work or a product comes out. According to the definition of Lefebvre, “...whereas a work has something irreplaceable and unique about it, a product can be reproduced exactly, and is in fact the result of repetitive acts and gestures” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 70). The products that are repeated in architectural and urbanism issues in modern times predominate over the uniqueness of the work. The reason for the repeated spaces is the repetitive body movements and the repetitive mechanisms as in the capitalist thought. These spaces, produced with the concern of being apparent, are produced and reproduced in connection with social spaces, productive forces and productive relations. Therefore, according to Lefebvre, the dialectical movement has not disappeared in the places where the work replaces the product and the product is reproduced in creativity (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 75).

Space is not a concept that exists with just where it is located like any product or produced like a social superstructure. It becomes an object of production as a product of social relations and social labor (Lefebvre, 2013, p. 146). The space, which cannot be seen only as a product, is also a means of production that does not separate the productive forces, social relations, division of labor, nature and the state. According to this concept of space consisting of several layers, social space is not a single entity, it is formed by the intersection and convergence of many clusters. “Social spaces interpenetrate one another and / or superimpose themselves upon one another” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 86). In fact, when each piece of space is examined, it reveals layered social relations rather than a single social relationship. Lefebvre emphasizes that the city also includes this multi-layeredness. He defines the city as "a projection of society on the ground", expressing

that the city not only points to a physical sensory area but also contains the thought (Lefebvre, 2016, p. 74).

The modern city is a structure that directly intervenes in production, rather than a place where production exists passively (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 110). While the concept of production mentioned in 'Capital' is based on the principles of reproduction and repeatability, Marx's interpretation does not include concepts such as city, space, daily life. However, various branches of specialization have established relationships with mental and social space to make sense of space based on capitalism. The theory of space produced by these representations is understood and interpreted as production oriented (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 104).

When Lefebvre is explaining the concept of space, it does not assume that there are defined principles that form human-space development. According to Lefebvre, space is explained as a social production with a correct and balanced analysis and explanation, which changes social relations and social organization, combining political and economic relations (Gottdiener, 1993, p. 132). Similarly, urbanism is defined as a concept that goes beyond physical space and spatial practices, covers the social relations and produces social practices (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 96). The city, on the other hand, is a "mental and social form" that gains its quality through conflicts and encounters (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 131).

Social spaces are the result of a moving process that is perceived, conceived and lived. The idea of the process actually states that social spaces have a history. While the history of space contains representations of space and representational space, it includes the social practices produced by explaining the relations between them. Nowadays, if the spaces are examined historically, it is possible to see a very variable structure from society to society. If it is explained with the examples given by Lefebvre, it is observed that in Islamic countries, it is observed that they protect their traditional residences and representational space by reducing industrial spaces and representations of space, whereas in modern societies, traditional space, residence, representations of space are preserved unchanged. Nevertheless, traditional representations of space and residences in Japan, where advanced industry and urbanization are observed, survive by adapting to real life (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 122).

In social space as well as in architectural space, form, function and structure notions are important. Form is a result of the function, and it enables the relations produced and reproduced in the production of space to exist and gain meaning. From this point of view, Venturi tries to establish a dialectic by perceiving it as a 'field of force' containing tensions, contradictions and

change instead of seeing architectural space as an empty space to be filled (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 145).

2. CUMHURİYET SQUARE

2.1. From Ottoman Period to Izmir Fire in 1922

Izmir has been a city where trade has been active since the Ottoman period due to its location. The acceleration of trade in the 19th century also gained momentum with the construction of pier and customs houses (Dayangaç, 2004, p. 24). The promenade, which provided the transportation between the pier and the station due to commercial mobility, which was used by European traders actively, was positioned as the living area of the Levantines. This coastal line, which is used as a place for entertainment, eating, drinking and socializing, offered a public space to the citizens (Kayın, 2006, p. 18). While the Levantine majority lives in the part from the pier to Alsancak, the poorer Muslim people lived in the interior part of the city. This disconnection between the coast and the city caused spatial and social segregation (Erin et al., 2017, p. 129). This segregation is the result of diversification according to both ethnic and income levels of the inhabitants (Bilsel, 2009, p. 14).

In this region where Cumhuriyet Square is located, Pasaport Pier has been a supporting important point. There were many flamboyant buildings, hotels and entertainment places in this lively area (Yeğın, 2009, p. 203). Although this social structure continued until the Izmir fire in 1922, a radical change took place as the square and its surroundings were severely damaged in the fire.

The importance of commercial roads around Cumhuriyet Square in the Ottoman period, the construction of a tram between the pier and the station, the formation of a lively social life on this coastline, the realization of people's daily practices in this physical area shows the physical space that Lefebvre (1991, p. 38) defined as spatial practices. The social segregation between the city and the coast before the Izmir fire also differentiates the use and perception of this space from person to person. The coastline around Cumhuriyet Square, which is a living area for Levantines, socializing and entertainment area offers a quality life. For the poor people living in the interior, this area was as an inaccessible place, because financial differences do not allow all people to access this area. This space, which offers different experiences and perceptions for various segments of society, also affects spatial practices. Social segregation brings along

spatial segregation. Developments and daily life before the Izmir fire shape spatial practices and lead to different perceptions of the same space.

2.2. From Izmir Fire to 1965

After Izmir Fire in 1922, the city was in ruins and the areas where hotels, restaurants and entertainment spaces were lost their former vitality (Kayın, 2006, p. 19). The rebuilding of Izmir and the creation of the Izmir city plan in the Republican period played a major role in the transformation of the city and started a new process (Bilsel, 2009, p. 13).

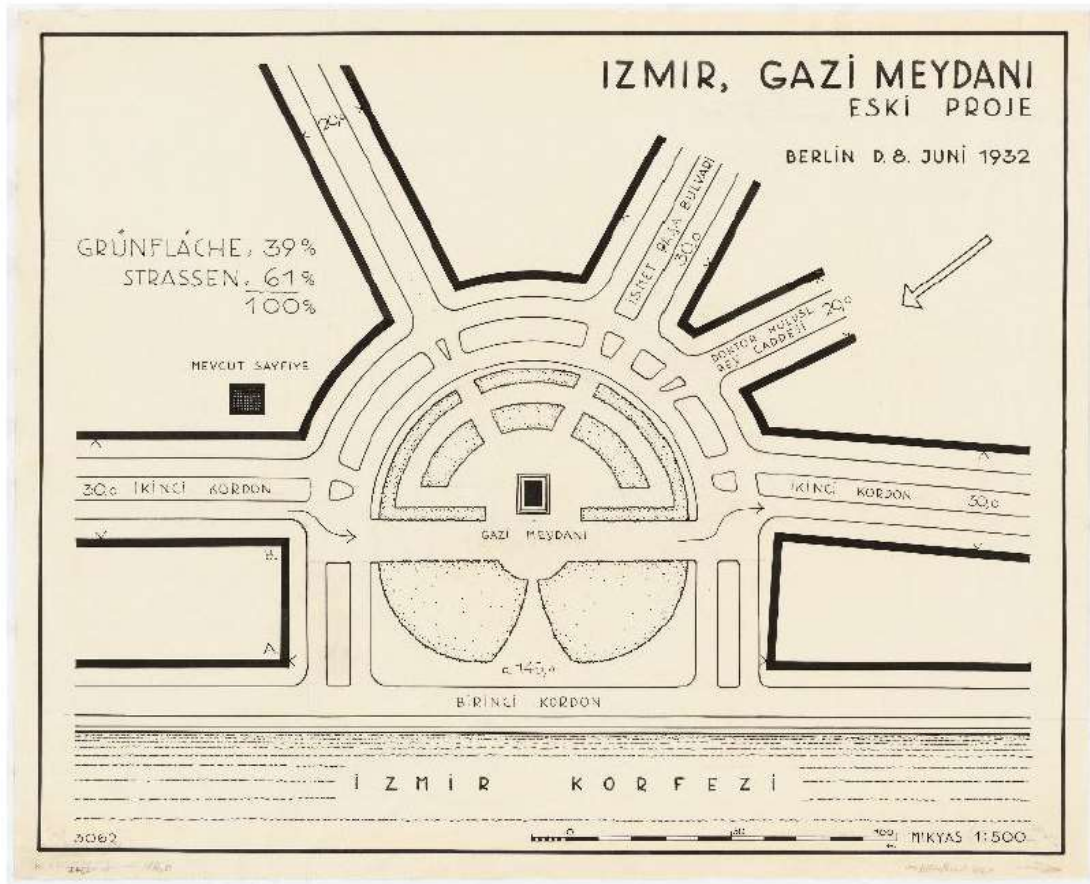


Figure 1. Izmir Cumhuriyet Square Plan Designed by Danger and Prost (Kopuz, 2016)

The city of Izmir, whose plans were prepared by Henri Prost, Rene Danger and Raymond Danger in 1924-1925, was designed with a holistic approach (Figure 1). With this plan, the port was moved to the north of Alsancak and Cumhuriyet Square was designed as the symbolic square of the city on the seaside. University buildings, library and museums are placed around this semicircular square. The Atatürk Monument designed for the square also adds a symbolic value to the Cumhuriyet Square (Bilsel, 2009, p. 13).

The landscaping around Cumhuriyet Square started in 1932 after the placement of the Atatürk Monument (Figure 2). The green area associated with the square was designed in addition to the roads around the square and Izmir's first fairground was created. The square gained importance with the design of the Grand Efes Hotel in the 1950s. After that, the square started to be used actively with the design of other commercial structures around the square (Uz, 2011, p. 57). After the Izmir fire, Kordonboyu and the part of the square lost their former mobility. However, social life and space usage increased again with the addition of commercial spaces to the square (Kayın, 2006, p. 19).



Figure 2. Atatürk Monument on Cumhuriyet Square in the 1950s (Izmir Municipality History Project Center Archive)

In the early Republican period and in the process of building a new state, the efforts of the state to prove itself were also realized through places. The re-planning of Izmir after Izmir fire and the symbolic meaning of Cumhuriyet Square are the indicators of representation of space. The implementation of the Prost and Danger plans, the creation of new roads and squares, the design of Cumhuriyet Square and its surroundings were made by the politicians and are an expression of political power. The constructions built in this period are examples of conceived spaces, which Lefebvre (1991, p. 38) refers to as representations of space. The design of spaces, which are the expression of ideological structure and power, is the result of the mental production of space. The planning around Cumhuriyet Square and it becoming one of the focal points of the city are directly related to the design and planning activities of the government.

2.3. From 1965 to 1991

In the 1950s, high-rise hotels and commercial buildings began to be built with the arrangements around Cumhuriyet Square (Figure 3). High-rise construction was allowed after ‘Condominium Law’ in 1965 (Erin et al., 2017, p. 130). The low-rise constructions were transformed to high-rise buildings in Cumhuriyet Square and Kordonboyu. Although the food, entertainment and shopping activities in Kordonboyu continue, the construction of high-rise blocks has changed the face of Kordon and Cumhuriyet Square.

In addition, the shift of commercial activities from this region to the Alsancak Port directly affected the use of the square (Kayın, 2006, p. 19). With the decrease in commercial activities, Cumhuriyet Square has become a meeting and socializing area for people. The mobilization in public life and the use of this area as a tourism center have increased the importance of the square.



Figure 3. Cumhuriyet Square in the 1970s

(<https://tr.pinterest.com/pin/702631979366059744/>)

Social and spatial transformations were also observed in the city as a result of the modernization movements in this period. Unlike the periods when the government's production of space and representations of space were dominant, the transformation of the function of space also transformed spatial practices. In addition to some of the functions attributed to Cumhuriyet Square, the square has become the place of the society, that is, the space of spatial practices, with the practice of their own experiences and practices. The spatial practices described by

Lefebvre (1991, p. 38) shape the spatial activity, and the transformation from the conceived space into spatial practices takes place.

2.4. From 1991 to 2000: Transformation of Kordonboyu

In 1991, the multi-lane highway project along Kordonboyu was one of the breaking points in urban life. Within the scope of this project, coastal filling works were started in Kordonboyu in 1997 (Yılmaz, 2018, p. 51). However, the citizens objected to the destruction of Kordonboyu and Cumhuriyet Square, which are one of the important public spaces for the citizens, for the highway project. In fact, none of the controversial construction actions in Izmir received such a great reaction. The social movement to stop highway construction also shows the importance of this area in terms of publicity (Kayın, 2006, p. 20).

Despite various objections and court decisions, the filling from Alsancak Harbor to Cumhuriyet Square was completed in 1998. However, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality decided to transform this area into an urban area after the cancellation of the highway project (Topal, 2001, p. 25).

Cumhuriyet Square has been a center for gatherings and meetings throughout history. The reactions to the highway construction decision in 1991 took place in Cumhuriyet Square, and the square itself played a role in its protection. As a result of reactions and the court process, Cumhuriyet Square was declared a historical site in 1994 and taken under protection and continues its existence without losing its importance (Erin et al., 2017, p. 131).

This transformation around Cumhuriyet Square was planned and designed by the political power, but it was transformed by public objections and social movements. The identification of anti-government movements with the space can be clearly observed in the change process of Cumhuriyet Square and Kordonboyu. The mental production of space by political power has produced an opposite form of representation. The lived space, which Lefebvre refers to as representational space, produced with experiences, appears around Cumhuriyet Square in this period. Lefebvre describes the lived space as the third space. Because this field is collectively produced and experienced and includes strong social relations (Carp, 2008, p. 136).

2.5. After 2000s

Neoliberal policies have started to be implemented in Turkey after the 2000s with the rise of neoliberalism worldwide. Putting the holistic city planning into the background, which started after the 1980s, and the construction of projects aiming to get a share from the urban unearned

income (Tekeli, 1995, p. 55) continued even more rapidly after the 2000s. The importance of privatization and free market economy together with the neoliberal ideology leads to the construction of megaprojects in the urban space, leaving the public lands to the private sector and urban transformation activities (Brenner & Theodore, 2002, pp. 369-371). As a result of neoliberal policies, the transformation and shaping of the urban space is directed by the demands of the capital and it is clearly seen that the urban space is under the domination of the capital (Bal & Altun, 2016, p. 67). At the same time, megaprojects, which are the products of neoliberal urbanization, play a role in the construction of hegemony as well as producing capital relations. It is possible to think about the spatialization of hegemony through the production of space (Penpecioglu, 2013, pp. 98-99).

After 2000s, neoliberal urbanization started to be seen in Izmir as well. Luxurious residences, shopping malls, hotels, business centers and complex projects built throughout the city of Izmir also affect the area around Cumhuriyet Square and transform that region as well. Radical changes are aimed at the face of the city with Izmir New City Centre Master Plan created with neoliberal urbanization strategies (Tutar & Bal, 2019, p. 452). Therefore, there will be a change in the use and function of Cumhuriyet Square, which is located in the current city center. In addition, the acceleration of urban transformation activities, the transformation of slums in areas close to the city center and the increase in luxury residences strengthen the segregation between classes and affect social relations. This transformation around Cumhuriyet Square, which is one of the important urban squares, is one of the spaces where neoliberal urbanization is clearly seen.

The number of hotels and luxury residences around Cumhuriyet Square increased with the effect of neoliberal policies after 2000s. The privatization and renaming of Grand Efes Hotel, one of the symbols of Cumhuriyet Square, in 2002 is an important indicator of the impact of neoliberal policies on the image of the city and the re-production of the space. Similarly, Kùltürpark is in close relationship with Cumhuriyet Square, and the transformations in these spaces directly affect each other. Kùltürpark, one of the most important green areas of the city, has functioned as a city park where entertainment and cultural activities take place throughout history. However, with the transfer of the fair function in 2015, this urban space has undergone a change, and the user profile and activities have also changed. The attempt to design Kùltürpark, which is located in the center of the city, and to gain income from it, brings with it concerns about the loss of the park's public space function (Pasin et al., 2016, p. 74). In this period when neoliberal policies are implemented and capital has power, it is important to gain

new functions and to produce the space through new social relations in order to preserve Kültürpark as an urban space.

Situations such as the increase in hotels and luxury residences around Cumhuriyet Square, urban transformations in slum, and the desire to change the function of Kültürpark are the results of neoliberal urbanization policies implemented by the government. In addition, the implementation of the Izmir New City Center Master Plan and new regulations regarding the city center that will change the face of the city show that neoliberal strategies have also been adopted in municipalism. After the 2000s, it is seen that neoliberal strategies directly affect the production of space, and the hegemony of capital is effective in urban space in this period. Neoliberal urbanization is shaped according to the demands of the power and a mental production is seen. The fact that the political power has a word in production of space and urbanization and the space is shaped accordingly is an indicator of the representation of space. However, the reactions and protests to all these master plan changes, production of space strategies, the change in the function of Kültürpark cause the representation of space to transform into a representational space. Cumhuriyet Square, one of the most important spaces of anti-hegemony protests and objections in Izmir, shows that the space is socially produced in this way.

Cumhuriyet Square, which has a strong relationship with the sea and has a symbolic meaning with its surrounding buildings and monument at the center, maintains its feature of being a strong square today (Erin et al., 2017, p. 131). Cumhuriyet Square is often used for official ceremonies. In addition to being a ceremonial area, its use as a gathering area for social events, propaganda and the use of the citizens as a place to claim their rights are among the prominent functions. When their use in daily life is examined, it is observed that they are used as a socializing place for the public, a visiting area for tourists, and an area where young people perform sports activities. The use of Cumhuriyet Square for different functions in different periods and the fact that the use of the square varies according to the perception of the people can be given as examples of Lefebvre's (1991, p. 38) perceived space. The intertwining of spatial practices and daily life in Cumhuriyet Square ensures the transformation of spatial practices and differentiation from person to person.

CONCLUSION

The concept of space is produced through social relations, political and hegemonic system not only physical. Space is intertwined with people and society, and is reproduced as a result of historical and social events. Henri Lefebvre, who emphasize space and society are two inseparable parts, describes space as a social product (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 26). In this context, he argues that the same space can be produced in different ways as a result of various social events in the historical process and the same space can be interpreted in different ways. Therefore, while Cumhuriyet Square is interpreted in its historical development, focusing on Henri Lefebvre's theory of space provides information about the transformation of space and its relationship with social movements.

Considering space separately from society and social reality causes interpretation of space in a wrong way. Because space is not just a physical and concrete concept, it is a concept related to social production. The production of mental and social space also enables the interpretation of representations of space and representational space.

Izmir Cumhuriyet Square has been produced over and over again as a result of various events and social movements in a historical flow. The Izmir Fire in 1922, the 'Condominium Law' in 1965, the coastal filling for the highway construction project in 1991 and the neoliberal urbanization policies implemented after 2000 are important breaking points for Izmir and Cumhuriyet Square.

While Cumhuriyet Square was positioned as a commercial area in the Ottoman period, the people living in this region and the daily use of this region were shaped accordingly. The social segregation between the coastline and the city has also affected spatial practices, transformed the perception and used of space. These space production processes are out of mental design until the Izmir Fire. The evolution of physical space and spatial practices under the influence of daily life affected the use and perception of Cumhuriyet Square in this period.

After the Izmir fire, the destruction of an important part of the city required a radical change. Since it was the first years of the Republic, this change turned into an area where the government could show its power and spread its influence. The city, designed by Prost and Danger in 1924-1925, reflects the fictions of architects, planners and the government. In this respect, it is possible to interpret this period as a process in which the representations of space are more prominent.

Changes have occurred in the face of Cumhuriyet Square and its surroundings with the modernization movements in 1950s and the Condominium Law. The transformation of commercial areas into tourism areas has affected the daily lives of the users and has led to the development of spatial practices in a different way. It is observed that, spatial practices have changed in parallel with master plans and discourses about space. In this period, it can be said that, spatial practices define space rather than mental design processes.

The period between 1991 and 2000 is a process in which representational spaces are more dominant than representations of space. The project of transforming Kordonboyu into a highway and the reactions of the people to this project created social unity, the space turned from physicality into a place of struggle. With the transformation of the Cumhuriyet Square into a gathering and protest area in this period, the struggle for that space became concrete in the same place. Actually, the highway project aimed to create a mental hegemonic space shaped by the discourses of the government and political power. However, the social movements and the reactions of the people enabled this planned space, that is, the representation of space, to become a representational space.

Neoliberal policies applied in production of space and urbanization after the 2000s aim to have the mental production of power discourse in the city. Urbanization policies in this period are built on the representations of space. Production methods dominated by representations of space turn into representational space relations with public objections and protests. Nowadays, Cumhuriyet Square is transformed into different spaces in different time periods. Sometimes it is used in official ceremonies, sometimes it becomes the center of protests and social movements. Or, while it is a frequent destination for tourists, it sometimes turns into a place where people actively experience in their daily lives. Spatial practices vary according to user profile, experiences and social events.

As a result, when Cumhuriyet Square is evaluated through Lefebvre's theory of the production of space and the triple dialectic, the focus is on the change of the square and the production process of the space throughout history. Cumhuriyet Square has gone through the processes of continuous production and the opposite production in the historical flow. Because space is constantly evolving and changing like a living organism. Cumhuriyet Square has gone through physical and mental social production processes, and as Lefebvre stated, each process has brought along spatial practices, representations of space and interpretation of representational

spaces. The transformation of this triple dialectic into each other and producing new spaces will continue as time passes.

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