

**ANALYSIS OF URBAN COFFEEHOUSES IN
THE CONTEXT OF PUBLIC SPACE
THEORIES**

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**by
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ABSTRACT

ANALYSIS OF URBAN COFFEEHOUSES IN THE CONTEXT OF PUBLIC SPACE THEORIES

This thesis, with its general scope, aims to investigate the position of the public space, in the socio-cultural context. For this research, coffee houses are examined as micro public spaces. In doing so, this study reveals two different literature review.

The first literature is an examination of the emergence of coffeehouses in history. Since its discovery, coffee has become a popular consumer good that has had a global value, and coffee consumption has become one of our everyday practices with its tagged along routines. This daily practice has created its spatial types of space and has led coffeehouses and cafes to emerge in different forms in many geographies. The second literature survey includes different descriptions and classifications of public space. Since public space research is the product of an interdisciplinary field, there are different definitions and various theoretical approaches to the public space.

While correlating the two literature review, this thesis investigates the relationship between public space and coffeehouses also in two main contexts which are the political and social examination of the public space. Collaterally, coffeehouses were also studied through these two contexts. In other words, this study aims deal coffeehouses as micro-public spaces with these two different contexts to reveal their various forms in different histories and geographies. In the last chapter, this thesis concluded that coffeehouses were transformed in parallel with the changes in public space and social structure and since the day they opened they received many different public practices due to their pluralistic pattern.

Keywords: public space, daily life practices, coffee, coffeehouse

ÖZET

KENT KAHVEHANELERİNİN KAMUSAL ALAN TEORİLERİ BAĞLAMINDA ANALIZI

Bu tez, genel kapsamıyla, kamusal mekanların sosyo kültürel bağlamdaki pozisyonunu arştırmayı hedeflemektedir. Bu araştırma için de mikro kamusal alanlar olarak, kahvehaneler incelenmektedir. Bunu yaparken de, bu çalışma iki farklı literatür araştırması ortaya koyar.

Bunlardan ilki kahve ve kahvehanelerin ortaya çıkışı ve tarihsel bağlamda incelenmesidir. Kahve çekirdeğinin bundan yaklaşık 500 yıl önce keşfedildiği tahmin edilmektedir. Öte yandan kahve günümüzde küresel bir değere sahip olan tüketim maddesine dönüşmüş, kahve tüketimi gündelik pratiklerimizden biri haline gelmiştir. Bu gündelik pratik, kendi mekansal örgütlenmesini oluşturmuş, ve yayıldığı bir çok coğrafyada farklı formlarda kahvehaneler ve cafelerin doğmasına neden olmuştur. Buna ilaveten, ikinci literatür araştırması ise kamusal mekanın farklı tanımlamalarını ve sınıflandırmalarını içerir. Kamusal mekan araştırması interdisipliner bir alanın ürünü olduğundan, kamusal mekan için farklı tanımlamalar ve farklı teorik yaklaşımlar bulunmaktadır.

Bu tez çalışması, kahvehane ve kamusal mekan literatürünü ilişkilendirerek, bu ikisi arasındaki ilişkiyi iki bağlamda ele alır. Bu bağlamlar, kamusal mekanın politik, ve sosyal olarak incelenmesidir. Aynı zamanda, kahvehaneler de bu iki bağlam üzerinden incelenmiştir. Bir başka deyişle, bu çalışma, kahvehaneleri, mikro kamusal mekanlar olarak, farklı tarih ve coğrafyalardaki değişik formlarıyla ele almayı ve onların bu iki farklı bağlamda, kamusal mekan ve gündelik pratikler üzerindeki rollarini arştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Son bölümünde ise bu tez, kahvehanelerin, bu iki bağlamda, önemli kamusal pratiklerin gerçekleştiği, değişen toplum yapısına göre fonksiyonlarını ve formunu yeniden şekillendirebilen, kullanım pratikleri açısından esnek ve çoğulcu mekanlar olduğununu ortaya koymuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kamusal Mekan, Gündelik Pratikler, Kahve, Kahvehane

To everyone who believes in free thought

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim of the Study

Since its emergence, coffeehouses have been on the urban scene and been spreading globally in different types and forms. As it can be easily observed, today, going to coffeehouses and drinking coffee have become one of the daily practices in many societies. On the other hand, what generally comes to mind when talking about coffeehouses is a place where people come to drink coffee and spend time. However, the coffeehouse is never limited to being a place only for coffee consumption but also it had many public functions and practices.

The general purpose of this thesis is to examine coffeehouses in the context of public space. Especially this thesis has aims to explore, the transformation of this kind of space and the reasons that keep coffeehouses functioning and the role that they play in facilitating publicness through social political and cultural dimensions. Hence, the main questions that motivate this thesis are;

- What kind of a public space is coffeehouse?
- What role do coffeehouses have in public realm within in a historical framework?
- How we can trace of the transformation of public space over coffeehouses?

To answer these questions, this study investigates extensive literature about the public space theories and coffeehouses.

Firstly when we look at the public space theories, It is difficult to discuss the concept of public space in all contexts because there are many explanations and researches about it, and the public space literature continues to be studied by sociologists, urban planners, architects, theorists and scholars as interdisciplinary work. Therefore, the resources investigated in this thesis belongs to different field of studies. Simultaneously, the publicity of a space is also examined with different terms. In the context of public space literature, this thesis study have determined seven different

terms that have been used in order to mention publicity of a space, which are; public, public space, public domain, public realm, public sphere, third place and loose space

In the context of literature review, publicity of the place can be expressed in different terms and examined in different perspectives. On the other hand, as will be explained in the third chapter, public space is mostly defined with three basic context which are:

- its physical definition,
- its social contexts ,
- its political context.

Similarly, this thesis study explores the publicness of the space through these three main lines. Accordingly, some scholars, investigates public spaces in terms of physical space (Neal 2010; Jacobs 1961; Mumford 1985; Whyte 1980, Gehl 1987, Carmona 2003; Magalhães 2010; Hammond 2010). These scholars mostly investigate the geographical features of public space with the historical periods.

Some other theorists investigates from the political perspective, rather than the physical one. (Habermas 1989; Fraser; 2016, Arendt 1958; Özbek 2004). For Habermas this space is "public sphere," and for Arendt, this space is "public realm."

In addition to its physical and political investigations, some theorist and scholars investigate public space as a place of sociability. Scholars such as Ray Oldenburg, Richard Sennett, Ash Amin, Tridib Banerjee and Lyn H Lofland investigate public space as a place of social interaction.

Secondly, another literature investigated in this thesis is studies about coffee and coffeehouses. In this context, I have analyzed 16 books, 36 articles, 12 book sections, 1 conference, 10 thesis, and 12 web page and identified eight main approaches in 88 different sources related with coffeehouses. These are;

- coffeehouses in urban context,
- coffeehouses and social approach,
- coffeehouses and political approach,
- spatial design of coffeehouses,
- historical context of coffeehouses,
- coffeehouses and globalization /branding context,
- coffeehouses for artisan practices,
- coffeehouses for consumption practices.

In order to answer the research questions, this thesis focuses on literature which includes socio-political approaches and historical context. Similarly, many of these 88 studies examined have benefited from certain sources that are often related scholars such as Ralph S. Hattox, Ulla Heise, François Georgeon, Helene Desmet Gregoire, Brian Cowan and Mark Pendergrast have examined the emergence and expansion process of coffeehouses.

On the other hand, researchers such as Ahmet Yaşar, Selma Akyazici Özkoçak, Uğur Kömeçoğlu, Cengiz Kırılı, Ömer Aytaç and Cengiz Kırılı have made essential contributions to the coffeehouse literature and they have discussed coffeehouses in the context of socializing and political sphere apart from their historical processes. Accordingly, after the discovery of the coffee, coffeehouses established a ground for new kind of socializing, new plan types and designs, new entertainment and public life opportunities, firstly in the Arabic Peninsula, then in the Ottoman Empire, and then in many different regions. In the political context, coffeehouses functioned as platform for discussing ideas and public opinion, and in the cultural context, they served as the prototypes of many different public spaces. Today, some of these practices that emerged in coffeehouses continue, and coffeehouses are still serving a place for sociability

Nowadays, coffeehouses have very different forms in urban realm. Researchers such as Michael Thomas St Gennai, Aylin Akyar, Eda Durmus and Timur Oral have presented thesis on contemporary versions of coffeehouses. The contents of these thesis are generally based on a comparison of global brands with traditional coffeehouses and examining these places in terms of sociability.

In addition to these studies, some thesis and articles focus on interior details and ambience of coffeehouses such as lighting or sound (Altay, 2014). On the other hand some studies investigate coffee as a foodstuff (Gürsoy, 2005). However I decided to exclude the interior design or cooking methods from the contents of this thesis.

In this study, I mainly aim to investigate how coffeehouses function from past to present as an public space. Therefore the literature focused in this thesis is about investigating the public space over coffeehouses. Within this context, it, intersect two necessary literature review, which are, history of coffeehouses as part of the urban context and a theoretical investigation of the public space. Hence, this thesis mainly focuses on the studies of coffeehouses as a place of socializing, political debate and shearing artistic practices especially literature.

1.2. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis study is structured in five chapters. The introduction chapter includes the purpose of this thesis in general terms and the definition of the. Simultaneously, the first chapter, explains the exploration of the resources and the limitations drawn on it. Therefore, this section aims to show how existing literature on the coffeehouses and public space deals with the issue.

The second chapter titled "Coffeehouses in History " explains the adventure of coffee since its discovery and describes the emergence of coffeehouses relation to coffee. This chapter also explores the importance of coffee as a consumption product in our everyday lives and the different forms over time. Also, it explains its different types of coffeehouses established in different geographies.

The third chapter is named "Theories about Publicness of a Space." This chapter investigates the different descriptions and categorizations of the public space in the existing literature. In the current literature, there are two different approaches for public space: those who say that it collapses in modern society and those who say that it resides. Also this chapter aims to investigate the public space with two dimensions which are the political and social. While investigating the sociability of public space, this chapter follows two trajectories. First it mentions the sociability as interaction in community. Then it consider sociability through on consumption practices and producing identity. This chapter also concludes that there is no direct literature on the role of art practices in the production of public space.

The fourth chapter titled as "Situating Coffeehouses in Public Space". This chapter is the section where the public space and coffeehouses literature are tried to be associated. Firstly, it examines the physical forms of public space in the historical process. The rest of this chapter consists of three main titles. These three main headings are investigating the publicness spaces and coffeehouses in political and social and cultural contexts. In the first heading which is political context, public spaces are investigated through Habermasian public sphere, and then the role of coffeehouses in the political context is examined both in the European enlightenment period and in the state conversations of the Ottoman Empire. The second heading, which deals with the sociability of public space, investigate the public space according to the third place concept of Oldenburg and Sennett's public domain. In third heading, coffeehouses are

examined according to their cultural practices. Furthermore, coffeehouses are discussed as places that to produce cultural practices. These concepts are also discussed as part of the critical literature review with their alternatives today.

The fifth chapter is the concluding chapter of this thesis. This chapter evaluates the public space and formation of coffeehouses regarding their role in the daily life and attempts to respond to research questions which were asked in first chapter. Accordingly, coffeehouses are places where survived until today with many transformations. This is because the coffeehouse is a pluralistic place. They are housed in many different practices and can be accessed by many people. Also they have acquired new forms and functions according to the social structure, and therefore they are one of the places where social structure and transformations of public space can be observed most easily.

CHAPTER 2

COFFEEHOUSES IN HISTORY

Every single beverage points to a dissimilar form of association. Every single beverage which means, coffee, tea, wine, beer, or booze, all have different names of spaces, and these spaces host different spatial organizations. (Aytaç, 2005)

According to a legend the coffee bean was discovered coincidentally by a sheepman nearly 500 years ago, and today it turned in to one of the most important commercial products. Also, since the day it was discovered, coffee consumption has become a part of everyday practice, and it has created its own consumption space which is the coffeehouse. However, coffeehouses were not places just for drinking coffee. Indeed they acquired many different functions over time. In this section I aim to provide a historical background for emergence, types, and transformations of coffeehouses. I also investigate to, spatial characteristics and functional properties of coffeehouses in different parts of the world from a historical point of view.

2.1. Historical Review of the Coffee

When we analyze the literature related to coffee and its discovery, many books and articles refer to Ralph S. Hattox's book titled "Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origin of a Social Drink Near the Middle Ages." In his book, Hattox argues that even though there are many stories, on the discovery of Coffee it is certain that it was found in Ethiopia and then it was moved to the Arabian Peninsula. According Hattox, an imam made coffee widely known in Yemen and introduced in to Islamic world: during the half of 15th century, a stimulating beverage made from a vegetable spread among the Sufi Orders in Yemen. This drink was made from a portion of the coffee bean and used mostly for worship among orders and rarely in medicine. (Hattox, 1985).

According to Gregory Dicum and Nina Luttinger, coffee consumption spread to Mecca and Medina Between 1470 and 1499. (Dicum, Luttinger, 2006). In short, time, consuming coffee become daily practices in these regions. When we look at the places of drinking coffee, Mark Pendergrast argues that wealthy people constructed coffee

rooms in their houses for its ceremonies. However, people who did not have these possibilities started to gather at places called coffeehouses. (Pendergrast, 1991). Although, there is no precise date for the first coffeehouse in the sources, Hattox states that there have been first related to coffeehouses prohibitions in 1511 at Mecca. This first ban against coffee was lifted after a while in Mecca. However, coffee has been exposed to various limitations and prohibitions many times throughout its journey. (Hattox, 1985).

Hattox asserts that coffee reached Hijaz and Cairo, and then through Syria to Istanbul in the 1550's. (Hattox, 1985). Pendergrast states that, by the end of the 15th century, Muslim merchants brought coffee to Iran, Egypt, Ottoman Empire and North Africa, by turning it into a profitable commodity. According to Dicum and Luttinger, coffee was first brought to Istanbul earlier by Selim I in 1517 after the Egyptian campaign. (Dicum and Luttinger, 2006). As Ahmet Yaşar indicates, Ethiopia and Yemen were within the borders of the Ottoman Empire at that time. For this reason, it is possible to say that the consumption of coffee first started in the Ottoman lands and that it spread out from Istanbul to Europe throughout the empire. (Yaşar, 2005).

Over time, coffee beans became a valuable commodity for the Ottoman Empire. Deniz Gürsoy mentions that the seeds were usually exported from Mocha in the port of Yemen. (Gürsoy, 2005). Since the coffee trade was the primary revenue, traders were not allowed to take the seeds out of Yemen, which could be grown in foreign lands. However, in the 1600's, a Muslim pilgrim succeed in taking out seven coffee beans and grew them in southern India (Heise, 1987).

Although there is more than one history of coffee, all are agreed that coffee was first introduced by traders and due to them become popular throughout in Europe. According to Gürsoy, coffee arrived in Venice in 1615 and according to Pendergrast, it was widespread in other parts of Europe during the first half of the 17th century. He argues that, in 1683 the Ottoman Empire lost the siege of Vienna, and the fleeing soldiers left five hundred sacks behind them consisting; honey, rice, grain, gold and coffee seeds. The envoy of Franz George Kolschitzky was also located there, and noticed that the seeds were coffee beans. (Pendergrast, 1991).

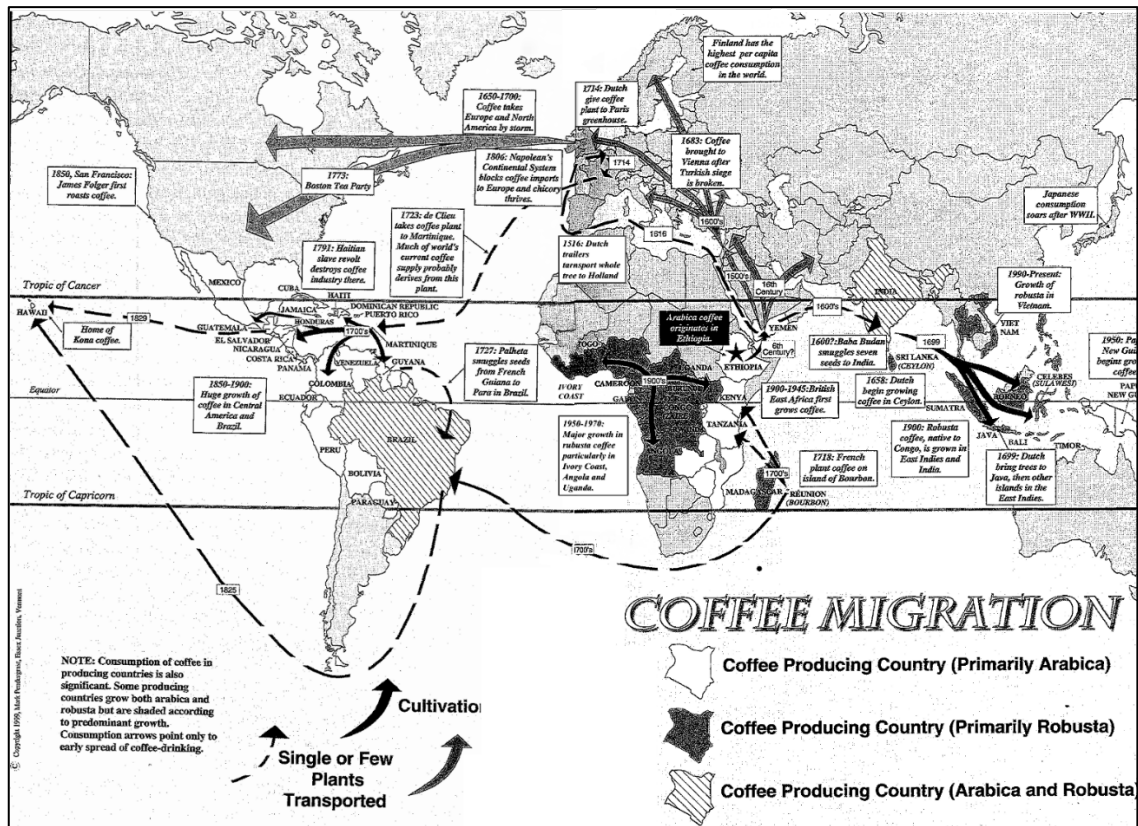


Figure 2.1. Coffee Migration.
(Source: Pendergrast, 1991)

Dutch sailors also had a significant influence on the transportation of coffee to other continents. (Figure 2.1.). A Dutch merchant brought a coffee tree from Aden and began to grow coffee from its seeds firstly in Amsterdam, then Ceylon and Jakarta in second half of 17th century. Another Dutchman brought trees to Java from Malabar. Following this, trees started to be grown in Sumatra, Celebes, Timor, Bali and the East Indian islands. Meanwhile, another sailor brought coffee seeds to Surinam, which is the Dutch colony of America, and began to grow coffee in large quantities. These colonies provided coffee to Amsterdam and made Amsterdam the center for European coffee trading (Pendergrast, 1991). Also in first quarter of 18th century, a Dutch mayor presented a coffee plant to the French King. After that a french officer took this coffee plant to the island of Martinique, with the aim of improving coffee trading and plantations for the French colonies. Then coffee was spread from Martinique and Guyana to South America, Central America, India, Indonesia, Vietnam, and Africa. France become one of the biggest coffee traders in Europe at that time. (Heise, 1987). Coffee arrived in Cuba, Guatemala, Venezuela, and Colombia after the 1740's. (Heise,

1987). In ten years, the growing of coffee trees had already spread to five different continents. (Prendergast). After this spread, countries sent more slaves to their colonies to manage the increasing coffee plantations.

In North America, the first American coffeehouse "Green Dragon Coffeehouse" was opened in 1689 in Boston. Meanwhile, tea was consumed more than coffee, and in 1767 the British government raised the taxes on the tea to be shipped to America (the Townsend act). On that occasion, colonists in America made a plan at the Green Dragon Coffeehouse to protest against Britain's high-duty tea and to Britain itself (Figure 2.2.). On December 16th, 1773, they disposed of tons of tea from the English ship in Boston Harbor. This action took place in the literature as the "Boston Tea Party" and became one of the sparks that led to the American War of Independence. So, from that moment, avoiding tea became the poetic duty of Americans and as a result of that, the coffeehouses started to make a profit. In fact, the American National Assembly decided act against tea consumption. (Gürsoy, 2005). For that matter, John Adams who was the second President of the United States said "Accordingly I have drank Coffee every afternoon since, and have borne it very well. Tea must be universally renounced. I must be weaned, and the sooner, the better." to his wife about the consumption of coffee. (Adams, 2010)



Figure 2.2. The Green Dragon Coffeehouse (left).
(Source: Ukers, 1922)

According to Pendergrast, coffee consumption improved in parallel with the Industrial Revolution and adapted to changing lifestyles, attitudes and eating habits of society. William Ukers explain its journey as: "Wherever it has been introduced, it has spelled revolution. It has been the world's most radical drink in that its function has always been to make people think. And when the people began to think, they became dangerous to tyrants." (Ukers, 1992). Pendergrast claims, after its story started 400 years ago, coffee turned into an important daily consumer product and an international commodity that affected the economy.

In the ongoing process, each country began to form its own taste for coffee, and new tastes and new ways of brewing coffee were developed. Many different producers tried different flavors with different aromas and roasting styles. In 1822, the Frenchman Louis Bernard Rabaut invented the prototype of today's espresso machines, and in 1841 Elizabeth Dakin used the first coffee pot known today as the French Press. In 1862, Julius Meinl opened his first grocery store selling spices and coffee, and in 1891 he opened the first roasting facility for a technique he developed. The brand's fez-wearing child logo, which is also used today, was dedicated to Turks. ("Julius Meinl History", 2018). John Arbuckle founded to pack coffee for selling it in 1871. In 1884, the first espresso machine was designed, and by 1900, the Hills Brothers put coffee on the market for the first time in vacuum packs. Lavazza, which is a coffee company established in Italy, was founded in Turin in 1895. The company offered a mix of coffee varieties grown in different regions. Another Italian company, Illycaffè was founded in 1933 in the city of Trieste. It also developed a modern espresso machine and presented it to the market. In 1938, Nestle began producing and selling the first instant coffee "Nescafe," and in 1949 the Tchibo Coffee Chain was established in Germany. (Pendergrast, 1991, Gürsoy, 2005). Every different culture created their own taste of coffee such as Italian espresso, Turkish coffee or French press.

With all these developments, different global coffee companies were established, and coffee becomes one of the most used commercial products in the world today. According to United States Department of Agriculture reports, over the past decade, coffee consumption has reached about 150.5 million bags (60 kg) for each year. ("Coffee: World Markets and Trade", 2018). Pendergrast also claims that coffee is the second most traded product in the world after petroleum. Milling, seeding, processing, trading, transportation, and marketing of coffee has an essential place in the world economy and employs millions of people worldwide. (Pendergrast, 1991)

2.2. The "Kahvehane" In the Ottoman Empire

According to the records of the Ottoman historian Peçevi, the first coffeehouses in Istanbul was opened by two Syrians named Hükm and Şems in Tahtakale because Tahtakale was one of the most cosmopolitan regions of the city and was at the center of the economic flow (Yaşar, 2005). Over time, the number of coffeehouses in the city increased rapidly and different types of coffeehouses were established in all neighborhoods of the city. According to Selma Akyazıcı Özkoçak, The coffeehouse quickly become part of everyday life and took the role of gathering and socializing places for people. In 1595, there were over 600 coffeehouses. (Özkoçak, 2009).

These new types of spaces, also affected the way of socializing. Ottoman coffeehouses which were opened for praying around the mosques started to serve as a place of gathering and socializing. In the 16th century, they began to take on different characteristics and spatial practices in terms their purpose and user and they opened in different forms such as neighborhood, janissary, semai, imaret, addict, portable, fisherman, köçek, nargile, and morning coffeehouses. Different participants owned these transformed spaces, and people from similar professions came together to exchange their ideas (Kırlı, 2009). The most common types of coffeehouse in the Ottoman Empire were neighborhood coffeehouses. (Figure 2.3.). These coffeehouses were single-story, wooden structures, designed in such a way that the neighborhood and the street could be easily viewed. They include seating places for the visitors in and they generally had a pool in the middle (Figure 2.4).

The interior and seating layouts of different types coffeehouses were generally similar however, Semai coffeehouses, had special arrangements for instrumental shows. These places had a different layout than the traditional neighborhood coffeehouses regarding their sitting positions. (Yaşar, 2005).

According to Eda Durmuş, during the Tanzimat period, interior design and furniture were changed in coffeehouses, and tables, chairs and stools started to be used. Over time, these seats and chairs spread out to the coffeehouse and created street coffeehouses. (Durmuş, 2010). Also, coffee was consumed from the traveling sellers who are walking around in the streets (Figure 2.5.).

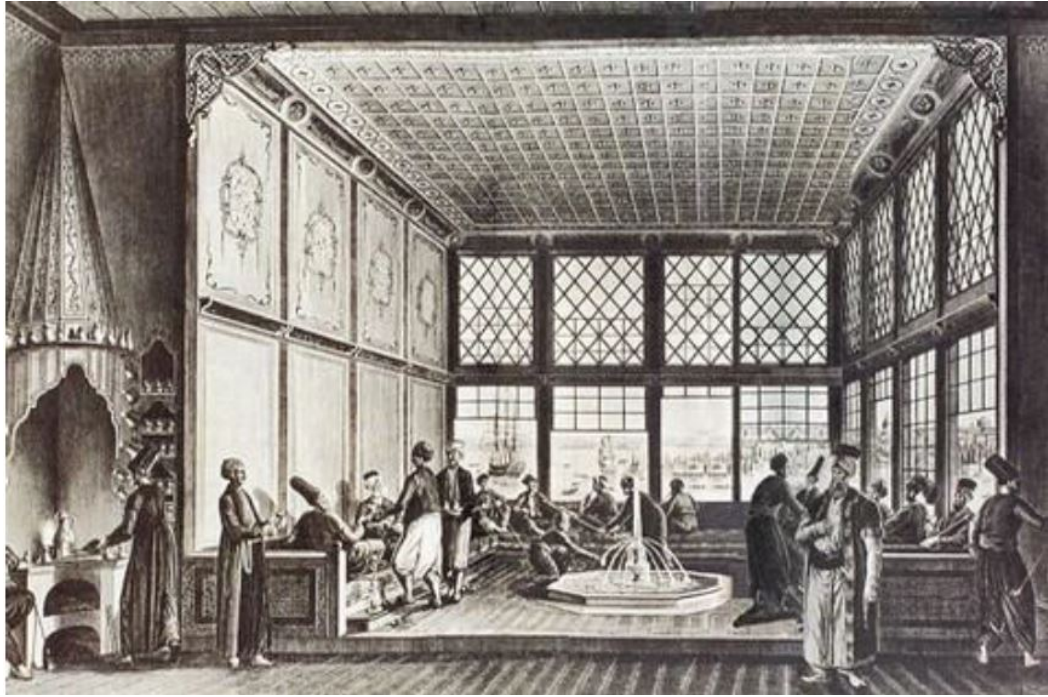


Figure 2.3. Neighborhood coffeehouse in Istanbul.
(Source: Özkoçak, 2009)

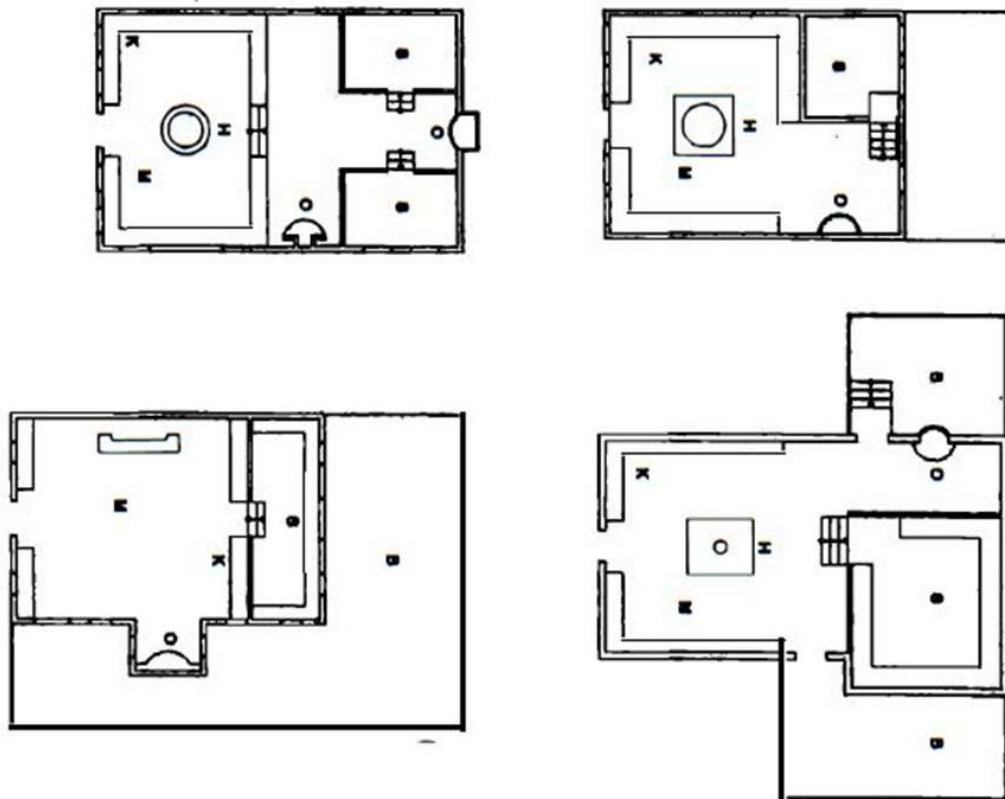


Figure 2.4. Plans of different types of coffeehouse.
(Source: Özkoçak, 2009)



Figure 2.5. Traditional coffeehouse on street.
(Source: Desmet and Georgeon, 1997)

According to Cemal Kafadar, coffeehouses become an excuse to leave the house, in other words, people frequented coffeehouses not only to drink coffee, but also to meet friends and to spend their time outdoors during day and night. (Kafadar, 2014). As Aylin Akyar states in her thesis, these places were used as places for exchange of ideas, political debates and various entertainments. (Akyar, 2012). Ömer Aytaç also states that coffeehouses were places for exchanging ideas, gossiping, developing political and literary discourses when mass communication had not been found yet. In other words, these places were also used as communication centers where current news spread. (Aytaç, 2005). They became an alternative platform to the mosque in the meaning of socializing.

2.3. Spread of the Coffeehouses to Europe

In Europe, the opening of coffeehouses started in the 17th century. (Dicum and Luttinger, 2006). The spread of coffee in France began in 1669 by an Ottoman

Ambassador in Paris. Cafe de Prope, which opened in 1689, attracted celebrities such as Voltaire, Rousseau, and Benjamin Franklin after it became famous. Also Cafe Florian was opened in Italy in 1720. (Heise, 1987) Furthermore, the establishment of another extant coffee company took place by an ambassador named Franz George Kolschitzky who noticed coffee beans left in battle and shortly after, he opened the first Vienna café called Blue Bottle (“Our Story”, 2018) (Figure 2.6.).

Within a few decades, coffee consumption spread rapidly in Vienna. Italian coffeehouses were usually located on the ground floor and had wooden tables to sit at. Some of the coffeehouses opened in France had floor seats and nargiles as in Ottoman coffeehouses.



Figure 2.6. Kolschitzky's coffeehouse: Blue Bottle.
(Source: Heise, 1987)

Brian Cowan states that although coffee consumption already existed in England, the first coffeehouse was opened by the Lebanese Jew Jacobs in 1650 at Oxford University. (Cowan, 2014). In following years, some other places that use to

serve as taverns in England changed their functions and turned in to coffeehouses. (Heise, 1987)

Cafe Florian was opened in Italy in 1720, and it was one of the coffeehouse where the patronage of women was acceptable. Over time it turned out to be one of the symbols of the city. Today, the company claims to be a place not only to drink coffee but also place for "plunge into a unique experience where you can breathe history, listen to the good music of the orchestra, be pampered by the excellent service on strictly silver trays and enjoy the view of one of the most important and beautiful square of the world: St. Mark's Square" (The Cafè in Venice Since, 2015).

According to Eda Durmuş, coffeehouses had an essential place in city life during the second half of 17th century. These spaces served as places for intellectuals and rising bourgeoisie. As in Ottoman Empire, the functions and user characteristics of coffeehouses opened in Europe and America has been changed, and these places gained different features over time. For example, Lyod Coffehouse, which was opened in London, was a place used by merchants, seafarers, transporters, and people in business, and it pioneered different organizations that are still operating today such as a shipping company and a insurance company. At that time, some publishing houses opened their offices near the coffee shops or coffeehouses. In this respect, the publishing houses and coffeehouses became two institutions that interacted with each other in the 17th and 18th centuries. Due to this development, the coffeehouses has gained particular importance as a place where daily publications were formed and distributed (Heise, 1987). At the same time, coffeehouses created a space for broadcasting and art, and attracted many people interested in literature and art. The "Cafe Central" in Vienna opened up as a "chess school" with frequent intellectual and chess players in the region. (Durmuş, 2010).

In addition to the traditional coffeehouse model, the European café model began to spread in the 19th century also in the Ottoman Empire. Most of them such as the "Cafe De Luxemburg," "Cafe Flamme" and "Cafe De Concorde" opened on the European side, in Pera and Istiklal Street in İstanbul. These cafes mostly belonged to European non-Muslims living in Istanbul, and they were offering different products and organizations. With the progress of the pastry industry, cafe Lebon and Markiz Pastry Shop were opened, and they became places where many intellectuals came together while traditional Ottoman coffeehouses started to be seen as outdated. (Heise, 1987).

2.4. From Kahvehane to Kiraathane

Kıraathane is another type of coffeehouse emerged in İstanbul in the second half of 19th century. By definition, the concept of a kiraathane can be described an extension of the coffeehouse where newspapers or magazines can be found and read. With the emergence of kiraathane, coffeehouses becomes a place that provides verbal communication as well as written communication especially in tanzimat reform era. According to Cengiz Kırılı, the first kiraathane emerged in İstanbul in Babiali-Beyazıt and these places were mostly preferred by bureaucrats and intellectuals. These places refer to a new kind of space and organization. These places were summarily organized on "reading." (George, 1999: 71). Therefore, these places were known as the "kıraathane" which means a reading room. There is also the sale of books and newspapers (Figure 2.7.).

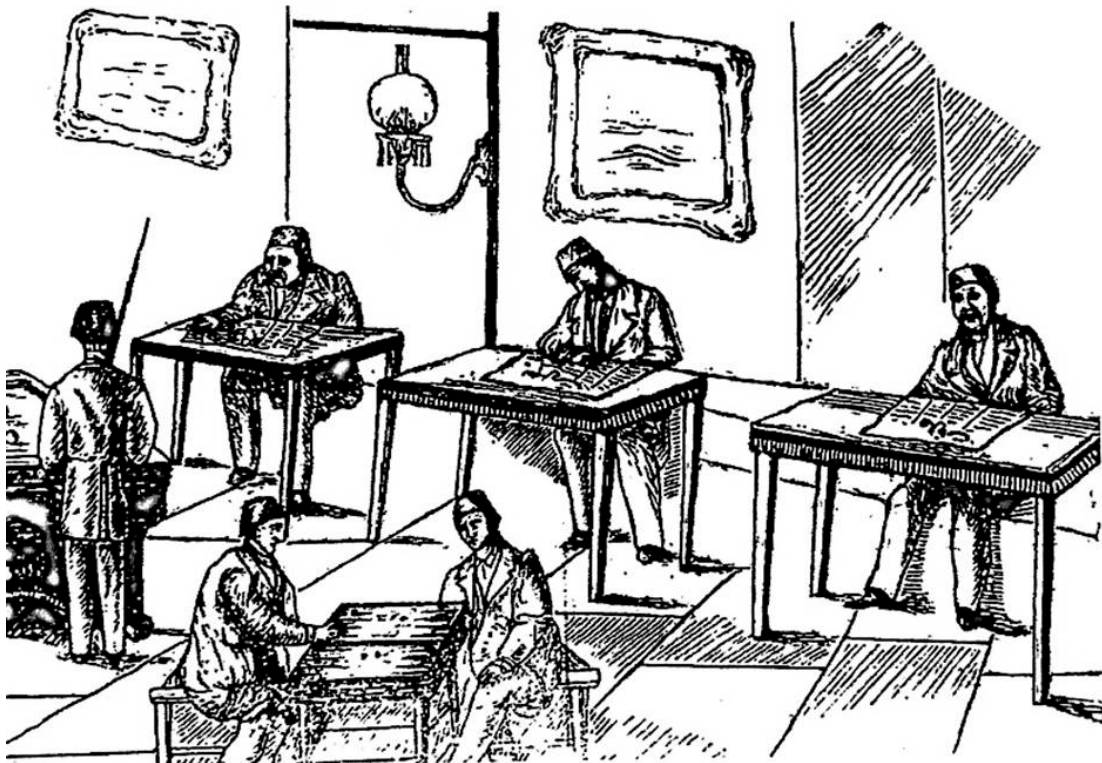


Figure 2.7. The sketch of a kiraathane.
(Source: Heise, 1987)

These spaces can be two storied, and in terms of spatial organization, there was storage and a print works on the entrance floor. On the first floor, there was a reading room with newspaper in various languages, books, brochures, where customers could also have coffee. (Evren, 1996: 202). Even when reading and writing were not common, the articles in newspapers and magazines were read aloud by a volunteer reader, and everyone could be informed. (Kocabaşoğlu, 1984) Thus, Kocabaşoğlu defines the kiraathane as a place looking like a library, in addition to this, according to Heise it was a library where coffee could be drunk. (Heise, 1987)

According to Grégoire, the kiraathane contributed to the spread of the new alphabet among the people and helped the reading process in the country. Grégoire also states that, during the years of the War of Independence, kiraathane created a transition phase for the institutions such as “Halkevleri” and “Köy Enstitüleri” In some of them, theatre, music and puppet shows were also exhibited. So much so that, at the end of the 19th century, the first cinema show in Istanbul was held in Fevziye Kiraathanesi and the first national cinema was opened there. (Grégoire, 1999). According to Kırılı, these places have lost their characteristics over time and tuned in to traditional coffeehouse. (Kırılı, 2009). Today, even if there are places called Kiraathane, they don't serve as a place for reading books anymore.

2.5. Global Chains and Their Turkish Versions

Akyar states that, the transformation of coffeehouses happened in parallel to the changing of urban texture and gentrification according to economic liberalization, transportation, and cultural flow. At the same time, another change in coffeehouse happened through ownership. After the small and locally owned coffeehouses, the chain-owned coffeehouses. (Zukin 2010). When we look at some global coffeehouse brands of today, Starbucks was founded in 1971, Gloria Jean's Coffees in 1979 and Caribou Coffee in 1992 in the US. Starbucks, which was founded by Jerry Baldwin, Zev Siegel, and Gordon Bowker in Seattle, was recreated by Howard Schultz, who made substantial changes to the brand (Figure 2.8.).



Figure 2.8. Jerry Baldwin, Zev Siegel, and Gordon Bowker's first coffeehouse.
(Source: Pendergrast, 1991)

Howard Schultz was influenced by Italian espresso bars and coffee experiences when he was in Italy. He wanted to blend Italian coffee tradition with a new culture in America. The Starbucks Company was initially set up as a take away shop, but Schultz tried to turn it into a place where people also sit and spend time. In 1984, Starbucks began offering different espresso-based coffee drinks, including the first Caffe Latte and has successfully spread worldwide (Figure 2.9.). Today the number of Starbucks coffeehouses has reached 21,000 in 65 countries. As a spatial organization global coffeehouses are different than traditional coffeehouses. Most of them have lots of electrical devices in them and many of these coffeehouses are operated as self-service. Therefore, customers become more available to sit in longer hours.



Figure 2.9 the first logo of Starbucks
(Source: Pendergrast, 1991)

In Turkey "Kocatepe Coffeeshouse" was established as coffeeshop in 1919 and in 1996 it started serving as a coffeehouse. On the other hand, most of chain coffeehouse opened in Turkey in 2000's. If we look at establishment of some familiar coffee chains, they were opened in the following order: "Gönül Kahvesi" in 2002, "Kahve Dünyası" in 2004, "Coffeemia" in 2009, and "Kahve Durağı" in 2009. Today, Kahve Dünyası, is one of the most well-known chain brands, and it has 160 shops located in Turkey, United Kingdom, Romania, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

2.6. Different Types of Contemporary Coffeehouses

The coffeehouses of the 17th and 18th centuries, usually originate from two main cultures which are the rational coffeehouse of the west and the mystic coffeehouse of the east. These 17th and 18th coffeehouses, (which we called traditional types in this study) have been created their own kind of space according to different cultures and regions over time. Regarding this, Cowan refers to the different production and consumption styles of coffee in different cultures. He reveals that different coffee cultures such as "Turkish coffee, French press, Italian espresso or American Starbucks coffee", (Cowan, 2014) create their own types of coffeehouses. Cowan states that:

The English coffeehouse has been understood to have been a very different social space than the French café or the German and Austrian Kaffeehaus: the forms of sociability that predominated in each have often been understood to be characteristic of the broader national culture and have

often been directly associated with the larger national narrative of each culture. Thus, the English coffeehouse has been part of the story of the long English revolution of the seventeenth century, the French café as part of the origins and consequences of revolutionary republicanism and working-class formation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the glory days of the fin-de-siècle cafés of Berlin and Vienna are thought to have come to an end with the Nazi accession in 1933 and the Austrian Anschluss of 1938. (Cowan, 2014)

The cafés, which started to appear in the 19th and 20th centuries as an extension of coffeehouses, had a more heterogeneous structure in terms of gender participation. In the modernization process of countries, it can be seen that the number of these spaces have increased (Sami, 2010). On the other hand, due to the consumption of instant coffee, the widespread of shopping centers, globalization processes and the increase of global companies, cafes have adopted changes in society and transformed. They have been specialized in different subcultures such as third wave coffeehouse, cafe-bar, cafe-patisserie, printing cafe, dance-cafe, jazz cafe, Cafe Theater, rock cafe and net cafe (Aytaç, 2005, Heise, 1987).

In this context, Çaykent and Tarbuck argue that coffeehouse may contain different practices and subcultures however, these institutions include similar patterns of sociability even though they have different formations in different cultures. (Çaykent and Tarbuck, 2017).

2.7. Third Wave Coffeehouses

Today there is a new type of coffee consumption space named third wave coffee. Indeed, this concept actually started to be used after the term specialty coffee that introduced in the last quarter of the 20th century. (Pendergrast, 2010). While producing a specialty coffee, the coffee beans raised with better standards and coffee produced with high-quality roasting and brewing techniques. The beans are taken directly from the farmer. These quality criteria are determined by nonprofit, organizations such as Specialty Coffee Association. Similarl. On the other hand, third wave coffee is a subculture that aims at drinking more qualified coffee. Third-wave coffee makers explain the previous coffee consumption period in two groups. According to them, the first wave mostly refers to the packaged coffees sold in the shopping markets. (Rothgeb, 2003). The "second wave" started in the 1990s and it mostly represents the espresso-based drinks done by coffeehouse chains in urban. (Manzo, 2015). On the other hand, third wave coffee is a movement that considers

coffee as a craftwork of barista instead of a commercial commodity. It appreciates who have a role in the growing and producing of the coffee beans. Jonathan Gold explains different waves as:

The first wave of American coffee culture was probably the 19th-century surge that put Folgers on every table, and the second was the proliferation, starting in the 1960s at Peet's and moving smartly through the Starbucks grande decaf latte, of espresso drinks and regionally labeled coffee. We are now in the third wave of coffee connoisseurship, where beans are sourced from farms instead of countries, roasting is about bringing out rather than incinerating the unique characteristics of each bean, and the flavor is clean and hard and pure. (Gold, 2018)

According to John Manzo, third wave coffeehouse proposes a different organization and specialization rather than the coffeehouse chains that mushroomed cities today. Unlike global chains, they are mostly established by local operators. Also unlike the traditional coffeehouses, they are aware of the story of the coffee beans they use and brew them with new technological elements to get different tastes. In addition to that, Manzo also argues this new emerging coffeehouse is a place where communication and sociability are more productive. (Manzo, 2015).

CHAPTER 3

PUBLIC SPACE THEORIES

Public space is one of the most complex concepts to explain. It is the subject of many different disciplines and debates and it had different forms during history. As a result of that, there is more than one definition and classification for it. In order to grasp the concept of public space, this study first investigates the term of public and its different definitions and then its classifications. This chapter also investigates public space with two dimension which are its political and social context.

3.1. Categories and the Dimensions of Public Space Theories

When the lexical meanings of the public concept are examined, Oxford Dictionary defined it as "ordinary people in general; the community," "a section of the community having a particular interest or connection" and "in view of other people; when others are present." (Oxford Dictionary, 2003). According to Webster Dictionary, public place corresponds with being "accessible or visible to all member of the community". (Merriam, 1961). According to Turkish Language Association, public space is defined as place of public and public affairs. (Türk Dil Kurumu, 2018). Cultural theorist Raymond Williams on the other hand, expresses public terms as "opposed to private" in his book *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. (Williams, 2015). In addition to Williams, sociologist Craig Calhoun similarly define it as "opposed to private" but he also define it as "the people", "the activities which are structured by or pertain to a state", "anything which is open or accessible", "that which is shared", or "which must be shared", "all that is outside the household", "knowledge or opinion that is formed or circulated in communicative exchange", and "especially through oratory, texts, or other impersonal media" in book *New Keywords*. (Calhoun, 2014)

Historically the first usages of the term of public and its meaning is grounded in the Greek and Roman period. The meaning of the word first referred as "members of polities". (Calhoun, 2014). On the other hand, social theorist Richard Sennett defines

public concept through the Western culture and he presents its developments in English and French. In English, the first use of the word of public, represents society's common interest. Over time, it has acquired the meaning of "observable and obvious." At the end of the 17th century, the public and private distinction became clearer and the public was used as being open to everyone. In French, "le public" first used in the meaning of political society of the Renaissance period. (Sennett, 1974).

According to Etymological Dictionary of Turkish Language, the term public "kamuğ" first used in the meaning of the whole, the society and general. (Eyüpoğlu, 1988). Also in Ottoman Turkish, the word "umûm" and its adjective form "umumî" was used in the meaning of everyone, or about everyone. Historically, the term "kamu" mostly referred as "open to all" in Turkish however, according to Neşe Gürallar, today the term is confused with the meaning of state. (Gürallar, 2009).

In the modern sense, the public term still keeps some of these meanings from the past. Today it also associates these meanings with other contexts like public discourse, public resistance, public place, and the communion, things related outside the house and public decision and information circulation. In terms of physical context, the standard definition suggests that public space, can be explained as "all areas that are open and accessible to the public in society" (Calhoun, 2014). In a broad framework, they are places where strangers interact such as outdoor areas, public buildings, private buildings (in some instances) and virtual locations. They can also be considered as parks, streets, hospitals, libraries, municipal buildings, shopping centers, cafes, and internet sites with all being open and accessible to all segments of the population. (Neal, 2010).

However, the straight domain of the term of public space is still uncertain in the literature because, likewise, the term refers several different meanings and publicity of a space is questioned in different contexts both in the academic literature and in everyday life. (Staeheil & Mitchell, 2007). According to Steaheil and Mitchell's survey which depends on literature produced by geographers, there are 16 different definitions of public space (Table 3.1.).

Based on Steaheil and Mitchell's research, public space mostly pairs with "physical definition (eg, streets, parks, etc.)", "meeting place or place for interaction", "sites of negotiation, contest or protest". In addition to these dimensions, Steaheil and Mitchell's article present us 11 different contexts for describing the importance of public space (Table 3.2.).

Table 3.1. Multiple definitions of public space.
(Source: Staeheli & Mitchell, 2007)

Definition of public space*	Number of articles	% Articles
Physical definition (eg, streets, parks, etc.)	80	37%
Meeting place or place for interaction	58	27%
Sites of negotiation, contest or protest	51	23%
Public sphere, no physical form	34	16%
Opposite of private space	32	15%
Sites of display	28	13%
Public ownership, public property	25	12%
Places of contact with strangers	23	11%
Sites of danger, threat, violence	21	10%
Places of exchange relations (eg, shopping)	19	9%
Space of community	18	8%
Space of surveillance	17	8%
Places of open access – no or few limits	16	7%
Places lacking control by individuals	15	7%
Places governed by open forum doctrine	12	6%
Idealized space – no physical form	5	2%

* Multiple definitions in an article are possible. Definitions are not mutually exclusive.

Table 3.2. Multiple importance of public space.
(Source: Staeheli & Mitchell, 2007)

Importance of public space	Number of articles	% Articles
Important due to function (eg, walking, gathering)	72	33%
Socialization, behavior modification, discipline	66	30%
Democracy, politics, social movements	65	30%
Sites of contest	51	23%
Sites of identity formation	35	16%
Places for fun, vitality, urbanity, spirit of city	33	15%
Building community or social cohesion	32	15%
Sites of identity affirmation	30	14%
Living space (eg, for homeless people)	26	12%
Justice**	0	0%
Number of articles	218	

* Multiple senses of importance are possible. Answers are not mutually exclusive.

** Identified by researchers in interviews, but not in articles.

Based on the research, for many researchers, and in academic articles, public space is essential for its usage, (walking gathering), social interaction, democracy, social cohesion, and identity affirmation. According to the survey, it can be said that in the existing literature, publicness of a place is mostly explained with two concepts, which are the political and social (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2007). Social theorists define public space as an area of social ties in society while political theorists define it as the place of rational thought. For example, Lyn Lofland defines public space as a social territory. The existence of publicness for Lofland occurs only through the encounters of strangers, because for her the concept of publicity is based on social relations. While defining publicity, she refers to three different areas within the city, as opposed to binary categorization as private and public. These areas are the private realm, the parochial realm, and the public realm. The private realm is closely related to the family and home, while the parochial realm refers to the neighborhood and neighboring ties. Also, the public realm is related to the city and strangers. In other words, the classification of the public realm is much more related to the social relationship rather than a specific geographical point and according to her, these social territories do not occur geographically but they occur with proportions and densities of relationships (Lofland 1998). Similarly, according to Stephen Carr et al., public spaces serve as “nodes of the communication” in cities.

On the other hand, for Seyla Benhabib, the definition of public space inevitably finds roots in political life. That is why Benhabib explains her model of public space on the three main streams of western political thought. These public models refer to the public realm of Hannah Arendt (agnostic), the public sphere of Habermas (discursive) and the legalistic public domain (political considerations of liberals) which will be elaborated in the following sections. (Benhabib, 1996).

In terms of classification, Weintraub defines public-private division as variable, rather than fixed. According to his classification, there are four models for the concept of public space which are based on the economy, on community and citizenship, on public life in social interaction, and on the feminist perspective that takes the family as a basis for the private and non-private area. (Weintraub, 2014). Another classification belongs to Carmona. For Carmona, these public spaces can also be classified regarding their ownership. Carmona examines different types of public spaces and categorizes them as over-managed places and under-managed places. According to her, there are nine different types of spaces through this classification which are neglected spaces,

invaded space, exclusionary space, segregated space, domestic, third and virtual space, privatized space, consumption space, invented space and scary space. All of these spaces have different use and management because according to Carmona public spaces represents different groups or fragmented structures within society, rather than being a space of unity (Carmona, 2010). One of the other concept that is used for different public spaces is, loose spaces. Loose spaces are represents areas which are used outside their routine. In other words spaces become loose through the activities of users. According to Karen A. Franck and Quentin Stevens, loose spaces depend on people's creativity and their potential to change the use of the space. These spaces can be anywhere in urban. They explains the emergence of the loose spaces as “place of leisure, entertainment, self-expression or political expression, reflection and social interaction—all outside the daily routine and the world of fixed functions and fixed schedules” (Franck & Stevens, 2007, p.3)

3.2. Political Dimension of Public Space; A Place for Discussion and Exchange of Ideas

One of the dimensions of public discourse is its political position. The political public space literature, in particular, refers to two theoreticians and their descriptions. One of them is Jurgen Habermas and his "public sphere", and the other is Hannah Ardent's "public realm".

Habermas describes public sphere, its emergence, and its transformation in the historical process. For Habermas, the public sphere is the condition of democracy in capitalist societies (Özbek, 2004). As a democratic requirement, his public sphere refers an area where all individuals can participate freely to evaluate and solve the "common" issues of society. Another requirement of the public sphere for Habermas is the "rational debate" which is foundation to these "common" issues. When this "*rational debate*" criticises activity of the state, the public sphere reshapes through on its political character. As a matter of fact, the state and public are separate from each other for Habermas.

In this context, Ünivar defines public as an agora where autonomous people (people who don't have relations with the state) come together in an attempt to describe their desires and rights in society. Without a doubt, a public sphere also promotes an

equal participation against not only the state but also the utilitarianism. (Ünivar,1999). Therefore, Habermas defines the public sphere as the feature of the collective, rather than the feature of personal affairs.

According to Habermas, the public sphere emergences in the 18th century. Habermas rejects the existence of a public sphere in the previous period because, in the middle ages, the public space had a symbolic meaning. Which means, in the feudal period, the prince's seal was regarded as public, that is to say, the public space was related to the symbol of sovereignty. Habermas defines this space as "representational public space," and it is directly related to an administrator. In other words, this representation does not define itself as a social field in the feudal society, but instead, it indicates a status and overlaps with the "noble behavior codes." It was not possible to talk about the public as an area on its own.

At the end of the 18th century, the authority of the church and the nobility begins to decompose. Habermas firstly describes the dissolution of the public authority represented by the church. With the reform process, the church loses its divine authority, and this concluded with the formation of the private area which is based on the individual's conscience. Meanwhile, the public authority of the prince begins to decompose with the separation of public budget from the cost of the palace. Also, feudal classes were transformed by forming their authority organizations and parliament structures. With this transformations, the "representational public space" of feudalism turned into public authority with national and regional states. In the private and public distinction of Habermas, private realm refers to civil society and family space, while the public authority corresponds with the state and the noble society. On the other hand, the field of bourgeois society has developed as a third layer. According to Habermas, the formation of the political public sphere is related to the emergence of this bourgeois society. This bourgeois society was consist of autonomous people who were dealing with trade. Along with these developments, a "*political public space of bourgeois society*" emerges autonomously which is separate from the church, state, and the nobility. This bourgeois public sphere stands against public authority, and they create a struggle for ideas on the general rules of social relations. For Habermas, such a debate environment provides a common area of conversation where citizens come together and communicate, and he defines this struggle of ideas as unprecedented.

This situation could conquered owing to bourgeois society who were consisted of private individuals. Due to their positions, bourgeois individuals didn't demand to

share the state's authority (because they were not noble or aristocratic) but instead they require its actions to become public. In other words, they demanded to change the nature of the existing power. In this case, the public sphere can be defined as the self-legitimization of the oppositions, who opposes the innate rights and privileges. Publicity wasn't depending on making laws, voting, establishing a party or organizing but more importantly it is the conditions that created collectively for the political struggle. (Table 3.3.) (Ünivar, 1999).

Table 3.3 Habermas's public sphere position
(Source: Habermas, 1989)

Private Realm		Sphere of Public Authority
Civil society (realm of commodity exchange and social labor)	Public sphere in the political realm	State (realm of the "police")
Conjugal family's internal space (bourgeois intellectuals)	Public sphere in the world of letters (clubs, press) (market of culture products) "Town"	Court (courtly-noble society)

Habermas focuses on the development of the liberal community in terms of communication instruments. According to him, publishing, especially newspapers, play a crucial role in the development of the liberal public space model. During this period, their numbers have increased rapidly. The newspapers have mediated freedom, public opinion, and public debate.

In addition to Habermas, Arendt, who is one of the most important political theorists of this century, explains the origin of the public political realm, with basing its roots on the ancient Greek (Frei & Böhlen, 2010). The book titled "human conditions" Arendt uses Aristotle's "*zoon politikon*" ("man is by nature political, that is, social") to explain human nature in regarding social and political activity. For her, in ancient Greek, there were two types of existence which were public and the private. While the private space represents the household, the public space was related to political activity, live in the polis and to use words instead of violence as communication action. For

Arendt, the polis was representing world affairs and a realm of freedom. Also, this area was not personal, rather it was the area of the common. It was also representing the differences.

In the definition by Arendt, the public realm enriches life in two respects. First, being in a public space overlaps with reality because everything in the public arena is visible to others. Which means, our sense of reality depends on the existence of the public realm. She argues that: "Being seen and being heard by others derive their significance from the fact that everybody sees and hears from a different position." (Arendt, 1958)

Second, the public realm is not a limited space, but rather a common world for all. Rather than on one's own, the public realm expresses a shared world for all of us. It occurs differently from the family life. In its world, individuals occupy together, but they are in different positions. Arendt defines this common world as people sitting around a table. This table serves for both separating individuals and also keeping them together. In this world, the individual presents themselves to the crowded audience. Arendt explains it as:

...the term "public" signified the world itself, in so far as it is common to all of us and distinguished from our privately owned place in it... To live together in the world means essentially that a world of things is between those who have it in common, as a table is located between those who sit around it; the world, like every in-between, relates and separates men at the same time. The public realm, as the common world, gathers us together and yet prevents our falling over each other, so to speak. What makes mass society so difficult to bear is not the number of people involved, or at least not primarily, but the fact that the world between them has lost its power to gather them together, to relate and to separate them. The weirdness of this situation resembles a spiritualistic seance where a number of people gathered around a table might suddenly, through some magic trick, see the table vanish from their midst so that two persons sitting opposite each other were no longer separated but also would be entirely unrelated to each other by anything tangible (Arendt, 1958)

In this case, the public realm is the only way to be permanent. "*People can only become visible in the public area.*" (Arendt, 1958). The only way to exist as human is to be in a public realm for Arendt. She defines the avoidance of political life as deprivation. That is, only those who have their own private life, represent the impoverished person, in other words, the person who is not interested in politics is called an "*idiot*" for Arendt.

The public sphere defined by Habermas and its transformation has been examined and criticized by many theoreticians, researcher, and academician. One of these studies belongs to critical theorist and feminist Nancy Fraser. Fraser criticizes

Habermas's liberal public model from four perspectives. As for the causes, first of all, according to her, the bourgeois public sphere of Habermas is the male-dominated area. The women who make up half of society were excluded from Habermas's public sphere. In this case, the public sphere which eliminates the differences or the brackets them, can't exist in such a democratic structure. Because its existence is related to social equality (Fraser, 1993)

Secondly, Habermas idealizes the bourgeois public sphere, and as a result, he also singularizes it. At that point, Fraser criticizes the singularity and inadequacy of bourgeois publicity, in both stratified and egalitarian multicultural societies. It is not possible to exempt individuals from this inequality in these stratified societies. At this point, weak and dependent alternative groups (Fraser expresses these groups as subaltern counter-public) lose their chance to express themselves and begin to dissolve in the strong ones. This inequality ends up as Mansbridge's statement: "*absorbing the less powerful into a false 'we' that reflects, the more powerful.*" Nonetheless, these subaltern counter-publics which Habermas ignores can produce dissenting comments and opposing discourses about the interests and needs of their group members, and they can produce publications in parallel with each other. Indeed, the existence of this subaltern counter-publics allows the expansion of the field of the public discourse with the debate which has been ignored before. Fraser explains a brief example to clarify this situation:

Perhaps the most striking example is the late-twentieth-century U.S. feminist subaltern counter-public, with its variegated array of journals, bookstores, publishing companies, film and video distribution networks, lecture series, research centers, academic programs, conferences, conventions, festivals, and local meeting places. In this public sphere, feminist women have invented new terms for describing social reality, including "sexism," "the double shift," "sexual harassment," and "marital, date, and acquaintance rape." Armed with such language, we have recast our needs and identities, thereby reducing, although not eliminating, the extent of our disadvantage in official public spheres (Fraser,1993).

Fraser, on the other hand, argues that even in classless societies which do not include, sexual or racial discriminations, it is not possible to talk about a singular or inclusive public sphere which provides equal participation and equal expression. Because public spheres are not only places of pure expressions, but simultaneously they are places where identities are produced and acquires. To clarify, one's participation in the public sphere cannot be neutral because it can only take place by using cultural identity and self-expression. Therefore, public spheres are not zero-degree cultural

spaces that contain an equal cultural expression, and as a result, the expression of one of the cultural group supersedes the other inevitably. Contrary to Habermas's single and ideal bourgeoisie, the existence of many different subordinated group will be more productive in terms of publicity (Fraser, 1993)

Fraser's third criticism is about the common interests of society and the personal interests of individuals. Habermas's public sphere addresses the common interests of private individuals, but it does not demarcate a boundary between these interests and discursive debates. According to the public sphere of Habermas, public members will adopt a collective approach away from their interests while they find a common good. Nonetheless, it is only possible to reach this common good with discursive struggle. Thus the presence of this common good of public sphere should be approached with suspicion. Even the restrictions on the public sphere are reduced the public debate encounter the informal and sub-limitations.

The last criticism of Fraser is about the clear distinction between the state and the public. According to Fraser, Habermas's public sphere only offers the opportunity of negotiating practice and ideas because it is remote from the decision-making process. These kinds of publics are named as weak public for Fraser. By contrast with, she moots the parliament idea that will be in the state as a representation of the strong public. Because the parliament establishes an area where ideas are produced, and the decision-making process is conducted. However, these strong publics are responsible for the weaknesses mentioned above. At this point, Fraser does not resolve coordination between strong and weak publics, but her critics are essential because she emphasizes the need for a post-bourgeois public space containing both types of peoples for democracy to function. (Fraser, 1993).

Another criticism for *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* comes from Michael Schudson. Schudson examines the public political space of Habermas through its participation context and rational discourse. He also questions the Habermas's public sphere of the European bourgeoisie in American political history. By doing that, he searches American history of voting in the 18th century and the position of the press and publication on the political discourse in the 19th century. He states that in American political history, press, and publication were not as effective as they were in Europe. Thus, it can be claimed that Habermas's public discourse is limited to Europe and only represent it and therefore, it is insufficient to explain the American political public life. According to Schudson, in the history of American politics, there has never

been a rational debate environment defined by the Habermas. Habermas has partially justified some of these criticisms directed at him in the preface that he wrote in 1990. (Schudson, 1993).

One of the most criticized points of Habermas is, him idealizing the bourgeois public space. Similarly, Like Habermas, Ardent also idealizes the Greek polis. However, if we compare the public sphere of the bourgeois society of Habermas with the Greek public realm of Ardent, for the individuals of the Greek community, the public realm was a place of freedom while the family pairs with the fields of necessities. The public realm is where free men come together to discuss world affairs. On the other hand, the public sphere idealized by Habermas was an area of publicity created by, private individuals, who took apart from the palace and aristocracy. Unlike the Greek polis, in bourgeois society, the family was not an obligation but it was representing an area of freedom against the state. This bourgeois society which composed of private individuals created a public sphere separate from the state. (Calhoun, 1993) However, for both theorist, public space does not exist today

When we read public space through its political character, firstly, the public realm, has collapsed with the rise of a society in modern periods for Ardent. For her, the rise of the social concluded with the dissolution of the family and the disappearance of the relationship between public and private. As a result of that field of the family become the problem of the public. Which means, with every fields and group that enter the public, the scope of the public expands and in this process, political is hindered by social. Individuals no longer have the political action in public spaces. Instead it is replaced with the falsification and behaviors of the consumer society.

In addition to Ardent, the public sphere that Habermas has idealized with the rise of the bourgeois is no longer relevant in modern society. During its decline in the 19th century, Habermas argues that in the social welfare state of mass democracy, public sphere began to weaken. The public content began to cross the borders of the bourgeoisie, and it turned into a confrontation area. Also, the consensus of private individuals in the public debate got lost. For Habermas, there is, therefore, no critical capability of the public sphere of the social welfare state. Contrary to the bourgeois individuals who once aimed to publicize the actions of the state, today's public space only serves private and secret interests. According to him, individuals who have a rational discussion in public sphere, now turned into consumer societies today (Habermas, 1989).

3.3 Social Dimension of Public Space

3.3.1. A Place for Interaction and Socialising

“public space is the stage which the drama of communal life unfolds.” (Carr & Francis 2010)

In addition to the political dimension, public space encompasses social relations and practices. Public space is the place where social relations are produced and lived. According to Banerjee, public space is a place of sociability and the activities of everyday life. Banerjee states that:

The sense of loss associated with the perceived decline of public space assumes that effective public life is linked to a viable public realm. This is because the concept of public life is inseparable from the idea of a "public sphere" (Habermas, 1989) and the notion of civil society where the affairs of the public are discussed and debated in public places. The domain of the public sphere is seen to exist between the privacy of the individual and domestic life and the state (or the government). But there is another concept of public life that is derived from our desire for relaxation, social contact, entertainment, leisure, and simply having a good time (Banerjee,2001).

In other words, according to Banerjee, there is another dimension of public space that does not describe by the political aspect, that is public space is the place of daily social activities. In addition to Banerjee, Lofland also explains the social character of public realm by referring Gregory Stone, Jane Jacobs, Erving Goffman and William Whyte (Lofland, 1998). According to her investigation, these spaces can directly address to the physical spaces such as pavements for the interaction of people (Jacobs, 1993), small businesses places where economic relations can establish (Stone, 1954), or city centers where people meet and spend time together (White, 2001). White also argues that places which have intensive use are the ones that offer seating, food facilities or activities. Also, Jacobs emphasizes the importance of diversity and complexity within the city. She proposes the pavements as the most important places where people interact with each other. According to Jacobs, sidewalks are essential public spaces where people see each other and experience urban interaction.

Public spaces, on the other hand, are places where daily activities are established, and as well as the catalyst for social relations. In this context, Gottdiener defines a dual relationship for generating of space. He states that;

Space not only contains actions but also constitutes a part of social relations and is intimately involved in our daily lives. It affects the way we feel about what we do. (Gottdiener, 1985).

In addition to Gottdiener, Sennett argues that a city is a place where strangers meet. In *The Fall of Public Man*, Sennett explains the public domain with the changing character of European society during the 18th and 19th centuries. According to him, the formation of the public domain occurs through the transformation of cities. The center of the public domain was the city, and parks, streets, and cafes were reshaped for the growth of this public domain. As a result, the number of places where strangers can meet has increased, and social relations and interaction has expanded. In this growing public domain, the public person emerges as a public actor, and on this account, achieves a collective identity in the society. The collective action takes place in the public domain, and people constitute the public by gathering together. In cities, public person established relationships between strangers and acquaintances. Sennett uses the term "cosmopolite" when describing the perfect public person of the 18th century. Cosmopolite, refer a public person who could walk in and out everywhere and travel around the city.

However, according to Sennett, at the end of the 18th century, essential changes happened in the name of public space and structure of the community. One of the most potent factors which have led to these changes was 19th-century industrial capitalism. Sennett also reveals changing relationships between people in terms of interpreting the foreigners, narcissism, individualism, and fading of the meaning of public space. He explained narcissism as the endless quest for self-satisfaction. In modern periods people lost their collective approaches because every individual became busy with their ego and problems. Also, the industrial capitalism caused the privatization and mystification, and these resulted with fetishism of commodity in the society. Sennett argues that, in this fading public space, the individuals withdraw to the family from the public. He says that;

Using family relations as a standard, people perceived the public domain not as a limited set of social relations, as in the Enlightenment, but instead saw public life as morally inferior. Privacy and stability appeared to be united in the family; against this ideal order the legitimacy of the public order was thrown into question (Sennett, 1974).

According to Sennett, public space has changed radically, and it collapsed in today's modern society. However, public spaces still function as a place for everyday

life and social interactions according to Banerjee. He speaks about another place that only emerges from having a good time and social contact. For him, this place can be explained with the third place of Oldenburg (Banerjee, 2001). In his book urban sociologist Ray Oldenburg begins with changes that happened in the public and social life of the American people after the Second World War. Similarly, Oldenburg tells us a story of decadence. After the war, American cities transformed into “*suburbs of the automobile*”, which created dissatisfaction in the community. According to him, these automobile suburbs affected people’s lives in several ways. Firstly people have lost the sense of belonging because it became straightforward to leave a suburban house by car. Secondly, houses located in the suburbs were located far from the each other, and as a result, people lost communication with each other. This situation affected housewives without a car and turn them into individuals who were “bored, isolated, and preoccupied with material things.” Then women started to join the labor force, but this time, suburban children lost family ties with their parents. People have moved away from the public space and have started to live apart from each other by entering automobiles to their lives. According to Oldenburg, these American families began to separate from the outside world and stay home. The loss of the concept of the city created unhappy families and unhappy society. At the same time, the competition for ownership among individuals started with the development of consumption and advertising culture. Oldenburg says that:

“Advertising, in its ideology and effects, is the enemy of informal public life. It breeds alienation. It convinces people that the good life can be individually purchased. In the place of the shared camaraderie of people who see themselves as equals, the ideology of advertising substitutes competitive acquisition.” (Oldenburg, 1999).

The problem of America was rooted in deficient informal public life because people turned to individuals who were “*seeking after comforts and pleasures, are plagued by boredom, loneliness, alienation, and a high price tag*” They forget how to communicate in society and become more protected and closed individuals. As a solution, Oldenburg offers “*third place*”. He defines first and second spaces between home and work. Third places are areas with a great variety of society that welcomes the regular, voluntary, informal persons and gathering spaces for people to join happily beyond the realms of home and work such as bars, taverns, coffeehouses. He describes it as a remedy for the people for stress, loneliness, and alienation. According to him, this

remedy does not only include the theme of escape, but it also provides something much more, because, experiences and relationships can afford only within. He emphasized the theme of 'neutral ground' which refers to places where individuals can come and go, and none are required to play host or feel at home and comfortable. These places also serve as levelers (inclusive place) for a society which means they are open to all and based on qualities not limited to status distinctions in society. Therefore, they are cheerful for all individuals. In the modern period, Oldenburg's third place can be related to 17th-century European public sphere, defined by Habermas (Lukito, & Xenia, 2017). The main activity of these place is a conversation, and he gives an example of the rules of this conversation in third place. For third places, Oldenburg states that:

- 1) "Remain silent your share of the time (more rather than less)."
 - 2) "Be attentive while others are talking."
 - 3) "Say what you think but be careful not to hurt others' feelings."
 - 4) "Avoid topics, not of general interest."
 - 5) "Say little or nothing about yourself, but talk about others there assembled."
 - 6) "Avoid trying to instruct."
 - 7) "Speak in as low a voice as will allow others to hear."
- (Oldenburg, 1999).

In summary; neutral ground provides the place, and leveling sets the stage for sustaining activity which is a conversation (lively, scintillating, colorful, and engaging talk). Also, Oldenburg describes this conversation as a game, and the third place is home for it. Then he talks about the accessibility of the third places. According to him, accessing these spaces should be easy to survive in a society. Third places are part of everyday activities, and their contributions to community depend on the daily flow of life. They contain a playful spirit, joy, and acceptance because they provide the urge to return, recreate, and recapture the experience. Oldenburg states that:

Third places exist on neutral ground and serve to level their guests to a condition of social equality. Within these places, the conversation is the primary activity and the major vehicle for the display and appreciation of human personality and individuality. ... The character of a third place is determined most of all by its regular clientele and is marked by a playful mood, which contrasts with people's more serious involvement in other spheres. Though a radically different kind of setting from the home, the third place is remarkably similar to a good home in the psychological comfort and support that it extends (Oldenburg, 1999).

Third places comprise novelty because they promote stimulation, and conversation through the agency of diverse population. They provide approval and acceptance by society in their associations. Also in this context, third places are places

where people come to talk. The discussion in these places become more varied. They offer a mix of social infrastructure. They are also a part of mental health. As a human being, we live in society depending on other people and in third places we provide our relations with community. So these places are places for communicating, joking, laughing and humor. In third places, people share common feelings that make people happy because they are places where personal problems are destroyed. Many participants are connected to these associations, but there is no obligation to participate in these places which mean, people can only engage in these spaces as long as it attracts them, and this situation makes the presence of the interest continues. They are places where people can come and socialize and behave like themselves. Oldenburg argues that, by losing these places in the modern society, people lost their friendly relations and vitality.

Oldenburg defines third places as places of equal participation where the class inequalities are eliminated. We can easily characterize Oldenburg's third place as being rooted in the Habermasian public sphere in terms of being as a leveler for society. However, the political debate of Habermas is virtually absent in the third place of Oldenburg. Third place is a concept based on the idea that individuals in society will have a good time by conversation. For Oldenburg, these are mostly places of happiness.

Nonetheless, besides the ones who argue collapse of traditional public space, such as the street or town center, some scholars think that the public space needs to be adapted to today's conditions with alternative areas and usages. While Patricia Simoes Albrecht criticizes Oldenburg's concept of third place regarding supporting homogeneous groups, she introduces the fourth place as an alternative to it. Indeed, the fourth places derive from the third place of Oldenburg, but it has different characteristics. While the main action proposed by Oldenburg is the speech in the third place, fourth places include all the daily activities of the individuals. At this point, it is clear that Albrecht explores the publicity of a place, particularly in the micro space level. For Albrecht, the greatest and most important feature of the fourth spaces is "in-betweenness." While Oldenburg addresses the specific spaces such as cafe shop for third places, fourth places can be any place in terms of definition and function of the activities within. The fourth places are places where strangers come together and gather in terms of any function to create micro sociability. The establishment of the fourth place depends on an event and people. Therefore it is unplanned and flexible. In this way, they have the change to be recreated in daily life. For the fourth places, Albrecht

gives examples of everyday micro-areas such as thresholds, edge spaces, paths, nodes, and props. Depending on the functions of the users, these places may also have different management and control mechanisms. Thanks to their unplanned structure, the fourth places even can be a shopping center or a station. While explaining the thresholds areas, Albrecht suggests that these spaces are places of great potential for social interaction in our everyday life. On the other hand, the edges of the city can also function as an area of the fourth space. According to Albrecht's claim, these edges do regulate not only the physical environment but also our social behavior. For example, they are preferred areas for sitting in a shopping center or the city centers, but they can also have many different social functions rather than sitting. For example, people may prefer to stand in the edges of a particular street or a public area just to observe other (Simoes Albrecht, 2016).

With a similar approach, William Whyte examines the various parks plazas and sidewalks by observing them to understand their usage of socializing. He observes the movement of people sitting on their benches and their conversations with one another at specific times in a day such as mornings, lunch hours or the hours after work. He also discovers how people sometimes gather in unusual sites such as at the edges of sidewalks. People insisted on having their conversations in the path of the flow. Also when people stop for talking they position themselves near objects, such as a flagpole or a statue or well-defined places, such as steps, or the border of a pool. Paths, on the other hand, are one of the essential social interaction places in the city (White, 2001). Albrecht defines these spaces as the area of both observations and being visible. Furthermore, according to Albrecht, the nodes in the city gain public context only when they are the center of social activity. Albrecht emphasizes the social interaction character of these spaces rather than addressing their physical features. In other words, these places are not planned or designed areas, but the collective action in the space forms them. Albrecht argues that fourth spaces also need to be accessible and open all person in the city. They are not places that have a pre-planned history but they aim to host different uses at different times spontaneously (Simoes Albrecht, 2016).

As Albrecht, herself acknowledged, fourth places are the alternatives that offered by those who chose to look at the full side of the glass in order to provide a solution for the 21st centuries public spaces for sociability. Similarly, Stephen Carr, Mark Francis, Leanne G. Rivlin, and Andrew M. Stone advise on the design and operation of public spaces in the city for the response to criticisms on public space. For them, the public space should be responsive, democratic and meaningful. In this

context, even Carr, Francis, and Rivlin, are aware of the changing public life and criticism that made for it, they try to propose solutions and explains essential features for it.

In addition, Hans Frei and Mark Böhlenin offer different types of micro public spaces for the healthy functioning public spaces of today's society. According to Böhlen and Frei, the public realm mentioned by Ardent has the problem of representation in today's global world. Thus, their offered micro-public spaces define new types of structures that adapt easily to the 21st century, make new relations with users to keep up with contemporary democracy and, relate connections between local and global with the experiences of individuals and information technology of machine. These spaces also consist of architectural programs which aim to access the information and resources in public life. These micro public places can be redesign institutions of daily living such as micro public school, micro public health center, micro public art micro museum, etc. (Frei & Böhlen, 2010)

3.3.2. A Place for Consumption Culture and Producing Social Identity

Another dimension of public space is its cultural context and role in identity production. When we look at the definition, the culture term has more than one meaning in the literature. Özbek says that, culture briefly refers to the formation of *social relations of a particular group* of people and their *experiencing and interpreting the existing conditions and relationships* (Özbek, 2005). Correspondingly, the culture term can coincide with meanings such as everyday lifestyle or social values in this context. On the other hand, another use of the term culture coincides with cultural practices and cultural products. For example, William's culture definition is based on artistic practices and he associates the term with "music, literature, painting, sculpture, theatre and film". According to his definition, although there are other meanings, the term culture is mostly used for its meaning of *practices of artistic activity* (William, 2015).

Public space in this respect, is the field of both cultural symbols of lifestyle and practices (Madanipour, 2013). Which means, these two different usages of the term, can occur in the public space. Firstly, it is an area where these social values and the lifestyles are embraced and reproduced. Because public space is the center of social

relation. On the other hand, public space may be the place where different cultural or artistic practices are exhibited and cultural products are produced.

Mark Peterson establishes a relationship between everyday urban life and *practices of consumption*. In order to examine the spread of consumption culture into everyday life practices, he presents a brief history of consumption and identity production with theories of Marx, Veblen and Simmel. Peterson explains the economic perception of consumption practice with Marx's "commodity fetishism" (Peterson, 2015). According to Marxist economic theory, the labor and the exchange value of a product are separated from each other in the capitalist market system and this leads to alienation of the product for the producer. Alienation to the product entails the blurring of the social relationships and Marx coined this as "commodity fetishism". Guy Debord argues that such a society is made up of individuals who have imitation needs. Consumer people only consider the commodified goods thought these imitation needs. They become stranger to the processes of production. (Debord, 1967). According to Peterson, this alienation to product and commodity fetishism is one of the factors in the consumption (Peterson, 2015).

On the other hand, Thorstein Veblen explains the consumption with the term of "social emulation". According to him, even people are in different social positions, they want to have same consumer practices. He examines this social emulation through on the bourgeois society. According to him the bourgeois society who get richer by trade and industry, have tried to gain an elite status through on consumption patterns. To present their wealth and distinguish themselves from the others they adopted conspicuous consumption practices (Veblen, 1970). According to Peterson, this social emulation behavior and competitive consumption was also one of the most critical factors for the emergence of the consumption. In addition to Veblen's commodity theory, Peterson investigates the consumption practices in the urban context and he states that:

...the city is not some pre-formed space into which we humans simply spill, but is made through and maintained by our social interactions and practices, including consumption. We might say that the city is more a state of mind than a physical place... (Peterson, 2015).

In order to understand the practices in cities, he refers to Georg Simmel. According to Simmel, psychological conditions of the metropolis are different than rural life. When compared with rural, metropolitan conception occurs in a rational way.

The reactions and the decisions of metropolitan person mostly occur intellectually. In other words, metropolitan in the city adopts the objective, countable and computable character. For this reason, the city is also a domain of the money economy. In addition, a city is a place where the sensory stimuli and alteration are experienced intentionally. Simmel coined this as the intensification of nervous stimulation. As a result, metropolitan develops a blasé attitude in the city. Peterson interprets Simmel's blasé attitude notion with consumption practices. In blasé attitude, metropolitan loses the ability to notice others and according to Peterson, the city becomes the place where metropolitan builds her or her own identity and therefore he or she have adopted consumption practices such as fashion, expensive products like clothes or jewelry, or expensive experiences such as "travel to Europe, taking language lessons or horse riding." Public space is a place where individuals display their wealth in order to come to attention. Akkar refers to these spaces as "quasi-public space. In these places, art, history, and culture have become a product for marketing, and public space turned into well-designed, over-controlled and exclusive areas (Akkar, 2007).

In addition to Simmel, Sennett also explains the public space and identity production in city life. He refers to 18th-century theatres for one's *social identity* and the establishment of social relations. He associates the theatre with public space and men as actors to disclose how foreign people communicate in society. For everyday practice, he establishes a similarity between the public sphere and the roles in theatres and according to him, public life includes acting, gestures, and conversations with others just like a theatre screen. Therefore there is a reasonable relationship between street and the stage. Naturally, the area of this theatre stage was the city because city was a place where foreigners meet. In order for this relationship to be available, the great city must have a large and heterogeneous population. This heterogeneous population must interact with each other because, only in such an environment, a theatrical resemblance can be established. Which means, in such an environment, the actor has a similar situation with the theatre. For Sennett, the audience and the role-playing is a matter of public place. On the other hand, in the modern period, the public life is in eclipse and he explains the fall of public life through the changes of these roles. In the modern period, the role of cosmopolitan has disappeared in public and private. The capitalist culture has dominated the public life. Madanipour explains these changes with commodification, privatization, and commercialization of public spaces.

CHAPTER 4

SITUATING THE COFFEEHOUSE IN PUBLIC SPACE

The main question that motivates this part of the study is; what is the position of coffeehouses as a public space in the political and social context. To answer this questions, this chapter firstly starts with certain types of public spaces throughout the history. It also aims to explore the forms and usage of different public spaces that emerged before and after coffeehouses in order to position them in a historical narrative of public spaces. Then it aims to investigate the coffeehouses with theories of public space that discussed in the previous chapter.

4.1. Coffeehouses within Certain Types of Public Spaces in Historical Context

To explain the intention of people for gathering outside the home, Lewis Mumford states that, nomadic societies started to gather in specific places in specific periods due to the struggle for survival and sacred purposes or social satisfaction. The first settlements began with cemeteries built for the dead and people came together at these places to present their respects to the deceased. Neolithic villages which were the first primitive cities, have emerged for religious reasons and they centred around these pilgrimage areas. In processes, these villages grew and organized with authority, and they transformed into cities (Mumford, 1961).

On the other hand, in discussion of public space, the Greek city of Athens is usually given as example for first types of public space (Carmona, Magalhaes, 2008, & Madanipour, 2003). For example, Madanipour defines the Agora of ancient Greek as “best known public space of all time” (Madanipour, 2003). The Agora was located in the center of the city (Gottdiener and Hutchison, 2010) with rectangular structure and surrounded by walking trails (Figure 4.1.), temples, public buildings and shopping points which served as a gathering place for people (Neal, 2010).

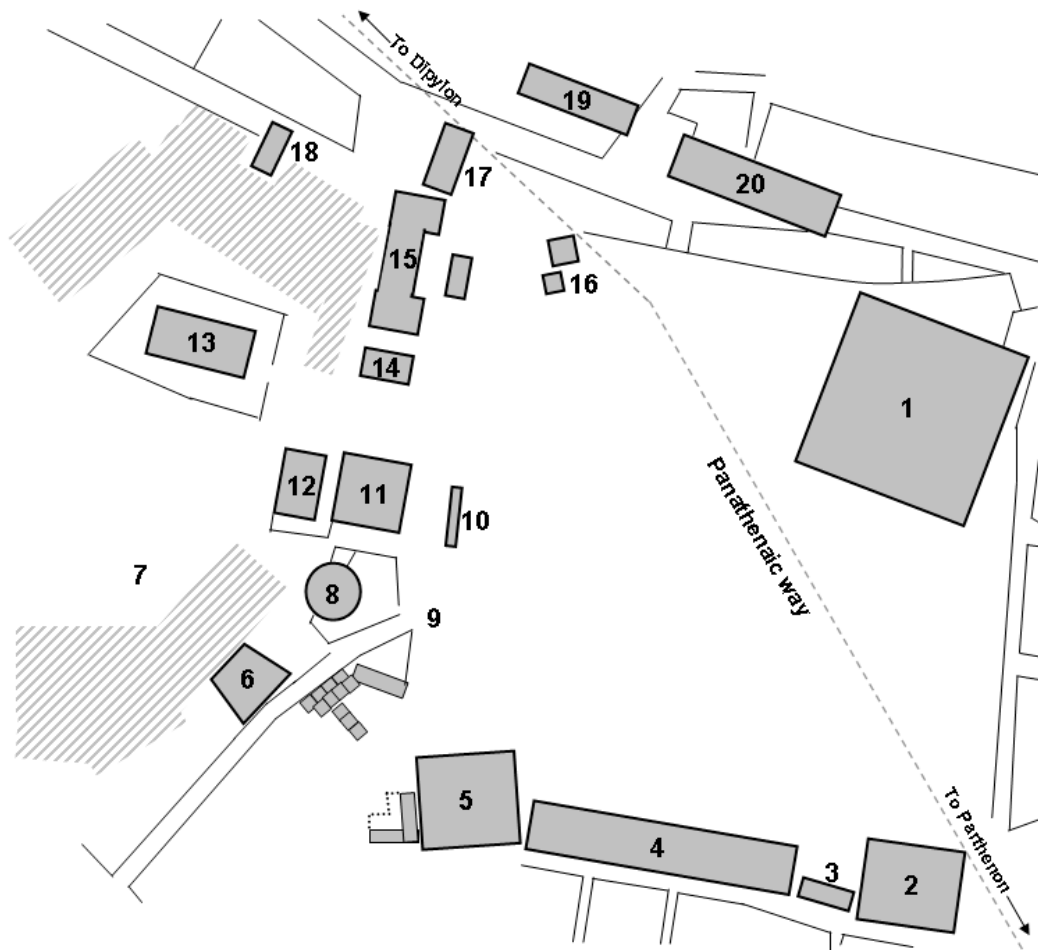


Figure 4.1. Plan of the ancient agora of Athens c. 5th century BCE.
 (Source: Wikipedia, 2007)

Madanipour also states that, rather than being a place only reserved for shopping, the Agora served for the economic, cultural and political activities for the community (Madanipour, 2003). Gottdiener asserts that the public life of the city was located in the center to have the same distance to all houses because all people were equal to each other in Athens. Moreover, Carmona pairs the Greek Polis with themes such as "notion of public space," "space which is democratic," "space to meet, interact and participate" and "space for commercial purposes." (Figure 4.2.)



Figure 4.2 Acropolis, Parthenon.
(Source: Carmona, 2010)

However, in opposition, Mumford claims that, women, foreigners, and slaves were excluded from these public spaces which lead us to question their publicness. On the other hand, when compared to ancient Greek, Roman cities were places of higher population, and they were expanded on larger areas. The meeting place of the Roman Empire was the Roman forums. Their formation was similar with Acropolis and Greek agora and they were including public buildings, markets, and piazzas. People were gathering in these places for religious, commercial, and political purposes (Carmona, 2010).

After the fall of the Roman Empire, The country lands were governed by lords or kings. People were able to interact with each other through these medieval lands to meet agricultural needs (Neal, 2010). On the other hand, cities entered a process of rising walls, castles and more central and more inward structure. The most powerful institution was the church in the city (Gottdiener, 2010). The public activities which were mostly shaped around religious festivals under the control of the church (Carmona, 2010). To benefit from these religious activities, market squares and civic squares have emerged around the cathedrals. In retrospect, the economic and political framework changed between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries in Europe and by the late middle ages, cities grew and became more crowded due to commercial organizations (Gottdiener, 2010). The number of urban squares has increased. These archetypal public spaces were located in the center of the city and contained monuments, architectural

items, covered markets, marketplaces the municipality buildings, the merchants' halls and trade guilds (Carmona, 2010 & Carr, et al, 1992). Over time, these small medieval squares have served as venues for different activities such as tournaments, celebrations, and disobedience. In the Renaissance period, these squares were constructed as more planned and symmetrical areas beginning with Italian cities especially Rome (Carr, et al, 1992). In the renaissance period, the squares and city parks were built with a more regular structure also in other parts of Europe by taking the example of Rome.

In the 18th century, the power of the church was reduced and the control of the territories passed into the nation-states. Trade has reached a global scale. In addition to the square, parks and other public spaces, another institution began to be used for gathering and socializing; the coffeehouse. According to Neal, the public space of the enlightenment era is the coffeehouses. The coffeehouse that spread from the Ottoman Empire to Europe served as a place where individuals can come together and had the opportunity to communicate. In the nineteenth century, the spread of technology provided the usage of electricity in the street, and electricity combined with appliances and the street furniture made the streets more convenient for people's use. In this sense in the nineteenth century, the street became a valuable public space. Also, places such as schools, gyms, and libraries generated open spaces for the community to use (Neil, et al, 2010). In modern urban design, cars and fast transportation became necessary with the effects of functionalism, and these design strategies created large and undefined gaps in the cities. After the modernization period, public spaces become an issue for urban design, but some public spaces such as coffeehouses lost their importance regarding social life (Madanipour, 2003).

When we compare the Ottoman cities with the planned squares of Europe, mosques were an important public space where people gathered together. They were generally surrounded by high and perforated walls, and in terms of accessibility, their relation with the streets was limited (Bozdoğan and Akcan, 2012). In addition to mosques, coffeehouses, barbershops, and alehouses were also important public spaces for Ottoman Empire but the access of women to these places was also limited. Public baths were serving as a place for women to come together and communicate (Özkoçak, 2009). On the other hand, in the first years of the modernization movements of Turkish Republic, public spaces were designed to teach people how to become modern citizens. Therefore, there were intended to build a new city for both women and men with public and private spaces which are residential areas, restaurants, casinos, sports facilities,

community buildings, factories, factory towns, train stations, and dams (Bozdoğan and Akcan, 2012).

The literature of public discourse is divided into two about the existence of the public space today. Some researchers have pointed out that the public space has collapsed in 20th century. Some other scholars explain the changes in public space through capitalism and consumer culture. According to Akkar, in the post-industrial period, public spaces changed with the influence of neo-liberal politics, globalization, and capitalism. Cities which were developed under these policies have produced urban spaces that are carefully guarded by giving priority to a specific group. Akkar gives examples of shopping centers for these places. These spaces are the product of capitalism, both in the center and on the periphery, and they have begun to lose their publicity. Shopping centers which offer clean, appropriate and secure areas, are not constructed for public reasons (Akkar, 2007) Which means that, these places are only open to the use of leaseholders and traders and they can be revoked easily (Crawford, 1995). These changes also influenced the architecture and urban areas, and they also caused gated communities, limited public spaces, and mushrooming shopping centers. In other words, these new public spaces are being used to increase the economic benefit of investors. They canalize social alienation and social isolation in cities. At this point, Akkar questions the publicness of these "quasi-public spaces". In the design process of spaces, consumption became a priority, and it resulted in public spaces which are limited and exclusive on behalf of accessibility and use. According to Akkar, these places, planned and managed by a certain control mechanism, cannot be thought of as public space. According to Nemeth and Schmidt, the privatization of public space causes some influence such as limiting popular protest or political action and the usage of advertisements and logos. They also limited the access to space for a desirable audience, and services for the appropriate population regarding their consumerism level. As so far, the content of democracy in public space was restricted. This privatization consequently causes the social segregation, gated communities, gentrification and polarization of society (Madanapur, 2003)

4.2. The Coffeehouses as a Political Public Space

4.2.1. The Coffeehouses as a Place of Public Complain in Ottoman Empire Between 16th and 19th Century

The first coffeehouses were opened in 1550's in Tahtakale in İstanbul, and since that day they served as an important public spaces also in the Ottoman Empire. For many scholars, it is generally agreed today, these places have acted as an alternative place to existing public spaces. Before the coffeehouse, the bozahane, taverns, mosques and barber shops were used, however, when compared with other public places, the coffeehouses showed differences regarding their usage. First of all, when compared with tavern or bozhane, the coffeehouses were places where all male members can join in longer periods. Which means, participants of these places were able to spend time for long hours. Also, when compared with mosques, the conversation in coffeehouses could be about daily life or ordinary topics rather than just religious issues. Also, they prepared the ground for political conversations where gossip could be produced, and dissatisfaction was shared. They provided an atmosphere of criticism within the existing regime. They provided equality for the people of different statuses regarding participation (Yaşar, 2003).

Özkoçak uses the theoretical public space model of Habermas in order to examine the effects of coffeehouses on the political life of Ottoman society. She chases up some similarities between the Ottoman coffeehouses and the European coffeehouses. Firstly, there was an equality situation in terms of participation in Ottoman coffeehouses like in Europe. People of different religions and cultures could come to the coffeehouses without limitations and participate freely. Secondly, these places, as well as the European coffeehouses, were organizing themselves outside the church and authority. They created an alternative platform both in Ottoman Empire and Europe. Thirdly, women were not found in these places like in European coffeehouses, which means, they were functioning as male dominant places (Figure 4.3.). However, they were places where different cultural groups come together and socialize like coffeehouses in Europe and therefore they still accepted as high potential public places due to their providing a bridge for modern public spaces (Özkoçak, 2009).

Furthermore, when we examine the political positions of coffeehouses historically in the Ottoman Empire, Yaşar explains their relations with authority in two processes. In the 16th century, coffeehouses, which served as an alternative platform to the mosques, had been under a threat of closure because they came to such an essential place. People started to go these places instead of mosques, and this situation was disturbing for many religious men. Furthermore, in times when written communication was not common, coffeehouses were providing a place for social communication. They were place of rumors and complaints about the state and the government was aware of the potential of the coffeehouses. Even, in some periods, these places provided an area for planning of rebellions. Therefore, the state was afraid of the potential of these places, and until the 18th century and it followed a strategy of prohibiting coffeehouses as a demonstration of power. Notably, during the periods of Selim II and Murat III, the direct intervention on coffeehouses was experienced. In 1623-1640, the Ottoman Sultan Murad IV took harsh measures and sentenced the coffee drinkers to death (Desmet and Georgeon, 1997).



4.3. Coffeehouse Miniature in Ottoman Empire
(Source: Özkoçak, 2009)

In the nineteenth century, the attitude of the government towards coffeehouses has changed radically, and in this period, the authorities attempted to produce more subtle policies to seize the public space. Thus, rather than shutting down all coffeehouses, they banned several of them, and they started to send their agents to coffeehouses and similar public places to be aware of the society. Against all these obstacles, uses of coffeehouses continued to spread in Istanbul and to play an essential role as public space (Figure 4.4.).

In addition to Yaşar and Özkoçak, Kömeçoğlu also evaluates the publicness of the Ottoman coffeehouses through the definition of representative society by Habermas and he asserts that it is insufficient to explain the structure of the Ottoman Society. Differently, from Özkoçak's claim, Habermas's concept of the public space is not suitable for describing an Ottoman society because of the Ottoman 's non-feudal institutionalization system. Kömeçoğlu investigates the changes in the Ottoman society at the macro level and argues that the coffeehouses followed a different path from European coffeehouses. Kömeçoğlu disaffirms the Habermasian perspective and, examines coffeehouses and their sociability in the context of the "theatre cafe," which Sennett proposes for European coffeehouses. He compares European coffeehouses and Ottoman coffeehouses with the Sennettian viewpoint. It is his opinion that the disappearance of social segregation in European coffeehouses was caused by the dissolution of the boundary between the audience and the player in real theatre halls. Unlike in Europe, coffeehouses in the Ottoman Empire were already serving as theatre venues, meaning, the theatre did not have to function as a bridge between the street and the stage, this role was already taken over by the coffeehouses (Kömeçoğlu, 2009).

After Sennett's point of view, Kömeçoğlu, explains coffeehouses using the concept of Foucault's heterotopia. Coffeehouses became associated with different active public spaces such as theatres, reading rooms, political clubs, casinos, barbershops in line with societies demand and expectations, in addition to that, they formed heterogeneous regions on behalf of functions. Kömeçoğlu defines coffeehouses as heterotopic because they offered these varied structures and an alternative order instead of a new one. In other words, he associates them with Sennett's theatrical and Foucault's heterotopic concepts, and emphasize that it overlaps the notion of egalitarianism, which is one criterion for the creation of the Habermasian public sphere. For all these reasons, Kömeçoğlu defines coffeehouses as a ground for public sphere for resisting the actions of the state.



Figure 4.4. Political Debate in Istanbul Coffeehouse
(Source: Özkoçak, 2009)

In addition to Kömeçoğlu, Kırılı examines the Ottoman archives, and the emissary reports to reveal the public function of the coffeehouse and describes the importance of these reports in the Ottoman administrative system. These emissary reports were being written by the spies of the court to measure the public opinion among the society (Kırılı, 2009).

According to Kırılı, coffeehouses were the places where these reports were mostly collected. He explains these reports with the Habermasian concept of public opinion. For Habermas, the public opinion is founded not by convictions but by a rational discussion with the public attending. Nevertheless, unlike Habermas, Kırılı states that, these personal thoughts which were produced publicly in the Ottoman Empire contributed to the formation of public opinion. Meanings, even these discourses were not rational discourse, they were spread in an environment where there is no

written communication. Therefore coffeehouses served as centers for collecting information and personal opinions (Kırlı, 2009).

In the last years of the Ottoman Empire, the number of coffeehouses and their patrons were considerably high. There were multiple styles of coffeehouses in different parts of cities. On the one hand they were an important part of everyday life and on the other, some intellectual writers were comparing them with the coffeehouses in the western countries and criticizing them for not functioning like them (Öztürk, 2005). Concerning the causes for this, Goergeon mentions a new kind of client that emerged towards the end of the 19th century. This kind of silent and retired customer sat in the place without communicating with anyone. However, until the first years of the Republic, these coffeehouses continued to be the place for men to come together and exchange ideas (Goergeon, 1997).

4.2.2. The Coffeehouses as a Place of Rational Debate during the Age of Enlightenment between 17th And 19th Century

It is generally agreed today that the 17th and 18th centuries were the times when Europe was living its age of Enlightenment. After coffeehouses spread to Europe from Ottoman Empire, they gained an important role in the political life of the European society. Regarding their physicality, these coffeehouses showed differences, but they were parallel in function (Ünlü, 2000). That is to say, European coffeehouses were being used for collecting information and intelligence just like in the Ottoman Empire. The coffeehouses that exceeded the boundaries determined by the government faced obstacles, bans, and destruction as they were in the Ottoman Empire (Kırlı, 2009).

The first British coffeehouse was opened in London in 1652 and their numbers increased rapidly during the period of enlightenment. In a short time, they became the main places of political discussions in different European cities (Kafadar, 2016). Also, since the 17th century, they served as a place to come together and communicate. For example, the coffeehouses opened in France were the places where writers, politicians, and revolutionaries were gathered. Also the Literatus Café, opened in Germany, was mentioned as the palace of the philosophers. In addition, there was a correlation with the academy and coffeehouses in England, even they were addressed as penny universities in London (Heise, 1987) (Figure 4.5.).



Figure 4.5. The Interior of a London Coffeehouse In 18th Century
(Source: Kafadar, 2016)

Habermas associates the emergence of public sphere (which he refers as political public space) with the British coffeehouse culture. According to him, public sphere emerged in coffeehouses in 18th century Europe. He argues that the emergence of the bourgeois public sphere happened with private individuals who came together for "*people's public use of their reason.*" (Habermas, 1989). Coffeehouses were one of the first places for literal discussions and political debates in town:

The "town" was the life center of civil society not only economically; in cultural-political contrast to the court, it designated especially an early public sphere in the world of letters whose institutions were the coffeehouses, the salons, and the Tisch-gesellschaften (table societies). (Habermas, 1989, 31)

These spaces also provided areas where social statuses were ignored. In this context, they were places where the equality principle was valid:

The coffeehouse not merely made access to the relevant circles less formal and easier; it embraced the wider strata of the middle class, including craftsmen and shopkeepers (Habermas, 1989,33)

In addition to Habermas, Heise explains the French revolution with the coffeehouses of Europe. According to her, coffeehouses were places where

revolutionaries came together to make plans. For example, the structure of the revolution was prepared in one of the French coffeehouse named "café des Patriotes". Similarly, Cafe Proscope which was the first coffeehouse of Paris, was also used for organization (Heise, 1987). These places functioned as the political organizing place of the bourgeoisie and operated as political headquarters of the enlightenment period (Ellis, 2008) (Figure 4.6.).



Figure 4.6. A Scene That Represents French Consent
(Source: Heise, 1987)

Another great contribution of the coffeehouse to political life was publications written and discussed in these places. The newspapers were an indivisible part of the coffeehouses and reading newspapers in these places was one of the preliminary activity. They had an essential role in the public sphere in terms of creating a discussion platform for political debates. Habermas explains the formation process of newspapers and magazines produced by important politicians and authors of the 18th century and formed by the society through coffeehouses:

When Addison and Steele published the first issue of the Tatler in 1709, the coffeehouses were already so numerous and the circles of their frequenters already so wide, that contact among these thousand fold circles could only be maintained through a journal. The periodical articles were not only made the object of discussion by the public of the coffeehouses but were viewed as integral parts of this discussion; this was demonstrated by the flood of letters from which the editor each week published a selection. (Habermas, 1989)

These newspapers also had an important role in the emergence of public opinion. Regarding this issue, Sennett says that coffeehouses were information centres of the city. Some London and Parisian cafes even had their own newspaper (Sennett, 1974) (Figure 4.7.).

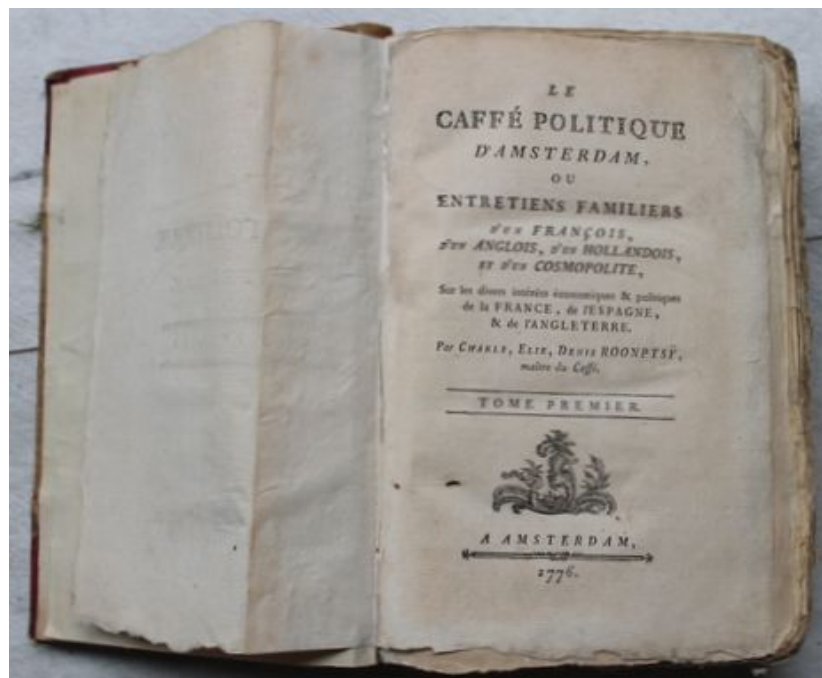


Figure 4.7. Caffe Politique Newspaper (Heise, 1987)

On the other hand, the political coffeehouses of Habermas is criticized by feminist philosophers for not being egalitarian. According to Nancy Fraser, these places exclude some people, especially women. In return, Calhoun describes the concept of public space in the enlightenment by comparing British coffeehouses and French saloons (Calhoun, 1993). Compared with Paris saloons, coffeehouses were not suitable for female entry, but there was more egalitarian participation among men. Although

these two spaces have different characteristics, they played an important role in the period of enlightenment in terms of sociability, social mixing, and public opinion.

According to Calhoun, in the 17th and 18th century, the coffeehouses functioned as a public sphere model, predicted by Habermas. Especially in London, people came to these places not only to drink coffee, but to meet, exchange ideas, learn the news, and criticize the agenda. These places encouraged people to socialize. They were places for public opinion. Although the Habermasian public sphere is criticized by many authors from different perspectives, in the 17th and 18th centuries, coffeehouses in Europe were places of political resistance and acting in community and therefore, they still offer a valid definition (Calhoun, 1993).

On the other hand, the fall of political public space that Habermas institutionalized in the 18th century, beheld prominently in coffeehouses. Habermas states that the 18th-century public sphere and bourgeois culture has turned into an apolitical and consumer society (Habermas, 1989). The coffeehouses have lost their qualities which they had in the period of bourgeois publicity. Their political nature gave way to an industrial culture of consumption. These places have turned into the so-called public domain. Literal and political reasoning has disappeared in these areas. For Habermas, it is not possible to talk about today's public space or coffeehouses in the political context (Habermas, 1989).

Heise explains the transformation of coffeehouses in four periods. First, in 17th and 18th century, coffeehouses were places of freedom for the bourgeois. In the second part, in 18th and 19th century they were places for an artist to perform for their self-presentation. In the third part, coffeehouses were transformed to places of loneliness and melancholy where the bourgeois was criticized at the end of the 19th century. The last period includes the worst types of socializing because in the 20th century these places became a symbol of disappearing communication (Heise, 1987). In addition, Sennett explains the fall of coffeehouses in the 19th century as:

The banquet ended what the coffeehouse two centuries before began. It was the end of speech as an interaction, the end of it as free, easy, and yet elaborately contrived. (Sennett, 1974)

4.2.3. Changing Political Practices in the Coffeehouse in 20th and 21th Century

As mentioned, coffeehouses had their golden age in 18th century in terms of political practices. However in 19th century, their political functions have transformed. According to Kelly Intile, there are several reasons for these transformations. Firstly, with the industrial revolution, people's everyday life practices have been shaped around the home and the work and as a result, people didn't have enough time for having long conversations in coffeehouses. Which caused the political debate to partly disappear. According to Intile, today, the traditional coffeehouses in Europe, are now used as a place for escaping from the economic and social struggle rather than political discussion. Secondly with the invention of espresso new types of coffeehouses were opened and the customer profile changed. The youth turned in to new consumer for 20th century coffeehouses and they have become the target of emerging global chains. While comparing traditional European coffeehouses with global ones, Intile refers Markman Ellis and he states that; "Starbucks' coffee culture is based on consumption, not conversation" (Intile, 2007, Ellis, 2004).

When we look at the late Ottoman coffeehouses, especially those in Ankara and Istanbul, Öztürk states that, they took on other functions during the national resistance period. They were used as "places of struggle" throughout the national resistance. Some newspapers which were forbidden during this period were read in these places and these places served as an important bridge between Ankara and Istanbul. Coffeehouses were one of the most reliable places for confidential communication. Some of them were also used as warehouses for weapons to be shipped to Anatolia (Öztürk, 2005).

In the early years of the Republic, the new modern Turkish state wanted to make new individuals who were better suited to the proposed modern life style and thus, the public places have been subjected to some changes (Öztürk, 2005). Also, the capital city was accordingly moved from Istanbul to Ankara, and Ankara was rebuilt as a new capital that is suitable for the modern state (Bozdoğan and Akcan, 2012). Coffeehouses also took their share of these changes. According to Öztürk, the government, therefore, attempted to control coffeehouses and their environment at different periods. As a result of that, according to Georgeon, coffeehouses also began to change in terms of their practices.

In the 1930s the Ministry of Interior produced modernization projects for coffeehouses. According to one of these project, the municipalities would open a number of model coffeehouses, and these would have specific compartments for different usages such as smoking, playing games, or reading newspapers. They would also have radio and a library for customers to use. In another project the intention was to turn, the coffeehouses into public schools and, this was partially, put into practice. Their applications included different sanctions according to the regions. However, during the Second World War period, the government supervision had a more flexible structure (Öztürk, 2005).

In the 1940s, other projects were also produced for coffeehouses. These projects could partially be carried out even if they were encountered by people's reaction or many economic problems. During time, Öztürk argues that control on coffeehouses were absolutely far from establishing an absolute domination. That is why the changes or controls on coffeehouses were separated from the tactics of prohibition or punishment that occurred during the period of the Ottoman Empire. What is desired in republic period was to create modern coffeehouses in order to create exemplary citizens in the direction of the modernization struggle. In this context, political economic and social developments affected coffeehouses, which were prevalent micro public spaces in the city. Despite the establishment of many new public places in the process of modernization, according to Öztürk coffeehouses maintained their values in terms of producing political conversations (Öztürk, 2005). Öztürk's research on coffeehouses belongs to the period between 1930 and 1945. Thus this interpretation about its political practices reflects the early years of the republic.

On the other hand, after 1945, the functions of coffeehouses have changed in parallel with social transformations. In the 1950's there was a migration from village to city in Turkey and coffeehouses served as places where people participate in order to solidarity. People used these places in order to communicate with their fellow citizens from the regions that they have emigrated and they have established an integrity with them (Birsal, 1975). According to Emre Deniz, the tension and polarization that occurred throughout the country reflected in coffeehouses after the 1960 coup d'état. These places have become the meeting place for right and left-sighted individuals (Deniz, 2011). Even they served as a base for especially young people with different political visions. According to Ozturk coffeehouses work as a venue for political actions until the 80's (Öztürk, 2013) therefore, they were attacked by opposing groups, and

many citizens lost their lives (Deniş, 2011). In addition, these places were also polarized in the direction of different sect groups (Alawite and Sunni) and the tension within the society until the 1980's personally reflected on them (Deniş, 2011). After the 1982 military coup, coffeehouses began to partly deviate from these political functions. Many different scholars claim that the political practices of coffeehouses are declining in the first quarter of 21st century. Cengiz Yıldız presents a research about their uses in 21st century's society and argues that, traditional coffeehouses have lost their previous features. According to him, today traditional coffeehouses are not used for political purposes because conversations happens in a limited framework, people are coming to coffee shops to kill time (Yıldız, 2007). On the other hand, in contrast with others, Ajhan Bajmaku states that, traditional coffeehouses still have some political functions. According to him, they are still used as places where politicians make organizations in election periods and see how the land lies (Bajmaku, 2014).

4.3. The Coffeehouses as a Social Public Space

4.3.1. Coffeehouses and New Socializing Forms of Ottoman Empire

With the aforementioned literature above, it is clear, that the public space represents an important area for both political discourse and public life. In addition to political context of coffeehouses, Çaykent and Tarbucks argues that, it is also necessary to investigate importance of Ottoman coffeehouses in terms of their sociability rather than coinciding them with the Habermesian political public sphere. Since they have emerged, coffeehouses created sociability spaces in many societies (Çaykent and Tarbuck, 2017). According to the Kafadar, they coincide with the modernization processes of societies in terms of changing the social layers in daily urban life (Kafadar, 2014).

Coffee and coffeehouses, as mentioned, has emerged in the Arabian Peninsula and has spread over several continents and countries over time. In fact, coffee was consumed in Arabian Peninsula, Cairo or Yemen long before it came to Istanbul. But Kafadar asserts that in the first half of the sixteenth century, the coffee places in the Cairo or other areas were merely coffee-selling areas and they did not have and kind

features that held people together. According to him, the coffeehouses first offered a socializing place when it reached Istanbul and spread to Europe from there.

In order to understand the journey of the coffee in the Ottoman territory, Kafadar benefits from the passages of Peçeви. According to Peçeви's claim, the coffeehouses that emerged in Istanbul in the 1550's has deeply influenced the social and public life. Because they created spaces where people can socialize outside the home. But with the establishment of the coffeehouses, sociability in city gained a different dimension (Peçeви, 1981). Because they offered a different feature than these other places. According to Kafadar's claim, for the first time in the public life of the city, people had a place where they could come together at night, sit for a long time and have long conversations (Kafadar, 2014).

In addition, the invitations given at homes before the coffeehouses had moved to these places after the coffeehouses entered daily life. Because people now have the possibility of socializing in a public space outside the house and according to Kafadar, this step is one of the most important changes in the process of transition to modernity. In this context, Kafadar quotes from the passages of Peçeви and explains these new social spaces as:

- "New and immensely popular forms of sociability"
 - "Secularisation of public space"
 - "New size and forms of public activity"
 - "Tensions with the authorities"
 - "New forms of political mobilization"
 - "New circumstances to renegotiate boundaries of prohibition"
- (Kafadar, 2014).

In addition, the content of the conversations in these places did not have to be just religious. People could talk about any matter of everyday life. Therefore, people preferred coffeehouses instead of mosques to socialize and as like Kafadar claimed, these spaces served as a stage for associations in the modern era also for Özkoçak. Their number has increased in a very short time and they have become an important building stone of the social life in the city. Kafadar defines the popularization of these institutions as the "*phenomena of social historical development*". At the same time, they have reached an important point for the economic flow of the city. Coffee then turned into a commodity and coffeehouse worked as an investment (Kafadar, 2014).

As mentioned in second chapter, in the nineteenth century, European style cafés and patisseries were opened in Ottoman Empire and these places provided different

types of sociability. They were mostly preferred by intellectuals and they were also places where non muslim women customers could come (George, 1999). In the Republican period, the Turkish state desired to raise modern Turkish individuals and tried to modernize these places with new projects. In this process, new cafes were opened as a different type of coffeehouses as a place where all parts of society (muslim and non muslim women and men) could spend time together. Bayram Sevinç defines these places as the grandchildren of the traditional coffeehouses (Sevinç, 2013). On the other hand, traditional coffeehouses served as adaptation center for people who migrated cities from rural areas especially after the 1950's. People who came to the city were accustomed to the city life in these places because they could get together with their own nurses and they got an opportunity to socialize and find a job (Kurt, 2012). These traditional cafes and coffeehouses continued their assets in the city until today however, according to Sevinç, after the 1980's, traditional coffeehouses became places for time killing (Sevinç, 2013). In this regard, Cengiz Kırılı provides a general survey on the todays traditional coffeehouses. According his survey, one purpose of people using traditional coffeehouse is communicating. However according to his survey, more than 50% of the people come to these places in order to play games. Again more than %50 of user says that traditional coffeehouses provide them nothing even %62 of them states coffeehouses avoid to finding a job for users. Yıldız argues that, traditional coffeehouses today are places of kiling time. According to his assertion, despite that they still provide sociability at a certain level they are today place of superficial conversations and they have lost their function of being a place for conversation and the education that they had once (Yıldız, 2007).

In the 1980s, instant coffees were started to consume in turkey and in the 2000's the number of cafe's have also raised with the widespread use of shopping malls. When we look at the cafe and some coffeehouse in city today, they have more heterenegeous sturcture in terms of gender participationg while traditional coffeehouses are places where male participation is still more experienced.

4.3.2. Coffeehouses as Socializing Place in the European Coffeehouses

Cowan describes European coffeehouses as a “*practices of sociability in societies*”. While examining the sociality of European coffeehouses, he suggests that

they were the place of otherness and place of cosmopolitanism for European society. Which means these places were perceived as a new culture. They were also different from the previous public spaces such as bars and taverns. Unlike the Ottomans, these spaces are exotic and strange for European society according to Cowan. Cowan states that;

When it was still new to Western Europe, the coffeehouse revelled in its reputation for cosmopolitan sociability, and for this reason it remained quite distinct from more traditional spaces for alcoholic sociability such as taverns, inns and alehouses. Its cosmopolitanism may have also enhanced the association with news culture and intellectual debate that characterized the reputation of the early coffeehouses, especially in England and the Netherlands (Cowan, 2014)

In a similar way, Sennett describes the coffeehouses of the early 18th century as a place of debates and sincerity. For him, these places were urban institutions of conversation. They were places of knowledge and one of the conditions for ensuring complete information was the suspension of differences between people. People were free to talk whomever they want. In relation with that, Sennett states that:

It was bad form even to touch on the social origins of other persons when talking to them in the coffeehouse, because the free flow of talk might then be impeded (Sennett, 1974)

In addition, Tarbuck, investigates the socializing in European coffeehouses by referring to Henry C Shelley's book which is exploring London coffeehouses and taverns between 16th and 19th centuries. In his book, Shelley argues that British society had a structure which was fond of their home before they have coffeehouses and taverns. However, coffeehouses that have been growing since the 16th century had created a new social area for the British community and the British people preferred a more social life in these places. According to Shelley, society, by this means, has been differentiated in the context of sociability (Shelley, 1909).

According to Neil, traditional local coffeehouses are still important for public space even their role and position have changed over time. Neil claims that, in modern society, they provide a place for folk music and literature in the USA in the 20th century. According to him, these coffeehouses maintained some of their artistic work however its social usage decreased when it comes to 1970s and 1980s. Besides, global chain coffeehouses that were established in these periods have changed the sociability pattern totally (Neal, 2010).

A lot of academic research nowadays associates coffee shops with Oldenburg's third place because one of the CEOs of global companies had an important statement about their coffeehouses. The brand winked at the Oldenburg's third place concept and classified themselves in this position. They asserted that they were the third place of the twenty-first century. Howard Schultz, CEO of Starbucks, explains their purpose as creating third place defined by Oldenburg. He states that; "*We're in the business of human connection and humanity, home and work.*" (Schultz, 1997).

Contrary to Oldenburg's third place definition, today, social life and usage of coffeehouses have been changed by wireless and internet technology, and they are being used for business negotiations or study purposes rather than social communication (Woldoff, Lozzi, Dilks, 2013). Regarding the user group, Starbucks branches have similar participation rates regarding gender, and they are being used to escape from the global city experience and to be alone (Akyar, 2012). Lukito and Xenia, who studied Starbucks on the university campus, said that even though Starbucks are places where people can enter freely, they have rules and confinements applied inside. Although these spaces offer different types of interactions, there is no communication among strangers. This space, on the other hand, acts as a "middle-class standard" space and the customers use their own electronic devices in the name of communication (Lukito, & Xenia, 2017)

Woldoff, Lozzi, and Dilk also investigate the social transformation of coffeehouses with Oldenburg' concept and they combine it with their comparisons of locally-owned and chain-based coffee shops. Locally-owned coffeehouses have a nonhomogeneous, or non-standard design which does not care about formalism and branding, while chain-based coffeehouses have standard and monotone features. (Woldoff et al., 2013). In addition to Woldoff, Lozzi, and Dilk, Bryant compares traditional coffeehouses, with Starbucks, in terms of their spatial characteristics, and says that Starbucks, has a glass facade which shows the inside and an entrance at street level. In this sense, Thomas refers to the connection between space organization and human behavior in his thesis and he believes, the physical environment affects people's behavior. This means people's behavior affects their social situations and these social situations are also provided by the physical environment. From this point of view, Thomas states that the design of Starbucks is also aiming to control the behavior of the customer.

People are going to Starbucks cafes to remain alone instead of socializing. The spatial organizations of coffeehouses, including the roundtables, provide an environment

for covering up the loneliness of the people. In other words, by using non cornered tables, users can be seen in a less isolated position, and the roundtables in Starbucks respond to people's desire to be alone (Simon, 2009). These types of tables limit the sociability on the coffee shack (Thomas, 2001).

Today's coffeehouses began to serve as offices for people, unlike the concept of places outside of the home and the workplace. Furthermore, people come to these places to meet friends rather than to meet and communicate with strangers, most having their particular boundaries. Thomas explains the interactions of the coffee shack with Goffman's "civil inattention concept." In these places, people sit at a distance and ignore each other. Or even if they come to speak in these places, they communicate in their limited environment. Thomas identified this as a "BYOF, which is **Bring Your Friend Environment.**" Regarding their spatial features, coffeehouses present comfortable environments, with technological features, however, it is not possible to explain them using Oldenburg's third place concept because these spaces have a profitable purpose rather than publicity. Which, in fact, offers a definition distant from the third place in the way that Oldenburg explains. They are now places of power relations, instead of egalitarianism. Furthermore, communication takes place through electronic devices, and coffeehouses are being used in company combined with mobile phones and laptops to establish a network rather than getting together. (Lukito, & Xenia, 2017). According to Asaf Bar Tura, people today come to Starbucks only for two reasons: to find Wi-Fi and to find restrooms (Bar-Tura, 2011)

In addition to Asaf Bar Tura, Simon Bryant overlaps Oldenburg's third place with the public sphere of the Habermas and explores the positions of Starbucks in the third place context. Bryant states that they are not places where individuals can act freely because these spaces are under control. Therefore, they only provide the illusion of community. Contrary to the concept of public space which Habermas defines as the venue of political discussion, Simon states that:

Unlike the old coffeehouse where anyone could say just about anything, Starbucks stores are not places where all speech is free. Political parties, campaign meetings, and candidate fundraisers are not welcome, disturbing art never goes up on the walls, and workers are not allowed to talk about unions (Simon, 2009).

In their article, Woldoff, Lozzi, and Dilk state that today's Starbucks provides many features and the possibility for socializing at a certain level with friends, but in

contrast, Simon also says that Starbucks do not offer a benefit on behalf of society and they are places of controlled loneliness. Contrary to what they claim, Starbucks' goal is only to make a profit instead of being the third place

According to Asaf Bar Tura, Starbucks are places where people go to be alone. Therefore, they do not fit with the concept of publicity as defined by Oldenburg or Habermas. These places are places of silence instead of being places for dialogue or discussion, and there is no revolution or social exchange where there is silence.

Today, more than one researcher suggested that this company has strategy only bases on profit. According to them, their coffeehouses were places to stay alone, not to talk and these coffeehouses offer controlled areas and they restrict free movement.

4.4. The Coffeehouse as a Place for Sharing and Discussing Art

Since the day they opened, coffeehouses were one of the important public spaces of social and cultural production. They are not just places for discussion and political debate but they were also places of sharing and producing different artistic practices due to the pluralistic structures. Heise examines coffeehouses through different cultural practices such as literary, entertaining, artistic or political. According to her, coffeehouses changes over time to respond to different expectations of people (Heise, 1987).

4.4.1. The Coffeehouses as a Place for Theatre Culture

One of the most important cultural products that coffeehouses produce is performance art. Regarding this, Sennett establishes a connection between the changing styles of theaters in the 18th century and the socialization of people. According to him, the theater was stray and unstable in the 17th century. Theater buildings and seating organization were designed according to the positions in society and the artists were performing not for the whole audience but only to members of the royal family, or to a certain sect. On the other hand, in the 18th century, the theatre created a new kind of culture. Its organization and audience were reformed. Along with these developments, the theater became accessible and at this time it was reshaped as a gathering place rather than a certain section. Sennett cites Duvignaud's words for this change: "little by little

an institution and the actor, if not a bureaucrat, at least a regular worker who produced a definite quantity of emotions on regular dates" (Sennett, 1994). The increase in the number of audiences resulted in a new kind of relationship and a new speech system between the actor and the audience. As a matter of fact, this new type of speech was not limited to the theater scene. The conversation in the outer places around the theater, such as coffeehouses or foyers, began to occur in a similar way to the dialogue established during the play. Sennett asserts that this new speech system with theatrical production operates as a bridge between the stage and the street. On the other hand, coffeehouses were the main institutions for this new kind of speeches for Sennett. In other words, coffeehouses were both shaped by this new kind of conversations and simultaneously they were reproducing it. They were places of socialization and information. For information to be direct, people were creating new fictions similar to a theatre in coffeehouses and lifting social distinctions. Unlike some clubs at that time, they were open to everyone. Sennett calls these places a theatrical coffeehouse.

In addition to European coffeehouses, Ottoman coffeehouses were also conduited to new entertainment practices and performance art (Kafadar, 2014). The products of a performance culture in the Ottoman coffeehouse were meddah ortaoyunu and karagöz. Meddah plays were the most prevalent ones and they were found in most coffeehouses in Istanbul especially in Ramadan periods. In these plays, Meddah players were telling stories with a musical instrument. They could also imitate different accents and they could include audience to the play (Hattox, 1985) (Figure 4.8.).

Furthermore, in Karagöz puppet game there were many ironies and players were criticising the social and political life. It was acting as a media organ in terms of enacting and vilifying the political corruptions. Kömeçoğlu likens the Karagöz play to a daily journal without supervision (Kömeçoğlu, 2005).

In addition, Kömeçoğlu compares Ottoman coffeehouses and European coffeehouses through their theater culture with the Sennettian viewpoint and makes a striking determination. According to Sennett, the disappearance of social segregation in European coffeehouses was caused by the dissolution of the boundary between the audiences and the players in real theatre halls. Unlike in Europe, coffeehouses in the Ottoman Empire were already serving as theatre venues, meaning, the theatre did not have to function as a bridge between the street and the stage, this role was already taken over by the coffeehouses.



Figure 4.8. Meddah play.
(Source: Kafadar, 2014)

With Sennettian point of view, the abolition of social divisions in coffeehouses is related to the theater plays and the new style of speech because in these plays the boundaries between the audience and the actor were transitive. In other words, people's experiences in the theater have shaped the fiction in the coffeehouse. In the Ottoman coffeehouses, this process was different because the coffeehouses were the places where the performance of the theater was shown directly. The function of the theaters in Europe was maintained over by coffeehouses in the Ottoman Empire.

4.4.2. The Coffeehouses as a Place for Literary Culture

One of the other cultural product of coffeehouses were newspaper and literacy. Before coffeehouses established, the news was spreading in the bazaars, in the churches, or in the taverns in Europe (Heise, 1987). The institutionalization of coffeehouses provide a new dimension to this communication pattern. In addition to political names, scholars, philosophers, and literary figures were participating in the coffeehouses conversations and in European coffeehouses, news and gossips were spread both in oral and printed ways.



Figure 4.9. Sculpture Of A Lion's Head In Will's Coffeehouse.
(Source: Ukers, 1992)

One of the main products of such an environment was newspapers (Cowan, 2014). Journalism began to spread in end of the 17th century in many parts of Europe, and coffeehouses offered daily and weekly publications in many different countries such as Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, Italy, France, and especially Britain. At that time, some publishing houses opened their offices near the coffee shops or coffeehouses. In this respect, the publishing houses and coffeehouses became two

institutions that interact with each. In the beginning of the 18th century, the newspapers such as *The Spectator* or *Guardian* by Richard Steele and Joseph Addison were read by many citizens in England. Will's Coffeehouse was one of the famous coffeehouses of that period and after its owner died, Addison took on its management in the name of Button's Coffeehouse, and put a sculpture of a lion's head with an open mouth (Timbs, 1866). The customers who came here, could put a letter to this open mouth, and these articles were published in the newspaper published in this coffeehouse. Button's served as the *Guardian's* publishing center, with the contributions of Addison (Heise, 1987). This lion head served as a first prototype of the public opinion (Figure 4.9)..

At the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, especially Hamburg, Leipzig and Vienna, the coffeehouses were famous for their large number of newspapers. Also in other parts of Europe in early 18th century, many coffeehouses had their own newspaper therefore, Habermas argues that, literature was institutionalised in coffeehouses because the articles written in newspapers were able to reach a crowd of people and have wide effects by way of them. After all, Heise refers to the publication of 6500 journalists in the 19th century, in Germany (Heise, 1987). Moreover, the writings in these newspapers were not only political but they could also be economical or scientific. For example, the emergence of the Lloyd's of London Company was established owing to a coffeehouse and its publications. Edward Lloyd who is the owner of Lloyd's Coffeehouses was providing intelligence and rumors for mariners and shipping companies and he decided to publish them in *Lloyd's Weekly News* in 1696. Over time, Lloyd's Coffeehouse became famous, and the *Lloyd's News* became the center of shipping rumors or war news but it closed shortly. After the death of Edward Lloyd, Thomas Jemson established "*Lloyd's List*" in 1764 and the newspaper included only news about shipping, but also information about marine insurance and the newspaper continued to be published until 2013 (Corporate history, 2018). In addition to *Lloyd's List*, other newspapers in different parts of Europe, continued to be published in long periods and although it has been decreasing over time, reading the newspaper in coffeehouses is still observable today (Figure 4.10.).



Figure 4.10. Lloyd's Coffeehouse.
(Source: Ukers, 1992)

The other literal production of coffeehouses was bookstore activity and reading rooms. In addition to journalism, coffeehouses were also places where literary works were written. Especially Paris, many writers, and academicians were coming to coffeehouses. For instance, Cafe Procope, one of the oldest cafes in Paris, was famous for its well-known writers and artists coming here. It opened in 1686, and turned a place for gathering of many writers and revolutionaries such as Voltaire, Rousseau, Honoré de Balzac, Victor Hugo and Benjamin Franklin Thomas Jefferson (Figure 4.11.). Additionally, the "Literaturhaus Cafe," known as the "place of the philosophers," was opened in Germany and functioned as a place where many literate and philosopher came together (Heise, 1987). Also Cengiz Kırılı mentions these places as prototype of kiraathane and they emerged in Europe almost 150 years ago from the Ottoman Empire (Kırılı, 2009).

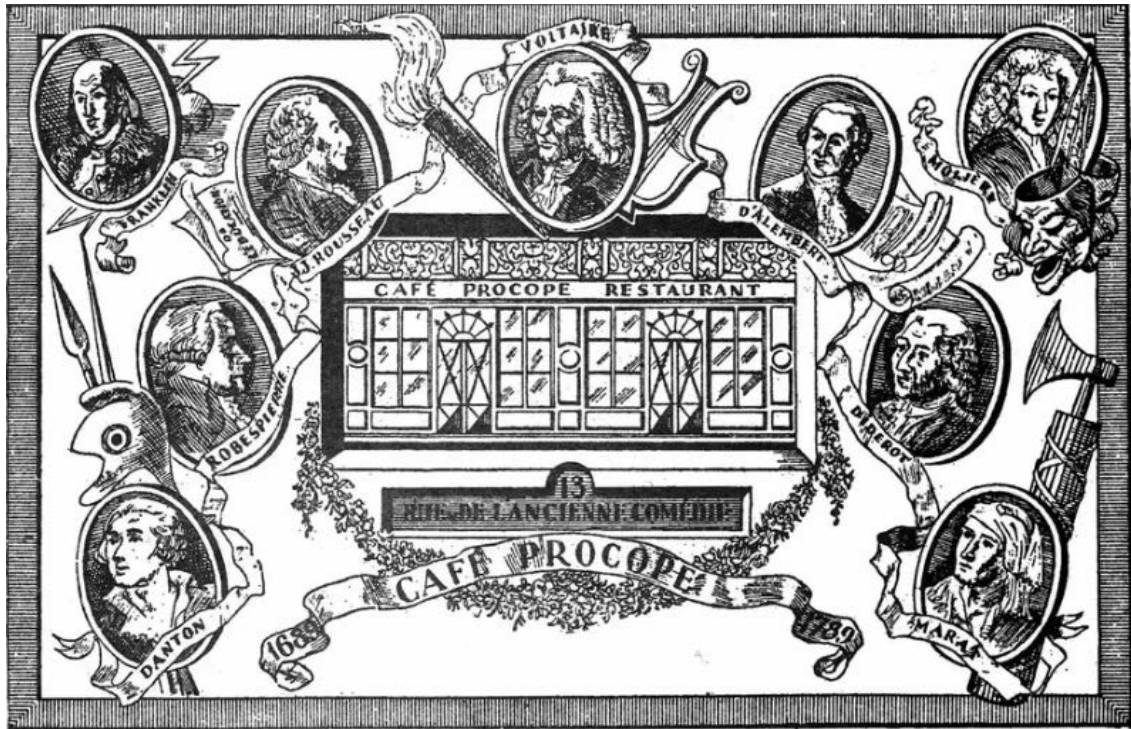


Figure 4.11. Cafe Procope.
(Source: Gürsoy, 2005)

Coffeehouse and literature were also interrelated in the Ottoman Empire. Regarding this, Kafadar refers to poems spoken in 16th century Ottoman coffeehouses. The customers who came to the coffeehouses in the 16th century were reading Karacaoglan and divan poetry with a musical accompaniment. This instruments were mostly a stringed instrument. As in the case of Europe, the coffeehouses were reshaped by cultural practices in Ottoman Empire and the poetry and divan culture formed their own kind of space in coffeehouses. Especially in the 17th century, many minstrel coffeehouses were opened in İstanbul (Kafadar, 2016). While describing the relationship between coffeehouses and literature, Çaykent and Tarbuck refer to Semiha Ayverdi. Ayverdi asserts that the best examples of music and literature were realized in Istanbul coffeehouses both in daytime and nighttime (Çaykent and Tarbuck, 2017).

In journalism, free press publication and public opinion occurred after the 17th century in the Ottoman Empire, but similarly, Ottoman coffeehouses also provided reading anticipations after increasing in the number of newspapers (Heise, 1987). Besides, new places were established named "kırırathane" that specialize in the name of the reading activity. Like coffeehouses, these places contained intellectual and literary names however the main activity in this place, was reading the books (Georgeon, 1997).

According to Cowan, the early coffeehouses were places of intellectual practices and learning. According to Heise, these places pioneered the reading cafes, clubs, and associations (Cowan, 2014).

4.5. Concluding Remarks

4.5.1. Contemporary Coffeehouses as a Place for Consumption Culture and Social Identity

One of the other discussions about coffeehouse is being a places for consumption and producing identity. The new places of the consumer society that emerged after the industrial revolution are now experiencing branding and globalization. (Debord, 1967). The consumption practices of public places is mostly discussed, by focusing on global chain coffeehouses. With globalism and capitalism, branded coffee companies have opened thousands of coffeehouses in multiple regions all over the world, and the function of the coffeehouse fall into a decline in comparison with the 18th century.

Peterson states that one of the biggest criticisms of consumption culture is its creating false needs and according to him global chain coffeehouses are generally responding to them. As mentioned in the second chapter, one of these chain brands Starbucks was opened in 1971, and according to a report published by them in 2016, they have 23,921 branches today. According to Naomi Klein, global chain companies like Starbucks and their brutal spreading policies are causing local companies to close down (Klein, 1999). Peterson defines these rapid increase, as “Starbucks effect”. According to him, one of the greatest threats to the global consumption culture is the creation of false needs and the destruction of differences with homogenizing. In America, the public spaces that Zukin calls "authentic" and constitutes the soul of the city, has disappeared. According to her, today we have, global corporations, privatizations, gentrification, police bureaucracy and security officers as the substitutes for public spaces. There has been an increment to the chain establishment coffeehouses from locally-owned ones (Zukin, 2010).

Today's, coffee is a commercial product managed and controlled by global companies. Therefore, coffeehouses are far from being places of political debates. (Bar-

Tura, 2011). The previous part of this study also proved that Starbucks are not providing the social facilities they promised. James Lyons states that, people are not just to Starbucks to drink coffee, but they also go to these places to corroborate their identity. (Lyons 2005). In other words, people use these places in order to verify a modern and intellectual identity. (Akyar, 2012). In this context, the global coffee chains serve as a place for consumer cultures and they are also become part of the identity production.

4.5.2. Alternative Coffeehouses for Global Chains: as a Potential of New Public Space

As mentioned in the third and fourth chapter, according to some scholar, third places and public sphere do not take place in the postmodern society because public space is dominated by capitalism and globalization. However, some researchers propose a change in the name of the public sphere and the third place, contrary to global chains today. According to Asaf Bar Tura, the concept of public space and the third place can be adapted to today's society, only through local discovery of coffeehouses instead of global processes. Only places which are operated locally and having a non-profit strategy can offer a solution in the name of publicity and sociability (Bar-Tura, 2011) When compared local coffeehouses with global chains according to this background, the usage, and functions of local coffeehouses, indeed can diverse regarding artisan and social practices. For example, in Izmir, some local coffeehouses provide regular movie and music events. In these event people share ideas about films or movements and therefore these local coffeehouses reflect the social and political influence of the public space more efficient.

Manzo, on the other hand also believes, it is not possible to talk about traditional sociability in the postmodern period. Today's public spaces now function as pseudo-public spaces. He offers an alternative place for public life in today's society. According to him, nowadays, public spaces are most compatible with the third wave coffeehouses. As mentioned in the second chapter, the "third wave" coffeehouses are operated as an independent production facility where craftsmanship and expertise have gain importance. These spaces are products of a subculture which focuses on emotional experience, face-to-face communication and "community" which was destroyed by the capitalism and global companies. That is, in these spaces, tradition is accommodated by

technology. (Manzo, 2015). This study, of course, cannot refer to these newly emerging spaces as the public space of the 21st century. But these places are an alternative to existing global chains regarding being away from wild spreading politics like global corporations and regarding providing face to face communication.

Finally, there is another area outside the scope of this work and creates a new organization in the regarding publicity: virtual space. Today virtual spaces and social media are shown and discussed as new public space of a 21st century regarding ease of accessibility (Neal, 2010). People talk about their ideas by hiding their identities or social positions via internet sites. This can coincide with one of the first conditions of the public space that Habermas and Sennett asserted in the 18th century. Therefore, internet and social media as public space can be thought of as possible future research.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Going to a coffeehouse is a common practice of everyday life in many societies. In the first chapter, this thesis study came up with two main research questions. One was questioning what roles do coffeehouses have had in urban public life except from drinking coffee. The other was questioning the changing structure of coffeehouses and its relation to public space. In the light of these main concerns, this thesis investigates broad literature about the transformations of coffeehouses and public space. Within the scope of this related literature, first, the history of coffeehouses was searched, then the theories of the public space was analyzed, and finally, coffeehouses were examined regarding the public the space theories.

After reviewing the literature, this thesis found three conclusions about the popularity of coffeehouses and its public practices. First of all, the coffeehouses has been on the urban scene since they had been opened. One of the reasons for this was that they provided an opportunity in the name of publicity. They have created a new space where people can spend time outside of the home and socialize with. They were also places of political debate and exchange of ideas. In the 18th and 19th century, in the political aspect, coffeehouses served for the new bourgeois class which emerged during the period of French revolution and enlightenment in Europe. Also in the Ottoman Empire, they had a similar function. They provide areas where people come together in a political context and criticize the existing authority. At the same time, they offered an accessible place to different groups of people, and therefore they have been providing an essential place for public practices. Also when we looked at Turkey in the 20th century, they were places where right-left groups were organized. In the 21st century, some scholars argue that even the traditional European and Ottoman coffeehouses continued their existence until today, their political functions are reduced.

Another result from the literature is that the coffeehouses were functioned as a pluralistic place, which means that these places are not just places for drinking coffee and socializing. These places are hosted in a different activity and practice in every period. Their other role was being a place for to artistic practices, especially literary

and theatrical performance. Today it is also a claim that, unfortunately, coffeehouses have lost much of its old communication function and people go to coffeehouses because they provide cheap leisure. The artisan activities such as music art or literature changed with killing time, playing games or watching television. However, on the contrary to these claims, some researchers say that these places are still a key to adapt to the city and some of the still keep these functions under the name of different names.

As a result, it can be said that coffeehouses have been reshaped with the scope of public and social transformations during time with new forms and functions. For example, in the process of modernization, they transformed into cafes with a new form, or in the process of globalization and privatization, they turned in to branded places. Coffeehouses are flexible and pluralistic places regarding usage practices, which can reshape its forms and functions and according to the changing social structure. Some researchers in the coffeehouse literature have asserted that functions of these spaces do not exist as they used to do. It is possible to relate this interpretation with the changing social structures and changing public space practices in 21st century. That's precisely why they are one of the places where changes in social structure and public realm can be observed easily. Thus, with all the different forms, coffeehouses, are still in the cities and providing a place for gathering. Perhaps as Heise said, the coffeehouses have been pronounced dead a hundred times, and coffeehouses arose from dead thousand.

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