

**FLORYA BEACH:  
ARCHITECTURAL IMPLICATIONS OF TURKISH REPUBLICAN  
POLITICS, 1935-1960**

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## Declaration

I, Ceren Hamilođlu confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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## **Abstract**

This dissertation is about Florya Beach and its shifting use and meaning between 1935 and 1960 in Istanbul. As part of this research, several case studies were used: Atatürk's summer residence (1935), Florya Gazino (1938), Florya Houses (1952), Florya Camping Site (1959) and housing projects in Florya from the mid-1950s. This dissertation explores how Florya was designated as a modern space for the modernisation project that was accelerated with the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923 and Atatürk's reforms. Henri Prost's master plan in 1936 epitomised the area's position as a 'city of sea baths', a suburb and a resort for the urban classes. The state's attempts to redesign gender roles and to spatialise class relations are revealed through the shift in the beach's representation and everyday use. For the scope of this research, the methodology of social history and geography is adopted. The beach is viewed as encompassing a contradictory identity and image through its everyday use and representation.

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### *a. Historical Background and Objects of Study*

The establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923 accelerated the country's move towards westernisation and commenced a systematic attempt of transformation in every area of social life of its citizens. Kemal Atatürk, the founder and first president of the Republic, directed the transformation from a theocratic empire to a modern nation-state. Kemalism, which I will refer to as 'Republican', was based on the idea of rapid utopian progress that would compensate the intellectual and economic gap between the new Turkish Republic and western countries through a series of reforms.<sup>1</sup> Kemalist reforms<sup>2</sup> aimed to transform the agrarian society in Turkey into an industrial one by adopting industrialisation, urbanisation and state capitalism.<sup>3</sup> They attempted to disseminate secularism across the whole country through means of education, science and well-being.<sup>4</sup> An educated group, i.e. a Republican elite, was constructed. This group of individuals consisted of civil servants who were a part of implementing state policies as well as individuals who could get education by the means of the city; thus was urban by its nature. They became the responsible actors to direct, maintain and participate in the modernisation project and to lead the uneducated population in Turkey. The ideology of the state necessitated new spaces for its new actors to perform and facilitate the rationalist way of civilising Turkish society.

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<sup>1</sup> Esra Akcan and Sibel Bozdoğan, *Turkey: Modern Architectures in History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), 18.

<sup>2</sup> These included reforms in clothing, industrialization, education, legal system, health and women's rights. The reforms aimed to maintain secularism from the ruling of the state to the way people appeared in their social lives.

<sup>3</sup> Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (London: Routledge, 2003), 93-107.

<sup>4</sup> The *Village Institutes* demonstrates a good example in the dissemination of Republican rationalism and westernized education. Its incentive was to combat illiteracy that was very prevalent in rural districts of Turkey. Young people from villages were selected, taught how to read and were sent back to these *Institutes* to educate the rest of the village. The Democrat Party that came to rule in 1950 labelled them as "centres for communist agitation" and abolished them, Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004), 214.

The idea of civilised culture was strongly associated with urbanity and the urban classes in the first decade of the Republic.<sup>5</sup> Thus, Republican policies (1923-1950) centred on the industrialisation of cities: to this end, they initiated the removal of the economic and imperial significance of Istanbul with the construction of Ankara as the modern bureaucratic focus of the country. By contrast to the Republicans the Democrat Party elected in 1950 and in power until 1960 repositioned Istanbul as the economic and cultural centre, adopted populist cultural policies and liberal economy.

The shift in state policies from the Republican (1923-1950) to the DP rule (1950-1960) introduced corresponding shifts in urban spaces, how they were used and the roles of the actors using those spaces. This dissertation argues that in this period the city became an agent where state policies reshaped the lives of the city inhabitants through its multiple intersections with class and gender, and it is these intersections that will be this study's focus. The particular object of this study is Florya Beach, a beach almost two kilometres long on the shore of the Marmara Sea and located within a thirty-minute drive from the west of Istanbul (Figure 1). Florya is considered as a liminal space in this research, containing both a symbolic and ordinary image through its use.



Figure 1. Istanbul map showing the connection of Florya to the city circa 1955. (The major roads are displayed partially).

<sup>5</sup> Şerif Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi [Turkish Modernization]* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1991), 232-233.

The beach first came to public attention with the Turkish modernist architect Seyfi Arkan's design for a summer residence in 1935 for Atatürk. After the construction of the summer residence, Atatürk used the house and the beach for bureaucratic meetings and leisure activities until 1938. The correlations between the materiality of the site and state policies proceeded as Florya underwent continuous construction, the most significant projects being the Florya *Gazino*<sup>6</sup> in 1938 designed by Rüknettin Güney, a camping and residence site designed by Sedad Hakkı Eldem completed in 1959 and the housing projects as part of touristic activities and suburbanisation of the area in the mid-1950s onwards (Figure 2). The later structures signal a transition in the image of Florya from a healthy westernised leisure centre built under Republican aspirations in the 1930s to a suburb to be travelled by car as tourism and property ownership became the main motivation by the 1950s.

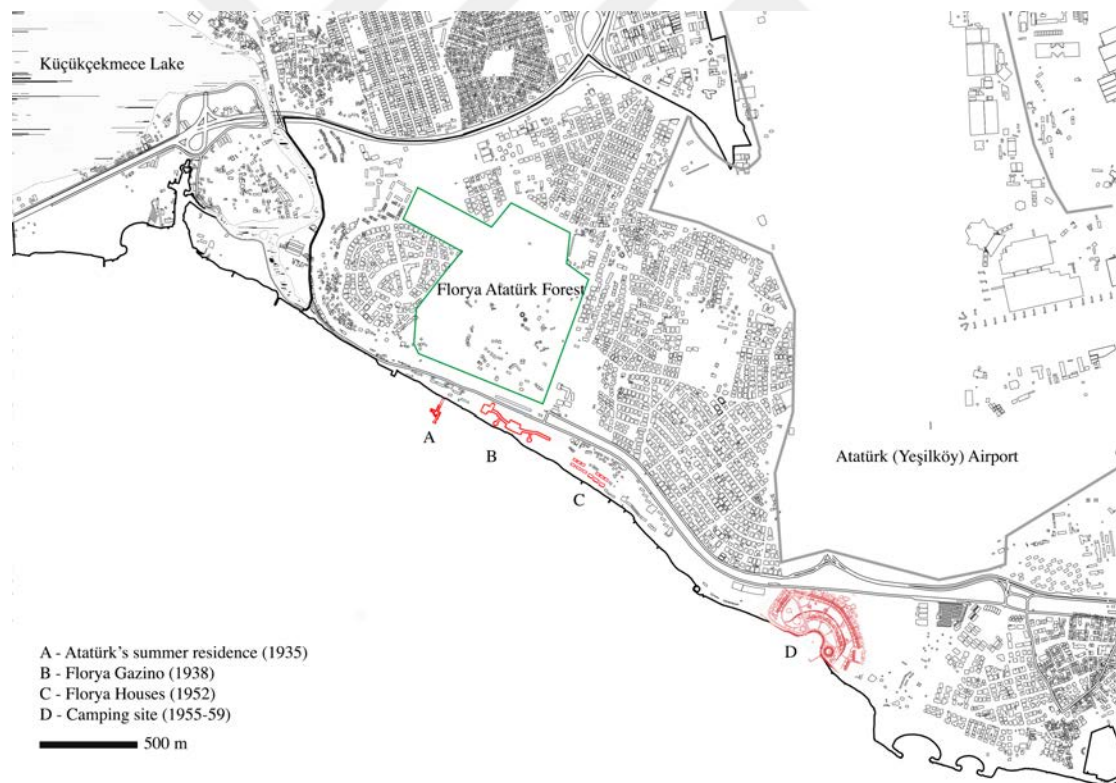


Figure 2. Florya map showing the different structures in 1935-1960. (The locations and the template do not represent the conditions today)

<sup>6</sup> Eng. Restaurant/club occasionally used for entertainment such as concerts, dancing and dining events especially popular in the first decades of the establishment of Turkish Republic.

### ***b. Interpretive Ideas and Academic Context***

Scholars specialised on Turkey, such as sociologists Erik J. Zürcher and Feroz Ahmad, have extensively written about the modernisation project, its advancement by Atatürk and relation to social life and class. Until the 1950s, the size of the urban working class was very small compared to its size after the migration to the cities. Therefore, the discussion about class in the early Republic was mostly that of the dichotomy between the urban elite and the rural working class, and was something the Turkish Republic had tried to tackle since its formation. Although these two groups were positioned as opposites, the Anatolian peasant was idealised and conceptually integrated into the society as the hard-working builders of the nation.<sup>7</sup> Şerif Mardin pays attention to this dichotomy as part of the ironies of the modernisation project. İlhan Tekeli and Uğur Tanyeli contribute to the discourse by looking at urban planning as a way of organising these groups and their social practices. The dichotomy would dissolve into a more general discussion about class due to the assimilation of the civil servants, the average businessman and some of the rural migrants into a middle-class in the 1950s. The main reason behind this change was the increase in the population living in the cities, thus the availability of education to a wider group and the deterioration of officialdom as a prestigious niche occupation.<sup>8</sup>

Architecture was key in visually and materially demonstrating the move away from the Ottoman Empire. The new architecture suggested new ways of using space and thus a change in spatialisation. Esra Akcan and Sibel Bozdoğan discuss the spatial implications of modernisation by considering ideology, nationalism and state authorship as active agents in the development of the built environment in Turkey. They focus on the appropriation of modernist architecture, due to its claims about rationalist progressivism, as a spatial representation of the revolutionary aspect of the early Republic and the modern state.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 132-133.

<sup>8</sup> Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi* [Turkish Modernization], 236-237.

<sup>9</sup> Akcan and Bozdoğan, *Turkey*, 18-25.

Women and their changing appearance in public were adopted as another representation of modernisation in Turkey. Scholars such as Gülsüm Baydar, Yeşim Arat and Deniz Kandiyoti have scrutinised women's 'liberation' under Republican terms. Their investigations of gender and architecture with an emphasis in domesticity prove that gender roles within the family unit were not challenged by the reforms. I find the discourse valuable for this research because it reveals how the Republican and DP state consciously deployed the notion of modernity as an articulation of secular, western and positivist thought while not entirely translating it into reality.

Finally, Arzu Öztürkmen and Meltem Ö. Gürel has written about domestic tourism and leisure activities as a way of practicing modernity during the Republican period. A major finding shared by these scholars is that, whatever its rhetoric, the modernisation project was only limited to a privileged group and could not truly liberate or include sexually or economically subordinated groups. However, they provide far less information about the motivations for the production, use and materiality of spaces in the first decades of the Republic, especially in the scope of the city. The investigation of this will be the main contribution of this dissertation to the discourse.

I argue that as the Republic constructed a new educated class that lived in cities and redefined gender and social roles, the need for new spaces of representation emerged; and these spaces were often in contrast with those of the imperial past. I use Michel Foucault's notions of power and *heterotopia* to define the contrast between some of these spaces and how they are positioned as such. To enhance their progressive differences, new Republican spaces were produced conceptually and sometimes even physically at the edge of the old city. In discussing this, Rob Shields's investigation on marginal places, their spatialisation and relation to social practices is used.

Taking Henri Lefebvre's types of different spaces that together constitute the production of space, I will approach the spatial as socially produced and treat it as a combination of the representational and physical space along with its materiality. As Lefebvre asserts, the representation of space has a modifying role in the production of space.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, I look at the beach's representation using Roland Barthes's notion of the myth to explain the various codes a space can acquire as part of its production.

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<sup>10</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 1-57.

In understanding the representation of the beach in a national, cultural and class-related context, John Fiske's semiological reading and debates about the beach as part of the Australian identity are also instructive. These scholars can help us understand the tensions between the production, representations, and use of Florya. Drawing on these understandings of space and of liminal places as part of everyday life, I aim to understand the conflicts between Republican aims and everyday reality examining the ways in which the space was used and experienced.

### *c. Methodology and Structure of the Dissertation*

Urban geographers' way of approaching the city as an organiser of sexual and social relations through geographically defined spaces generated the main ideas in choosing the object of this study.<sup>11</sup> For instance, Doreen Massey's term 'sense of place' coincides with this dissertation because of the complexity of the chosen site, in terms of its identity and representation. Additionally, sociological readings of space inform an understanding of the use of Florya. Visual material found in the period's newspapers, magazines, propaganda films as well as personal archives are the primary sources for the analysis of Florya's transition over the years.

The dissertation is organised thematically but its main chapters follow a chronological order. Chapter 2 discusses the modernisation of Turkey with an emphasis on the changing social structure and the built environment. In relation to these main themes, the chapter focuses on particular groupings of gender and class, and scopes the resort as an urban space of modernity in the early Republic of Turkey. Chapter 3 narrows down the discussion to the main object of this dissertation, Florya Beach, and suggests a shift in the use of the beach as an extension of political changes. The shift is explored through the spatial representations of the beach incorporating official and personal archive material. Chapter 4 follows the transformation of Florya into a more touristic and suburban destination for Istanbul in the 1950s. It includes emphases of the effects of class distinction in the domestic use and representation of Florya as a suburb. The conclusion reflects further on the actors who played a role in the shifting identity of the beach.

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<sup>11</sup> Elizabeth Grosz, "Bodies-Cities" in *Sexuality and Space*, ed. Beatriz Colomina (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992), 241-255.

## CHAPTER 2: THE MODERNISATION PROJECT IN TURKEY

### *a. Spatial Shift in Parallel with State Policies, 1923-1950*

In the first two decades of the Turkish Republic, Istanbul was transformed into a city associated with culture and leisure activities. As an urban elite group emerged as model Republican citizens, their need for new spaces of representation was met with the construction of leisure spaces, public areas and modern housing in the city. These *representational spaces*<sup>12</sup> often remained on the margins of existing society in the sense that only an educated, economically privileged group could access them: the rest of the society had not experienced an equally dramatic social or economic change and lived in the rural parts of country.<sup>13</sup> These spaces were indirectly regulated by Kemalist reforms – such as the reinforcement of modern clothes, the enabling of free movement for women or leisure activities in mixed spaces – and reciprocally redefined the everyday practices of urban inhabitants in reference to the West. In the execution of these reforms, the government pursued a symbolic visual language attributed to the built environment and social activities.

As part of the symbolism taken on by cities and spaces, propaganda films and magazines informed the people of the Republican values in the 1930s. These representations reveal the contradictory identity of Republican Turkey. One of the materials that demonstrates this the best is the film *Turkey's Heart: Ankara*, directed by socialist director Sergei Yutkevitch in 1933. The film exalts and demonstrates the Republic as all encompassing: images of new transportation vehicles, large mixed crowds celebrating the anniversary of the Republic, women in modern clothing, young people doing sports, and science institutes in modernist style are combined with people doing traditional dancing, villagers working in the fields and old settlements. These montaged perspectives suggest a reading on class and culture relations that seem particularly useful as a way for the Republic to dismantle the

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<sup>12</sup> I use the term introduced by Lefebvre to refer to those spaces that are not necessarily codified in the way *representations of space* are, but relate to the actual experience and everyday activities that take place in a space, Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 33.

<sup>13</sup> KIVANÇ KILINÇ, “Constructing Women for the Republic: The Spatial Politics of Gender, Class, and Domesticity in Ankara, 1928-1952” (PhD diss., Binghamton University, 2010), 49.

traditional hierarchy, such as the Ottoman way of positioning the people as the vassal of the *sultan*.<sup>14</sup> In short, the film displays the governor, urban and rural inhabitants as dissimilar but equal subjects of the same modernisation project surrounded with modernist architecture. Although the Republic strived to create an identity composed of traditional and contemporary Turkic elements, westernisation was seen as essential for progress. In its desire to form a secular state and an idealised nation, the Republic chose modern architecture as an agent for the legitimisation of reforms.<sup>15</sup>

The shift to multi-party elections and Democrat Party's coming into power in 1950 signifies the re-adoption of pre-Republican values by disrupting the radical secularism of the early Republic. The DP regime demonstrated conservative populist values and promoted private enterprise. However, their cultural policies regarding the nation resembled that of the Republicans, with one difference: the modern western reference for Turkey shifted from Europe to America.<sup>16</sup> As a consequence, and in contrast with the Republican self-sustained industrialisation, the transition from traditional to modern was now tackled with consumerism and entrepreneurship.<sup>17</sup> Accordingly, suburbs emerged, wide roads were built and car ownership pervaded in Istanbul. Gradually, the political shift from 1930s to 1950s affected the construction of the city, and most importantly, how and by whom the spaces in the city were used.

### ***b. Visibility of Different Groups in the City: Women and Gender Roles***

As the state invested in cities as part of the modernisation project, new spaces emerged in Istanbul for the Republican elite to do leisure activities or simply to display themselves. For the early Republic, modernisation was evaluated in its approximation to urbanity and western practices. This notion led to the fetishisation of particular Republican era spaces such as ballrooms, wide public parks and beaches as “modern”. However, those from the Ottoman period such as the coffee shop were

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<sup>14</sup> Güven Arif Sargın, “Constructed Revolutions: Cinematic Representation of the Spaces of Politics – Ankara: Serdce Tureckii”, *Antipode* 45, 1 (2013): 140-160, accessed July 4, 2016, DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-8330.2012.00998.x.

<sup>15</sup> Akcan and Bozdoğan, *Turkey*, 19.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, 105.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, 106.

viewed as underdeveloped and belonging to the imperial past. The main message of new spaces was the possibility of experiencing the city in a way that did not exist before and was only made possible with the establishment of the Republic.

The Republicans posited that modernity integrated underprivileged groups, especially women, into everyday life and political activity. However, this was only in an introductory and symbolic state and as Yeşim Arat points out: “The Kemalists' concern was primarily to mobilise women "for the good of the country – that is, with some limits – in their project of modernity”.<sup>18</sup> Although women’s image and mobility became the symbol of the achievement of the modernisation project, the urban experience in Istanbul was still fundamentally available to men or at best to women who were a part of the Republican elite. This showed that the Republic maintained a gendered and class-differentiated way of social practices. In that sense, individuals were still appropriated by gender roles, everyday codes and regulations designed by the institutions of power that administered bodies collectively.<sup>19</sup>

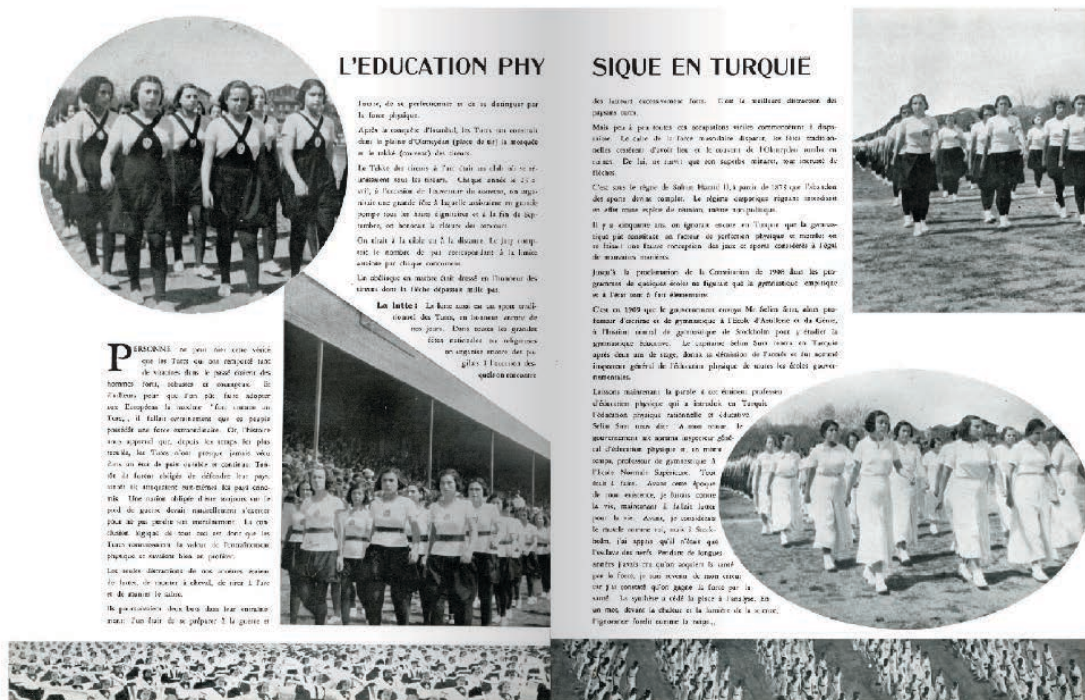


Figure 3. Pages of a propaganda magazine depicting young women doing sports. From: *La Turquie Kemaliste*, 7, June, 1935.

<sup>18</sup> Yeşim Arat, “From Emancipation to Liberation: The Changing Role of Women in Turkey’s Public Realm”, *Journal of International Affairs* 54, 1 (2000): 112, accessed July 25, 2016, [http://www.jstor.org/stable/24357691?seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/24357691?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents).

<sup>19</sup> Michel Foucault, *The Will to Knowledge: History of Sexuality 1* (London: Penguin Books, 1998), 141.



Figure 4. [Drink İnhisar Liqueurs] advertisement designed by İhap Hulusi Görey, 1930s. From: G-Allery Rooms archive, <http://www.g-alleryrooms.com> (accessed, August 20, 2016).

The actions of the Turkish government positioned women as a symbol of the state to legitimise its reforms as ‘emancipatory’, modern and secular.<sup>20</sup> As discussed by Turkish feminist scholars, the ambiguities and contradictions of the ‘Republican woman’s identity were visible from her presence in different spaces with different identities.<sup>21</sup> For instance, the ‘Republican woman’ was displayed as performing in parades with a military uniform in a gender-less manner on one hand, while embracing her sexuality in an evening dress in a ballroom on the other (Figures 3, 4).

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<sup>20</sup> Jenny B. White, *Money Makes Us Relatives: Women’s Labor in Urban Turkey* (London: Routledge, 2004), 150.

<sup>21</sup> See, for instance, Deniz Kandiyoti, “Women, Islam and the State”, *Middle East Report*, 173, (1991): 9-14; Yeşim Arat, “From Emancipation to Liberation: The Changing Role of Women in Turkey’s Public Realm”, *Journal of International Affairs* 54, 1 (2000): 107-124; Gülsüm Baydar, “Tenuous Boundaries: Women, Domesticity and Nationhood in 1930s Turkey”, *The Journal of Architecture* 7, 3 (2002): 3-11.

Similarly, heterosexual men were portrayed as strong, healthy and having the capacity to be successful, say, scientists in modern institutes or hard-working farmers in rural areas of Anatolia to sustain the new nation. In both cases the spaces in which different sexes or classes work, live and have leisure time were visually and materially distinct, if not segregated.

Questions about whether the restricted construction of identities and social relationships in turn produced visible differences in the way different groups use spaces will be answered in the following chapters. In answering this question, I focus on the beach as a site where these differences can be present because of its appeal to different groups in the city.

### *c. The Use and Construction of the Beach as a Western Activity and Space*

The beach was a geographically categorised space for modern leisure activities. Shields asserts that spaces on the “social periphery”, that is, spaces that are the ‘other’ of cultural centres, have the potential to play an important role in the architectural symbolism used by nation-states. These spaces geographically define cultural categorisations such as “high/low” or “central/marginal” and provide sites for the hegemonic practices of certain groups.<sup>22</sup> As one of these marginal spaces identified by Shields, beaches socially and physically remain on the margins. In fact, swimming was a culturally marginal activity for the Ottoman Empire. Istanbul’s shores were used for hygiene and treatment purposes starting with the nineteenth century through *sea baths*. However, the use of beaches for swimming, doing sports and socialising only became prevalent in the 1930s in accordance with Republican aspirations.<sup>23</sup> As a result, beaches on the Bosphorus, the Black Sea and the Marmara Sea were constructed as popular weekend and summer destinations until the sea became polluted in the 1970s.

Especially after Henri Prost’s master plan (1936-1950), recreational areas acquired specific importance in Istanbul as hygienic and modern spaces for sexes to

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<sup>22</sup> Rob Shields, *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity* (London: Routledge, 1990), 4.

<sup>23</sup> Burçak Evren, *İstanbul’un Deniz Hamamları ve Plajları [Istanbul’s Sea Hamams and Beaches]* (Istanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 2000), 90-109.

mix and move freely and for the Republican elite to appear in public.<sup>24</sup> The visibility of varied groups in the city and their use of urban spaces marked the differences between each other, especially between the Republican elite and the migrant working classes towards the 1950s. Regarding this aspect, İlhan Tekeli points out the importance of ‘becoming an urban citizen’ in order to maintain the modernisation project. During the urbanisation period in Turkey, especially after the Second World War, ‘rural’ and ‘urban’ persisted as a dichotomy in the city because the rural migrants did not yet have the cultural background to transform into the educated urban individuals idealised by the Republic.<sup>25</sup> These groups had remarkably different social activities and way of living. The ways of living –as an indicator of taste– defines and enhances the distinction between classes.<sup>26</sup> The rural migrants would rebuild a reflection of their ways of using and decorating spaces that were present in their towns. This led them to appear distinctly different from the urban inhabitants in the initial years of the migration. By contrast, Republican values such as health, hygiene and strength were delivered as neutrally conjoining the economically and culturally contradictory groups across the country.

Urban design and leisure activities facilitated hygienist and medicalised objectives corresponding with upper-class values to control the working class, similar to 1930s Europe.<sup>27</sup> In Turkey, beaches had symbolic significance in the construction of the city “as an example of health, hygiene, beauty and modern culture”.<sup>28</sup> On the macro level, the city was idealised as including elements of modern Republican culture through its spatial construction. In the micro level, the movement of bodies and their physicality joined with leisure activities on a beach signified health.

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<sup>24</sup> İpek Yada Akpınar, “The Rebuilding of Istanbul after the Plan of Henri Prost, 1937-1960: From Secularisation to Turkish Modernisation, 2003” (PhD diss., University College London, 2003), 70.

<sup>25</sup> İlhan Tekeli, *Modernizm, Modernite ve Türkiye'nin Kent Planlama Tarihi [Modernism, Modernity and Turkey's History of Urban Planning]* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009), 96.

<sup>26</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge, 2013), 283-295.

<sup>27</sup> Paul Overy, *Light, Air and Openness: Modern Architecture between the Wars* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), 162.

<sup>28</sup> Kemal Atatürk, Speech conducted for the Republic Day, *Belediyeler Dergisi [Municipalities Magazine]* 6, (1935).

### CHAPTER 3: FLORYA BEACH AS A MODERN URBAN SPACE

This chapter will look at Florya Beach's construction and transformation through case studies in the Republican period. Firstly, the organisation of Republican urban spaces will be scrutinised through Henri Prost's master plan for Istanbul (1936-1950). The plan gives a sense of the ideological coherency in the architecture of the period. The discussion will then move on to Atatürk's summer residence in Florya (1935), its symbolic significance for Republican values such as democracy, health, hygiene and westernisation. Lastly, the gender and class intersections with the beach will be associated with Florya Gazino built in 1938, which marks the peak of Republican aesthetics and use of space.

#### *a. New Encounters in the City Through Henri Prost's Master Plan of Istanbul*

Urban planning was used to implement modernity and formed the backdrop to centralise both Republican and DP ideology through public spaces such as Florya Beach. French architect Henri Prost was commissioned to design and administer the master plan for Istanbul in 1936.<sup>29</sup> The main idea behind his plan was to create urban spaces for free movement and encounters for new social practices while restoring the historical pattern of the city.<sup>30</sup> The plan aimed to emphasise monumentality through wideness and to reorganise the city into efficient zones and hygienic *espaces libres*.<sup>31</sup> The categorisation of these spaces according to the themes of health, hygiene and aesthetics correlate with how Prost translated the Turkish modernisation. *Espaces libres* included large public spaces, youth parks, sports areas, scenic routes and pedestrian promenades. For instance, the İnönü Promenade was a mixed open space designated for a particular purpose: for urban inhabitants who had accepted modernity

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<sup>29</sup> His plan was implemented in fragments until 1950 when he was let go with the government change. After his departure, the plan was used as a reference but with significant alterations, which allowed for the demolition of large areas of the traditional fabric to build new structures and wide boulevards under the DP government.

<sup>30</sup> Akpınar, "The Rebuilding of Istanbul after the Plan of Henri Prost", 68-70.

<sup>31</sup> Eng. free spaces. Prost used *espaces libres* as a category of all public and open spaces associated with the modernization project of the Republic. Architect Camillo Sitte, whom Prost was greatly influenced by, coined the term.

as part of their lives to see each other wander around and acknowledge their freedom as a new concept established by modern Turkey (Figure 5).



Figure 5. An example of *espaces libres*, view of the İnönü Promenade on a Sunday morning, Taksim, November 1944. From: Fonds Henri Prost / Lieu de conservation du fonds: Centre d'archives de l'IFA [Place of Conservation Funds: IFA Archives Center], <http://www.citechailot.fr> (accessed June 3, 2016)

Being on the street became an activity especially for women who were culturally restricted to move around in public alone before the reforms of the Republic. However the freedom was still particular to the ‘Republican woman’ as a part of the Republican elite who was educated, urban whereas the urban or migrant working class woman who “had not made the leap to modernity” was contained in the domestic sphere.<sup>32</sup> The particularity of this new concept to an urban group is also visible from the users’ western clothes in the photograph. Until the 1960s in Turkey, appearance was one of the markers that revealed the distinction between the urban and rural citizen. The distinction of the rural migrant was enhanced in the urban setting because s/he continued to wear traditional garments that were associated with

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<sup>32</sup> White, *Money Makes Us Relatives*, 150.

being ‘backward’ in the Republican understanding that equated modernity to westernisation and urbanity.<sup>33 34</sup>

As Walter Benjamin points out, modernity in the city created new spaces for the bourgeoisie to wander in public: *The Arcades Project* explores the bourgeoisie’s domination of this process of modernity in nineteenth century Paris.<sup>35</sup> I relate his ideas to this research by viewing Istanbul and Prost’s plan as suggesting a new kind of urban experience, which remained specific to the Republican elite who was present in the city as an educated group in the 1930s-50s. This notion situated urban life as a key aspect of the modernisation project in Turkey.

Wide boulevards were constructed to connect the new settlements that formed in the 1950s after upper classes left the old city to the working class and began to develop areas on the periphery of the city.<sup>36</sup> The construction of the boulevards can be seen as a way to emphasise the hygiene and openness of the city as a continuation of the policies around health and the modern nation-state. The DP government would endorse the improvement in roads and infrastructure to generalise the use of automobiles. The division of work, domesticity and leisure in post-war Fordist society led to an increase in suburbanisation and rationalisation of everyday life.<sup>37</sup> Prost’s plan was an example of such rationalisation and proposed infrastructure as a major part of the design.

The plan shows the west of the highway, which was then called the London Asphalt (*Londra Asfaltı*) that intended to connect Istanbul to Europe but appears to

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<sup>33</sup> Jenny White, “State Feminism, Modernization, and the Turkish Republican Woman”, *NWSA Journal* 15, 3 (2003): 145-159, accessed April 29, 2016, DOI: 10.1353/nwsa.2004.0024.

<sup>34</sup> The urban-rural dichotomy would become sharper towards the 1960s as the migration to the city increases in the 1950s and these two groups encountered each other more frequently on city grounds. The rural migrant’s frustration and inability to assimilate with the urban setting, especially of Istanbul, but hopes of improvement through urbanizing would become a recurring theme in Turkish films after 1960.

<sup>35</sup> Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project* (London: MIT Press, 1991), 64-67.

<sup>36</sup> Cana Bilsel, “Remodelling the Imperial Capital in the Early Republican Era: the Representation of History in Henri Prost’s Planning of Istanbul”, *Power and Culture: Identity, Ideology, Representation*, eds. Jonathan Osmond and Ausma Cimdina (Pisa: Plus-Pisa University Press, 2007): 95-115.

<sup>37</sup> Kanishka Goonewardena et al., eds., *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 141-143.

end in Florya (Figure 6). This depiction confirms the commitment to Florya's construction as a resort and suburb for Istanbul. Until the construction of the highway, the Sirkeci-Florya banlieue train (*banliyö treni*) would remain the main mode of transportation between the city and the periphery.<sup>38</sup> In the 1950s, both the railway and the highway would facilitate the commute between the suburb and the old city that remained the main business centre until the 1980s.



Figure 6. Henri Prost's Istanbul Master Plan for 1943-1953, 1937. From: Fonds Henri Prost / Lieu de conservation du fonds: Centre d'archives de l'IFA [Place of Conservation Funds: IFA Archives Center], <http://www.citechailot.fr> (accessed June 3, 2016)

The emphasis on efficient zones helped Istanbul to gain a young image symbolising the new nation. Especially the sports camps, parks and stadiums where the youth could physically display their bodies were used as the personification of the Republican nation. Thus, Ottoman traditionalism that favoured age and wisdom was dismantled and replaced by the new emphasis on youth and strength.<sup>39</sup> The variety of new activities to maintain body and mind such as swimming and dancing necessitated new spaces to facilitate and maintain them such as the beach or the *gazzino*.

<sup>38</sup> The train was constructed in the nineteenth century. Its conversion into an electric train by 1955 shortened the time travelled between the centre and Florya from an hour to half an hour.

<sup>39</sup> As an extension of this idea, Prost proposed a youth park for Florya Beach in his 1937 notes.

However, this binary way of constructing spaces with specific attributions such as old/new or conservative/progressive does not diversify the ways in which its users engage with them; on the contrary, it maintains the strict singularity of that space. Here, I take Massey's notion of 'simultaneous multiplicity' in which a space is constructed through its dynamic relations and as having multiple identities through time, to consider the relationship between a space's identity and use.<sup>40</sup> She states that the dynamism of social relations that construct a space requires the understanding of that space to be inherently dynamic. I believe that this relationship is bilateral. Thus, it is possible to claim that a fixed understanding of space limits its identity and the social relations that construct it. The modern Republican spaces failed to free movement for everyone, because Republicans had a defined concept of a 'modern space', a 'Republican individual' and how s/he should act in that particular space.

The state had realised the power of the built environment and its everyday use to prompt an individual to construct an understanding of the self. As Shields points out, "a 'discourse of space' composed of perceptions of places and regions of the world as a 'space' and of our relationships with these perceptions are central to our everyday conceptions of ourselves and of reality".<sup>41</sup> The spatial organisation of Republican ideology attempted to define individual identities and their ways of using space according to its own ideals. This ideology articulates multiple and even contradictory identities for individuals and spatial organisations in Istanbul towards the 1950s. Nevertheless, the organisation of urban areas in Prost's plan recognises a coherent whole. His plan materialises and spatialises the move away from the Ottoman past to construct a secular western country in the form of the built environment.

### ***b. Construction of the Myth: Atatürk's Summer Residence***

As discussed earlier, health and well-being was a unifying aspect of the early Republican period, especially to consolidate different groups. Urban space was where the educated elite could encounter the migrant working class and despite their

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<sup>40</sup> Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 3-8.

<sup>41</sup> Shields, *Places on the Margin*, 7.

different lifestyles, members of these groups would share the same Republican values: being a healthy, honest, hard-working individual who inhabits the potential of achievement as a part of the same nation.



Figure 7. Atatürk's summer residence designed by Seyfi Arkan in 1935. From: Suna İnan Kıraç Archive. <http://katalog.iae.org.tr/yordambt/yordam.php>, accessed June 6, 2016.

Seyfi Arkan's design of a summer residence for Atatürk in Florya is one of the examples of state's use of the built environment to symbolise modernisation. As a *Streamline Moderne* structure literally on the sea with nautical details and a long deck that emphasises horizontality, the residence epitomised industrial beauty and efficiency (Figure 7). A beach accompanied the residence so the notion of efficiency was enhanced through the display and performance of healthy bodies in this open space. In contrast to the reality of his deteriorating health in 1937, Atatürk's presence in the residence and swimming in the beach created an image of him as having a healthy, functioning body.<sup>42</sup> Most importantly, his healthy body was in display on equal terms beside a mass of healthy bodies on the beach (Figure 8). Period's newspapers issued many photographs of Atatürk as a democratic leader swimming and rowing on the beach with the people. The official media stressed Atatürk's approach to people as a sign of democracy in contrast with the insulation of the ruling class in the Ottoman Empire.

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<sup>42</sup> Esra Akcan, "Ambiguities of Transparency and Privacy in Seyfi Arkan's Houses", *METU JFA* 2, 22 (2005): 25-49, accessed May 27, 2016, [http://jfa.arch.metu.edu.tr/archive/0258-5316/2005/cilt22/sayi\\_2/25-49.pdf](http://jfa.arch.metu.edu.tr/archive/0258-5316/2005/cilt22/sayi_2/25-49.pdf).



Figure 8. Atatürk rowing in Florya, 1936. From: Suna-İnan Kıraç Archive, <http://katalog.iae.org.tr/yordambt/yordam.php> (accessed June 6, 2016).



Figure 9. Atatürk swims in Florya with his adopter daughter Ülkü, stills. From: *The Incredible Turk*, created by CIA (1958: USA, documentary). Available from: US National Archives, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/651784> (accessed August 30, 2016).

An American documentary, *The Incredible Turk* (1958), shows Atatürk swimming in the beach with his adopted daughter and laying on sand in his bathing suit at the centre of a series of static shots (Figure 9).<sup>43</sup> The close up shots of Atatürk demonstrate him as a sympathetic and democratic leader. The footage and its display

<sup>43</sup> The footage was filmed in 1935 but the film was delivered two decades after Atatürk's death in 1938. In 1958, Turkey was in close relations with the US in the aftermath of the Marshall Plan (1948-1951). The CIA delivered the documentary to emphasize Atatürk as the founder of Turkey, a country that was in alliance with the US against the Soviet Union in the 1950s. As a result, despite the constant reference to Atatürk as dictator in the film, he, his modernization project and Turkey as a country is displayed as strong and democratic.

of leisure contribute to the stream of Republican ideology and its ways of reshaping the thoughts and actions of Turkey's citizens. Foucault asserts the form of political power – or the state – applies to everyday life and through it, identifies the individual and “imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognise and which others have to recognise in him.”<sup>44</sup> This form of power in Foucault's understanding enables the integration of individuality only as part of a specific pattern such as the institutions of human social life. I believe Florya was shaped through Republican and later DP's strategies to maintain those patterns and to establish new series of social norms such as the free 'Republican woman'. Although people could not fully access the summer residence, the structure's presence and image were meant to make the users of the beach adopt a self-identity through idealising the residence that they had a visual, physical or mental access to.<sup>45</sup> For example, there are many pictures of people posing with the summer residence, as they consciously or subconsciously acknowledge its symbolic signification introduced by Atatürk.



Figure 10. A group of young lifeguards posing in front of Atatürk's summer residence, 1940s. From: Personal archive of Gökhan Akçura.

Figure 11. A woman posing in front of Atatürk's summer residence, 1950. From: Anonymous personal archive. Available from: [www.ebay.com.tr](http://www.ebay.com.tr) (accessed August 24, 2016).

Figure 12. A family posing in front of Atatürk's summer residence, 1935. From: Anonymous personal archive. Available from: [www.ebay.com.tr](http://www.ebay.com.tr) (accessed May 24, 2016).

In the official image-making process of the Republic, one comes across several signs: Atatürk's healthy body, bodies performing in a Republican space (the beach), and the unity of these bodies in that space. Drawing on from Roland Barthes's *Mythologies*, these intricately connected layers create a 'myth of Florya Beach' that is aligned with the norms of the Republican elite. Through this myth, the use of Republican symbolism attributes an 'essence' to the beach and defines the

<sup>44</sup> Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power", *Critical Inquiry* 8, 4 (1982): 781, accessed August 25, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1343197>.

<sup>45</sup> Akcan, "Ambiguities of Transparency and Privacy in Seyfi Arkan's Houses", 25-49.

relationship with users through health and efficiency, and appropriates its signifiers to allude those themes. Barthes points out that the myth “transforms history into nature. (...) what causes mythical speech to be uttered is perfectly explicit, but it is immediately frozen into something natural.”<sup>46</sup> In that sense, the beach is not necessarily suggested as a ‘new’ space but as a natural condition of being modern and supporting Republican values. By creating this ‘natural’ signification, the Republican elite reiterates its own adoption of practices associated with the West. That is why through this image, Florya and activities attached to it become ‘western’, and in that categorisation, correspond to ‘modern’.

The Republican state wanted to break off all the ties and former signifiers of traditional leisure activities that were associated with being non-western by creating spaces charged with symbolic associations. With its initial architectural marker as Atatürk’s summer residence, Florya was particularly convenient for this aim of the state because it was located outside the old city and introduced swimming in a beach as a new practice for Istanbul residents. These features locate it on the margins of the city and traditional social practices. Florya as ‘the marginal’ and an antithesis of geographically hierarchical spaces of the Ottoman period was used to become ideologically ‘central’ along with other urban spaces in Istanbul.

### ***c. The Public Use of the Beach and Florya Gazino***

Atatürk’s summer residence presented and encouraged the use of the beach as a mixed space free of the traditional restrictions of the city centre, and the male-dominated public spaces of the Ottoman past. In addition to its reading as a myth, Florya needs to be localised through its everyday use to get a clearer structure of its identity. According to Massey, the localisation of space should not be a stasis or the creation of a nostalgic essence of a place; on the contrary, it should be interpreted in a broader context to understand the identity of the place in its changing use by various groups.<sup>47</sup> In order to elaborate on the use of the beach in relation to architecture, the materials centre on Florya Gazino.

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<sup>46</sup> Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (London: Vintage Books, 2009), 154.

<sup>47</sup> Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, 120-122.

A *gazino* is a structure typical of the early Republican period that enables people to “perform and express their modernity” as a mixed crowd through activities that are associated with the West.<sup>48</sup> The *gazino* spatially represented the identity of the new state and its westernising effects in areas of everyday life by hosting concerts, dance nights, balls and events in the city, and through its users (Figure 13). The early Republic had already been investing in the architecture of cities as part of its urbanisation and industrialisation policies, and encouraged an urban lifestyle through westernised activities. In the early years of the Republic, the events program of the *gazinos* addressed the Republican elite and the urban bourgeoisie of non-Muslims who were familiarised with such activities. Thus, *gazino* was a particularly urban phenomenon.



Figure 13. The interior of one of the most popular *gazinos* in Istanbul: Maksim Gazino, late 1920s. From: Personal archive of Cengiz Kahraman.

The urban inhabitants were the main users of Florya, given its location. However, in the 1950s, there would be many spaces where the urban and the rural citizen encountered each other when improvements in technology and economy mobilised people. Florya Beach was potentially one of those spaces. The Gazino was part of a larger building that provided facilities for the users of the beach. It was

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<sup>48</sup> Meltem Ö. Gürel, “Seashore Readings: the road from sea baths to summerhouses in mid-twentieth century Izmir” in *Mid-Century Modernism in Turkey: Architecture Across Cultures in the 1950s and 1960s*, ed. Meltem Ö. Gürel (London: Routledge, 2015), 32.

designed by Rüknettin Güney and was constructed in 1938 towards the west of Atatürk's summer residence. The government owned and rented it to corporations or persons to be privately administered over certain periods. This monumental structure regulated the new norms brought by the Republic and highlighted its modernisation project through its architectural, physical and material qualities (Figure 14).

In the 1940s, newspapers such as Akşam and Cumhuriyet issued advertisements about the western activities in the Florya Gazino: concerts of international jazz bands and orchestras as well as tango and exotic dance nights. The relocation of such events to the beach was enabled through the architecture of the Gazino and the designation of the beach as a modern space for leisure. The building particularly differentiated itself from the 'naturalness' of the beach through its monumental architecture. Elements such as the podium, semi-open terrace and the vista of the Marmara Sea conveyed monumentality yet with an economy of modernist details.



Figure 14. View of the Florya Gazino designed by Rüknettin Güney, 1938. From: *Güzelleşen İstanbul [Refined Istanbul]*, 1943.

Although the beach is not accepted as entirely urban, it is considered as more urbane than the rural.<sup>49</sup> The beach is neither completely ‘natural’ nor entirely ‘constructed’ because it designates a liminal position between land and sea, or city and nature.<sup>50</sup> It is usually a site shortly visited for pleasure and indolence that contains temporal structures. Fiske identifies the beach and related activities as “a place and time that is neither home nor work, outside the profane normality”.<sup>51</sup> Similarly, Shields defines the beach as a marginal place where “specific behaviours and patterns of interaction outside of the norms of everyday behaviour, dress and activity” occur.<sup>52</sup> Consequently, the beach transforms into a place outside the norm because it is specifically designated for leisure.<sup>53</sup>

On one hand, structures<sup>54</sup> such as the Gazino marked the beach as a place for leisure. On the other, Florya Beach, through its liminal conceptual and geographical position, was a site of ambiguity where different sexes and classes existed together, often in contradiction with the country’s past. The contradiction is evident through two aspects. Firstly, the idea of a mixed public space where people could display their bodies without cover-up was a new idea for the newly established Turkey. Secondly, a public space open to the ‘equal use’ of different classes was a new concept. The incongruity and the distinct formal shift between the traditional structures such as the sea baths that were used in the Ottoman Empire until the twentieth century and the Gazino in terms of their architectural schemes is one of the most apparent ways in which these were present (Figure 15).

During the nineteenth century, families from the Ottoman bourgeoisie who lived on the coasts of the Bosphorus would have their private single-sex sea baths to prevent mingling with the people. Public ones were also separated according to sexes and especially women’s baths were architecturally confined for obscurity. Foucault mentions the *hamam* (Turkish bath) as an example for a *heterotopia*, a site that requires specific actions or permission to enter.<sup>55</sup> Through their function, that is,

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<sup>49</sup> Angela Mitropoulos, “Under the Beach the Barbed Wire”, *Mute* 2, 2, (2006): 34-42, accessed August 20, 2016, <http://www.metamute.org/editorial/articles/under-beach-barbed-wire>.

<sup>50</sup> Shields, *Places on the Margin*, 166.

<sup>51</sup> John Fiske, *Reading the Popular* (London: Routledge, 1991), 43.

<sup>52</sup> Shields, *Places on the Margin*, 75.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> There would be various other structures –motels and houses- in the 1950s.

purification or health, as well as architectural features the sea baths existed outside the norms of time and space. Meltem Gürel draws the same connection by pointing out that the sea baths were neither utopias nor a typical everyday space and thus revealed the social control on everyday life through their use.<sup>56</sup> The sea baths mediated the relationship between the individual and the sea through segregated public and private domains, and so the simplest action of swimming was regulated by cultural and sexual norms.<sup>57</sup>



Figure 15. Woman laying on Florya Beach with a sea bath in the background, 1938. From: Personal archive of Cengiz Kahraman.

The Gazino was a new kind of mediator between groups of people and the sea, embodying a change of the way in which power operated through spatial qualities to manage the society and everyday life.<sup>58</sup> The new form of the building did not directly

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<sup>55</sup> Michel Foucault and Jay Miskowiec, “Of Other Spaces”, *Diacritics* 16, 1 (1986), 22-27, accessed August 26, 2016. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/464648>.

<sup>56</sup> Gürel, “Seashore Readings”, 29-32.

<sup>57</sup> Gülsüm Baydar, “Deniz Banyoları, Deniz Hamamları ve Bakireler Mabedi” [Sea Baths, Sea Hamams and the Temple of Virgins], *XXI*, December-January (2010-2011), 24-25.

<sup>58</sup> Gürel, “Seashore Readings”, 31.

facilitate the swimming as did the structure of the sea bath but through its spatial qualities, regulated the division of activities. Most importantly, the setting of the beach replaced the traditional customs about gender with unifying concepts of health, strength and westernisation. Sports events and beauty competitions were held on the beach and constituted a part of the new experience of Florya from the 1930s.

In other words, the Gazino suggested a distinction between private, semi-private and public spaces (Figure 16). The beach itself, where people sunbathed and laid on sand in their swimsuits, was open to everyone. The larger structure under the Gazino, on the other hand, contained rentable private cabins with different sizes and prices for people who could afford it to change, leave their personal items or stay in during the day. Distinct from these two areas, the Gazino contained a lower floor where people could sit on chairs, eat and have conversation and an upper floor for music events and dining. The areas of the Gazino define a more regulated dress code and set of activities and thus was the most obviously regulated (Figure 17). Personal photographs show that the upper floor was more public and formal (because it had direct access to the entrance) while the lower floor was more integrated with the beach, hence the difference in clothing. Although the Gazino was available for the use of everyone, the catering is constantly referred to as being expensive.<sup>59</sup> Nonetheless, some people in photographs appear to be eating food from plastic bags that seems to be brought with them in the lower floor while others enjoy dining in the upper floor.

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<sup>59</sup> Metin Toker, “Florya sahillerine gece basan kasvet! [The gloom that takes over Florya shores at night!]” *Cumhuriyet*, July 24, 1948.

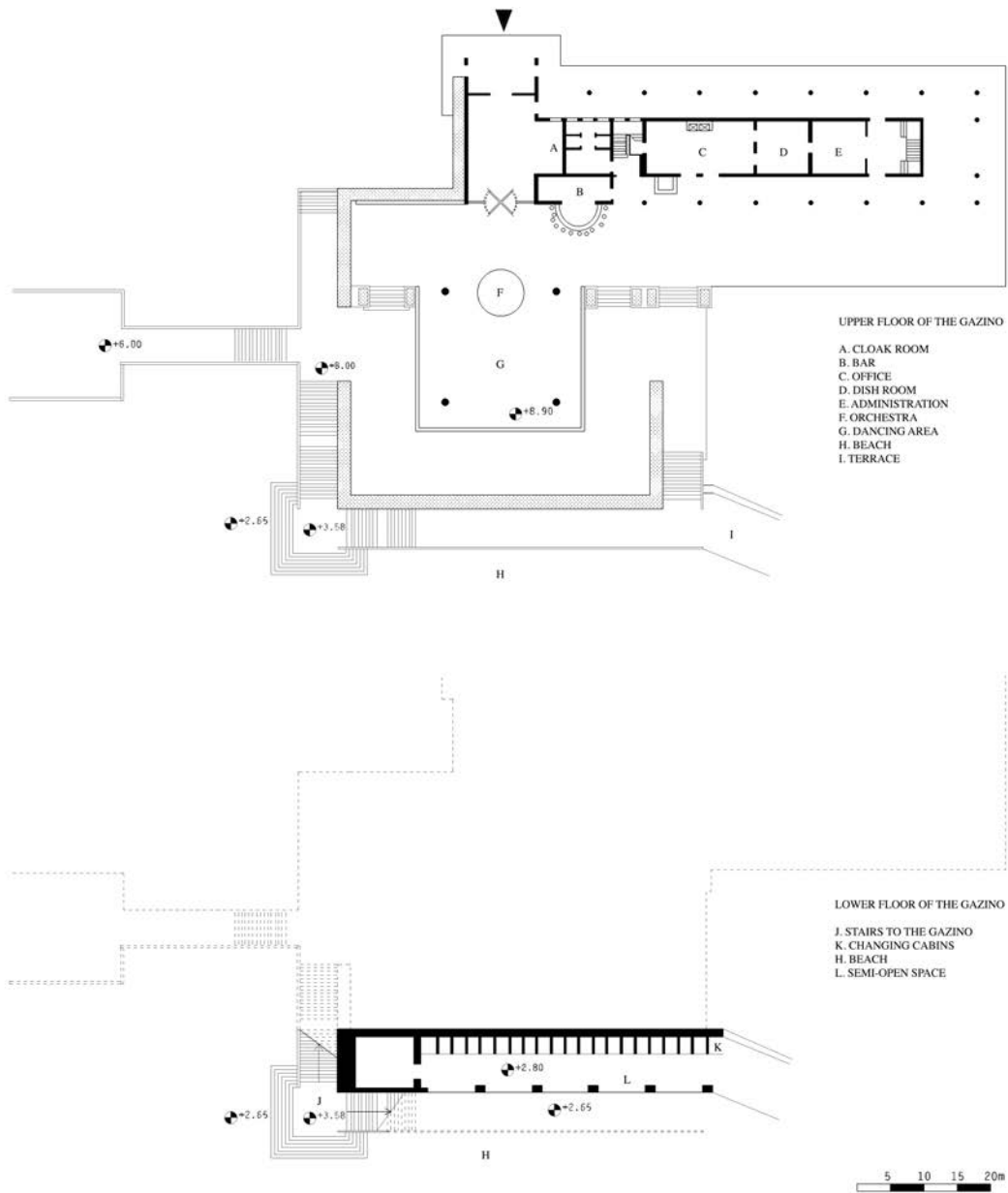


Figure 16. Floor plans of the Gazino: orchestra, bar, dancing area and access to the terrace in the upper floor; changing cabins with direct access to the beach in the lower floor. (Reproduced and simplified drawings of Rüknettin Güney's design, 1938). Original drawings from: Atatürk Library.



Figure 17. The use of different spaces of the Florya Gazino, 1940s. (Left: lower floor. Centre and Right: upper floor). From: Anonymous personal archive. Available from: [www.ebay.com.tr](http://www.ebay.com.tr) (accessed June 14, 2016).

The change in the regulations of how the bodies moved in Florya reiterated the spatialisation of the ideological change that was taking place in Turkey. On one hand, it provided a space for encounters of different urban groups, but on the other, imposed its own ideology as an extension of Republican westernisation that did not entirely translate into reality. For instance, the upper floor of the Gazino was constructed to accommodate a thousand customers a day whereas it occasionally had about fifteen customers on a weekday.<sup>60</sup>

The Republicans may have imagined the beach as available to urban citizens who have instantly reached the ideals of the Republican elite: a mixed group of educated, young and healthy individuals performing sports at the beach and listening to jazz concerts at the Gazino. However, the main motivation to use the beach was simply because it was a new thing to do in the city and a chance to relax during summer, and people could not internalise its drastic changes immediately. That is why the visitors much frequently inhabited the lower floor of the Gazino or preferred using the traditional sea baths on the beach until the 1970s.

Florya existed as a destination for the urban inhabitants for weekend getaways until the 1950s. The entirety of the overcrowded train trip to Florya, renting one of the cheaper cabins before everyone else and finding a place to sit on the beach was the scope of the experience instead of swimming for pleasure.<sup>61</sup> In the 1930s-1940s

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<sup>60</sup> “Florya Plaj Gazinosunun Mutfağı İşletilemiyor [Florya Gazino cannot be managed]”, *Akşam*, August 25, 1940.

<sup>61</sup> Several Turkish writers have written about this. For instance, Refik Halit Karay, *Hep İstanbul [Istanbul Always]* (Istanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 2014); Sermet Muhtar Alus, “Dünkü Florya [Florya in the Past]”, *Akşam*, June 22, 1947; Sermet Muhtar Alus, “Bugünkü Florya

although Istanbul was designated as a ‘resort city’<sup>62</sup>, the ritual of going to the beach had not yet been defined as a vacationist activity. The progress in tourism and prevalence of vacation as a way of spending leisure time in the 1950s would induce specific structures to be built both in Florya and other parts of Turkey, which will be the subject of the next chapter.



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[Today’s Florya]”, *Akşam*, June 25, 1947; Hikmet Feridun Es, *Kaybolan İstanbul’ dan Hatıralar [Memories From Fading Istanbul]* (Istanbul: Ötüken, 2010).

<sup>62</sup> Prost refers to Istanbul as “the city of summer” in his 1945 notes.

## CHAPTER 4: RESORT AS AN URBAN COLONY

This chapter discusses the shift in the use of the beach over three sections. First section briefly overviews the progress of tourism in Turkey after the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War and the summerhouse as its product. The second section positions the physical and aesthetical changes on the beach through Sedad Hakkı Eldem's design in 1955-1959. The third section discusses the effects of American-influenced politics on everyday life and domesticity through the increase in property developments around Florya in the 1950s.

### a. Tourism, Resort and the Summerhouse in the Post-War Era Turkey

In the 1950s, the DP government integrated tourism as part of the mechanism to modernise the society. Their approach was connected with foreign relations as part of the economic growth of the country. Although initiatives such as The Directorate of Tourism was established in 1938, the conditions of the Second World War prevented any rapid changes in travelling and tourism from taking place in Turkey.<sup>63</sup> Domestic tourism only became prevalent in the 1950s. International tourism would not reach its official peak until the 1980s but the encouragement towards travelling, improvement in air and maritime transportation necessitated new facilities to accommodate the increasing number of tourists travelling to Turkey by the 1950s. As a result, the notion of resort conceptually and physically extended beyond the 'daytime travel to a nearby destination'.

The promotion of a vacation as a need for modern citizens<sup>64</sup> escalated the mobility of city inhabitants within short and long distances to spend leisure time. By this time, the civil servants who were a part of the Republican elite had dissolved into a middle-class and cities were introduced to a rural migrant group. With the relocation of rural groups in the city, a larger part of the Turkish society gained mobility and brought their ways of using spaces with them. This changed Florya from an exclusive practice for the urban citizen to a leisure activity available to a more blended group.

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<sup>63</sup> *The Act no. 5647 on the Encouragement of Touristic Enterprise* issued in 1950 along with a set of other regulations proceeded until 1955 aimed to revive tourism.

<sup>64</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life vol.1* (London: Verso, 1991), 32-34.

Leisure was translated into everyday life as “liberation and pleasure” and vacation was a uniform global activity.<sup>65</sup> This leisure rhetoric that legitimised vacation cut across all political discourse such as the mythical designation of Florya as a Republican space to express modernity.<sup>66</sup> On the contrary, the delivery of leisure as a ‘block of time’ that was packed with spectacular experience promoted vacation as a consumerist activity.<sup>67</sup> This was important for DP who sought to change the consumption habits of the Turkish society in the name of modernisation. DP organised leisure with the help of the built environment to easily control the mobilised classes. With the emergence of post-war society of consumption, global political and economic climate played a major role in the ways leisure was practiced in Turkey. This was partly the endorsement of capitalism concealed by the delivery of new technology, such as the import of automobiles, to non-Western countries and the concept of US as the epitome of modernity.<sup>68</sup>

Although resort towns, hotels and holiday villages epitomise the consumption of space, Lefebvre viewed these spaces as offering a more constituent mode of experience. This was because in those spaces “the body regains a certain right to use”<sup>69</sup> in contrast with the fragmented time and space particular to the city as a result of industrialisation.<sup>70</sup> Therefore, the ways in which leisure spaces were used by the modern society were distinguished from the ‘everyday’ of the city. Nonetheless, modernity was identified by a significant change in the form of experience by Benjamin.<sup>71</sup> The increasing speed and stimuli in modern city life pushed people to favour a more assimilated mode of experience in contrast with the disconnected

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Kalliopi Dimou and Sorin Istudor, eds., *Enchanting Views: Romanian Black Sea Tourism Planning and Architecture of the 1960s and 70s* (Bucharest: Association pupluspatriu, 2015), 75.

<sup>67</sup> Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, trans. Ken Knabb (London: Rebel Press, 1992), 88.

<sup>68</sup> Gürel, “Seashore Readings”, 37.

<sup>69</sup> Lukasz Stanek, introduction to *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment* by Henri Lefebvre (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), xvii.

<sup>70</sup> Lukasz Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 177.

<sup>71</sup> Hilde Heynen, “Walter Benjamin: The Dream of a Classless Society” in *Architecture and Modernity* (Massachusetts: MIT, 1999), 97-100.

instances of city life.<sup>72</sup> This was influential in amplifying the mobility of higher classes for vacation in the global scale in search for such an experience. For the working class, the economy of time was more distinctly administered and prevented them from being as arbitrarily mobile.

In the 1950s Turkey, although domestic tourism was more widely practiced, vacation culture as a mobile activity was still not as easily accessible for the working classes. However, the concept of the summerhouse in its modern form emerged as a re-appropriation for travelling and an alternative to the globally mobile bourgeois vacation in the 1950s. With the emergence of a middle-class in the cities, vacation culture would prevail among a wider range of groups in Turkey. The coasts of Turkey would compensate the need for summerhouse ownership in the later period (especially in the 1970s); however, in the 1950s, Florya would be a convenient alternative.

The DP state favoured mobilising middle and working classes every summer, which also granted them the ‘motivation’ for the labour time during the rest of the year, as a mechanism to organise their leisure time.<sup>73</sup> Debord views this motivation as a commodity like any other commodity that is located afar and ‘something to look forward to’.<sup>74</sup> The Republicans promoted the same motivation for labour as part of intellectual and cultural progress for the good of the nation while DP’s policies centred on individual fortune achieved by private enterprise. This signifies a changing mode of capitalism in the government’s policies. Architecture became a major agent for this shift. The change was articulated in building cooperatives, seaside hotels and rental housing in Florya.

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Levent Şentürk, Yazlık: Hayali Bir Kaçış [Resort: An Imaginary Escape], interview by Hülya Ertaş, *XXI*, September, 2014, 23.

<sup>74</sup> Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, 89.



Figure 18. Woman and child swimming in front of Florya Houses, 1954. From: Anonymous personal archive. Available from: [www.ebay.com.tr](http://www.ebay.com.tr) (accessed August 27, 2016).

Florya Houses were built by the Istanbul Municipality in 1952 and transformed the temporality of the time and activities on the beach into an extended mode (Figure 18). The beach was state-owned so the building of private property was regulated and prohibited by law but the DP government constructed state-owned houses for seasonal rent. At the beginning of the 1950s, the majority of the houses were rented out to bureaucrats selected by a lot. By the end of the 1950s the houses were available for public rent as well.<sup>75</sup>

The summerhouses in Florya existed as a new space located outside the urbane organisation of time and space. It was a house but not home, it was a form of shelter but only for the summer, it was somewhat closer to nature but located in the city; yet it was a place where everyday activities such as relative visits, house cleaning and neighbour gossip continued (Figure 19). Different from the Gazino it did not impose the temporary use of an idealised space on its users.

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<sup>75</sup> Sadeddin Gökçepinar, “Floryadaki Belediye Evleri”, *Akşam*, July 15, 1952.



Figure 19. Family in Florya Houses built by the Istanbul Municipality in 1952. From: “Florya Evlerinde Şimdi Kimler Oturuyor? [Who Lives in Florya Houses Today?]”, *Hayat*, 1960.

DP’s populist desire to present the seaside as belonging to the people is epitomised through these houses. The state promoted this shift as a democratisation of Florya different from the selective egalitarianism of the Republicans and the Gazino. Thus the everydayness of the beach was particularly emphasised when people started to spend extended amounts of time on it through the summerhouse. The domestic use introduced to Florya continued throughout the 1950s into the 1960s with motels, housing complexes and camping sites.

### **b. Sedad Hakkı Eldem’s Design in Florya Beach**

In 1955, the government commissioned a re-arrangement of the beach and new structures to architect Sedad Hakkı Eldem. The commission corresponds to a period when the aesthetic and material shift on the beach became more visible. In the 1950s Florya received a greater amount of international tourists as well as local visitors. The beach was rearranged for the use of groups with different incomes with a variety of structures. By the time Eldem’s design was implemented, some hotels, Florya Houses and other seasonally rented areas occupied the western part of the beach.

Eldem was commissioned to rehabilitate the existing Gazino, improve and reorganise the site and propose series of motels, camping sites, picnic areas, changing cabins and houses to accommodate the increased number of visitors on the beach.<sup>76</sup> However, due to financial difficulties it was only partially built and included two motels, a camping site, two restaurants and changing cabins on the eastern part of the beach (Figure 20). The complex was completed in 1959 with the support of the Tourism Bank (an institution that provided funding to touristic enterprise) and was turned over to the municipality in 1960.<sup>77</sup> The anticipated expansion of the site confirms that tourism and consumerism became a part of the modernisation project in Florya.

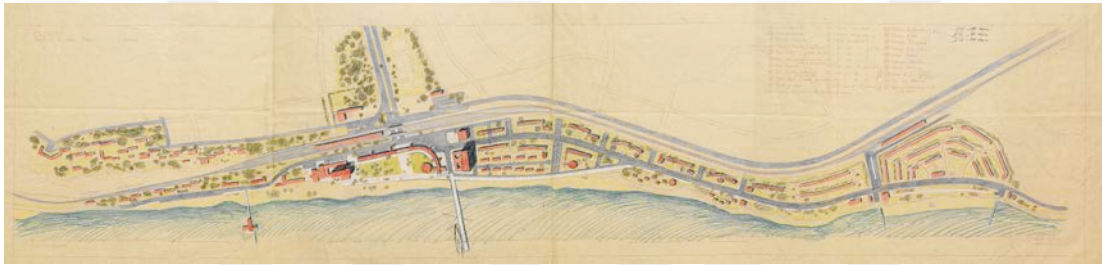


Figure 20. Site plan showing existing and proposed buildings by Sedad Hakkı Eldem, 1956. Form: SALT Archive, [www.saltresearch.org](http://www.saltresearch.org) (accessed September 1, 2016).

As mentioned in the previous sections, the DP government's liberal and cultural policies were heavily based on the US. The influence of the US as a reference for cultural and economic model directed several architects' investigations in modernism and functionality in the 1950s Turkey. Eldem is known for his explorations in the traditional Turkish house and geometrical form to construct a local language of mid-century modernist architecture, especially through his discovery of Frank Lloyd Wright.<sup>78</sup> Corresponding with his approach to architecture, his design for the facilities in Florya bear morphological similarities to 1950s American resort

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<sup>76</sup> According to his plan, if it had been fully implemented, the beach would be able to accommodate visitors in 1080 units of different kind.

<sup>77</sup> "Florya ve Kilyos Tesisleri [Florya and Kilyos Facilities]" in *Arkitekt* 3, (1961): 105-113.

<sup>78</sup> Sibel Bozdoğan, Süha Özkan and Engin Yenal, eds., *Sedad Eldem: Architect in Turkey* (Singapore: Concept Media, 1987), 11-33.

architecture (Figures 21, 22).<sup>79</sup> Eldem’s design comprises sensitive aesthetic elements through material details in his structures. A similar approach was found in post-war American architects: they calibrated the appeal of their designs towards viewing habits and sensory expectations.<sup>80</sup>

Eldem was also influenced by the American suburban schemes and some of his designs were hybrids of traditional Turkish houses with a “flavour of Americana”.<sup>81</sup> His approach is visible from the Motel B Gazino that incorporates a courtyard, similar to the one found in a Turkish house, but also a modular grid and reinforced concrete as part of its use of new technology (Figure 22).

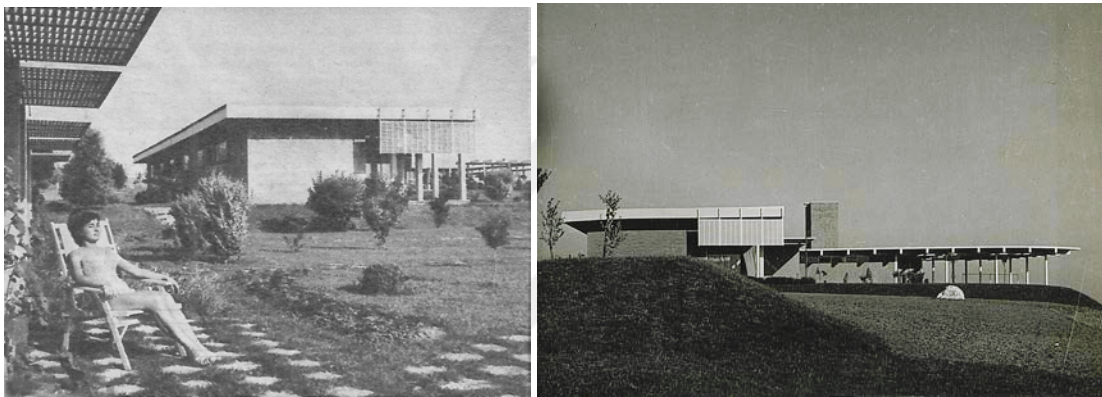


Figure 21. (Left) Woman resting in Motel B. From: *Hayat* 27, 1961.

Figure 22. (Right) Side view of Motel B Gazino, 1955-59. From: *Arkitekt* 3, 1961.

The site plan of the camping site displays his explorations in geometry through volute architectural details and plan scheme (Figures 23). However, its aesthetic appeal and uniformity is actually a result of the construction of the complex in the most efficient way, considering the economy of material and technology because it targeted the new middle-class emerging in the city.<sup>82</sup> The target group of this complex resonates with Eldem’s ideals about practical domestic architecture. The

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<sup>79</sup> Bülent Tanju, “Sedad Hakkı Eldem: Bir Katalog Denemesi [Sedad Hakkı Eldem: A Catalogue]” in *Sedad Hakkı Eldem II: Retrospektif*, ed. Uğur Tanyeli (Istanbul: Ottoman Bank Archive and Research Center, 2009), 170.

<sup>80</sup> Alice T. Friedman. *American Glamour and the Evolution of Modern Architecture* (London: Yale University Press, 2010), 5.

<sup>81</sup> Bozdoğan, Özkan and Yenal, *Sedad Eldem*, 33.

<sup>82</sup> Tanju, “Sedad Hakkı Eldem”, 170.

structure of the camping site targeted the nuclear family through its production with cheap material, use of technology and sizing of each unit as seen in the advertisement (Figure 24). Moreover, it clearly designated the beach as a space that was no longer specific to the Republican elite.

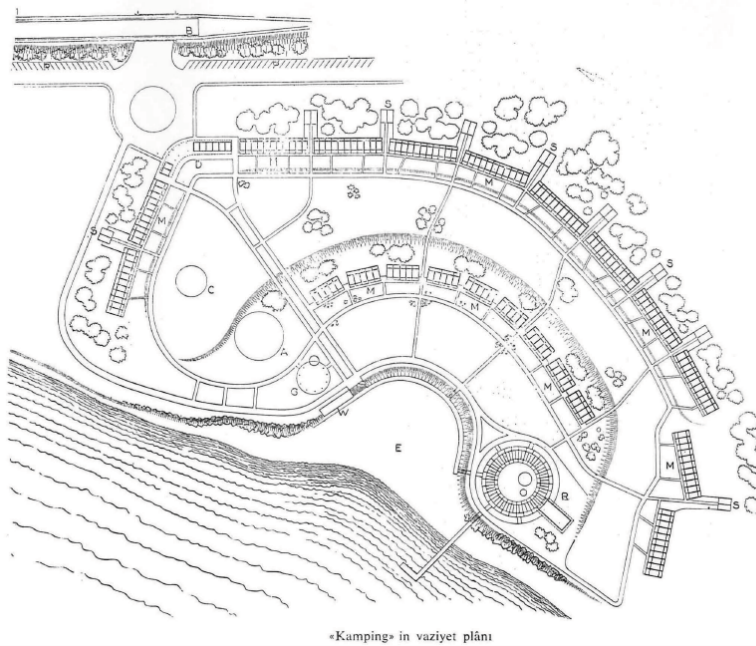


Fig. 23. Site plan and view of the camping site for local and international visitors in Florya. From: *Arkitekt* 3, 1961.



Figure 24. [From Turkey Tourism Bank Florya Facilities; Public Vacation Camps; 15 Liras per day – En-suite, spacious family rooms for a couple with kids; Cheap restaurant, Private Beach]. From: *Cumhuriyet*, August 3, 1958.

The construction of the beach as “an urban phenomenon and a mode of production of the socio-economic dynamics created by the urban middle class” demonstrated these dynamics through the everyday.<sup>83</sup> Gender roles and class-related customs are the most apparent ways in which this was practiced. In the domestic scheme introduced to Florya Beach, the main users of the summerhouse were women and children. The male member of the household would work in the city and travel to the resort every weekend or month.<sup>84</sup>

This configuration not only maintains the emphasis on the heterosexual family structure as the core of the society but it overtly reiterates the position of the woman in the domestic sphere as the homemaker. The social distinction between sexes articulates itself in spatial terms and confines the woman into the domestic sphere.<sup>85</sup> For women, the resort would no longer be a spatialisation of leisure but a continuation of the sexual division of labour that was present in the city. Two former locals and

<sup>83</sup> Levent Şentürk, *Yazlık [Resort]*, 20-27.

<sup>84</sup> Tuncay Birkan, “Refik Halid’in kılavuzluğuyla 1940’lar ve 1950’ler Türkiye’de sayfiye hayatı [Resort life in 1940s and 1950s Turkey with Refik Halid’s guidance]” in *Sayfiye: Hafiflik Hayali [Resort: Dreaming of Lightness]*, ed. Tanıl Bora (Istanbul: İletişim, 2014), 56.

<sup>85</sup> Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender*, 81-82, 179.

users of the beach shared a particular anecdote in which the mother would call the children back for lunch during a beach day.<sup>86</sup> This anecdote reveals that; the mother would not always be present on the beach but would be ‘working’ to feed the rest of the family, as she would in the city. These details that build up the experience of everyday life show that Florya as a resort was a creation of the city.

People’s memories provide the most information on the real spatialisation of Florya. Memories demonstrate that the *place-images*, that is, “imaginary geography of places and spaces” in the city define our everyday practices.<sup>87</sup> Shields’s term *place-image* refers to connotations associated with places as an outcome of spatial practices. The “places and spaces hypostatized from the world of real space relations to the symbolic realm of cultural significations” helps to locate Florya’s identity in considering both the real (used) and abstract (representation of) space.<sup>88</sup> The tactics adopted to use Florya define the connotations people attribute to it. That is when the idealized representation of Florya (especially from the Republican period) in propaganda films or magazines does not match its ordinary use.

### **c. The New Suburbia**

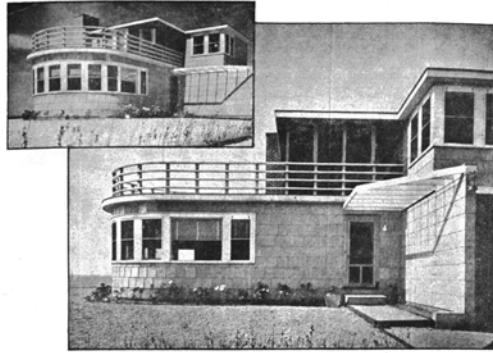
By the 1950s, Turkish society was still in majority living in rural parts of the country given that the Republic had invested in the cities until this period. This positioned Istanbul as an opportunity site for the migrant working-class in the hopes of finding a job and raising their life standards. The increase in the urban population that followed was accommodated with the construction of apartment blocks and suburbanisation. As the city centre became crowded with the migrant working classes, Florya turned into a convenient suburb and no longer remained on the periphery as much as it had been. Among the implemented housing projects was the modern single-family villa that had been promoted as the ideal way of living since the establishment of the Republic. This was an outcome of the ideology that equated modernist architecture with westernisation and thus with progress.

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<sup>86</sup> Enis Kutluözen, interview with the author, June 4, 2016; Orhan Göksel, interview with the author, July 10, 2016.

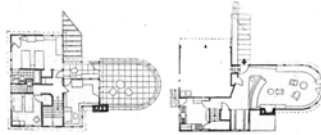
<sup>87</sup> Shields, *Places on the Margin*, 6.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*, 47.



Deniz kenarında inşa edilecek küçük villanın harçten iki muhtelif görünüşü.

## DENİZ KENARI İÇİN



Üç odalıan ihazet bulman fakat çok geniş salon ve taraflara malik bulunan villanın dörtü ve ikinci üst katları. Neçli iki, üç aya ihtiyacı vardır. Sıvalar kurumadan yapılan badanalar tamamile tutmazlar ve rutubet yüzünden derhal dökülmeye ve renk değiştirmeye başlarlar. Kurumamış sıvanın üzerine yalnız badana değil, duvar kâğıdı, hattâ yağlıboya bile tutmaz. Hem sıva çok aldatıcıdır. Kurumuş olduğuna hükmedilerek badana geçilen sıvalar, mal sahiplerine çok zararlı oyunlar oynatabilirler.

Bütün bu sebeplerden dolayı, sıva mevsimini yazın ortasına tesadüf ettirmek, ve bol güneşten istifade etmek her inşaat sahibinin menfaati içindedir. Yağmurun başlamasına yapılan sıvalar ayrıca kurumak bilmezler, ve inşaatı âdetâ felece uğrattırılır.

Yukarıya denediğimiz güzel villâ, üç odalı güzel bir yuvadır. Geniş tarafları, odaları, ve bütün konferu ile kalabalık olan fakat rahatını ve genişliği seven insanlara göre düşünülmüştür.

İnşaat mevsimini girdik. Bu aylar, ev yaptırmak isteyenler için en müsait olan aylardır. Bunun sebebi size kısaca anlatalım:

Bir inşaatın en üzücü ve nankör tarafı, çatı ve tuğla kısmı tamamlandıktan sonra yapılan sıva ve badanalarıdır. Ev ikmal edildikten sonra başlanan sıvaların tamamile kuruması için bol güneş şarttır.

Figure 25. [House for the seaside], The modern house was featured in magazines and presented as the ideal for civilisation. From: *Yedigün* 380, 1941.

The modern house had been publicised as a condition of being civilised and the ideal of westernization since the 1930s through ordered designs and example housing schemes in magazines (Figure 25).<sup>89</sup> Until the 1960s, the English and German garden-city movements –the model of few-storey detached houses with gardens organized in clusters around infrastructure- inspired state-led cooperatives and housing projects.<sup>90</sup> The expansion of this phenomenon in order to encourage people for house ownership corresponds to DP policies in the 1950s. Several housing projects were sponsored by banks and were given away by national lotteries in this period.<sup>91</sup> The appearance and descriptions of the single-family villas in the lottery

<sup>89</sup> Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 193-240.

<sup>90</sup> Akcan and Bozdoğan, *Turkey*, 149-150.

<sup>91</sup> Participation in the lottery was limited to the bank clientele and their chances of winning were ranked proportionally according to their savings in the bank.

posters or advertisements show that either subsidized or private initiatives; the encouragement towards house ownership in Turkey was targeted to the middle and upper-middle-class families until the 1970s.<sup>92</sup> As a part of the policies of the DP state, becoming middle-class was presented as accessible through urbanisation.

With DP government's support for enterprise, Istanbul was promoted as a site for opportunity and symbolised a platform where anyone could acquire a version of the 'American dream', that is, a modern middle-class life standard as a replica of the US.<sup>93</sup> The easiest way of translating this to the individual level was through consumption, more specifically, through the ownership of a house and a car. This had required a rearrangement of the city to accommodate the new suburbs hence the changes made in Prost's plan in the 1950s. The emphasis on wide roads to connect the neighbourhoods, of both the suburban and the working class, was an important part of the populist DP strategy. However, the spatialisation of the two groups were still kept separate.

This tendency for separation was articulated best in Prost's provisional Florya notes that suggest the construction of a luxurious hotel for people who "comfortably live elsewhere, drive to Florya in a few minutes and go back" and "public rooms" for the working-class.<sup>94</sup> This shows that Florya Beach was anticipated as a site where different classes could be present together but separated through the architecture. The detail of 'driving to Florya' is important to note here because since its construction, people had mainly used the banlieue train to travel from and to Florya. DP's adoption of decentralisation policies regarding urban planning, road construction and consumption patterns to solve the housing shortage and overcrowding brought with the rural-to-city migration imposed the automobile as the main mode of transportation.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Akcan and Bozdoğan, *Turkey*, 149-150.

<sup>93</sup> Aslıhan Şenel, "Unfixing Place: A Study of Istanbul Through Topographical Practices" (PhD diss., University College London, 2009), 32-33.

<sup>94</sup> Henri Prost, *İstanbul Nazım Planını İzah Eden Rapor I-II* [Istanbul Master Plan Notes I-II] (Istanbul: Istanbul Municipality, 1937), 54.

<sup>95</sup> Oya Erişen, "Suburbanization in Türkiye within the Process of Integration to Global Development and a New Life-Style Settlement" (PhD diss., Middle East Technical University, 2003), 43.



Fig. 26. [From Istanbul Structure Collective Company: Florya sand on one side and the London Asphalt on the other], The American Dream displayed in a Florya housing commercial. From: *Cumhuriyet*, July 7, 1954.

Florya had already been designated as a summer resort and a suburb by Prost in 1937, but construction activities, group houses and villas in and around Florya gained speed with the encouragement of DP. Especially the immediate surrounding of the *London Asphalt* was filled with new housing projects. The advertisements emphasise the ‘American dream’ by depicting a villa and a car in front (Figure 26). The detached single-family houses imply homogeneity in terms of the formal features of the house and the users of the area. In addition, the beach is presented as a necessary component of the suburb. The emphasis on health and hygiene introduced by Republican values continues with the openness of the suburban housing scheme and the integration of the ‘naturalness’ of greenery and the beach. Despite the unfamiliarity of this scene with the urban conditions of Istanbul then, the domestic life continued to resonate the homemaker-breadwinner structure. Once again, the heterosexual family unit as the core of the society was emphasised and presented this form of domesticity as its ideal environment for living.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>96</sup> Hilde Heynen and Gülsüm Baydar, eds., *Negotiating Domesticity: Spatial Productions of Gender in Modern Architecture* (London: Routledge, 2005), 12.

Florya was an ideal for a suburb due to its proximity to the sea, manageable distance from the city centre and availability of extensive land. The representation of Florya's seaside first as an idealised modern space, then as a suburb implies that some elements about Florya were particular to a privileged group (although the scope of this group slightly extended after the 1950s). The government's policies were not as egalitarian, accessible or liberating as they said they were, regardless of the ruling party. In fact, their policies indicate a more contradictory nature of spatial practices that cannot be singularly defined under Republican or DP terms.



## CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

### *Overview*

The modernisation project initiated in 1923 was attempted in an abrupt manner, was not inclusive of the different members in the country and was later altered by the policies of the populist Democrat Party in 1950. Nevertheless, it articulated severe changes in the city and the everyday life. I have looked at the importance of the built environment in materialising both the Republican and DP ideologies; the adaptation of the city and the image of the beach towards them in the first three decades of the Republic. Despite the construction of the beach as potentially including different groups, architecture was used as an agent to spatially segregate them. The organisation of the city, everyday life and individual identities according to the ideals of the state produced differences in the ways space was used.

The increase in touristic activities led by state policies eventually suggested a shift in the use of Florya. By the 1950s, different from its temporal use in the 1930s and 1940s, there was a domestic element as part of the beach. With the building activities over this period and an introduction of a middle-class, there was a physical and social shift in how people interacted with Florya. This shift can be explained in the light of the change from the central government scheme and emphasis on cultural improvement in the 1930s to the encouragement of privatisation and economical model for development in the 1950s.

Personal archives steered the project into having a clearer depiction of what was the ‘abstract space’ revealed from the official representation and the ‘real space’ revealed from personal accounts of the beach. Through family photographs, we see people in the act of creating the space as they are occupying it. Florya encompassed both ‘the myth’ and ‘the ordinary’. It is not possible to claim a singular identity for Florya as it was produced by social relations that were shaped by the changing governmental policies, gender roles, Turkish culture, and the implications of modernity for a nation-state. The aim of this dissertation was to include both of the discourses as part of the identity of Florya and map the shift in their interchange. In that sense, I did not evaluate the beach solely in relation to Atatürk and Republican modernism of the 1930s or solely as a site derived by populist consumerism. There is not a coherent discourse in the ways leisure activities or everyday life was practiced

in Florya, but rather fragments of instances that signalled a shift from the 1930s to the 1950s. Perhaps that was why Florya served as a versatile site and has more to offer in terms of the distinction of private/public spaces and a more detailed intersection with domesticity in the later years of its use.



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