

THE FORMATION OF A MODERN CITY: ANTALYA, 1920s-1980s

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ABSTRACT

THE FORMATION OF A MODERN CITY: ANTALYA, 1920s-1980s

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This dissertation examines the place of the concept of “local” in architectural historiography by focusing on the modernization process of Antalya. The analysis of the process is realized within two major contexts. On the one hand, the “peripheral” position of Antalya in canonic historiography is discussed in the frame of center-periphery relations and central-local actors; on the other hand, the developments both in the city center and its hinterlands are examined through the dualities of rural and urban, and natural and built environments.

In the early Republican period, major modernization steps were experienced in the rural hinterlands considering the agricultural identity of Antalya developed in relation to the characteristics of its natural environment. On the other hand, urbanization, which is commonly associated with the modernization process implemented by the state during the twentieth century, started to transform the built environment in the city center and also affected its hinterland by the construction of new buildings for administration and public services, finance and trade, leisure and recreation, dwelling, and production, in which local initiatives also took on roles. Tourism policies after the 1960s had the most dramatic effect on the transformation of Antalya, increasing the touristic places in its center and hinterland, and turning the city itself into a center of tourism towards the end of the century by appropriating its natural and cultural richness. Thus, the formation of Antalya as a modern city from the 1920s to the 1980s was

realized via the transformation of its built environment according to the constraints of its natural characteristics, and by the effects of both central policies and local responses.

Keywords: Antalya, local modernization, modern architecture, environmental history



ÖZ

MODERN BİR KENTİN OLUŞUMU: ANTALYA, 1920’LER- 1980’LER

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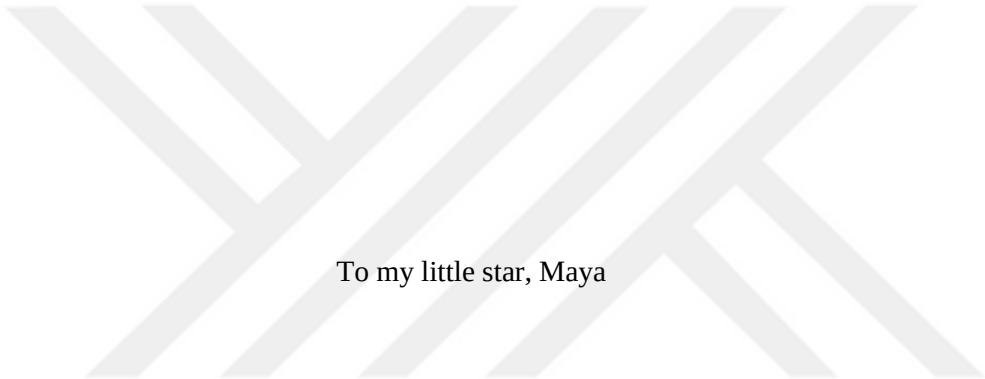
Bu tez mimarlık tarih yazımında “yerel” kavramının yerini Antalya’nın modernleşme sürecine odaklanarak ele almaktadır. Sürecin analizi iki ana bağlamda yapılmıştır. Bir taraftan, Antalya’nın kanonik tarih yazımındaki “periferik” pozisyonu merkez-çeper ilişkileri ve merkezi-yerel aktörler çerçevesinde tartışılmakta; diğer taraftan, kentin hem merkezinde hem de hinterlandında yaşanan gelişmeler kırsal ve kentsel, doğal ve yapılı çevre ikilikleri üzerinden incelenmektedir.

Erken Cumhuriyet döneminde, Antalya’nın doğal çevresinin özellikleriyle ilişkili olarak gelişmiş olan tarımsal kimliği gözetilerek, temel modernleşme adımları kırsal hinterlandta gerçekleşmiştir. Genellikle yirminci yüzyılda devletin uyguladığı modernleşme süreciyle ilişkilendirilen kentleşme ise, yönetim ve kamusal hizmet, ticaret, eğlence ve dinlence, konut ve üretim yapılarının yerel girişimlerin etkisi de olan inşasıyla, kentin merkezindeki yapılı çevreyi değiştirmeye başlamış ve çeperini de etkilemiştir. 1960lardan sonra uygulanan turizm politikaları ise, kent merkezi ve çeperinde turizm yapılarının artmasına neden olarak Antalya’nın dönüşümünde en önemli etkiyi yapmış ve sahip olduğu doğal ve kültürel zenginliklerden yararlanarak, yirminci yüzyılın sonuna doğru kentin bir turizm merkezi olmasını sağlamıştır. Böylece, Antalya’nın 1920’lerden 1980’lere modern bir kent olarak

oluşumu, yapılı çevresinin, hem merkezi kararlar hem de yerel tepkilerle ve doğal çevrenin kısıtlarına göre dönüşümüyle gerçekleşmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Antalya, yerel modernleşme, modern mimarlık, çevresel tarih





To my little star, Maya

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Subject and Scope

The main subject of this study is the modernization process of Antalya as a peripheral settlement in Turkey, which is taken as a peripheral (in other words, non-Western or “other”) country itself. (Figure 1.1) It analyzes this process by focusing on the impacts of the local features of the city on the transformation of its identity. The discussion of the study is framed by considering the relations between the local and the central factors, and the dualities of center-hinterland, and urban-rural and modern-natural environments¹ in the modernization of a peripheral context.

Criticizing the Western-oriented attitude of conventional architectural historiography, the dissertation focuses on the theme of locality and other contexts in its approach. The discussion about the dichotomy of center and periphery that refers to the Western and the non-Western respectively in world-wide scale, will be transferred to the country-wide analysis within the study. Thus, the phenomenon of center and periphery and its derivatives in Turkey is the subject of the research.

Antalya, a city of Turkey located on the Mediterranean coast, provides a unique example in terms of its historical and environmental characteristics. Its geographic features led to an authentic life style and traces of its local identity is still perceivable to a certain extent even though Antalya experienced a rapid transformation during the twentieth century. The city

¹ The term “natural environment” refers to the locations that could be defined as not human-made environments within the dissertation. In his essay titled “Materials, Geometry and Nature”, Tadao Ando discusses architecture in three elements, one of which is nature, and he refers to “domesticated nature” in his argument rather than the “raw” and chaotic one. Similarly, the discussion within the study could be seen as more related to the “domesticated nature” that gained an order by humans in changing senses. Haruhiko Fujita, “Nature and Architecture: In the City of God and the Land of the Gods” *Yearbook of the International Association for Aesthetics, Proceedings of the Bologna Conference, Nature and the City Beauty is Taking On New Form*, ed. Jale Erzen, Raffaele Milani. (2012). p.44.

could be defined as a “peripheral” town at the beginning of the twentieth century. However, at the end of the century, it gained a “central” position across the region and the country with its changing dynamics especially resulted from its role in the tourism sector. By the year of 2019, the city is one of the top-ten most visited cities in the world.² With the changing roles of local dynamics in changing contexts within a century, Antalya serves as a case in point in the discussion on local modernization.

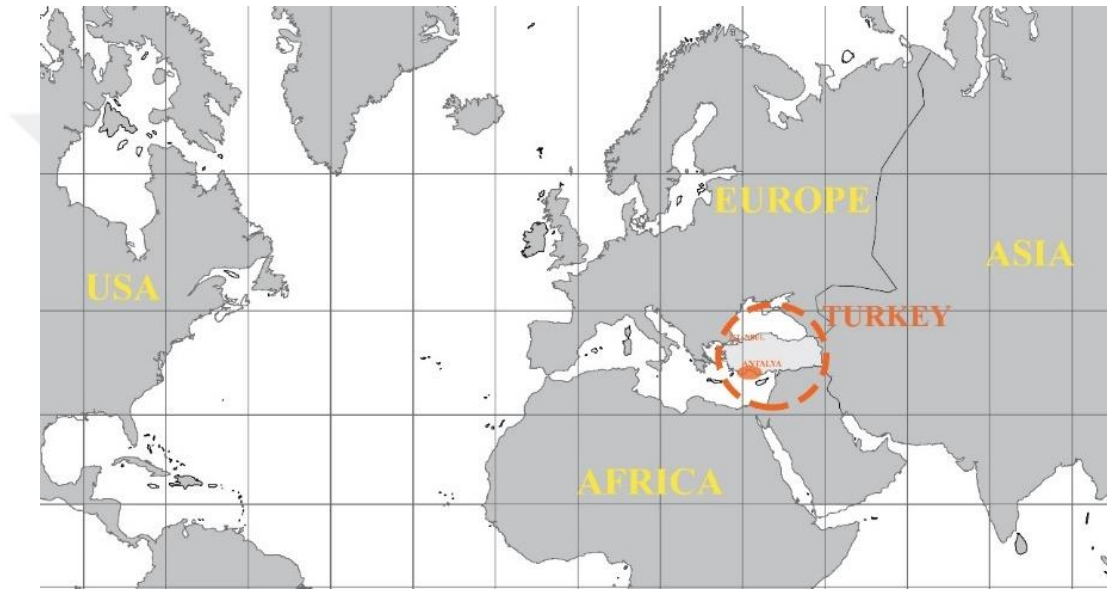


Figure 1.1. The map representing the physical location of Antalya city and Turkey in the world. (Reproduced on the world map)

The study attempts to evaluate the transformation of the rural identity of the agricultural Antalya town into an urban and touristic center through the modernization process of the twentieth century. Examining the historical context of political, social, economic and physical changes, the study analyzes the multiple layers of the formation of a modern built environment in the city beyond the center-periphery and central-local dichotomies.

² <https://www.forbes.com>

The discussion on the center-periphery dichotomy is focused on the place of Antalya in the modernization history of the country within the study. Understanding the process in a specific locality such as Antalya required the analysis of the complex relations between the so-called “center” and “periphery” in canonic architectural historiography. While the “center” refers to the decision-maker position, the term “periphery” is commonly used for locations that are expected to follow the “center” in different manners. Within this context, the relations of the ‘central’ and the ‘local’ are also significant to be evaluated in the formation of the basis for the discussion.

The state, state-appointed people such as governors, officers and in some cases state-owned enterprises, are involved in the analysis as the central actors that acted as the representatives of central policies. Local actors, in other words local authorities, active professionals such as architects, engineers and constructors, and associations that were efficient in the urban development of the city, have also a place in the discussion emphasizing the relation between the central and local actors.

The analysis of the modernization process beyond the center-periphery and central-local dualities requires to consider other supposed dualities that define the local context. One of them is the ‘urban’ and ‘rural’, which is discussed in the frame of the ‘center’ and ‘hinterland’ relations. The term “hinterland” refers not just to the physical location of settlements but more importantly to the socio-economic interaction between the localities. Since it acts as the center of a large hinterland, the research on Antalya requires to read the connection between the city center and its hinterland, which had a rural characteristic on a large scale.

Considering the geographical variety of the region, the local identity of Antalya was also defined with its environmental characteristics. Before the modernization process in the twentieth century, the settlement in Antalya had been formed as a result of an adaptation process to the natural assets of the place by trial and error for centuries. The natural environment had thus been the primary element in the formation of its settlement, where modernization was experienced in relation to these unique local natural conditions. However, in the conventional approach, modernization is taken as related to urbanization, and these

processes are accepted to transform the rural and natural contexts.³ Hence, the study is also an attempt to understand the changing relations between the natural (land, highland, sea) and the built environment of Antalya in the process of its formation as a modern settlement through the twentieth century.

The chronological frame of the dissertation is defined as the period between the 1920s and the 1980s.⁴ Since it is quite hard to create a sharp division between the Ottoman and Republican periods in the context of modernization, the starting point, the 1920s, has been chosen in reference to the official declaration of the Turkish Republic (1923) but was left as a range to be more inclusive and realistic. The earlier years are also considered but the focus is on the period following the foundation of Republic to be followed by more radical transformation process. On the other hand, the main characteristics of Antalya underwent a dramatic change after the adoption of the Law for the Encouragement of Tourism (no.2634) in 1982 and the Law on Land Development Planning and Control (no.3194) in 1985. In parallel with the changes in the administrative structure in urban planning, the land use decisions led the city to expand on earlier agricultural lands according to these laws. Considering this milestone, the end point of the analysis has been defined as the 1980s.

The geographical frame of the dissertation mainly comprises the city center of Antalya but also considers the significant developments that took place in its hinterlands, which also played roles in the formation of its urban life. Since this study is an attempt to analyze the city during the twentieth century in the unified context of its physical, historical and cultural layers, in order to raise a versatile discussion, relational networks rather than physical connections

³ For a general description of the effects of modernization in relation to the natural environmental contexts, see, for example: Duanfang Lu, *Third World Modernism, Architecture, Development and Identity*. (Oxon: Routledge, 2010); Panayiota Pyla, *Landscapes of Development: The Impact of Modernization Discourses on the Physical Environment of the Eastern Mediterranean*. (Harvard Graduate School of Design, 2013).

⁴ The historiography of modern architecture in Turkey generally accepts the proclamation of the Republic (1923) as the starting point of the modernization process, while 1980 is usually defined as another milestone when neo-liberal policies led to a spectacular transformation in the country. See, for example: Renata Holod, Ahmet Evin, Suha Özkan, *Modern Turkish Architecture*. (Ankara: Chamber of Architects of Turkey, 2005); Sibel Bozdoğan, Esra Akcan, *Modern Architectures in History*. (London: Reaktion Books, 2012).

gained importance; the binaries of natural-built environments and rural-urban features were seen as the major components of the modernization process of Antalya. Even though the structure of the city was formed in a transitional way from an agricultural land to an urbanized, industrialized city and a tourism center, each phase of these transformations embraced dualities such as those between agriculture and industry, agriculture and tourism, etc. These concepts of the seeming dualities are read as complementary to rather than dichotomous of each other in the study. The traces of the heterogeneous characteristic of Antalya could be followed in different eras thanks to the coexistence of varieties.

Focusing on the built environment of the twentieth century, the study aims to highlight a period of Antalya that has not been considered as a historical layer in detail yet. The defined period witnessed significant changes in political, social and economic life in Turkey. The newly formed Republican regime, the transition to the multi-party system, industrialization, military coups, privatization, and tourism policies were the major points of a continuously transforming era.⁵ The transformations were concretized by architectural and urban products, which were always in relation to these contextual determinants.

In a broader perspective, aiming to write the architectural history of modernization of a peripheral settlement by taking into consideration its local characteristics as well as its relations with the center, the study can be defined as a challenge to the canonical interpretation of modernism and is in line with the decentralization attempts that foster heterogeneity in architectural historiography.⁶ It is thus critical of the narratives based on the “best”

⁵ For a general history of the period, see: Mete Tapan, “International Style: Liberalism in Architecture” in *Modern Turkish Architecture*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984). pp.105-118; Atilla Yücel, “Pluralism Takes Command: The Turkish Architectural Scene Today” in *Modern Turkish Architecture*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984). pp.119-152; Afife Batur, “The Post-War Period: 1950-1960”, “Searching for the New: 1960-1980” in *A Concise History: Architecture in Turkey during the 20th Century*. (Ankara: Chamber of Architects of Turkey, 2005). pp 45-78; Sibel Bozdoğan, Esra Akcan, “Architecture of Revolution”, “Building for the Modern Nation State”, “Populist Democracy and Post-war Modernism”, “Architecture under Coups d’Etat” in *Turkey, Modern Architectures in History*. (London: Reaktion Books, 2012).

⁶ For a general framework of this critical historiographical approach, see, for example: Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu, “Between Civilization and Culture: Appropriation of Traditional Dwelling Forms in Early Republican Turkey.” *Journal of Architectural Education*, n: 47/2 (1993). p.73; Sandy Isenstadt, Kishwar Rizvi, *Modern Architecture and the Middle East*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008); Duanfang Lu, *Third World Modernism, Architecture, Development and Identity*. (Oxon:

architectural examples designed in line with the dominant approaches developed in center of world-wide or nation-wide contexts.⁷ Instead of such definitions that do not take local environments as active determinants, this study emphasizes the role of the environment as an agent in architectural and urban transformation by adopting the approach of environmental history.⁸

1.2. Methodology and Organization

As Kostof emphasizes: “The more we know about cultures, about the structure of the society in various periods of the history in different parts of the world, the better we are able to read their built environment.”⁹ Within this approach, the study is an attempt to create a holistic view about the architectural history of the city of Antalya.

The research process of this study has revealed once more that the literature about the modern architecture in Turkey has a limited scope. As Bozdoğan and Akcan indicate, modern architecture in Turkey as a whole is a topic that has not been studied in detail.¹⁰ Even though

Routledge, 2010); Sibel Bozdoğan, Esra Akcan, *Modern Architectures in History*. (London: Reaktion Books, 2012).

⁷ In the recent period, critiques towards the Euro-centric approach of the canonic historiography has increased, and efforts to develop a global history approach started to be spread. Some of the primary related sources are: Mark M. Jarzombek, Vikramaditya Prakash, Francis D.K. Ching, *A Global History of Architecture*. (New Jersey: Wiley, 2011); Richard Ingersoll, Spiro Kostof, *World Architecture: A Cross- Cultural History*. (Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁸ For a general definition of the approach of environmental history, see: John Robert McNeill, “Observations on the Nature and Culture of Environmental History”. *History and Theory*, vol.42, no.4, issue 42. (2003). pp.5-43; Johnson Donald Hughes, *What is Environmental History?*. (Cambridge: Polity, 2006); Stephen Mosley, *The Environment in World History*. (Oxon: Routledge, 2010). For the relation between environmental and architectural history, see: Vandana Baweja, “Sustainability and the Architectural History Survey.” *Enquiry* 11(1) (2014). pp.40-51; Daniel A. Barber et al., “Architecture, Environment, History: Questions and Consequences”. *Architectural Theory Review*, 22:2 (2018). pp.249- 286.

⁹ Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped, Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History*. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991). p.10.

¹⁰ Bozdoğan and Akcan, 2012, p.12.

the existing literature mainly focuses on the urban centers such as Ankara and İstanbul, and only a few other cases in different cities, it still provides a general overview as a starting point for this study.

On the other hand, the studies on architectural and urban history of Antalya mainly focus on the ancient times or the Seljuk period of the city.¹¹ Another source for the studies about Antalya is the recollection of memories of its citizens, which are still limited in number.¹² The studies on the twentieth century of Antalya started to increase in the last years. However, the completed thesis works¹³ as well as some individual studies¹⁴ focus on specific buildings or areas. In relation with architectural environment, rural cultural landscapes, the use of environmental elements (especially sea water and coastal bands) and sustainability in historical and natural environments have also been the subjects of researches.¹⁵ Lastly, many current researches on Antalya are based on the impacts of tourism on the transformation of the

¹¹ Leyla Yılmaz, *Antalya (16. Yüzyılın Sonuna Kadar)*. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2002); Cemil Cahit Sönmez, *Antalya Kenti Kalesi'nin Tarihi: Burçlar, Kapılar ve Sur Duvarları*. (Antalya: Mimarlar Odası Antalya Şubesi, 2008) and Scott Redford, Gary Leiser, *Victory Inscribed: The Seljuk Fetihname on the Citadel Walls of Antalya*. (AKMED: İstanbul, 2008) are the major publications in this case.

¹² The most known publication and collection is *Bir Zamanlar Antalya, Tarih, Gözlem ve Anılar* (2007), which was written by Hüseyin Çimrin, who is from Antalya and worked as a tourist guide for years.

¹³ See, for example, *Model Villages and Village Studies in Turkey between 1850-1950* by H.T. Örmecioğlu (2003), *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Endüstri Yapılarının Kültürel Miras Bağlamında İncelenmesi: Antalya Örneği* by Ö. Eriz (2016) and *Evaluations on the Transformation of Industrial Structures "Antalya Cotton Weaving Factory"* by C. Akış (2018).

¹⁴ See, for example, the posters presented about the buildings in Antalya at DOCOMOMO National Meetings, such as those on Cotton Weaving Factory by S. Ceyhan (2010), Hacı Dudu-Mehmet Gebizli Mosque by H. T. Örmecioğlu (2014), etc.

¹⁵ For example, see *Antalya Kaleiçi Yerleşiminin Doğal, Kültürel ve Tarihi Miras Olarak İncelenmesi ve Alanın Turizm Açısından Sürdürülebilir Kullanımı* by H. Kocaboyun (2009), *Antalya Su Havzasındaki Yerleşmelerde Su, İnsan, Mekan İlişkileri ve Su Yapıları* by S. Doğu (2009) and *Yöresel Mimari ve Kültürel Peyzaj Analizi: Antalya Elmalı Örneği* by H. M. Danacı (2012).

city or focus on conservation of traditional buildings and environments although these provide limited information about the wider context of the built environment of the city.¹⁶

Because of the limitations of the existing literature, the analysis of the primary sources gains importance in this dissertation. As a multi-layered settlement, Antalya has a great historical background. The history of the settlement starts with the Roman period; during the Seljuk period, the development of the city reached at its peak; in the Ottoman period, the layout of the city was formed of mainly houses which were built out of the walled-city; and during the Republican period, especially after the tourism boom in the 1980s, the city has gained its existing form. While the historical layers from the Roman to the Ottoman periods have been protected to an extent, the architectural products of the following Republican times have not been considered as a part of the urban memory. Consequently, many buildings of this era had been demolished or altered before they could even be documented. Therefore, the large part of the most powerful primary sources of the research, i.e. the existing architectural products, is only partly accessible. In the dissertation, the buildings that carry the features of the period and the ones which had significant roles in the modernization of the city and in the urban memory have been documented and analyzed to understand the formation and transformation of the city within its architectural context. (Appendix-A)

Besides the architectural entities, another important group of primary sources is formed by cartographic documents and visual sources such as maps, plans, drawings or old photographs. (Figure 1.2) Unfortunately, the major part of the cartographic documents that would help the analysis of the spatial development of the city could not be accessed. Due to the lack of an archiving culture, the master plans of the 1950s and the information about their planners could not be found at the governmental archives. Thus, the plans that were referred to in some academic researches and written explanations in various literature formed the main sources for the present analysis.

¹⁶ For example, see *Turizmin Tarihsel Dokulara Etkileri: Antalya Örneği* by B.Yazar (2010); *Türkiyede Turizm Mimarisi Olgusunun, Yerden Bağımsızlık, Kimliksizlik ve Yeniden İşlevlendirme Kavramları Açısından İrdelenmesi: Akdeniz Bölgesi, Antalya Örneği* by G.Küçüktaşdemir (2013); *Conservation History of Cultural Heritage in Kaleiçi District in Antalya (from the 20th Century to Present Day)* by G. Çelik Başok (2016).

The archives of municipalities are the main locations for searching the architectural plans of the buildings of the period. By visiting these archives, architectural projects and written documents about the projects have tried to be found. Visual sources as old photographs and postcards, which are very valuable to discover the architectural environment of the period, could also be found in municipality archives. However, many of them are individual photos and the major part of the old photos that are open to public use is related to the old Kaleiçi settlement. Still, the ones that are accessible are used in the analysis of the twentieth century architecture of Antalya.

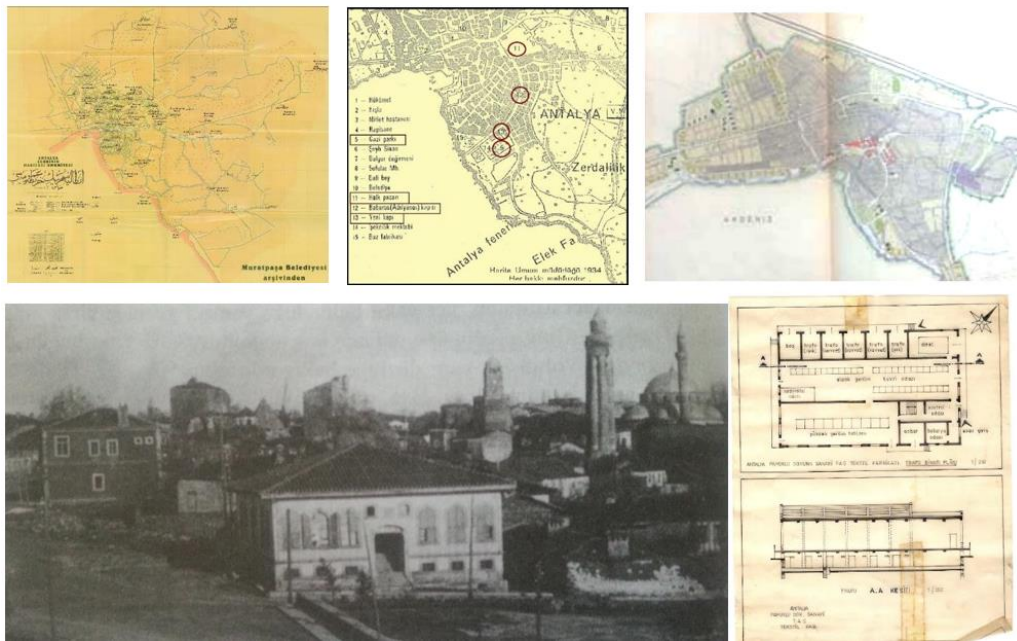


Figure 1.2. Cartographic documents about Antalya as examples of visual sources for the study (maps, plans, drawings or old photographs)

As written sources, the documents at the governmental archives, memoirs of citizens and most importantly of architects, contemporary publications about the era, the region and the city, and local newspapers and popular magazines have been used to comprehend the urban life of the era. (Figure 1.3) Different stories about the same events and academic researches about the history of the city provided double-check for a better understanding the reality.

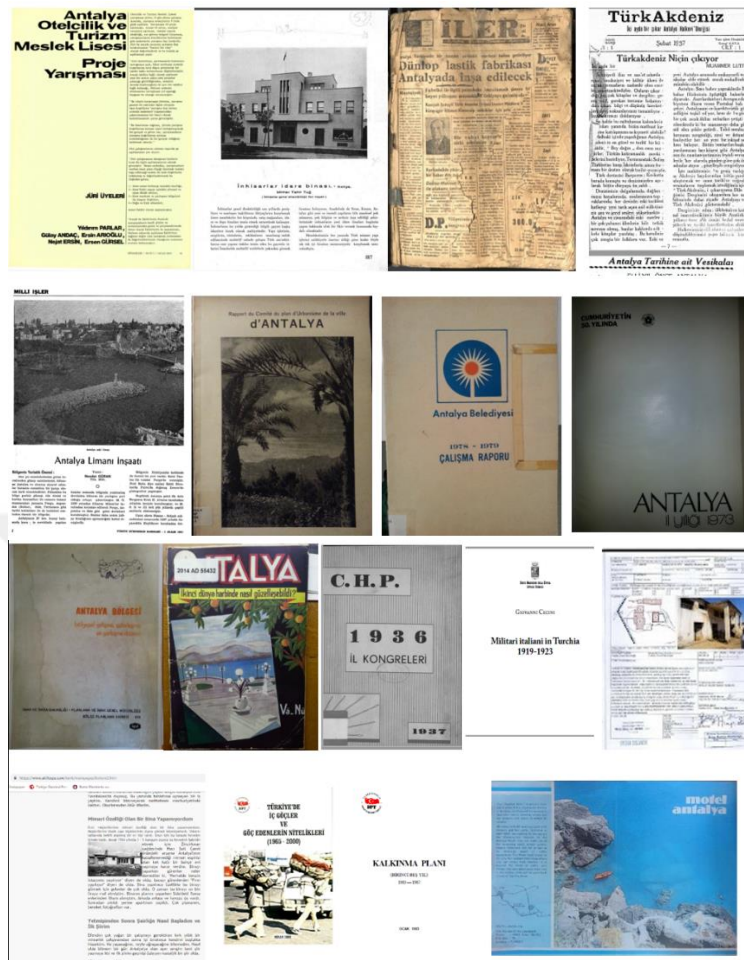


Figure 1.3. Contemporary publications, memoirs, local newspapers and publications about Antalya as examples of written sources for the study (*Arkitekt, Mimarlık, İleri, Türk Akdeniz Journal of Peoples' Houses, Türkiye Mühendislik Haberleri, İl Yıllıkları, Çalışma Raporları, Va-Nu, Development Plans, posters, brochures, postcards, Cultural Heritage Conservation Board registration files*)

Nevertheless, the common careless approach to the documents that could throw light on the urban history of Antalya and the conditions of the archives pose a challenge for historical studies especially about the twentieth century of the city. Güçlü reports that the Head of the Finance Office of Teke Lieutenant Governor, Hamdi (Abdulhamid) Bey, took the governmental documents of the 1889-1918 period to a village in Korkuteli in 1919 and these

documents can not be found afterwards.¹⁷ In addition to this, a major part of the governmental documents had been destroyed in Tophane storehouses and then were thrown to the stream (*Kadın Deresi*) with the aim to drain swamp by the municipality in 1930. While many of the official documents were lost in these ways, the remaining approximately 100 court records (*Şer'iyе Sicilleri*) were first kept in Antalya Museum after 1941 and then partly moved to the National Library in 1990 by the decision of the Ministry of Culture.¹⁸ Therefore, tracing the history of the city is harder due to the lack of an important part of the documents.

Besides the visual and written primary sources, the interviews conducted with architects and citizens who experienced the period (primarily contractors, engineers and directors of non-governmental organizations) gave another perspective to the research. Because many architects did not archive their projects, interviews became as significant as the written and visual documents.

Ultimately, existing architectural and urban entities, researches and publications on architecture of the era, and also on the features of the city itself, in local newspapers, journals and advertisements of the period, cartographic documents, photo archives, official documents of the institutions and interviews are the main sources for the study. The archives, public offices and architectural offices where any clue about the architectural and urban development of Antalya in the twentieth century could be found were the places to visit for the research.

Within this perspective, a secondary outcome of the study is supposed to provide a base for further academic research about the recent history of Antalya by bringing the available archival data together and also pointing at the lack of archiving processes in the peripheral cities.

Aiming to evaluate in such a frame the process of the formation of a modern city at the periphery in the case of Antalya, the dissertation is structured in four chapters and

¹⁷ Muhammet Güçlü, *XX Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Antalya*. (Antalya: ATSO Kültür Yayınları, 1997). Güçlü gives the information depending on the 29.03.2003 dated interview with Hamdi Bey's son, Tarık Akıltopu, who is the first architect of Antalya.

¹⁸ Güçlü, 1997, p.15.

complementary appendices parts. The first chapter as the introduction provides a general overview of the subject, scope, methodology and the structure of the research.

The second chapter, titled “Local Modernization”, presents the frame of analysis of the modernization process in Antalya. Here, the attempt is to provide a critical view of the center-periphery, central-local and modern-local dichotomies that seem to hinder the evaluation of the modernization of Antalya as the transformation of its local identity as a city in the periphery of Turkey, which is itself considered as a peripheral country. This requires, firstly, the discussion of the networks of relations that define the modernization process in ‘central’ and ‘peripheral’ contexts in order to understand the process itself as producing different modernities in different places. Within this context, ‘central’ and ‘local’ actors of the process are discussed in order to understand the mutually effective roles that they took on in modernization. Finally, the relation of the ‘urban’ with the ‘rural’ is discussed in the frame of the relation of the ‘center’ and ‘hinterland’ concepts in order to understand the dynamics of the natural environment that were determinant in the formation of the built environment through modernization.

The third chapter, titled “Modernization of Antalya via Central and Local Impacts” is mainly comprised of three parts. Initially, the local identity of Antalya at the beginning of the twentieth century is explained in terms of historical and environmental facts. The rural and agricultural identity of Antalya is depicted and the impacts of its environmental conditions on its identity is underlined. In the second part, the transformation of the city during the twentieth century from a rural to an urban settlement is examined through three locations: hinterland, urban center and urban hinterland. The transformation in the hinterland is read via the rural and agricultural complexes while the elements in transformation of the urban center varies as places of administrative and public services, places of finance and trade, places of leisure and recreation and places of dwelling. On the other hand, places of production, which had been located in the city center, and then, by moving to out-of-city locations, formed the urban hinterland, is also analyzed in the chapter. In the analysis of these three locations, the main aim is to search for the relations of central and local dynamics and the ways of modernization in a natural environment. Lastly, by focusing on the late twentieth century of the city, the formation of a touristic settlement is examined via the transformation of both the center and

the hinterland. Since places of tourism were located in the city center and dispersed through the hinterland in time, the part was contextualized in such a manner. In the tourism context, natural environment is discussed within a different perspective than the previous parts. In this regard, natural environment gains a role as a modern touristic attraction and the chapter is concluded with this discussion about the changing identity of the city as a touristic center.

Shortly, the urbanization, industrialization and touristic development of a rural-agricultural settlement, i.e. its modernization, forms the main structure of the dissertation. In order to understand the changes in the urban and architectural milieu in Antalya, a peripheral-coastal city of Turkey, these themes will base the analysis as the outcomes of a chronological transformation. Even though the order of these themes defining the modernization process is set according to the chronological development, the effects of each on the modernization of Antalya is handled separately during the period of 1920s-1980s. In each sub-chapter, the dominant building types and urban projects are presented to provide an extensive view to the transformation of the built environment. While analyzing the architectural characteristics of the buildings, their impacts on the urban morphology and interaction with the natural environment form the main considerations of the study.

The last chapter is the general conclusion of the dissertation. This chapter aims to provide a critical evaluation based on the historical and theoretical background presented in the preceding chapters. By reading the modernization of a so-called peripheral city within the perspective of central-local relations and actors, and the interaction between urban and natural environments, the dissertation aims to remark the place of 'locality' and 'local modernization' in architectural historiography.

CHAPTER 2

LOCAL MODERNIZATION

Heynen defines modernity as “what gives the present the specific quality that makes it different from the past and points the way toward the future”.¹⁹ The variations of the word “modern” have been used to distinguish the present from the past since the fifth century and “modernity” symbolized the transition from the old to the new.²⁰ Besides being employed in a time-wise sense to define the phases, the term modernity also points at the scientific, rational, technological and social developments and transformations of the society.

Within the study, it is regarded that modernization, the process of socio-economic developments leading to the condition of modernity, is not a static phenomenon but is a dynamic process in which many diverse components take part. In spatio-temporal context, modernization is a process that links the past to the future by emphasizing the qualifications of the present. The analysis of the study is based on the concept of the “local” in modernization. Variations of modernist approach subject to the central and peripheral dynamics, and architectures produced in local contexts are seen as the complementary parts of modernization. In order to write the architectural history of a locality, not just the architectural entities of a period, but also the circulation of ideas and forms, cross-cultural exchanges, complex power relations and physical mediums are the subjects to examine in order to understand the relations between the center and periphery in the production of architecture. Such an integrated approach also requires to consider the networks of relations, and the influential central and local actors in the resultant formation of a modern city. In contradiction to the dominance of the central initiative in canonical historiography, embracing both central and peripheral/local

¹⁹ Hilde Heynen, *Architecture and Modernity: A Critique*. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999). p.9.

²⁰ Jürgen Habermas, *Modernity: An Unfinished Project*. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997). p.39.

actors and factors in an equal and interrelated basis could help to avoid writing architectural history through the eye of (Euro)centric theories.²¹

The attempt to incorporate the “peripheral/local” in the analysis requires, on the other hand, to have a wider perspective beyond the one brought about by “central” initiatives. The common approach towards urban settlements is to define them in political, social and economic terms and see the built form of the settlements as the “physical manifestation” of those factors, mostly centrally determined.²² Associated with political, social and economic dynamics and networks and actors as active subjects, local environmental factors (both natural and man-made) are important but often-ignored determinants in architectural historiography. The recognition of the city as an environmentally transformative organism²³ by understanding the complex and complementary relationship between geography (land, mountain, water, forest, mineral sources, etc.) and the formation of a settlement, is accepted as the primary source for the “locality” discussions. Local cultures materialize and transform into life styles thanks to the opportunities provided by natural environments.²⁴ “The mutual relationship between humankind and the rest of the nature”²⁵; and the existing built environment inherited from the antecedents create the main stage for the historiography of a modern city.

In such a frame of analysis, this chapter examines local modernization under two subtitles: Firstly, the discussion on the relation between the center and the periphery is carried on in a

²¹ Duanfang Lu, “Entangled Histories of Modern Architecture”. in *Non-West Modernist Past on Architecture&Modernities*, ed. William S.W. Lim, Jiat -Hwee Chang. (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2012). pp.59-68.

²² Andrew Ballantyne, Gillian Ince, “Rural and Urban Milieux” in *Rural and Urban: Architecture between Two Cultures*, ed. Andrew Ballantyne. (Oxon: Routledge, 2010). pp.1-27.

²³ Baweja, 2014, pp.40-51.

²⁴ İlhan Tekeli, “Türkiye Çevre Tarihçiliğine Açılırken” in *Türkiye’de Çevrenin ve Çevre Korumanın Tarihi Sempozyumu*. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2000). pp.1-14.

²⁵ McNeill, 2003, pp.5-43.

general framework and the role of central and local actors in this relation is presented by questioning the canonic approach in historiography that mainly values central productions in order to understand the modernization process in peripheral contexts. The second subject of the chapter is the relation of the center of settlements with their hinterlands, whereby the position of environmental factors affects the process of modernization, bringing the dualities of urban-rural and modern-natural into the focus in understanding the production of local architecture. Addressing these two considerations, this chapter will form the basis for the analysis of the formation of modern architecture in Antalya as a peripheral city of Turkey that is itself a center of a large hinterland.

2.1. Modernization beyond the Center-Periphery and Central-Local Dichotomies

In conventional architectural historiography, the relations between Western and non-Western countries, taken as central and peripheral respectively, as well as between central and peripheral settlements in a country, constitute a problematic area as authors generally focus on the “West”, and the central settlements in their analyses. Thus, the consequent disregard for non-Western contexts as well as peripheral settlements of a country requires rethinking also the canonical history of modern architecture that focuses on well-known architects and mainstream movements that produced the built environment of the “center” in the global as well as the country scale.

The supposed dichotomous relation between the West and the non-West was not based just on geographical differences; it was the disregarding approach towards the “other” geographies and cultures. As Sir Banister Fletcher implies in his “*Tree of Architecture*” in 1897²⁶, the cultures out of the West were seen as “non-historical” and thus non-effective in the history of architecture for a long time. Towards the end of the twentieth century, the attitude toward the East began to change and local characteristics of societies started to be considered.²⁷ Still, the

²⁶ Banister Fletcher, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method*, Fifth Edition, (London: Batsford, 1905)

²⁷ Criticizing the previous works that had concentrated on selected buildings of the West as monuments according to their size and status, Kostof considered the interdependence of the East and the West. Spiro Kostof, *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985). Rudofsky also pointed at the importance of anonymous architecture in historiography in a wider

homogenous characteristics of canonic architectural historiography present architecture as a uniform and static field independently of place. The course of the center, which is used to express the station of decision-maker mechanisms, constitutes the principal of conventional architectural historiography. On the other side, the term “periphery” is used to point at the “other”, “non-Western”, “third world” or “oriental” in larger geopolitic contexts and is seen as the means to orientate the “center”. The position of the periphery is defined within binary notions such as West/non-West, traditional/modern, local/universal, etc. that strengthen the Eurocentric perspective. It is commonly assumed that the periphery follows the center and its politics in order to reach the same level of development. The distinction between the two phenomena is not just geographical; the ideology behind the definition of the “periphery” and the “center” emphasizes the supremacy of the latter. The relationship between them depends on power and hegemony over political, cultural and economic lives. Lim argues that this dichotomous relation between the center and the periphery affected the non-West’s approach towards its own past in a negative way.²⁸

In understanding modernity, the relation of the center and the periphery cannot be defined as a mere bipolar connection; the transitional and complex structure of the links creates a dynamic relationship between them. In other words, local sources affect the whole and take an active role in the formation of modernity. Said embraces the “orient” as an integral part of the European civilization and culture due to its contrary existence.²⁹ Similarly, while the blurry

perspective in his book. Bernard Rudofsky, *Architecture Without Architects: A Short Introduction to Non-Pedigreed Architecture*. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1965). On the other hand, Giedion added an integrated dimension to the subject by focusing on the background and the cultural context of modern architecture and urban planning. Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967).

²⁸ William S.W. Lim, “Prologue, Re-Setting the Modernist Past” in *Non-West Modernist Past on Architecture&Modernities*, ed. William S.W. Lim, Jiat -Hwee Chang. (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2012). pp.1-6.

²⁹ Edward Said, *Orientalism*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1978). p.2.

boundary between localities acts as the disjunctive element, it has also a significant role in the formation of both sides.³⁰

Bozdoğan and Akcan indicate that recent critical theories have articulated the need to abandon the idea of central, singular and canonic modernism and to put the decentered and heterogeneous one instead.³¹ Even though a major transformation was seen in urban centers during the twentieth century, and for this reason literature mainly focuses on the architectural environment of the centers, changes in the peripheral settlements cannot be ignored. Therefore, such attempts as nationalist approach to architecture within the globalization process, or decentric approach against the universal and canonic modernism started to be discussed. Researches on the architectural history of out-of-center locations demonstrated the significance of comprising local histories within their own contexts rather than accepting idealized modernization stories introduced by the West.³² It is also accepted that, in order to historicize multiple modernities, diverse conditions of geographies, and plurality of cultural, social, architectural and urban products of peripheries should be considered.³³

Since the dissemination and adoption of modernism was worldwide and the outcomes of the movement has become the research subject also in other disciplines, the scholarship on non-Western modernism began to significantly develop.³⁴ The increasing interest in the Eastern

³⁰ Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu, "Beyond Lack and Excess: Other Architectures/Other Landscapes". *Journal of Architectural Education*, 54/1 (2000). pp.20-27.

³¹ Bozdoğan and Akcan, 2012), p.10.

³² Duanfang Lu, 2012, pp.62-63.

³³ Despite the increasing critical tone towards the Eurocentric historiography and the spreading inclusive approach towards non-Western architectural environments, the differentiation between the East and the West is still felt in Western architectural schools and in the orientalist manner of including non-Western architecture in historiographic analysis. Jiat -Hwee Chang, William S.W. Lim, "Introduction" in *Non-West Modernist Past on Architecture&Modernities*, ed. William S.W. Lim, Jiat -Hwee Chang. (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2012). pp.7-24; Zeynep Çelik, "Editor's Concluding Notes". *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, no.1.(2003). pp.121- 124.

³⁴ Duanfang Lu, 2012, p.60.

cultures in the second half of the twentieth century pioneered the awareness of the East in terms of identity and locality. This transformation had critical reflections in built environment and plurality gained currency in architectural field. Due to the changing economic, political and cultural situations and complex relations between the “other” and the “center”, modernity found a diffusion area in varied contexts in various geographies.

Despite the spread of ideas and habits via modernization process in order to create a “modern” society, both central and also local impacts constitute a significant part of the real picture of modern life. Thus, the contribution of local features in central decisions and applications are worth to analyze to draw a frame for a holistic approach. Embracing both the central and peripheral/local dynamics as interrelated rather than dichotomous notions provides the base for discussions about multiple modernities and heterogeneous modernisms.³⁵ In the multiplicity/heterogeneity discussions, modernization is not seen as the homogenization process that aims to create a standardized modernity. On the contrary, modernization is accepted as the medium that released the richness in the multiplicity of diverse cultures.³⁶

Even though modern architecture was adopted and localized in different geographies in a widespread manner, canonic historiography mainly focuses on the applications in Western countries. On the other hand, the non-Western countries where new nation-states were established, were the important parties of modern architectural approaches. Since the modernization project was on the agenda of newly-independent countries, new building types for new functions were designed as an expression of the process. In these geographies, modern architecture was adopted with nationalist purposes, and the International Style of modernism started to be used to represent nationalist politics.³⁷ Analyzing the adoption and interpretation of modernism in such a large scale gives another perspective to the discourse of modernity.

³⁵ Chang and Lim, 2012, p.10.

³⁶Chang and Lim, 2012, p.16.; Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt, “Multiple Modernities”. *Daedalus* 129, no.1(2000). pp.1-29.

³⁷ Duanfang Lu, 2010, p.13.

The transformation of modern architecture in compliance with nationalistic concerns, global aspirations and the problems of underdevelopment present substantial matters to be discussed in modernist contexts.³⁸ The lack of industry in so-called underdeveloped and developing countries caused problems in the realization of modern architecture in these places. On the other hand, the balance between local characteristics and the requirements of modern architecture was also problematic in such cases. The conflict between the identity aimed to be created and the existing one, and the incoherence between the concrete practice and the adopted discourse thus led to confusions. Contrary to the common acceptance that relates the abandonment of vernacular traditions and the loss of authenticity to the modernization experiences, a deeper analysis in local environments could display that the modernization process was generated in the light of local features and each locale had its unique modernization story.

In the case of Turkey, influences of Western ideas as nationalism started to be felt in the geography during the late Ottoman period with the impacts of worldwide milestones as the French Revolution. Consequently, the Ottoman Empire faced social and political transformations in the nineteenth century. Later on, after the foundation of Turkish Republic upon the ruins of the Ottoman Empire in 1923, modernization project was accelerated. Major reforms were realized in social, economic and political fields in an attempt to shift the identity of the society from a traditional and religious to a modern one.

Modernization was adopted as the ideal of the new regime by the central authority and was applied through the reforms in social structure. Turkey, after the establishment of the Republic, witnessed formations and transformations in the context of modernization. The scientific and rationalist approach of the modernist discourse was seen as a guide to realize the Republican ideals. The major tool of the modernization project of the young Republic was the reforms that resulted in definite changes countrywide.³⁹ Institutions and organizations that would serve to introduce and impose the new regime were established; and reforms directed to social and

³⁸ Duanfang Lu, 2010, p.1.

³⁹ Erik Jan Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995). p.281.

cultural life in the fields of alphabet, clothing, measurements, language, history, fine arts, etc. were realized to create a modern nation-state. Since the homogenization of the society in parallel with the modernization principles was aimed in the Republican period, centralization was chosen as the strategy to keep the country under control. In parallel, developments in education, culture and industry were prioritized and spaces for these functions were generated not just in cities but also in villages. The construction of the new capital as a model, and the spread of ideology by public institutions as Peoples' Houses⁴⁰ and Village Institutes in other cities, provided the establishment of the link between the center and peripheral settlements. These institutions also served as the agents to connect city centers and their hinterlands. Even though social and cultural milieu in cities and villages were quite different, the reformist ideology attempted to reach to all corners of the country.⁴¹

Within this context, forms and symbols became the primary consideration to accomplish the modernization project and so architecture and urbanism were seen as the active means for the production and formation of the modern identity of the country. As such, another outcome of the process of the major transformation from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish nation-state was the reorganization of urban spaces and of the population simultaneously. Heterogeneous characteristic of many cities where trade relations created a cosmopolitan identity, such as İzmir, dramatically changed due to the forced exchange agreements.⁴² The homogenization of

⁴⁰ Education was one of the privileged fields to develop in the Republican period. Peoples' Houses were seen as the tools to educate the society extensively from a cultural and social perspective. The programs of Peoples' Houses included various fields from language, history, literature to social aid. See: Neşe Gurallar, *İdeoloji Mimarlık İlişkisi ve Türkiye'de Halkevi Binaları: 1932-1946*. Master's Thesis, (Ankara: Gazi University, 1997). p.74. The branches included drama, art, sports, library and publication, museum and exhibition, village life, public courses. See: Yusuf Bahri Kapusuzoğlu, *Antalya Halkevi ve Faaliyetleri (1932-1951)*. Master's Thesis in History. (Ankara: Gazi University, 2013). p.1.

⁴¹ Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*. (London: Routledge, 1993). p.82.

⁴² Biray Kırılı, *From Ottoman Empire to Turkish Nation-State: Reconfiguring Spaces and Geo-Bodies*. PhD Thesis. (New York: Binghamton University, 2002). İzmir was an important trade center in the sixteenth century thanks to its geopolitical position on the silk route; in the eighteenth. century the city became the most important port of the Empire, which connected its territory to the Western countries. The economic power of the city led the city to have a heterogeneous population. In the nineteenth century the population consisted of many European societies (Italian, French, English, etc) together with the Turkish citizens. Kırılı focuses on İzmir in the transformation process of the regime. She argues that the cosmopolitan structure of the city was demolished with the great fire in 1922 and Turkish-Greek Exchange agreement in 1923.

population was followed by the uniformed spatial reconfiguration of cities according to central policies. Chang and Lim argues that a monotonous formal organization had to be adopted in the contexts where social modernity conditions had not been matured yet.⁴³ On the contrary, modern architecture itself was seen as the instrument to introduce modernism to the society in a widespread manner.⁴⁴

In the early Republican period, the new capital city Ankara was defined as the center of the modernization process. The capital experienced the very first applications of modernization in various fields including architecture and urban life. The new social life and collaterally the changing built environment served as models for other cities. The subjects of this transmission were the actors who played the main role in modernization such as public institutions, municipalities, urban planners and architects. Central policies and decisions on country-wide scale, and urban plans and architectural projects designed by central mechanisms had a great impact on the local environments. However, the comprehensiveness of the central policies, which did not consider the diversity of regions, could be questioned by considering the heterogeneous characteristics of the society. The potentials and understandings of each region determined the way of modernization on an individual basis. Ballantyne and Ince's H₂O metaphor to discuss the ways of urbanism emphasizes the intensification of resources in changing conditions in terms of time, place, opportunities, actions and legal systems.⁴⁵ A similar approach is possible for reading modernization in different locales. The intensity of dynamics and the way of their aggregation defined the modernization practice idiosyncratically. In short, even though modernization policy prescribed identical transformations, the manner of implementations was specialized under local characteristics. Perceptions of local people, reactions of local actors and the level of adoption determined the ways of modernization of local environments. Through the cooperation of local and central

⁴³ Chang and Lim, 2012, p.18.

⁴⁴ Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sinde Mimari Kültür*. (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2012). pp.19-20.

⁴⁵ Ballantyne and Ince argue that the nomadic spirit would be the particle of water vapour, in which there was more space between the water molecules, while the monumental heart of the city would be the ice where the molecules were closely packed. Ballantyne and Ince, 2010, p.15.

actors, peripheries got into contact with the mainstream ideology and codes of practice. On the other hand, the level of the coherence between modernist approaches and local characteristics of peripheral settlements affected the performance in these places.

There were important actors who worked actively for the realization of the nationalist and modernist ideals. Firstly, the patronage of the state and its choices determined the architecture of cities all around the country. The state had a two dimensional role at the beginning of the period. Besides being the decision-maker, the state was the implementer of projects at the same time. The number of private architectural offices was limited, therefore the state produced projects and realized them through public institutions.

The Ministry of Foundations (*Evkaf Nezareti*) had an important role on the formation of the physical environment in the modern Turkey. During the early Republican period, master plans and governmental buildings in various cities were realized by *Evkaf*. Directorate of Foundations had a great contribution also on the conservation of cultural heritage.

Municipalities were the other influential actors in the formation of the built environment during the period. The Municipal Corporations (*Belediyeler*) and Public Health (*Umumi Hıfzıssıhha*) Laws were accepted in 1930 as the starting point for the urban planning works. The main aim was to set healthy and civilized cities following the considerations of the Republic regime.⁴⁶

In the 1930-1940 period, typological projects with symmetrical orders and monumental elements as high colonnades for government offices, post-offices and municipality buildings were constructed in various cities.⁴⁷ Typologies for People's Houses in accordance with the scale of the settlements were also developed by the Ministry of Public Works. In the period

⁴⁶ İnci Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı 1923-1938*. (İstanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2010). p.41.

⁴⁷ Sayar criticizes the typological projects that were prepared by the Ministry of Public Works by emphasizing the importance of local characteristics and site analyses. Zeki Sayar, "Devlet İnşaatında Tip-Plan Usulünün Mahzurları" *Arkitekt* n.9.(1936). pp.259- 260.

between 1933 and 1938, 4 governor's residences, 3 sports centers, 16 hospitals, 14 government offices and 5 People's Houses were built by the ministry.⁴⁸ In parallel with the importance given to education, many primary, secondary and high school buildings, art schools, girls' and boys' vocational high schools, colleges of business and commerce and colleges of agriculture were established in many cities.

Urban landscape was considered as one of the major means to create modernized urban images by the state. In an attempt to enrich the social life of the society via public spaces, parks and recreational areas were designed in various cities. İzmir Culture Park, Antalya Karaalioğlu Park, Adana Atatürk Park, Gaziantep Çınarlı Park, Ankara Gençlik Park and many others were designed as the scenes for national celebrations and public activities by which reformist approach of the Republic could be felt deeply.

In parallel with the political approach of the era, transportation and communication buildings such as train stations, and post offices were built in the cities and formed the core of the new urban settlements.

While the state and connected public institutions were the dominant power of the early Republican period, the private sector also started to be strengthened gradually after the 1930s in Turkey. The active mechanisms in the transmission of approaches and trends between main urban centers and peripheral cities were the actors as mayors who were assigned from the center, institutions that impose the central ideology to the society as People's Houses, Village Institutes, etc. and planning works in various scales. Apart from central actors, there were also significant local actors who were active in the formation and transformation during the modernization phase.

In the first place, architects had the leading role in the social and physical structures of the societies. Tanyeli defines the officer architect as the oldest actor of architecture in Turkey.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Anon. "Cumhuriyetin 15. Yıl Dönümünde Türkiye Bayındırlığı". *Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi*. (1938) p.438. Quoted in Aslanoğlu,2010.

⁴⁹ Uğur Tanyeli, *Mimarlığın Aktörleri Türkiye 1900-2000*. (İstanbul: Garanti Galeri, 2007). p.51.

Many buildings especially public ones were designed by officer-architects in the early Republican period. Since the bureaucratic positions of architects had to be more dominant than their professional identities when employed by the state, the large part of the buildings produced by the architects working in state offices was recorded as anonymous products during the early Republican period.⁵⁰ The most well-known architects, who designed several buildings in various cities while working as officer architects, were Kemaleddin Bey, Muzaffer Bey, Burhan Arif Ongun, Sedat Çetintaş and Şekip Akalın in the first era of the Republican Turkey. Nevertheless, the design process of many projects was carried out in İstanbul or Ankara where public institutions were located. As differentiating examples, Muzaffer Bey was asked to work as the chief architect of Konya. With his public building designs and constructions in Konya, he increased the quality of constructions and workers of the city.⁵¹ Also, in İzmir, Tahsin Sermet, Necmeddin Emre and Ahmet Kemal were the important actors of the era in the context of the formation of the built environment. Even though the literature about the Republican architecture of Turkey does not indicate any specific architect about Antalya, the common architectural approaches can be traced in the buildings constructed in Antalya during the period.

In the 1930s, foreign architects, who played important roles in the architecture of the country, started to take place in the architectural environment in Turkey. With the Law for the Encouragement of Industry (*Teşvik-i Sanayi Yasası*), foreign architects found opportunity to work in Turkey especially in the education field. Therefore, they had significant impacts on the understandings of next generations and so on the changing vision of the country. While working as academicians in İstanbul, they were also designing projects for Ankara and some other cities. Many other foreign architects and urban planners were invited to Turkey for specific projects and master plans. İzmir, Mersin, Adana, Gaziantep, İzmit, Erzurum, İstanbul, Bursa master plans and buildings with different functions as stadiums, hospitals, etc. in various cities were designed by foreigners. Even though there is no information about a building

⁵⁰ Bilge İmamoğlu, *Architectural Production in State Offices: An Inquiry into the Professionalization of Architecture in Early Republican Turkey*. Phd Thesis, (Delft: TU Delft, 2010). p.173.

⁵¹ Metin Sözen, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı (1923- 1983)*. (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1984). p. 39.

designed by a foreign architect in this period, in the master plan competition in 1955, there were remarkable names as Paul Bonatz and Luigi Piccinato who worked as jury members.

Working in an environment in which officer architects or foreign architects/academicians had the priority was difficult in urban centers. Diversely, due to the local and unique dynamics in peripheral cities as Antalya, the problems were quite different. Antalya met its first architect Tarık Akıltopu who had graduated in 1949 from *Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*, the only school of architecture at the time. Gurallar points that modernist architects defined themselves as the guide for the society, as the missionary and intellectual who would change the world.⁵² Akıltopu had this task initially; however, he emphasizes that, even in the year 1949, it was very difficult to introduce architecture as a profession to the citizens in Antalya. The society whose life style was based on agriculture was not aware of the architectural environment of the country.⁵³

The establishment of the network among different locations and the flow of ideas among architects became easier at the end of the 1920s with two significant actions: the enactment of the Law of Architecture and Engineering (1927) and the establishment of the Turkish Architects Society (*Türk Yüksek Mimarlar Birliği*) (1927). However, many cities including Antalya met professional organizations quite late in comparison to the central cities. Although the Chamber of Architects was founded in 1954, its first office in Antalya was established only in 1964 and the Chamber of Civil Engineers started to work in Antalya after 1966.

Still, the affect of the organizational movement in the center was felt in smaller cities. The major tool to transfer knowledge and experience between different locales was the periodical publications, by which a medium was created to discuss and communicate architectural developments. The mission of the first professional periodical *Mimar*, which started to be published in 1931 and was renamed as *Arkitekt* in 1935, was being the voice of Turkish architects in their professional struggle and to present their qualification in terms of modern

⁵² Gurallar, 1997, p.36.

⁵³ For the memories of Tarık Akıltopu: <https://www.akiltopu.com/tarik/mainpages/benkimim.html>.

architecture.⁵⁴ While *Mimar* was the advocator of the modernist understanding, other two following journals of the period, *Yapı* (1941-1943) and *Mimarlık* (1944-1953) had a nationalistic approach with the impact of the Second World War conditions.⁵⁵ On the other side, journals such as *Eser* (1943), *Mimarlık ve Sanat* (1961-1964), *Mimarlık* (from 1963 onwards), *Yapı* (from 1973 onwards), *Çevre* (1979), and *Dizayn Konstrüksiyon* (1985) all contributed to the architectural environment by considering various fields like fine arts, building materials, new technologies, competitions, etc.⁵⁶ These publications, particularly *Mimarlık* as the journal of the Chamber of Architects, in which multiple subjects were included, eased communication between architects who were commissioned in peripheral cities and their colleagues in urban centers.

Especially after the 1930s, architectural competitions gained importance in the architectural milieu of Turkey. Public buildings, master plans and monuments were the main subjects of the competitions in the period. With the efforts of municipalities or local institutions, many buildings with various functions were designed in peripheral cities through competitions. The projects of Elazığ Municipality Cinema Hall (1931), Peoples' House in Zonguldak (1933), Thermal Hotel in Yalova (1934), Samsun Central Bank (1939), Adana City Hotel (1944), Antalya Master Plan (1955) were some of the examples designed by architectural competitions.⁵⁷

On the subject of local modernization, local associations played important roles as much as central, administrative and/or individual actors. Chambers of Commerce and Industry, which

⁵⁴ Bozdoğan, 2012, p.178.

⁵⁵ Mehmet Şener, *Reviewing The Periodical Yapı (1941-1943): A Study on Architectural Practice and Ideology in Turkey During the Second World War*. Master's Thesis. (Ankara: Middle East Technical University, 2006). p. 35.

⁵⁶ Sabiha Göloğlu, *Analyzing the Mimarlık Journal: A Study on Architecture in Turkey in the 1980s*. Master's Thesis. (Ankara: Middle East Technical University, 2011). pp.80-86.

⁵⁷ Anon. *Yarışmalar Dizini 1930- 2004*. (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, 2004); Beril Yaramış, *1930-2000 Yılları Arasında Türkiye'de Gerçekleştirilen Mimari Tasarım Yarışmalarının Belgelemesi ve Genel Bir Değerlendirme*. Master's Thesis. (İstanbul: İstanbul Technical University, 2000).

were established in an attempt to revive and organize the commercial life of cities in the second half of the nineteenth century associations established with different objectives such as embellishment and modernization of cities or conservation of cultural heritage were active mechanisms that transformed local sources into modernization dynamics.⁵⁸ Even though the associations did not have a direct link with the built environment, they had pioneering roles in the creation of the economic and social background for the development of the city.

As explained above, modernization in a peripheral city such as Antalya adhered strictly to the local dynamics. On the other hand, the way to discuss this modernization story has usually been defined and formed by central mechanisms and centric perspectives in conventional architectural historiography. The thesis aims neither to vigorously advocate a local historiography nor to disregard it. The main purpose is to reveal the network and flux between several localities and to see a “peripheral” city in the light of both central and local lenses.

Modernization is interpreted through the processes of urbanization, industrialization and planned development in this study.⁵⁹ In the architectural milieu of Turkey, the dichotomy of traditional and modern dominated the discussions during the twentieth century. The importation of modernist ideas and discourses was criticized as creating a rupture from traditions with the argument that the process lacked in blending the modern with local traditional identities. Together with the modernist architects who argued that the rational language of modern architecture is the only way to create a modern nation, a critical voice that supported the reevaluation of national and traditional values constituted the two main approaches in Turkey. Architectural production in the country was led by a wide range of architectural movements, from cubic modernism to first and second national style and then international style and regionalist approach in a century. Formalistic characteristics of

⁵⁸ *Antalya'yı Güzelleştirme İmar ve Tanıtma Cemiyeti* (The Association of Public Works, Publicity and Embellishment of Antalya) and *Antalya ve İlçelerinde Hayır İşleri Yapma ve Yaşatma Kurumu* (The Institution for Charities in Antalya and Its Districts) could be given as examples.

⁵⁹ In Heynen's words, modernization is “the term that is used to describe the process of social development, the main features of which are technological advances and industrialization, urbanization and population explosions, the rise of bureaucracy and increasingly powerful national states, an enormous expansion of mass communication systems, democratization, and an expanding (capitalist) world market.” Heynen, 2001, p.10.

applications were felt too dominant, the main theme of the concept was missed and modernity started to be used as a stylistic template to form the society. Undoubtedly this approach made itself evident in the formation of built environment at most.

The case of the production of modern architecture in Turkey, which is taken as a peripheral country of modernization in conventional approaches, contains many exchanges, encounters and transitions within itself. Foreign architects who were commissioned to build the new identity of Turkey, the spread of international movements via developing technology, the increasing number of architecture schools and so of Turkish architects as professionals indicate the complex structure of the architectural environment. Starting with the patronage of the state, public institutions, Turkish and foreign architects, architectural education policies and academicians, professional organizations, academic and popular publications on architectural subjects and architectural competitions were the major actors of the era that formed the architecture of Turkey. The architects and other actors in the peripheral settlements of Turkey, on the other hand, cannot be seen just as practitioners of imported ideas and elements of modern architecture; they are the ones who transform their localities into the terms of modern architecture by interpreting local and modern identities in relation to each other. Harris argues that both to accept and also to develop ideas, imagination and intelligence of the region is required.⁶⁰ In architectural historiography, neither underestimation nor overestimation of architects' role is to be adopted to reach an objective analysis. As Bozdoğan suggests, complex association of "architect's own agenda" and "larger contexts" as the scene for architectural profession needs to be considered.⁶¹ Thus, everyday architecture, spontaneous and anonymous products, non-state actors and private industry gain importance to comprehend the positions of the actors and to understand the production of modern architecture in Turkey in detail.

⁶⁰ Harwell Hamilton Harris, "Regionalism and Nationalism" in *A Collection of His Writings and Buildings*. (Student Publication of the School of Design North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh, vol. 14, no 5, 1965). pp.25-33; Kenneth Frampton, "Critical Regionalism: Modern Architecture and Cultural Identity" in *Modern Architecture A Critical History*. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985). p.320.

⁶¹ Sibel Bozdoğan, "Architectural History in Professional Education: Reflections on Postcolonial Challenges to the Modern Survey". *Journal of Architectural Education*, vol.52, no.4.(1999) pp.207-215.

2.2. The Local: Urban-Rural/Modern-Natural Contexts and Center-Hinterland Relations

Architecture is the medium that reflects the cultural structure of a society on a specific environment. While materializing social practices, the opportunity and capability of localities define the borders of architectural practices both in the urban and also in the rural contexts. There is an increasing interest in architectural historiography that considers environmental relations in historical and theoretical contexts. Since this approach leads to the extension of architectural history field, it is not possible to maintain the canonic approach that focuses on major architectural products. The broad perspective that relates social, cultural and technical aspects to the environmental (i.e. climatic, geographic, topographic) ones requires to adopt a pluralistic approach.⁶²

The active mechanisms of modernization might have similarities in different locations; nonetheless, unique characteristics of localities, as related to both natural and built environments, would create different results. While discussing the historiography of the non-Western modernism, widening the framework and considering the knowledge developed in related disciplines such as environmental history and metageography⁶³ could ease to define modernization in local conditions. Additionally, non-Western regions are seen as potential localities to develop and enrich environmental history discussions.⁶⁴ The main aim is not to add “new” parts to the canon, but is to gain a comprehensive point of view by referring to

⁶² Daniel A.Barber et al., “Architecture, Environment, History: Questions and Consequences” *Architectural Theory Review*, 22:2 (2018). pp.249-286.

⁶³ Environmental history emerged as a field of study after the 1960s. McNeill classifies environmental history in three categories: Material, cultural/ intellectual and political. See: McNeill, 2003, pp.5-43. Lewis defines the concept of metageography as “the set of spatial structures through which people order their knowledge of the world.” Martin W. Lewis, Karen Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997)

⁶⁴ John Robert McNeill, “Future Research Needs in Environmental History: Regions, Eras, and Themes”. *RCC Perspectives*, No.3, *The Future of Environmental History: Needs and Opportunities*,(2011). pp.13-15.

environmental conditions.⁶⁵ As Cronon defends the unified narrative of city and country⁶⁶, discussing diverse geographies together and analyzing the interactions between locations throughout networks is possible if environmental context is deeply considered.

The potentials of environments have impacts on architectural formations in two ways: by leading life styles of inhabitants and so creating architectural demands for related functions, and also by instructing about the convenient building materials and techniques. Besides its internal dynamics as historical background, population structure, multi-cultural and multi-national characteristics, environmental influences have also a significant role in the definition of the architectural culture of Turkey. From the reverse perspective, the great impact of architecture on nature is also a subject worthy to discuss. Since any intervention results in change in nature, architectural development cannot be analyzed without considering this bi-directional relation. The will to dominate the nature by the humankind led to the development in the systems such as irrigation, power generation and flood control mechanisms since the ancient period. Water channels, dams and industrial landscapes took the place of nature in the sublimity definition after the nineteenth century.⁶⁷ In other words, the level of the domestication of nature increased in time. Within the scope of the dissertation, Antalya, which was one of the active actors as a port city in the Mediterranean in the preceding periods, is supposed to be contextualized in this environmental perspective to give an integrated frame to the study.

Due to its strategic location, Antalya witnessed interactions and exchanges that have transformed the daily habits of local people throughout history. The changes in daily life had great impacts on the environments, while the environment was the main determinant to shape the lives on it. The varied characteristics of the Mediterranean lands, which banded the Atlantic

⁶⁵ Sophie Hochhausl, et al. "Architecture and the Environment". *Architectural Histories*, 6(1):20 (2018). pp.1-13.

⁶⁶ William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis, Chicago and the Great West*. (New York: W.W.Norton& Company, 1991). p.14.

⁶⁷ Sibel Bozdoğan, Aslıhan Demirtaş, *Book of Dams*. (İstanbul: SALT Galata, 2012). pp.2-4.

Ocean and Sahra Desert together, is felt in the multiplicity of daily practices and consequently of the built environments. One side of the Mediterranean is identified with sea traders while the caravans are the representative images of the movement on the other side.⁶⁸

Positioning the Mediterranean Sea as the center, the Mediterranean defines the meeting point of three continents (Europe, Asia and Africa) from a geographical perspective. The sea, which is a significant component of the Mediterranean lands, is a great source for nutrition but also for agricultural facilities. Furthermore, it is an absolute medium for movement and transportation.⁶⁹ Trade relations of the countries that surround the Mediterranean Sea have been the most determining in its history.⁷⁰ (Figure 2.1) Keyder reads the port cities as the transition points where agricultural lands encounter the worldwide economic network. Ports act as the entrance and exit between overseas and inlands.⁷¹ In trade networks, if seashore settlements are the nodes, the sea creates the links between those nodes. Therefore, the sea acts as the common platform for exchange practices.

⁶⁸ See Fernand Braudel, (2015) for the multiple characteristics in the Mediterranean lands. Fernand Braudel, *Akdeniz Tarih, Mekan, İnsanlar ve Miras*. (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2015)

⁶⁹ While the rivers in Mesopotamia (Tigris, Euphrates and Nile) had been the major transportation links, the sea started to be used as a transportation system by Egyptian seamen who were used to go to Byblos along the sea shore in the 2nd millennium BC. It is said that the Cretans were the first who sailed to the offshore. In the sixteenth century, open sea travels became more common due to the increasing trade facilities with the East and the new link that was provided by the Gibraltar (*Cebelitarık Boğazı*). Developments in the shipbuilding industry eased the long-distance sea travels in the same period. Fernand Braudel, “Deniz” in *Fernand Braudel Yönetiminde Akdeniz Tarih, Mekan, İnsanlar ve Miras*. (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2015). pp.40-56.

⁷⁰ Kolluoğlu and Toksöz argue that trading the cities of the southern and eastern Mediterranean had a central place in the geopolitical, commercial and cultural relations on a global scale since the sixteenth century. Biray Kolluoğlu, Meltem Toksöz, *Osmanlılardan Günümüze Doğu Akdeniz Kentleri*. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2015).

⁷¹ Çağlar Keyder, “Belle Epoque ve Liman Kentleri” in *Osmanlılardan Günümüze Doğu Akdeniz Kentleri*, ed. Biray Kolluoğlu, Meltem Toksöz. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2015). pp. 17-28.

Braudel emphasizes the human behaviour and his perception of environment in his analysis of the Mediterranean.⁷² In Lechte's view, he expands the meaning of the Mediterranean from a defined place with formal characteristics as white washed and cubic architecture, warm climate, productive land, etc. to a world that holds a great variety of human lives.⁷³ More contemporarily, Dell Upton offers the "cultural landscape" strategy to get a more inclusive architectural history that focuses on the human experience of its own landscape. He argues that "cultural landscape" that is produced by human practices is completely unique and cannot be universalized or canonized.⁷⁴

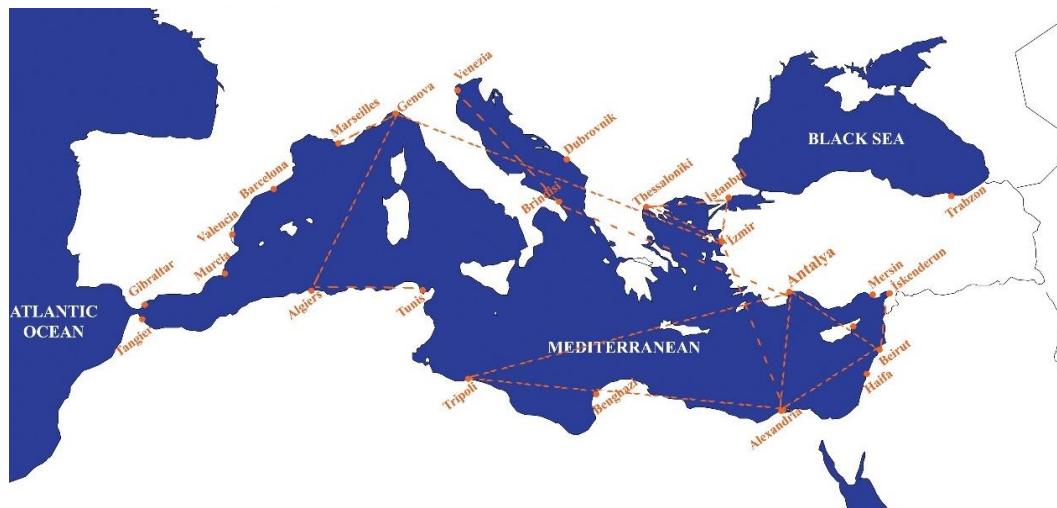


Figure 2.1. Antalya in the Mediterranean trade network of the sixteenth century. (Reproduced on the base of the world map)

⁷² Braudel, 2015.

⁷³ John Lechte, *Fifty Key Contemporary Thinkers*. (London: Routledge, 1994). p.91.

⁷⁴ Dell Upton, "Architectural History or Landscape History?" *Journal of Architectural Education*, vol.44, no.4 (1991). pp.195- 199.

In the Mediterranean lands, topographic contexts and climatic conditions have been the important aspects that affect the activities of people. Extremely hot summer period is the time to move from sea sides to highlands (*yayla*) for semi-nomadic society of the region. Mobility is a significant concept associated with the Mediterranean identity. Its geographical components, i.e. sea, mountains and plains, have led people to have moveable lives by offering varied experiences in everyday life. (Figure 2.2)

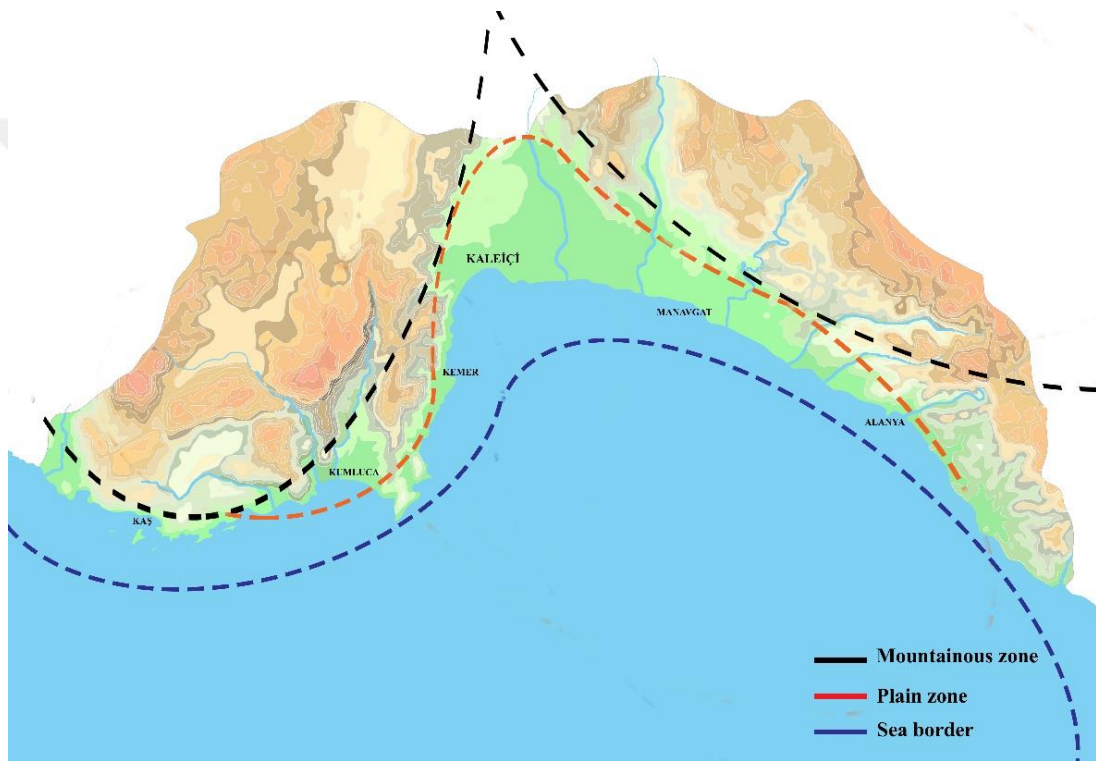


Figure 2.2. Antalya city, located on a coastal plain, is surrounded by mountains. The natural borders of the city have been the most effective determinant in the urban morphology. (The map was reproduced on the base of Antalya physical map from www.cografyaharita.com)

The comings and goings as a way of living embody the dynamic composition of the Mediterranean. Braudel defines the migration to highlands (*yayla*) as a result of a long

evolution, perhaps an early division of labor.⁷⁵ Transhumance (*yaylacılık*) has been a connective practice between the potentials of mountains and of plains that characterize the rural pattern of the settlements on both sides and the route in between.⁷⁶

Horden and Purcell, who discuss the unity and continuity of the Mediterranean basin, consider the societies as diversified communities due to their localized features in the context of trends and innovations. From this point of view, the Mediterranean is defined as the main bridge between the economic systems of countries.⁷⁷ However, the history of the Mediterranean is not irreducible just to the relations of navies and merchants. Most importantly, the movement of ideas “in the heads of passengers” reveals the real interactive structure.⁷⁸ Therefore, beyond the linear structure of relationships in the Mediterranean basin, cross networks of humans defines the real Mediterranean. In Braudel’s approach, in which he reads the history within three layers of geography (*longue durée*), social and economic structure (*moyenne durée*) and human factor (*courte durée*) respectively, different regions of the Mediterranean are connected not by the water, but by the people.⁷⁹ The exchange of things, trends, technics and ideas has led Mediterranean to gain a cosmopolitan identity. Kırılı, who discusses the nineteenth century trade cities in the context of cosmopolitanism, argues that this concept insinuates both universality and locality.⁸⁰ Within this approach, cosmopolitan cities act as mediators between

⁷⁵ Fernand Braudel, “Toprak” in *Fernand Braudel Yönetiminde Akdeniz Tarih, Mekan, İnsanlar ve Miras*. (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2015). pp.15-34.

⁷⁶ Maurice Aymard, “Göçler” in *Fernand Braudel Yönetiminde Akdeniz Tarih, Mekan, İnsanlar ve Miras*. (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2015). pp.215- 238.

⁷⁷ Peregrine Horden, Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000)

⁷⁸ David Abulafia, “What is the Mediterranean?” in *The Mediterranean in History*. ed. David Abulafia. (Los Angeles: J. P. Getty Museum, 2003). pp.1-32.

⁷⁹ Fernand Braudel, “The Mediterranean as a Human Unit” in *Mediterranean and the Mediterranean in the Age of Philip the Second*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996). pp.276-351.

⁸⁰ Kırılı, 2002.

the global and the local that provide the flow in a complex network.⁸¹ Economic power and opportunity to follow the world-wide developments reinforced the urban development in cosmopolitan port cities. In parallel to the economic facilities, increase in population and consequently variation in culture were experienced in those cities. The multiplicity in the population and in the daily urban life brought a common living sense to the cities, which led to a spontaneous modernization in local scale rather than the top down central decisions.⁸² Not just the things but also cultures become the subject of the relations and plurality in daily lives that could be traced in the spatial organizations of cities.⁸³ Buildings and places in various functions such as custom houses, trade offices, hotels as temporary accommodation units, banks, shops, post offices, theaters, gardens, coffee houses as leisure centers form the structure of settlements. Therefore, multiplicity of bilateral relation between people and place become the subject of urban readings.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, by taking part in the Western economy, trade facilities increased in the Eastern Mediterranean coasts that led to developments in port areas. Meeting with the steam engined ships and the opening of Suez Canal that enforced the link between east and west in the mid-nineteenth century resulted in the insufficiency of the capacity and spatial organization of the existing ports for the increasing trade activities. New port constructions had a great impact on the infrastructural and urban layouts in many cities, both in central ones as Alexandria, Beirut, İzmir and Thessaloniki and also in smaller cities as Trabzon and İskenderun afterwards.⁸⁴ Marseilles had a pionerring role in the technical

⁸¹ Kolluoğlu and Toksöz, 2015, p.10.

⁸² Keyder, 2015, pp. 16-18. Keyder gives İzmir, Selanik, Trabzon, Mersin, Beyrut and İskenderiye as the example for port cities in the 19th century. He excludes İstanbul by arguing that the economic structure of the city was depended on Empire budget rather than production-consumption relations.

⁸³ Fernand Braudel, “Şafak” in *Fernand Braudel Yönetiminde Akdeniz Tarih, Mekan, İnsanlar ve Miras*. (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2015). pp.55-80.

⁸⁴ Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis, “Doğu Akdeniz Kentlerinde Liman İnşaatının Kartografyası: 19. Yüzyıl Sonunda Teknik ve Kentsel Modernleşme”. In *Osmanlılardan Günümüze Doğu Akdeniz Kentleri*. ed. Biray Kolluoğlu, Meltem Toksöz. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2015). pp.95-120.

organization of the new ports. Urban morphologies were the main determinants in port typologies, both in open harbours such as İzmir, Thessaloniki and Beirut, and in close ports as İstanbul and Alexandria. The main function was kept in both typologies and the new ports were designed on the existing port areas in close relation with business and trade centers, traditional bazaars and train stations.⁸⁵ New transportation infrastructure as railways and highways were also developed associated with port constructions. Exchange opportunities fed by the developed communication ways accelerated urban modernization in the Eastern Mediterranean cities. Functional and rational organization was considered in urban developments and planning activities were started, and many eastern Mediterranean cities gained a hybrid identity including traditional and modern environments together.⁸⁶ The urban facade of İzmir was renewed with the luxury residences and hotels, embassy buildings, theaters, cafes and clubs; and custom houses built on the seaside with the new concrete technology defined the modern face of İstanbul. Similar processes and changes were lived also in the other coastal cities of the region such as Thessaloniki, Beirut, and Pire. Function-based and rational buildings were built in traditional and organic urban textures and represented the changing ideologies and roles in the world.⁸⁷ Changing economic and social characteristics of the cities led to changes in urban management mechanisms; regulations and plans were thus approved and implied that supported modernization ideology. The first municipality of the Ottoman Empire was established in İstanbul in the late nineteenth century, which acted as the model for the modernization movements in the territory of the empire. Sewerage systems, roads, and water channels were built by municipalities, and new buildings designed with modern technologies and materials changed the architectural characteristics of the cities.

Nationalist discourses that emerged after the First World War led the port cities to abandon their cosmopolitan identity and to follow the inland capitals.⁸⁸ With the nation-state

⁸⁵ Hastaoglou-Martinidis, 2015, p.107.

⁸⁶ Hastaoglou-Martinidis, 2015, p.96.

⁸⁷ Hastaoglou-Martinidis, 2015, pp.108-110.

⁸⁸ Keyder, 2015, pp.24-26.

organization, a homogeneous society was aimed and the population structure of the port cities was transformed by the exchanges.⁸⁹ The focal points of those cities were changed from ports to newly-designed central urban parks. Hebrard in Thessaloniki⁹⁰ and Danger Brothers in İzmir designed large parks that were planned as the continuity of existing natural assets. New urban layouts were proposed as the means for the foreseen cultural, social and economic lives; and modern architectural language was preferred to strengthen the ideological meaning of the environments.

In the case of Republican Turkey, common public buildings of the early Republican period, such as People's Houses, train stations, schools, squares and parks, were built in most of the cities as an extension of the central modernization policy. What differentiates the modernization experience in a central Anatolian city from a coastal city of the Mediterranean or of the Black Sea region was the convenience of local environments. While international trade facility was the determinant for a city, such as Trabzon, located on the active trade network, the railway opportunities of an inland city, such as Konya, might have defined the commercial life. As a result, architectural and urban development of the cities were formed around local identities; port area and international exchanges were the core of development for the one, while the train station and its environment was the center for the other.

Since Turkey was a predominantly agrarian country with its large rural population and agricultural-based economy, its modernization could not be achieved without considering and integrating the rural context. As a result, rural policies gained importance in the early Republican period in Turkey. The policies were focused on educating the rural society, introducing them to modern life styles and including them into the modern production phases. The Village Law, building model villages and establishing village institutes around Turkey, and village education works held by People's Houses were the attempts to integrate rural lands to the modernization process. Consequently, as the means to present and to strengthen the new

⁸⁹ Keyder, 2015, p.24.

⁹⁰ Hebrard's urban design approach was the association of functional urban elements with the natural landscape and historical features. See. Cristina Pallini, "Doğu Akdeniz'de Coğrafi Tiyatrolar, Liman Peyzajları ve Mimari: Selanik, İskenderiye, İzmir" in *Osmanlılardan Günümüze Doğu Akdeniz Kentleri*. ed. Biray Kolluoğlu, Meltem Toksöz. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2015). pp.73-94.

ideology of modernization, architectural features of villages became discussion topics in the architectural milieu.⁹¹ The argument that aimed to keep the rural society in the villages and so to get the urban growth under control transformed into the suggestions for village development plans.⁹² While having a great role for imposing modernity to the rural lands, architecture and planning also became a convertor to shift the rural identity into the local modernity.⁹³

The organic relation between the city and its surrounding is formed by production and consumption of various means from food to culture. Close or remote, the surrounding territories, which mainly have rural characteristics, are major components in the formation and urbanization of city centers. To define the surrounding territories that are in an active relation with the city center in terms of the exchange of food, materials and services, the term ‘hinterland’ is used.⁹⁴ Even though there is no specific definition of the geographic borders of a ‘hinterland’, it is largely accepted as the zone that is in interaction with the city center. The relevant relation is not just about physical linkage, but is more about the socio-economic influence between the two localities.⁹⁵ Topalovic defines this qualitative relationship with the term ‘socio-metabolist hinterland’.⁹⁶ The main dichotomy in the hinterland discussion is to see

⁹¹ For a competition call of Village Houses, see: Anon. “Köy Evleri Proje Müsabakası”. *Arkitekt*, vol. 03 (51)(1935). p.93; a report by Abdullah Ziya “Köy Evleri Proje ve Yapıları için Toplu Rapor”. *Arkitekt*, vol. 07-08 (55-56) (1935). pp.203-204; for a Village Project, see: Burhan Arif “Köy Projesi”. *Arkitekt*, vol.11-12 (59-60) (1935). p. 320.

⁹² Neşe Gurallar, “Kent ve Köy Algısı: Arkitekt (1930lar)”. *Mimarlık*, 379 (2014). pp.73-77.

⁹³ Carmen Popescu, “Rurality as a Locus of Modernity, Romanian Inter-War Architecture”. in *Rural and Urban: Architecture between Two Cultures*. ed. Andrew Ballantyne. (Oxon: Routledge, 2010). pp.145 159.

⁹⁴ Gilles Billen et al., “History of the Urban Environmental Imprint: Introduction to a Multidisciplinary Approach to the Long-term Relationships between Western Cities and Their Hinterland”. *Reg. Environ Change* (2012: 12). pp. 249-253.

⁹⁵ Francisco Entrena, “Urban Spread Effects and Rural Change in City Hinterlands: The Case of Two Andalusian Cities”. in *The City’s Hinterland Dynamism and Divergence in Europe’s Peri-Urban Territories*. ed. Keith Hoggart. (London: Routledge, 2005). pp.95-118.

⁹⁶ Milica Topalovic, *Architecture of Territory Beyond the Limits of the City: Research and Design of Urbanising Territories*. Inaugural Lecture ETH Zürich. (2016). p.18.

the hinterland as the city ‘appendage’ with Hoggart’s word rather than to accept it as the part of the whole.⁹⁷ It can be asserted that stronger hinterlands transfigure cities into regional centers. In the case of Antalya, the advantageous features, such as geopolitical importance, fertile lands for agriculture, agrarian production capacity for industry, and natural and cultural richness for touristic facilities, led the city to be the regional center of the Western Mediterranean Region that includes Antalya, Burdur and Isparta provinces of Turkey.⁹⁸ (Figure 2.3) The concentration of the opportunities and actions of the people in the regional center identify the region’s integration level to the national and global economic system.

Therefore, while speaking of the developments and transformations in Antalya city, changing dynamics in its hinterland have to be presented. Ongoing rural assets and its socio-economic links to the core city brings a hybrid characteristic to the hinterland.⁹⁹ Beside the economic and demographical structure, the geographical position of Antalya hinterlands has also been changed throughout its history. In conventional geographical approach, hinterland is portrayed as the growing circles that locate the city as the center. However, more contemporary approaches consider cities as the nodal points of a network. Billen argues that this approach leaves rural territories as “the quasi no man’s land”.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Keith Hoggart, “City Hinterlands in European Space”. in *The City’s Hinterland Dynamism and Divergence in Europe’s Peri-Urban Territories*, ed. Keith Hoggart. (London: Routledge, 2005). pp.1-18.

⁹⁸ DAMPO, *Antalya Büyükşehir Bütünü Çevre Düzeni / Nazım Plan Çalışmaları Araştırma, Değerlendirme, Sentez Raporu*. (2003). pp.8-10.

⁹⁹ Entrena, 2005, p.98.

¹⁰⁰ Billen et al., 2012, p.249.

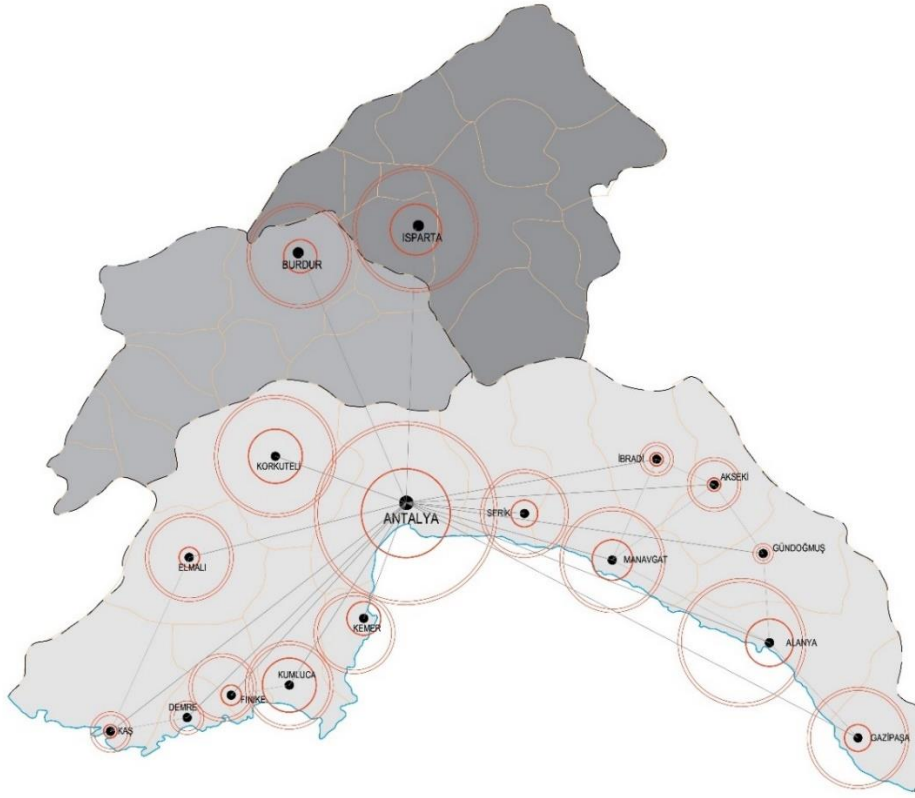


Figure 2.3. An analysis of the hinterlands of cities and towns, and the network between them justifies the central position of Antalya city in the Western Mediterranean Region. (The map reproduced on the base of Google Maps)

In regard to the discussions on the physical formation of a city and its hinterland, the study addresses another perspective that prioritizes the notion of time. For instance, rural areas, which had been seen as out-of-center in the early twentieth century, became a part of the city center in time. While this situation resulted in a scattered urban expansion, the lands defined by the term ‘hinterland’ were changed. Correspondingly, the modernization attempts of the Republican period produced architectural entities both in the city center and also in its everchanging hinterland. (Figure 2.4)

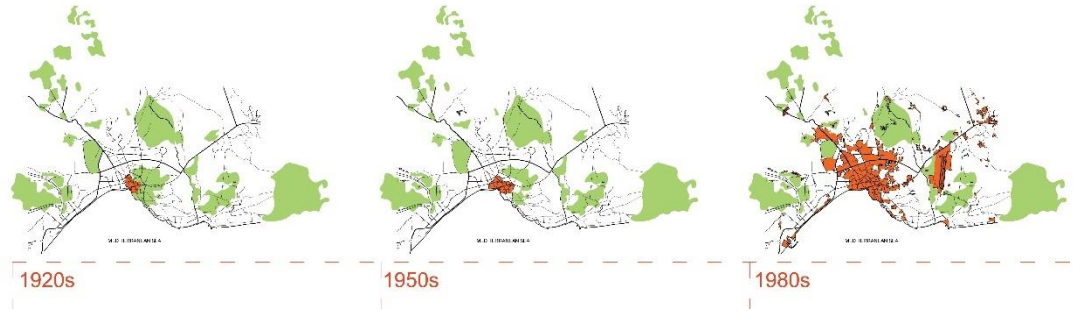


Figure 2.4. The urban sprawl of Antalya city from the 1920s to the 1980s. The green zones represent the lands that have rural characteristics. (Sources: For the 1920s, DAMPO (2003) and first city map (1919-1921); for the 1950s, DAMPO (2003) and 1957 Master Plan by Beyru (M. Nazım Özer's archive); for the 1980s, DAMPO (2003) and 1980 Zühtü Can Master Plan (M. Nazım Özer's archive))

On the other side, modern architecture, as a means of modernization, is widely seen as a break from local identity in terms of architectural production. It is criticized that standard forms of the modern movement took the place of local architectural characteristics and caused the loss of authenticity in environments.¹⁰¹ Depending on such a critique, attempts to bring the “local” together with the “modern” also emerged in theoretical discussions on the production of a “regionalist” architecture.¹⁰² Another perspective to the modern architecture in the

¹⁰¹ This argument was also supported by many “Western” modernist critics and architects. For example, even a modernist as Giedion asked for a revaluation of local values to create a hybrid approach calling this method as “New Regionalism”. See: Mualla Erkiç, “Legitimization of the Regionalist Idea in Architecture through Mumford’s Early Writings”. *METU Journal of Architecture*, 18:1-2. (1998). p.18.

¹⁰² Developed on “regionalism” by Lewis Mumford in the 1940s and “constructive regionalism” by Antony Alofsin in 1980, “critical regionalism” was first introduced by Lefaivre and Tzonis. Liane Lefaivre and Alexander Tzonis, *Critical Regionalism: Architecture and Identity in a Globalized World (Architecture in Focus)*. (New York: Prestel Publishing, 2003). Ultimately, Kenneth Frampton defined the principles of critical regionalism with “Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance” in 1983 and “Ten Points of an Architecture of Regionalism: A Provisional Polemic” in 1987. Hal Foster, *The Anti-Aesthetic Essays on Postmodern Culture*. (Washington: Bay Press, 1983). pp.16-30; Kenneth Frampton, “Critical Regionalism: Modern Architecture and Cultural Identity” in *Modern Architecture, A Critical History*. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996). pp.314-327. Paul Ricoeur’s statement that “There is the paradox: how to become modern and to return to sources; how to revive an old, dormant civilization and take part in universal civilization”, which is quoted by Frampton, is used as the slogan of “critical regionalism”. Paul Ricoeur, “Universal Civilization and National Cultures” in *History and Truth*, trans. Chas. A. Kelbley, (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965). pp.276-277.

Mediterranean basin is strongly related to the vernacular values. Vernacular architecture in the Mediterranean is discussed under two scenarios: One of them argues that vernacular characteristics of the Mediterranean forms the basis of modernism, while the other scenario approaches the vernacular as the “other” of modernism.¹⁰³ The discussions on place, on the other hand, could easily move into nationalist arguments, emphasizing the unique and unified identity of a nation instead of the multiple and changing characteristics of a locality.¹⁰⁴ Or else, the emphasis on place could also be used to create superficial copies of historical architectural forms.¹⁰⁵

The national discourses of the first decades of the Republican Turkey led to the use of local architectural features in the form of a nationalist architecture. The so-called First and Second National Styles were the interpretation of local and historical elements in a political manner

¹⁰³ Sert discussed the modern-Mediterranean duality in opposition to the canonic approach. See: Jose Luis Sert, “Raíces Mediterráneas de la arquitectura moderna,” AC 18 (1935). pp.31-33. Republished in Antonio Pizsa, *J.L. Sert and Mediterranean Culture*. (Barcelona: Colegio de Arquitectos de Cataluña, 1997). pp.27-219. (Quoted in Jean-François Lejeune and Michelangelo Sabatino, “North versus South” in *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean: Vernacular Dialogues and Contested Identities*. (Oxon: Routledge, 2010). p.1. On the other hand, Bergdoll establishes a strong link between the Mediterranean vernacular and modernism in the sense of locality. See: Barry Bergdoll, “Foreword” in *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean: Vernacular Dialogues and Contested Identities*. (Oxon: Routledge, 2010). p.xvi.

¹⁰⁴ In furthering its objective of creating and corroborating an identity for the “place”, regionalism was also used as a tool to concretize nationalist discourses in architecture field. Tzonis argues that regional characteristics of a culture are loaded with political meanings and have been used to identify the community since the ancient times starting with Vitruvius. See: Alexander Tzonis, “Introducing an Architecture of the Present. Critical Regionalism and the Design of Identity” in *Critical Regionalism, Architecture and Identity in a Globalized World*. (New York: Prestel Publishing, 2003). pp. 12-21.

¹⁰⁵ As a language preferred especially in tourism buildings, regionalism was used to exhibit the authentic features of the “place” to tourists. However, many of the applications could not go beyond being simple formal repetitions of local architecture with contemporary techniques and materials, and thus generated “kitsch” environments especially in many coastal cities. See: Uğur Tanyeli, “1950’lerden Bu Yana Mimari Paradigmaların Değişimi ve “Reel” Mimarlık” in *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998). pp.235- 254. Ballantyne and Ince argue that traditional architecture started with a necessity and practical reasons, and maintained by reason of taste and culture. Similarly, the use of local architectural features without any contemporary interpretation could be seen as an effort to revive local culture. Ballantyne and Ince, 2010, p.3.

with the aim to nationalize architecture.¹⁰⁶ After the 1960s, as a consequence of the universal approaches in architectural milieu, interests on the anonymous and local architectures and the efforts to find inspirational sources from history revealed the regionalist approach in architecture. By supporting a real regional architecture instead of a regionalist one, some architects of the period such as Özer argued that the reference for such a production should be the local culture rather than nationalist ideology.¹⁰⁷

The searches for a regional architecture in the post-war decades argued for the necessity to focus on the place and its vernacular dynamics while also emphasizing the fluid exchange practices, and the circulation and transformation of ideas. In Frampton's perspective, cultural development, local or universal, depends on cross-fertilization with other cultures.¹⁰⁸ Even though there can not be a pure regional or international architecture in any location due to hybridization as a result of continuous relations, the results of hybridization differ according to local environmental features.¹⁰⁹ Critical of nationalist or formalist results in architectural production, this study argues that the modern and the local are interrelated depending on an understanding of modernization as a process of mutual exchanges and adoptions in social environments rather than accepting it just as a stylistic search.

¹⁰⁶ Bülent Özer, *Rejyonalizm, Universalizm ve Çağdaş Mimarimiz Üzerine Bir Deneme*. (İstanbul: İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1964). pp.46-51.

¹⁰⁷ Özer, 1964, pp.64-87.

¹⁰⁸ Frampton, 1985, pp.314-315.

¹⁰⁹ Esra Akcan, "Bruno Taut's Translations Out of Germany" in *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean: Vernacular Dialogues and Contested Identities*. (Oxon: Routledge, 2010). pp.193- 212.

CHAPTER 3

MODERNIZATION OF ANTALYA VIA CENTRAL AND LOCAL IMPACTS

To analyze a multi-layered settlement as Antalya, the urban morphology should be read in the light of historical, economic, political, and social parameters. Any intervention is the trace of a period and creates a historical layer. The articulated layers exist as urban patterns, as traces and sometimes as the materials reused in new buildings.

The historical city center of Antalya is quite rich in terms of the architectural evidence exemplifying characteristic building practices of different periods. While Karaalioğlu Park is one of the figurative elements of the Republican period, the clock tower of the Ottoman period, the city walls of the Seljukian period and the Hadrianus Gate of the Roman period exist together in the city center next to the park. (Figure 3.1)

The historical richness of Antalya is not limited with the city center; many important architectural artefacts were located in the hinterland towns of Antalya city throughout history. The sprawled settlement along the coast is the result of the potentials provided by the nature. As a consequence, modernization in this geography was experienced in a strong relation with the nature. Not just the city center, but also hinterland villages and towns became the scene for modernization as projected by the state policies.



Figure 3.1. Togetherness of different layers in the historical city center of Antalya with buildings from various periods. (Photos by the author, 2015)

Since the large part of the population was in the rural areas¹¹⁰ (Table 3.1), the rural policies of the state in the early Republican period considerably affected the modernization process of Antalya. The state was the main actor in the rural modernization. However, the local response to the central rural policies was the trigger in the formation of modern environments. Villagers,

¹¹⁰ The war conditions and migrations during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had impacts on the demographic structure of the society. During the Independence War, the population structure of Antalya did not change much. At the beginning of the twentieth century, in 1899/1900, the population of Teke Sanjak was reported as formed of 190.062 Muslims and 6.647 non-Muslims. According to the results of the last census in the Ottoman period, the population of Teke Sanjak was 236.754 in 1905/1906. Karpas indicates that the total population in 1914 was 249.686. Agriculture and breeding had always been the main means of living of the population. Due to the geographical conditions and the political factors, the economic structure of the population did not change in the Republican period, and the population of the city mainly lived in rural areas, engaging in farming and breeding while the non-Muslim population was mostly engaged in trade. Güven Dinç, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Nüfus Sayımına Göre Antalya'nın Demografik Yapısı". *Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları*. (2007). pp.64-87. (original source: Konya Vilayet Salnamesi 1317, p.225)

farmers and intellectuals who cared for the development of the rural countryside became the advocates of the modernization project and had important roles in the modern life practices.

Table 3.1. The census results of Antalya in the period of 1927-1985. (Source: Turkish Statistical Institute Archive)¹¹¹

Census Year	Urban Population	Village Population	Total Population
1927	35533	170737	206270
1935	43857	198752	242609
1940	43903	206463	256366
1945	48714	229464	278178
1950	53972	257470	311442
1955	67480	290088	357568
1960	95424	320706	416130
1965	129657	357253	486910
1970	176008	401326	577334
1975	223089	446268	669357
1980	280837	467869	748706
1985	397712	493437	891149

¹¹¹ The first census of the Republican period was done in October 28, 1927. The results were taken from the Turkish Statistical Institute Archive. For 1927 Census: T.T.C. Başvekalet Merkezi İstatistik Müdüriyeti Umumiyesi. *28 Teşrinievvel 1927 Umumi Nüfus Tahriri Vilayet, Kaza, Şehir ve Köyler İtibariyle Türkiye Nüfusu*. (Türk Ocakları Merkez Hey'eti Matbaası, 1928); for 1935 Census: T.C. Başbakanlık İstatistik Genel Direktörlüğü. *Genel Nüfus Sayımı Kati ve Mufassal Neticeler, Antalya Vilayeti, 20 İlkteşrin 1935*. (1936); for 1940 Census: *20 İlkteşrin 1940 Genel Nüfus Sayımı Vilayetler, Kazalar, Nahiyeler ve Köyler İtibariyle Nüfus ve Yüzey Ölçü*; for 1945 Census: T.C. Başbakanlık İstatistik Genel Müdürlüğü. *21 Ekim 1945 Genel Nüfus Sayımı, Türkiye Nüfusu*. (Ankara, 1950); for 1950 Census: T.C. Başbakanlık İstatistik Genel Müdürlüğü. *22.X.1950 Genel Nüfus Sayımı*. (Ankara, 1950); for 1955 Census: Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry General Statistical Office. *Census of Population 23 October 1955, Population of Turkey*. (İstanbul, 1961); for 1960 Census: Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry State Institute of Statics. *Census of Population 23 October 1960 Population of Turkey*. (n.d); Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry State Institute of Statics, *24.10.1965 Census of Population by Administrative Division (Province, District, Sub-district and Village (Muhtarlık) Population)*. (n.d); for 1970 Census: State Institute of Statics. *25.10.1970 Census of Population Social and Economic Characteristics of Population, Antalya Province*. (n.d); for 1975 Census: State Institute of Statics. *26.10.1975 Census of Population Social and Economic Characteristics of Population, Antalya Province*. (n.d); for 1980 Census: State Institute of Statics. *12.10.1980 Census of Population Social and Economic Characteristics of Population, Antalya Province*. (n.d); for 1985 Census: State Institute of Statics. *20.10.1985 Census of Population Social and Economic Characteristics of Population, Antalya Province*. (n.d).

Even after the industrialization attack in the 1950s, the urban population was quite lower than the rural population in Antalya unlike the other cities in Turkey. While the village population was decreasing and due to the mass migration a dramatic increase was being experienced in many other cities in the period of 1950-1980, the rural and urban population of Antalya were both increasing collaterally. (Table 3.2- 3.3) From this point of view, it can be stated that the form of migration was external rather than internal in Antalya during the period. Even though the urban population was lower until the 1980s, modest applications of the mainstream architectural and urban planning approaches were realized in the city center during the period. Under the leadership of the state, besides local administration, the society was also involved in the projects individually or in the form of associations. The devoted and voluntary participation of the society especially during the Second World War period, had important traces in the formation of the modern city. In the further years, the city also had buildings designed after architectural competitions as a participative model.

Table 3.2. The changes in urban and rural populations of Antalya through the period of 1927-1985.

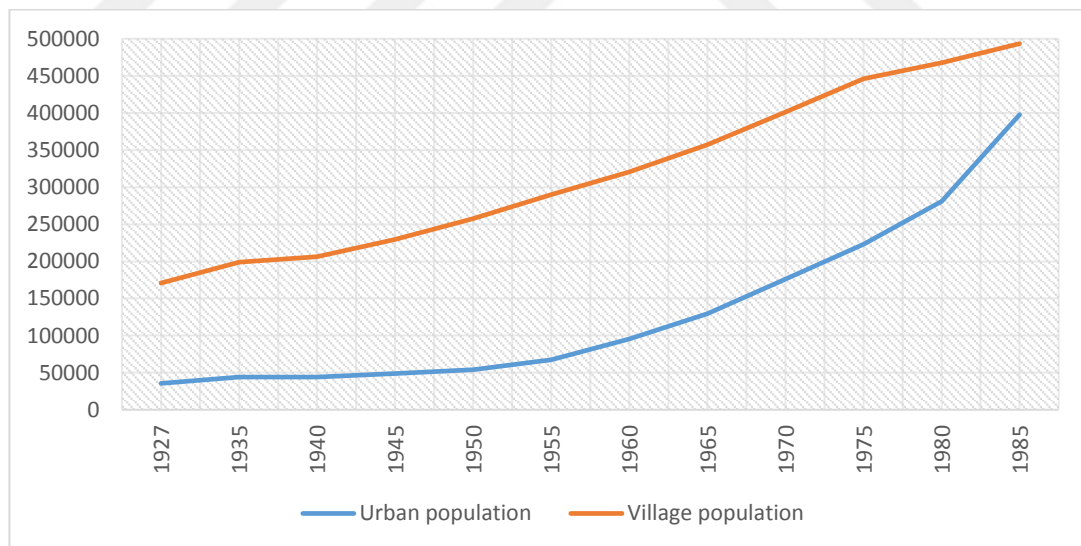
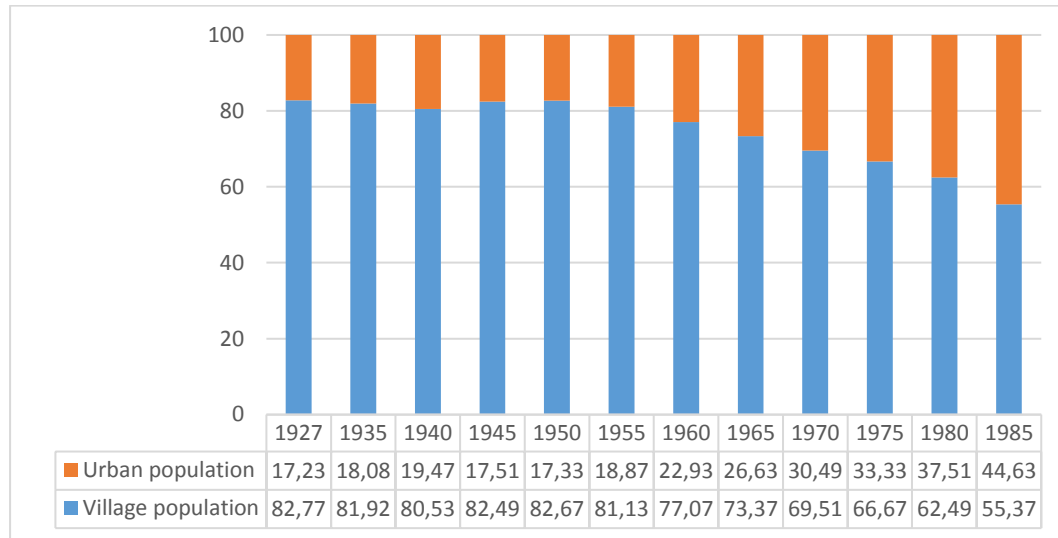


Table 3.3. Proportional comparison between the urban and rural populations of Antalya through the period of 1927- 1985.



State-owned economic enterprises and private sector became efficient during the industrialization period in Turkey. Factories were established in many cities including Antalya with the partnership of the state and private industry. The agricultural identity of the city was strengthened with the agriculture based industry that resulted in the increase in population¹¹² and the expansion of the city. The local characteristics of the city started to be transformed due to its changing social structure afterwards.

The most significant impact of the state in the formation of Antalya was experienced within the tourism policies after the 1960s. The tourism plans prepared primarily for the coastal cities led to changes in social and cultural life alongside the dramatic transformation in the built environment. Not just the city centers but also hinterland settlements that had the natural and historical potentials were affected by the policies of the era. Daily life practices were transformed to a large extent, and natural and historical entities of localities were seen as the

¹¹² The main reason for the increase in population was the increasing domestic migration during the period. While in the nineteenth century Antalya had external immigration due to the war conditions, after the second half of the twentieth century the city witnessed an intense domestic migration due to the development of industry and tourism sectors respectively. The migration gained speed in the post-war period. The Marshall Program and mechanization in agriculture were the main factors for the migration from villages to the city center.

attractions for tourism. Even though agriculture and industry were still active fields, after the 1960s, tourism gained dominancy in the urban identification of Antalya. (Appendix-B)

The central mechanisms that were effective in the modernization project of the country had strong traces in the modern environment of Antalya as in other cities of Turkey. Having a rooted culture, the local dynamics of Antalya were also active actors in changing extents. Most importantly the interaction between the central and local actors became determinant in the formation of the modern Antalya during the period of 1920s- 1980s. (Appendix-C)

In this chapter, after the review of historical and geographical features of Antalya that had been effective in providing an agricultural identity to the city, its modernization process is analyzed in respect to influential central and local impacts that includes the policies by the state and Architectural and urban decisions and applications in the period of the 1920s-1980s that were effective in the transformation of Antalya from a rural to an urban settlement, constitute the main subject of the chapter. Considering the chronological order, the analysis starts with the rural and agricultural complexes that were the spaces of the transformation of the rural hinterland. Then, modernization experience in the urban center is examined through the projected places of the new regime: administrative and public service buildings, finance and trade buildings, places of leisure and recreation, and places of dwelling. The industrial development in the city that led to the transformation of the urban hinterland is also analyzed via the places of production of the period. Remarking the influence of the natural assets in the modernization of rural hinterland and urban center, the chapter also considers another significant experience of the city that changed the point of view towards the nature. The transformation of the city into a touristic settlement towards the late twentieth century is examined through the tourism places that were located both in the center and the hinterland. The changing position of the natural environment in the formation of the modern city is the concluding remark of the chapter.

3.1. An Agricultural Settlement in the Early Twentieth Century

Antalya had served as a nodal point where various cultures met since the ancient periods due to its role in production and trade. Being the gate to the sea and so to the other parts of the

world, Antalya kept its importance during the Seljuk and most of the Ottoman periods as well. Nevertheless, modernization and developments in transportation upset the balances during the nineteenth century; the city thus lost its strategic significance and receded to be a secondary city of the late Ottoman Empire. Formations and transformations in the built environment of Antalya after that point constitute the main subject of the dissertation.

77.8 % of the total area of present Antalya (located on 20.815 km² area) is mountainous, 12 % of the land has a rough characteristic while 10.2 % of it is formed of plains.¹¹³ The lands on which the contemporary city center is located was known as Pamphylia that was surrounded by Lycia on the west, Cilicia on the east and Pisidia on the north. Ancient Pamphylia was located on the bottom land (plains), Lycia and Pisidia were located on the mountainous part of the city. As a consequence, it is seen that the borders of the regions were defined by natural thresholds in the ancient period. (Figure 3.2) Due to its natural sources and climatic conditions, the plain part of Pamphylia (on which Antalya city is located today) had rich agricultural facilities. The main agricultural production that primarily included several fruits, treatment plants, wine and olive was on the hinterlands. Forests as another natural source, met the demand for buildings and ships at the same time.

The present borderline of Antalya city comprises several ancient settlements, primarily Attaleia, Olbia, Magydos cities and smaller settlements as Mygdalis and Masoura.¹¹⁴ Its strategic location and feasible climatic conditions led to a continuous settlement history on the lands of contemporary Antalya. The water sources and fertile lands, being located on the seashore, and possibility to be part of the international sea trade, were the main factors that make the region an attractive center.

¹¹³ Cemali Sarı, İlksen Koçak, “Coğrafi Durum”. *Dünden Bugüne Antalya* vol.I. (Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2010). pp.45-53.

¹¹⁴ www.antalyamuzesi.gov.tr.

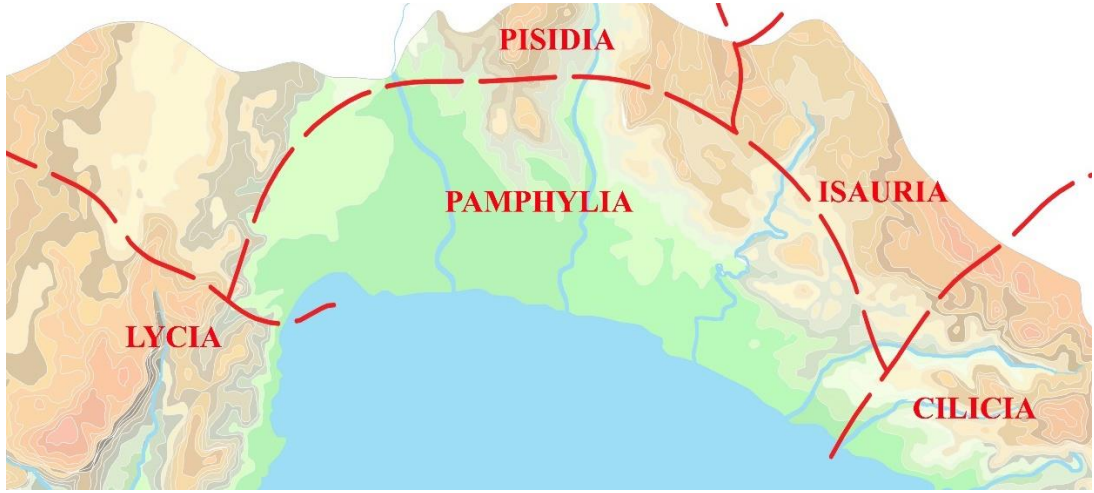


Figure 3.2. The map displays the borders of ancient Pamphylia, Lycia and Cilicia settlements and natural thresholds. (Source: Reproduced on the base of Antalya physical map from www.cografyaharita.com and map of province borders in 25 B.C.-235 B.C. from Stephen Mitchell, *Anatolia Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor, Vol 1: The Celts in Anatolia and the Impact of Roman Rule*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) in Orçun Erdoğan, *Pamphylia Lyrboton Kome Kırsal Yerleşimi: Geç Antik Çağ'da Yerleşim Kurgusu ve Mimarlık*. PhD Thesis in Art History. (Antalya: Akdeniz University, 2018)

Attaleia city, which was founded by Attalos II, the King of Pergamum in the Hellenistic period, was located on the lands of present Kaleiçi settlement. It had a strategic position both in sea and road transportation, therefore it became the most powerful city in the region in terms of the economic and political life. While it had a central position between Lycia, Pisidia and Pamphylia, the city also acted as the bridge between the eastern Mediterranean regions and Europe in terms of trade and transportation. The most significant feature of Attaleia was its port that prioritized the navy and sea transportation in the city. Considering the difficulties of land transportation due to the topographic structure, the port acted an important role in the morphology of the settlement. Centered around the port, the city had been surrounded by the city walls since the Hellenistic period. The external part of the new city wall was a convenient area to settle down due to sun and wind orientation and view direction. Sönmez considers that this part was the location for the ruling and elite class of the period.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ Based on the records and depictions of İb'n Batuta (in 1330), Evliya Çelebi (in 1671-72) and Paul Lucas (in 1704), Sönmez claims that the first city was located on two main parts in the north and the south. The settlement was consisted of houses and temples and then it was surrounded by city walls. In time, the first two settlements were enlarged and went beyond the city walls. Attalos II (158-138 B.C.)

It is predicted that before the establishment of Attaleia city, Magydos was an important city in the region. Located on the 8 km east of Attaleia (on Lara Karpuzkaldıran today), Magydos was in a strong relation with the Katarrhaktes River (Düden today). Even though the city lost its importance after the establishment of Attaleia city, the artificial port of Magydos is accepted as the secondary node in the network.¹¹⁶ Another important ancient settlement Lyrboton Kome, a village under the domination of Perge city, was located on Kepez Varsak lands. Lyrboton Kome was the source for agricultural products, primarily for olive oil. Lyrboton Kome was established in Hellenistic period and continued its olive oil production until the late Byzantine period.¹¹⁷ (Figure 3.3)

At the beginning of the middle ages, settlements which had strategic positions started to be strengthened as a precaution to the Barbarian attacks and following economic and political problems.¹¹⁸ As a consequence, its natural facilities added distinction to Attaleia among the other cities and the city started to gain more importance. The navy was located in the city, and

united the two settlements and established the new city Attaleia. The northern part functioned as acropolis and the majority of the religious buildings were located in this part. In the unification period, new city walls and two breakwaters of the port were constructed. The city was enlarged through the north-western and northern sides and the new city wall was added to these sides with the purpose of defense. For this reason, the secondary city walls and the magnificent Tiberius Gate were constructed on the north-western and northern sides during the period of Roman Emperor Tiberius (14-37 A.D.). Hadrianus (117-138 A.D.) had new city walls between Varoş Gate (Castle Gate) and Hıdırlık Tower and a new gate (named Hadrianus Gate) was built during his visit to Antalya. With these additions, the borders of the city were formed on a large scale. Depending upon an inscription, it is known that, at the beginning of the tenth century, because of the new city walls, the port region gained function as an inner citadel and the former city walls became the inner walls. The city had four main gates on the land side: West (Tiberius) Gate, North (Castle, Varoş) Gate, East (Hadrianus) Gate and South Gate. The ways from these gates reached to Balıkpazarı in a radial way. Sönmez, 2008, p.33.

¹¹⁶ <http://www.antalyamuzesi.gov.tr>

¹¹⁷ Varsak Belediyesi, *Via Sebaste, Anadolu'nun En İyi Korunmuş Roma Yolu'nun Varsak'tan Geçen Güzergahı*. (Antalya: Varsak Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2007). pp.21-24.

¹¹⁸ İlhan Erdem, "Bir Ortaçağ Kenti Antalya: Geç Antik Dönemden Selçukluların Sonuna Genel Bir Yaklaşım". *Adalya*, vol.5. (2002) pp.163-172.

shipping industry and port facilities were developed.¹¹⁹ All the developments of the Byzantine era left traces in the urban formation¹²⁰, and the city became one of the most significant trade cities not just of the Pamphylia region, but also of Anatolia in terms of political, military and economic power.

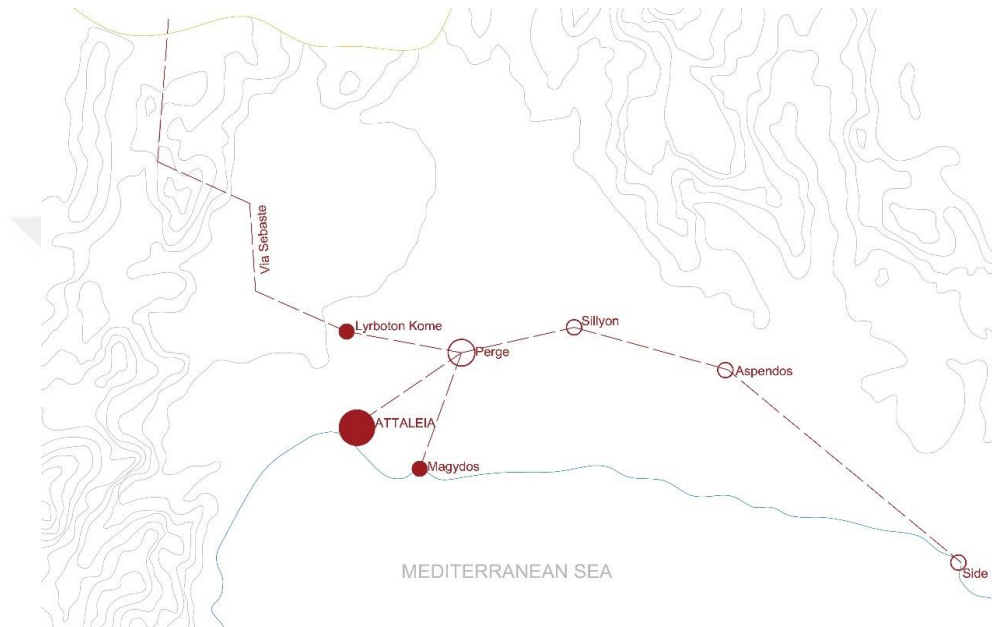


Figure 3.3. Ancient settlements on the lands of present Antalya city center. (Source: Reproduced on the guide of the Map of Pamphylia with Perge and the ancient road network by Prof. Dr. Wolfram Martini, 2010, <http://www.schattenblick.de>)

¹¹⁹ During the ancient periods and the middle ages, according to the technological opportunities and weather conditions, merchant ships used mainly two main east-west routes in the Mediterranean: Alexandria-Beirut-Antioch-Pamphylia (Antalya)-western coasts or Black Sea; Southern coast of Cyprus-Rhodes-Karpathos-the south Crete-west. For this reason, the main eastern Mediterranean ports which met the needs of war / merchant ships were Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus and Antalya. On the western Mediterranean, the most common routes were: Marseilles-Balearic Islands-Sardegna- Maghreb; Genoese (or Pisa)- Sicilia; Venice-Adriatic Sea-The Morea-Crete-Antalya-Alanya-Tarsus- İskenderun; İstanbul-Cyprus-Alexandria; İstanbul-Rhodes-Antalya-Alanya-Tarsus-İskenderun; Aegean Sea-Crete-Egypt-Palestine-Egypt; Egypt-Lebanon-İskenderun-Tarsus-Alanya-Antalya- Rhodes-Aegean coast (or west Mediterranean); Lebanon-Cyprus-Rhodes-Aegean coast (or west Mediterranean). Sönmez, 2008, p.18.

¹²⁰ In the Byzantine period, the existing fortifications were strengthened and additional ones were built against the Arabian invasion. Also a new city wall was built on the waterfront against the threats from the sea.

With the conquest of Attaleia in 1207 by Seljuk Sultan Gıyasettin Keyhüsrev I, the Seljuk period of the city started.¹²¹ After 1216, Turkmens were placed in the region, reinforcing Turkish-Islamic hegemony, and the region started to be called by the Turkmens' name – i.e. *Teke*.¹²² Thereafter, the city had a rapid development.¹²³ Antalya became one of the important ports of exportation, a shipyard was constructed, and the city walls of the waterfront were strengthened. Trade in the east-west and also south- north directions was enforced by integrating Sinop and Samsun ports of Black Sea and Antalya and Alanya ports in the Mediterranean to the main trade road network.¹²⁴ Therefore, in the Seljuk period, Antalya city was an important nodal point of exchange relations both in Anatolia and also in the Mediterranean. Since Antalya port was an agent between local Anatolian products and imported means, the city acted as the administrative and cultural center of cosmopolitan population.¹²⁵

After the Ottoman conquest in 1392, the region known as Pamphylia in the ancient era kept its importance with its trade potentials due to the ports and road networks. Antalya was the center of the region which is known as *Teke- ili* or *Liva- yı Teke* in the Ottoman period. Among

¹²¹ In 1212 the Crusaders invaded the city and in 1216 the city was sieged and conquered by Seljuk Sultan İzzettin Keykavus again.

¹²²Dinç, 2007, p.66.

¹²³ Because of the invasions by the Crusaders during the period, some parts of the city walls were destroyed. After the conquest, the first action of Turks was to repair the city walls. The inscriptions on the citadel walls determine the location of the damage and renovation. They also give clues about the location of the Seljuk settlement which has three separated parts for Muslims, Christians and migrant Turks.

¹²⁴ Serdar Çavuşdere, “Selçuklular Döneminde Akdeniz Ticareti, Türkler ve İtalyanlar”. *Tarih Okulu*, No IV (2009). pp.53- 75.

¹²⁵ Sevgi Aktüre, “17.Yüzyıl Başından 19.Yüzyıl Ortasına Kadarki Dönemde Anadolu Osmanlı Şehrinde Şehrsel Yapının Değişme Süreci”. *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, Vol.1., No. 1. (1975). pp.101-128. In the 14th century, trade was based on cotton, linen, beeswax, iron, wheat and barley in Attaleia.

the several ports (both natural and man-made) of Teke-eli region, Antalya port and consequently the city continued its dominance in economic and commercial life.¹²⁶

In the second half of the fifteenth century, in the secure medium of the Ottoman period, Antalya city started to be expanded through the north by transcending the city walls. Bali Bey Mosque was the first step of this growth (Figure 3.4). The number and features of commercial buildings that were built during the period indicate the active commercial life especially out of the city walls.



Figure 3.4. The location of Bali Bey Mosque out of the city walls. (Source: Google Earth, 2015)

¹²⁶ Behset Karaca, “Osmanlı Dönemi Antalyası”. *Dünden Bugüne Antalya* vol.I. (Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2010). pp.103- 130.

As many other Ottoman cities, the main economy of Antalya depended mainly on agriculture and agriculture-based trade facilities. However, as a result of changing commercial and social relations in the world, it started to lose its significance as a merchant city after the sixteenth century.¹²⁷ Furthermore, the natural borders of the city (mountains in three sides, sea in the southern side), together with its physical growth, limited agricultural production. Consequently, the city could not be one of the developed port cities of the region, while its agricultural productivity remained constant.¹²⁸

In the nineteenth century, Antalya was one of the townships under the Teke Sanjak, which was a sub-unit of the Konya Province. According to the Konya Provincial Annuals (*Konya Vilayet Salnamesi*), the population of Antalya Township was 15.057 and the number of villages was 109 in the century.¹²⁹ In his book *Pamphylia and Pisidia Cities* dated 1890, Karl Graf von Lanckoronski mentions the vast, fruitful gardens out of the city walls and the rivers that run several mills.¹³⁰

The Tanzimat Era (started in 1839) was the period in which Ottoman cities faced the modernization process. The reforms adopted in this era deeply influenced urban environments and architectural products. Western urban planning methods and architectural approaches were adopted. Thus, the cityscapes of firstly the capital city İstanbul and then other cities started to be changed. During this period, one of the main interventions was the centralization

¹²⁷ With the improvement of commerce in Europe (Spain, Netherlands and England), the main commercial center was moved from the Mediterranean to Atlantic Ocean in the sixteenth century and so Antalya started to lose its significance. Then, world-wide developments in ship building industry affected the production and shipyard in Antalya became insufficient in the eighteenth century. Malike Bileydi Koç, “Bileydi Ailesi ve Atatürk’ün Bileydi Çiftliği’ni Ziyareti” in *20. Yüzyılda Antalya Sempozyumu (Antalya, 22-24 Kasım 2007)*, ed. Mustafa Oral. (Antalya: Akdeniz Üniversitesi Basımevi, 2008). p.816; Yılmaz, 2002, p.109.; Sönmez, 2008, p.36.

¹²⁸ Aktüre, 1975, pp.101-128.

¹²⁹ Güçlü, 1997, p.29.

¹³⁰ Karl Graf von Lanckoronski, *Pamphylia and Pisidia Cities Vol. I Pamphylia*, ed. Kayhan Dörtlök, Burhan Varkıvanç. (AKMED Koç University, 2005). p. IX.

of the administrative structure. Antalya was declared as a province as part of the provincial organization put into action in 1864, and the municipality was established in 1868 in the city.¹³¹

Administrative and institutional reorganization introduced Anatolian cities with new buildings as government offices, train stations, schools, etc. Even though the lack of railway system had a negative effect on the development of Antalya in comparison to the other cities, many public institutions such as Government Office (ruined in 1884), Memleket Hospital, Meşrutiyet Primary School, İttihat ve Terakki School, Sultani, Post Office, Bank Ottomane, Banca Commerciale Italiana, and Chamber of Commerce and Industry were established in the city.¹³² In Anatolian lands of the Ottoman Empire, during the second half of the 19th century, the modernization ideals of the Tanzimat Era brought dramatic changes especially in the waterfront cities in the context of sea-city relations. As a local interpretation convenient to the cultural milieu, sea baths separated by wooden elements were built and used in Ottoman cities, especially in İstanbul, to provide use of water for leisure. There were two main types of sea baths in the period: public baths and private baths.¹³³ Public baths were the initial way of social sea bathing before beach arrangements and continued also during the early years of the Turkish Republic.¹³⁴ It is known that sea baths were common in various regions of İstanbul. However, documents in the Ottoman Archive demonstrates that many others were also built in different cities from Samsun to İzmir.¹³⁵ Even though the spread of sea baths is commonly related to the modernization attempts of the empire, another reason was the popular discourse about the

¹³¹ Elif Özlem Aydın, “Osmanlı Döneminde Antalya’da Vakıf ve İmar Çalışmaları” in *Dünden Bugüne Antalya*. v. II. (Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2010). pp.135- 138.

¹³² Hüseyin Çimrin, *Bir Zamanlar Antalya: Tarih, Gözlem ve Anılar*. (Antalya: ATSO Yayınları, 2007); Aydın, 2010, p.150.

¹³³ Meltem Ö. Gürel, *İstanbul’s Seaside Leisure: Nostalgia from Sea Baths to Beaches*. (İstanbul: Pera Museum, 2018).

¹³⁴ Zafer Toprak, “Bir Nostaljinin Öyküsü: Deniz Hamamından Plaja”. *Toplumsal Tarih Dergisi*, vol.295. (2018). pp.32- 45.

¹³⁵ Nefise Burcu Yağan, “İstanbul’da Denize Girme Alışkanlığının Mekana Yansıması: Deniz Hamamları”. *Mimarist*. (2018/1). pp.77-83.

benefits of sea, air and sea bathing.¹³⁶ Accessible resources reveal that one of the sea baths in Antalya was built in Mermerli, old Kaleiçi region, which was used by inhabitants of the city.

In this era, due to the epidemic in the city and the war conditions of the country, the economic and social situation of the city changed; many immigrants were settled down in the city. In 1832 Moreans, and after the Ottoman- Russian War (1877-1878) Moreans, Thessalians and Cretans migrated to the city¹³⁷. Due to the increasing population, a new quarter was established and a new gate on the city walls -Yenikapı- was opened in 1840. (Figure 3.5)



Figure 3.5. Yenikapı, 1920. (Source: Çimrin, H., 2007)

¹³⁶ Gürel, 2018.

¹³⁷ The migration to Antalya also continued during the First World War. For commercial reasons, Arabs from Algeria, Tripoli, Alexandria and Damietta; and because of the results of the war, Moreans, Cretans, Caucasians, Criemans and Rhodians came as migrants during the period.

During the nineteenth century, Antalya kept its main feature that unified agricultural productivity with port facilities. The physical environment of Antalya in the 1910s is described as follows: "...The buildings in the walled city are located on narrow and organic streets. Antalya does not have a main road. Still, Yenikapı, Değirmenönü and Şarampol Roads, which are newly-constructed, are quite large."¹³⁸ The city map of 1919-1921 demonstrates that Kaleiçi quarter in the walled city and Teşvikiye, Elmalı, Balbey, Yenikapı and Şarampol quarters out of the city walls were the major points of the urban morphology. (Figure 3.6) The most recent of them, Şarampol (also known as Girit (Crete)) was established for the Cretan immigrants in 1908.¹³⁹ The grid-plan organization of this quarter differentiates it from the traditional layout of the other quarters of the city. Out of the settled districts shown on the map, gardens and farms were noted as zoned for later construction. The local population of the city mainly lived in rural areas at the time and was engaged in farming and breeding while the non-Muslim population was mostly engaged in trade.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Ali Rıza Gönüllü, *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Antalya 1923-1960*. (İstanbul: Tarihçi Kitabevi, 2010). p.40. (original source: *Konya Vilayeti Salnamesi*, İstanbul 1332, p.200.)

¹³⁹ The Cretans were settled down near the ditch which had been opened to regulate the water coming from Düden River. Therefore, in a short time, fertile gardens were formed by the Cretans. In time, the quarter gained the characteristics of a commercial center. Other Cretan groups were settled down in four hinterland villages (Selimiye (Side), Kadriye, Ahmediye and Cihadiye) where the plan organizations were also based on a grid system. Hilal Tuğba Örmecioğlu, *1850-1950 Yılları Arasında Köycülük Çalışmaları ve Numune Köyler*. Master's Thesis. (İstanbul: İTÜ, 2003). pp.70-71.

¹⁴⁰ At the beginning of the twentieth century, in 1899/1900, the population of Teke Sanjak was reported as formed of 190.062 Muslims and 6.647 non-Muslims. Dinç, 2007, p.70. (original source: *Konya Vilayet Salnamesi 1317*, p.225). According to the last census of the Ottoman period, the population of Teke Sanjak was 236.754 in 1905/1906. Karpat indicates that the total population in 1914 was 249.686. Kemal H. Karpat, "Ottoman Population Records and the Census of 1881/82- 1893". *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol.9, No.3. (1978) pp.237-274.

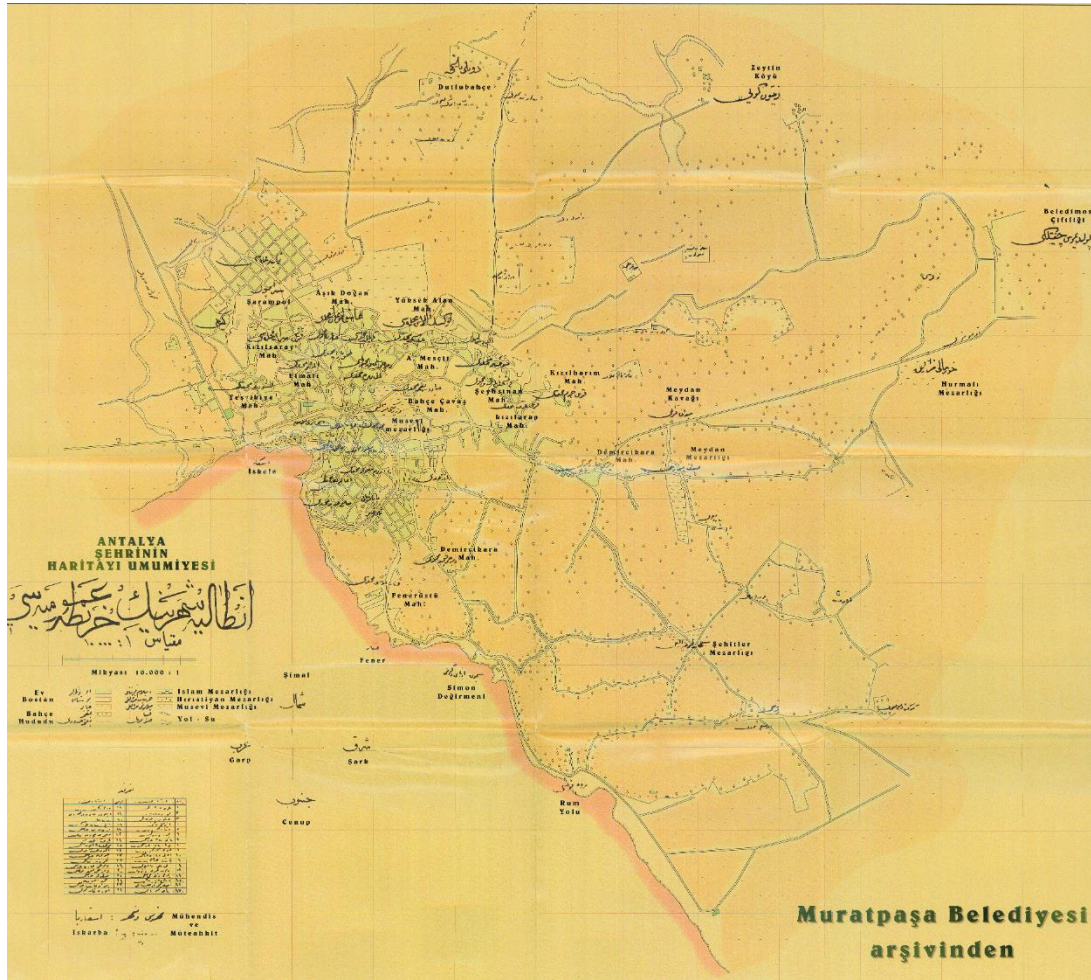


Figure 3.6. City map drawn by Italian engineer and constructor İskarba in 1919-1921. (Source: Muratpaşa Municipality Archive).¹⁴¹ The Şarmpol region with grid plan, on which migrants from Crete settled down in the nineteenth century, is located on the northern side of the city.

The beginning of the twentieth century was the era when Antalya became a subject of colonialist policies. After the establishment of the nation-states in Europe in the nineteenth century, the countries adopted colonization to gain political and economic strength. England colonized Egypt; France Algeria and Tunisia. Italy aimed to colonize Tripoli, Twelve Islands

¹⁴¹ Çimrin (2007) indicates that the plan was drawn by Italian engineer G. Scarpa. Güçlü (1997) mentions the first plans of Antalya as two maps of the city in the scales of 1/500 and 1/2000 and 1/2000 scale master plan, which were prepared by the constructor İskarba.

and Antalya¹⁴², and for this purpose established the Institute of Italian Colonialism (*İtalyan Müstemlekecilik Enstitüsü*) in 1906 and Consulate in 1913.¹⁴³ Italians preferred to occupy the city by gaining the favor of the society. With this object, public buildings such as a hospital, a post-office and a school were built and public services as ferry transportation and archaeological researches were carried out by the Italians.¹⁴⁴ (Figure 3.7)



Figure 3.7. The post office established by Italians, 1920. (Source: Çimrin, 2007).

¹⁴² Anatolia has been an interesting location to visit for European travelers for centuries. After the nineteenth century, researchers from different countries, starting with England, France, Germany, and Austria, visited Anatolia and published reports about it. Italy was one of the latest countries who started to be interested in Anatolia and the Antalya region. Due to the Ouchy Contract (1912), Italy had Tripoli and settled in the Twelve Islands temporarily. For more information: Muhammet Güçlü, *II.Meşrutiyet Döneminde Antalya'nın Coğrafi ve İktisadi Vaziyeti*. (Antalya: Ekinici Matbaa, 2008). p.XII.

¹⁴³Güçlü, 1997, p.6.

¹⁴⁴ In November 9, 1913, A. Ricciardi (an Italian diplomat) published a report in which he announced the potentials of Antalya for the Italian capitals. Rome Museum Manager Roberto Paribeni visited the city to examine the historical sites in 1913. *Missione archeologica Italiana in Asia Minore* under the National Museum of Italy started to work in Antalya, historical entities were collected and stored firstly in the garden of the Ottoman School and then a house was transformed into a center in 1914. For more information about the archeological researches in Antalya: Mevlüt Çelebi, "Antalya Bölgesi'nde İtalyan Arkeoloji Heyetleri". *Adalya*, No.X. (2007). pp.387-402; Güçlü, 2008, p.XIV.

After a break because of the First World War¹⁴⁵, Italian efforts in the city continued¹⁴⁶ and Italian occupation was realized in 1919.¹⁴⁷ (Figure 3.8) In 1921, Italians decided to leave the city due to the fact that a consensus could not have been established among the occupation forces in Anatolia.¹⁴⁸

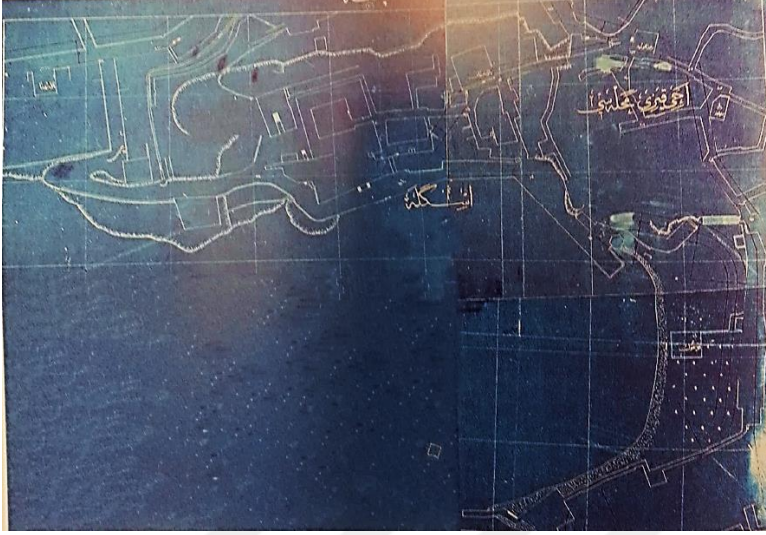


Figure 3.8. The plan of Antalya Port drawn by Italians in 1919-1920. (Source: Sönmez, 2008.)

¹⁴⁵ Italy was among the allied powers and during the period of the war Italian authorities left Antalya.

¹⁴⁶ Upon the request of the Teke Governor, the former Italian consul Marki Franti was sent to Antalya as the official representative. Franti was an important actor in the forthcoming occupation plans. He closely followed and reported the political and military situation of the city. Güçlü, 1997, pp.6-8.

¹⁴⁷ Giovanni Cecini, *Militari Italiani in Turchia 1919-1923*. (Rome: Stato Maggiore Della Difesa Ufficio Storico, 2014). pp.18-20. In March 1919, 86 prisoners' escape from Antalya Prison, the robbery of the post chaise on the way of Burdur, and the bomb explosion in the Christian Quarter were used as the justification for the Italian occupation. The Council of Ministers of Italy decided to establish a consulate, a school and a health center in Antalya in March 4, 1919. For archaeological works R. Paribeni; for the establishment of the consulate Biagio Pace and Giuseppe Moretti; and for the school and health center Schiaparelli were commissioned by Italy. The city was occupied completely in March 28, 1919. According to the report written by the War Minister Ferit Paşa, there were a post office, a school, a hospital and four shops run by Italians by July 13, 1919. The education in the school and the service in the hospital were free and generally were preferred by the low income group.

¹⁴⁸ Since Italy could not have İzmir, a disagreement occurred between Italy and the allied countries. In June 2, 1921 Italy declared that it would leave Antalya and offered friendship to the Ankara government. Cecini, 2014, p.20.

The report named “*La Regione Di Adalia - Citta, Foreste, Risorse Agricole e Minerarie, Commercio*”¹⁴⁹ (Adalya Region - City, Forest, Agriculture and Mining, Commerce) was published by *Societa Commerciale d'Oriente* (East Commercial Company) in 1919. The main subject of the report was to give detailed information about the Antalya region within the scope of the colonization activities. After giving geographical and demographic information and analyzing the characteristics of the settlement¹⁵⁰, agricultural products, breeding activities, forestry and mining potentials of the region were introduced for Italy’s benefit from the lands. In its third chapter, the report represented the industrial status of Antalya and gave suggestions to develop industry in the city. Increasing the capacity of the existing mills¹⁵¹, establishing a factory on sericulture where local women could work, improving carpet production in the city, using the water as a source and establishing beer, ice and sugar factories were among these suggestions. The last chapter focused on the road and sea networks, and stating the current commercial relation with the cities in the Aegean Sea and Algeria, it proposed to establish trade relation with the inner lands which were richer and more active.¹⁵² It is remarkable that the report considered already-existing natural entities as the main source for industrial development.

¹⁴⁹ The publication consists of 112 pages and includes the map of *Regione Di Adalia* in 1/800000 scale edited by Antonio Vallardi. In 1925, the publication was translated into Turkish and published in *Ayin Tarihi* (History of the Month) journal by Muhammet Güçlü. Güçlü, 2008, p.VIII.

¹⁵⁰ The report depicts the city noisy and crowded; the wooden houses which were attached to the historical city walls were seen dangerous; the port as devastated and neglected. On the other side, the city was defined as healthy due to the topographic characteristics of the port and of the city. It underlined that the Italian Dispensary and the Turkish Hospital contributed to the welfare of the city. According to the same report, Turkish public buildings in the city were seven mosques, two graveyards, a hospital, approximately ten schools, a court of appeals, a post office, a customs office and a police station while the Greeks in the city had a metropolitan bishop, four churches, twelve schools and a fire department.

¹⁵¹ Eight mills (*değirmen*) were located on an area called *Değirmenler (Değirmenönü)*. Their machines came from Germany in 1913. They were destroyed by French war ships during the First World War.

¹⁵² The information given in the report related to the Italian ferry services which served to Antalya figures the relation with other countries and cities. In 1915, the ferry from Venice was following this way: Venice-Brindisi-Meğri (Currently Fethiye)-Antalya-Mersin-Beirut-Adriatic Sea. Another route for the ferry service was Pireas-Rhodes-Meğri (Fethiye)-Antalya-Beirut. In addition, Antalya Port was visited by the services which were traveling from Adriatic Sea to İstanbul and İzmir, and on the other side by those which were traveling from Alexandria and Syria. One other route was Genova-Naples-Thessaloniki-İzmir (Smyrna)-Syria-Egypt.

Thanks to its geographical advantages, Antalya had continued its existence as a settlement since ancient times. (Figure 3.9) Its fertile lands and geopolitical position had been the determining factors for the political and economic position of Antalya in the world. Although the city sometimes came to the forefront with trade, agriculture had always been the most important component of its identity. By the twentieth century, agriculture, trade and small scale industry based on agricultural production were the determinants of Antalya city.

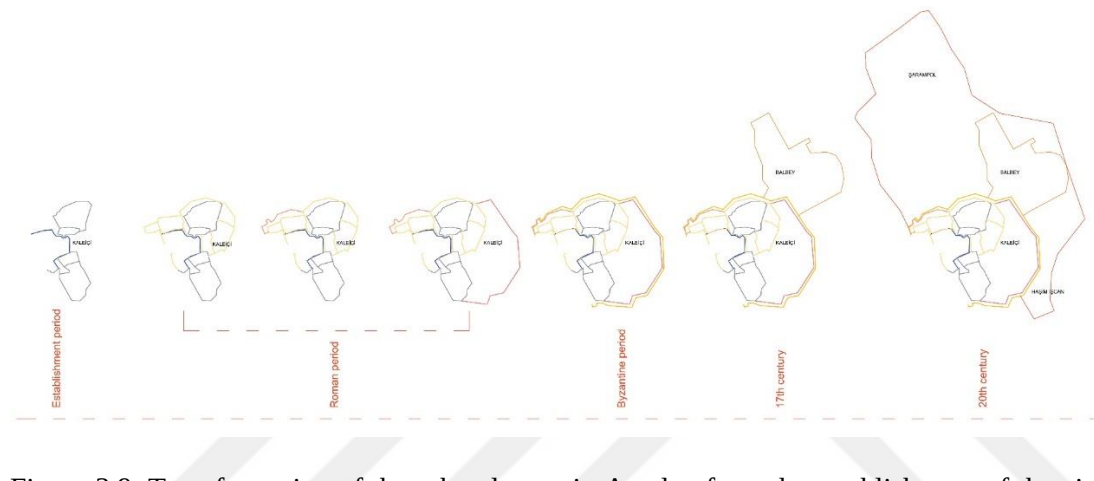


Figure 3.9. Transformation of the urban layout in Antalya from the establishment of the city to the early twentieth century of the Ottoman period (Source: Adopted from Sönmez, 2008; Aktüre,1975; DAMPO,2003)

3.2. From a Rural to an Urban Settlement during the Twentieth Century

Antalya is a coastal city located on the Mediterranean region of Turkey. The land border of the city is defined by Taurus Mountains (*Toros Dağları*) which run parallel to the coastline. The dynamic line of its coast, rivers and waterfalls that relate the city to the sea, fertile plains between the sea and the mountains, and green areas on the mountains define the main geographical characteristics of the city.

As a consequence of the Mediterranean culture, mobility has been one of the dominant concepts in the development of its regional identity. Geographical components, i.e. sea, mountains and plains, led people to have mobile lives by offering varied experiences in the

field of economy and everyday life according to the changing seasons. *Yörüks* (etymologically comes from the verb “yürümek” in Turkish, which means “to walk”) who lived mainly on animal breeding, moved from seaside to highland (*yayla*) in summers, and from highland to seaside in winters to provide enough stock for their animals. It is estimated that *yörüks* lived in highlands for three months, in the seaside for five months and spend four months of a year on the way between.¹⁵³ The damage in cultivated areas caused by *yörüks* and their animals on the move, and the living standards they had during their movement led to critics on this mobile culture. In the twentieth century, following the changes in economic and political relations of the world, a settled life was adopted instead of nomadic practice, and an agricultural identity became dominant thanks to the fertilized lands and climatic conditions of the region. Agricultural production and rural lifestyle were the definitive characteristics of the city at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Even though the geographical conditions create a set between Antalya and inner lands in terms of transportation, the opportunities and challenges provided by the natural environment have been very influential in the formation of the identity of the city throughout the history. Initially, its geographical location near the sea led Antalya to be a port city that connected the Anatolian lands to the Mediterranean countries and to the world. In the Republican period, the use of natural sources continued in a modernized way. Apart from its advantageous location, water sources in the city that had led to the formation of the settlement since the ancient era started to be used efficiently after the rehabilitation works. The prominent river of the city, Düden, conveyed water to houses, irrigated farms and also became the power source for factories and mills with its seven main branches (known as *Yediarıklar*). Another important water source, Aksu River, together with its fertile surrounding, and the lands around Arap Stream (*Arap Çayı*) were also used for industrial facilities during the Republican era. As another natural entity, mining in the vicinity of the city contributed to the modern industrial production of the city in the Republican period by utilizing natural sources with modernized tools and techniques. Also, as in any coastal city, rehabilitation power of the water gave rise to public

¹⁵³ Macit Selekler, “Antalya’da Göç”, *Türk Akdeniz*, v.2, n.8. (1938). pp.36-38. *Yörüks* were used to move to highlands (*yayla*) in tribes and live in tents made with weaving hair after springs. In autumn, the movement inverses and seashore becomes the settlement area. Semi-nomadic (i.e. transhumant) way of living still continues in the region: staying in Antalya in winters and going to highlands (*yayla*) (towns as Elmalı and Korkuteli) where is calmer in summers.

leisure spaces of sea baths, beaches and parks that empowered the social life of the city in line with the objectives of modernization. On the other side, the mountainous and forestry part of the city provided other opportunities: The climatic difference between the seashore and mountainous parts adds variety in daily life practices and productions.

Antalya kept its agricultural and rural characteristics and experienced modernization under the influence of rural policies in the first half of the twentieth century. In the direction of the modernization project of the newly-established Republic, rural areas were rehabilitated, new agricultural institutes and villages were established in the hinterland of the city while the intervention in the city center was quite limited until the 1940s. In the later years, public buildings and open spaces in the city center (largely built by the state) and modern housing projects led to the transformation in the urban center as the indicators of the aims of the new regime in the country. Creating a modern society and providing required spaces for them were the major considerations of the Republic. Within this perspective, transformation of production spaces was experienced, small-scale industry, which had mainly been located in the city center, gave place to larger industrial complexes out of the city during the twentieth century. Regarding the relation between central and local dynamics and environmental features, rural and agricultural complexes, public buildings, finance and trade centers, leisure and recreation places, residential buildings and lastly industrial complexes built during the twentieth century are the subjects of the chapter that acted important roles in the transformation of Antalya from a rural to an urban settlement.

3.2.1. Transformation of the Hinterland

After the First World War, both revolutionist countries as Russia and fascist ones like Germany and Italy developed rural policies to include villages in the modernization process.¹⁵⁴ Similarly, in the young Republican Turkey, where the largest part of the population was living in rural lands, villages and rural policies were considered important to spread modern ideals. In İzmir Economic Congress (1923), in which the economy policy of the new regime was

¹⁵⁴ Asım Karaömerlioğlu, *Orda Bir Köy Var Uzakta: Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Köycü Söylem*. Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, Çağdaş Türkiye Seminerleri, Unpublished presentation (2009). <https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/199439>

discussed, the significance of villagers and agricultural production in the state economy was highlighted. In his opening speech, Atatürk expressed the necessity to analyze the country as regions divided according to climatic conditions and water and soil features.¹⁵⁵ In parallel to the decisions taken in the congress, legal arrangements were planned, new policies as reduction of taxes and establishment of agricultural cooperatives were developed, and *Ziraat Bank* (Agriculture Bank) was established to give financial support to the villagers. At the same time, with the aim to modernize the agricultural structure of the country, mechanization in agriculture and scientific education in the field were planned.¹⁵⁶

Adopting the rural-agricultural identity of the country and developing it not just in economics but also in cultural and social means as a part of the modernization project was one of the main policies of the era. In this period, village studies started to be seen as a scientific field, and theoretical discussions were held alongside the ongoing state practices. Village Studies Branches in People's Houses were established, researches and suggestions on villages were published via journals and villagers were educated in scientific agricultural methods by the People's House volunteers.

Another important instrument of the new regime was the Village Law (1924), in which the essential requirements of villages were defined and participative construction process was recommended. Beside the sanitation measures for village houses, the law also projected the urban equipment of villages. The state regarded village square, connected roads, public meeting room (*köy odası*), school and prayer room necessary for a village to reach the modernization goals. While creating social environments and introducing contemporary living standards, new materials and techniques were encouraged for the construction works in villages.¹⁵⁷ Planning of villages also became a matter of debate among architects in the 1930s. Architectural language of the villages built by the state, the relation between local identity and

¹⁵⁵ Anon. *Türk Akdeniz*. vol.1. n.6. (1937). p.4; Örmecioğlu, 2003, pp.70-71.

¹⁵⁶ Zafer Toprak, "Türkiye Tarımı ve Yapısal Gelişmeler 1900-1950" in *Türkiye'de Tarımsal Yapılar (1923-2000)*. ed. Şevket Pamuk, Zafer Toprak. (Ankara: Yurt Yayınları,1988). pp.19-35.

¹⁵⁷ Örmecioğlu, 2003, p.41.

contemporary materials, suggestions for village plans and housing typologies, and importance of the architects as active actors in the planning works were the subjects discussed during the period.¹⁵⁸ Still, the impacts of the conservative rural policies of the state was quite dominant in the architectural milieu.¹⁵⁹

3.2.1.1. Sites of Modern Rural Life: Rural and Agricultural Complexes

Due to the geographical conditions of Antalya, its villages have been located on both mountainous and plain lands where agricultural production has been possible. Karpas indicates that, since production is much more in plain lands, agricultural economy of villages at such places lands have been more developed.¹⁶⁰ In a similar way, in the site selection of the agricultural complexes built in the Republican period, closeness to natural water sources and potential productivity of the lands were the main criteria. This approach resulted in a dispersed layout of the agricultural complexes in Antalya. (Figure 3.10)

After the proclamation of the Republic, rehabilitation of existing villages that were damaged during the Independence War, and creating modernized and ideal Turkish villages was on the agenda of the country. The first examples had to be created for the immigrants who came to the country as a result of the population exchange agreements. The state developed two alternatives to find quick and economic solutions for their sheltering problem. Initially, a typical project for economic houses (*iktisadi evler*) was developed and applied with local and cheap materials as mudbrick¹⁶¹, and straw, and fourteen “Model Villages” (*Numune Köyler*)

¹⁵⁸ Abidin Mortaş, “Köy Evi Tipleri” *Arkitekt*, no. 01-02(109-110). (1940). pp.8-9; Burhan Arif , “Köy Projesi” *Arkitekt*, no. 11-12(59-60) (1935). p.320; Abdullah Ziya, “Köy Evleri Proje ve Yapıları için Toplu Rapor”. *Arkitekt*, no. 07-08 (55-56). (1935). pp.203-204; Zeki Sayar, “İç Kolonizasyon” *Arkitekt*, no. 08(68). (1936) pp.231-235; R. Öelsner, “Köyler”. *Arkitekt*, no. 11-12 (155-156). (1944) pp.269-273; Behçet Ünsal, “Sincan Köyü Planı”. *Arkitekt*, no.01-02 (109-110). (1940). pp.15-18.

¹⁵⁹ Gurallar, 2014.

¹⁶⁰ Kemal H. Karpas, “Social Effects of Farm Mechanization in Turkish Villages” *Social Research*, vol.27, no.1. (1960). pp.83-103.

¹⁶¹ Esra Dik, “Türkiye’de Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde (1923-1930) “Köy” Sorunu” *Ankara University SPF Dergisi*, vol.71, no.3. (2016). pp.693-729.

were built in different locations of the country including Antalya. Each model village included fifty housing units, a school and a mosque.¹⁶² By 1933, there were sixty-nine model villages built by the state in different regions of Turkey.¹⁶³



Figure 3.10. The dispersed layout of the agricultural facilities in the 1920-40 period. (Source: Reproduced on the base of Google Maps)

According to Güçlü's research, due to the population exchange, 5246 immigrants were settled in Antalya in the 1923-1934 period. While some of them were settled into the houses abandoned by those who had left the country, in 1924-1925 a model village was also planned in Çirkinoba, where around 20-30 houses were already existing and had mainly been settled

¹⁶² Ali Cengizkan, *Mübadele Konut ve Yerleşimleri*. (Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınları, 2004). p.28; Kazım Öztürk, *Türk Parlamento Tarihi, TBMM II. Dönem, 1923-27*. vol.2, no.2. (Ankara: TBMM Vakfı Yayınları, 1994). p.371.

¹⁶³ Bozdoğan. 2012, pp.114-121. In her master thesis, Örmecioğlu indicates that Cevizli Village in Antalya, which was rebuilt after the fire in 1933, was among the sixty-nine model villages built by the state. Örmecioğlu, 2003, pp.73-78.

by Greeks before.¹⁶⁴ The village plan had identical fifty houses located on the two sides of a large road, and a mosque, a school and a bazaar as public spaces. (Figure 3.11- 3.12)



Figure 3.11. 1967 plan that represents the urban organization of houses and a mosque in Çirkinoba Model Village. (Source: <http://fairycrab.blogspot.com/2015/>)



Figure 3.12. The only surviving example of the houses of Çirkinoba Model Village (1925) (Taken by the author, 2018)

¹⁶⁴ Gönüllü, 2010, p.122; Güçlü, 1997, p.79.

Populism, one of the six fundamental principles of Atatürk, had a great impact on the first attempts of the modernization policy. The importance given to villages was one of the results of this principle. Considering the potentials of the country and observing the scientific developments in the world, research and development on agricultural facilities was another dominant policy of the early Republican period.¹⁶⁵ Farms and institutes were established as the tools of modernization within this perspective. Besides their impact on economic development, these complexes also became the center of educational and social lives.

The main aims of the agricultural institutions were to determine the regional agricultural technics, to promote the use of agricultural machines, and to educate the society in agricultural field. The Management of Agricultural Combines (*Zirai Kombinalar İdaresi*) (established in 1937) and the Institution of State Agricultural Enterprises (*Devlet Ziraat İşletmeleri Kurumu*) (established in 1938) were charged to analyze the regional differences in the country to develop agricultural development plans. In 1930, Agricultural Schools were founded in İstanbul, Bursa, İzmir and Adana, and an Agricultural Academy in Ankara. During the 1923-1938 period, many Seed Breeding and Experimental Stations (*Tohum Islah ve Deneme İstasyonu*) and farms were established around Turkey.¹⁶⁶

In parallel to the agriculture policy of Republican Turkey, the Mediterranean coast of the country (from İzmir to İskenderun) was chosen as the land for citrus production due to its climatic conditions. In this way, it was aimed to reduce foreign dependency for citrus, which had increased after the First World War with the loss of citrus rich lands as Palestine and Syria.¹⁶⁷ In Antalya, where agriculture had always been an important component in the economic life, citrus was determined as the major agribusiness commodity. In 1926, as the very first attempt to develop agricultural economics, Citrus Tree Station (*Narenciye Fidanlığı*

¹⁶⁵ İlhan Tekeli, Selim İlkin, “Devletçilik Dönemi Tarım Politikaları (Modernleşme Çabaları)” in 75 *Yılda Köylerden Şehirlere*. ed. Oya Baydar. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1999). pp.43-56.

¹⁶⁶ Sıdika Çetin, “Bir Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Tarımsal İşletmesi: Antalya Sıcak İklim Nebatları Teksir ve Islah İstasyonu”. *Mimarlık* 367. (2012). pp.61-66.

¹⁶⁷ BATEM (West Mediterranean Agricultural Research Center) Archive, *Brief History*. (www.batem.gov.tr) (22.06.2016)

(*İstasyonu*) was established on a 40 decare land of the Provincial Special Administration of Antalya (*İl Özel İdaresi*), which was 3 km-away from the city center.¹⁶⁸ (Figure 3.13) A. Sami Yen, the director of the Station, expressed that American and English colonies that had already established stations a century ago served as the model for the Citrus Tree Station in Antalya. The main aim in establishing such a station was to play an active role in agricultural production and to guide local farmers with contemporary techniques. Considering to have close relations with existing farmers and to have similar climatic conditions with theirs, the location of the station was chosen close to the existing gardens and farms.¹⁶⁹



Figure 3.13. Citrus Tree Station (*Narenciye Fidanlığı (İstasyonu)*) (Source: *Türk Akdeniz*, 1938)

Besides citrus, various other agricultural products from wheat to banana, from rice plant to cotton were also analyzed, and introduced, and the possibility to produce these items in Antalya lands was discussed during the early Republican period. The first attempt to produce rice-plant by Mehmet Bileydi, who had strong relations with Egypt, was in 1925. The Bileydi

¹⁶⁸ Anon. *Türk Akdeniz*, v.2, n.11-12. (1938). pp.99-104.

¹⁶⁹ Anon. *Türk Akdeniz*, v.1., n.1. (1937). p.25.

Farm (also known as Mallica or Mursi Farm) was located near *Boğa Çayı* (Stream) and a factory was established on the farmland later.¹⁷⁰ (Figure 3.14- 3.15) The farm was visited by Atatürk in 1930 and by İsmet İnönü in 1943. (Figure 3.16)



Figure 3.14. The storage building of the Bileydi (Mursi) Farm in 1972 (Source: Çimrin, 2007)

Figure 3.15. The current use of the storage building of the Bileydi (Mursi) Farm (taken by the author, 2016)



Figure 3.16. Atatürk in Bileydi (Mursi) Farm, March 8, 1930. (Source: Çimrin, 2007)

¹⁷⁰ Güçlü, 1997, p.56.

The success of the rice-plant production and trade of the Bileydi Farm was associated with the Arabian workers who had technical knowledge and pesticide provided from abroad.¹⁷¹ In 1928, rice-plant production started in Tugayoğlu Farm, which was located near Manavgat. These two farms encouraged people to produce rice-plant in any available land.¹⁷²

The first scientific experimental station was established near Aksu River with the name of Antalya Rice-Plant Experimental Station (*Antalya Çeltik Deneme Tarlası*) in 1933. In 1937, the field of station works was expanded, researches on tropical and subtropical plants were started, and new products as wheat, barley and sesame were produced. Consequently, the name of the station changed as Hot Climate Botanic Experimental Station (*Sıcak İklim Nebatları Teksir ve Islah İstasyonu*).¹⁷³ Dr. T. A. Tengwall from Sweden and Şevket Bey were the founders of the institution and 25 people worked there during the establishment period. International developments in the agricultural field were followed, many different products as rice, coffee, banana, cotton were tried to be produced in the station. Besides the research and production facilities, the station also had the task of educating farmers.¹⁷⁴ (Figure 3.17)

¹⁷¹ Çimrin, 2007, pp.207-209.

¹⁷² Anon. *Türk Akdeniz*, v.1., n.6. (1937). p.11.

¹⁷³ The name of the institution has changed in time as Regional Seed Breeding and Experimental Station (1947), Agricultural Research Institute (1957), Cotton Research Institute (1974) and Mediterranean Agricultural Research Institute (1987). Lastly, in 2004, merging with Antalya Citrus Station (Antalya Narenciye İstasyonu), it was named as West Mediterranean Agricultural Research Institute.

¹⁷⁴ Muzaffer Deniz, *Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Antalya Şehrinde Eğitim (1923-1950)*. PhD Thesis. (Konya: Selçuk University, 2009). pp.141-143.

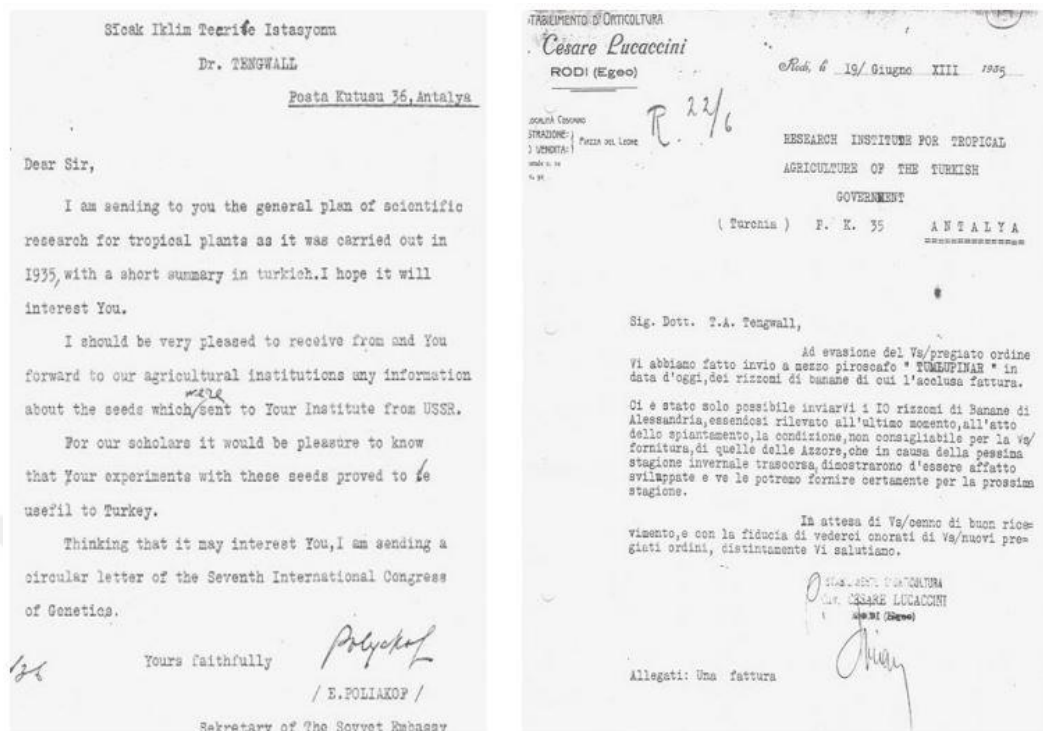


Figure 3.17.- Dr. T.A. Tengwall, the specialist in climatic plant, was in contact with different countries in the subject of plant variety of the institution. (Source: BATEM (West Mediterranean Agricultural Research Center) Archive, *Brief History*. (www.batem.gov.tr) (22.06.2016)

The station was designed as a complex in which housing units and social infrastructure were placed together with the production areas as factories, warehouses and ateliers.¹⁷⁵ (Figure 3.18-3.19) In such multifunctional environments as State Farms, the “new” life practices were experienced by the workers and their families.

¹⁷⁵ Most of the buildings in the institution have been demolished and EXPO Complex was built on their land.



Figure 3.18.- Aerial photo of the Hot Climate Botanic Experimental Station (*Sıcak İklim Nebatları Teksir ve Islah İstasyonu*), 29.04.2011. (Source: Google Earth)

Figure 3.19. Aerial photo of the Hot Climate Botanic Experimental Station (*Sıcak İklim Nebatları Teksir ve Islah İstasyonu*), 01.09.2016. (Source: Google Earth)

The layout of the complex displays the rational and functional characteristics of the modern life while sustaining the agricultural tradition of the region. Creating an interface between modernism and locality, the complex became a processor model of new life standards for Antalya.¹⁷⁶ (Figure 3.20- 3.21- 3.22)



Figure 3.20. Administration building of the Hot Climate Botanic Experimental Station (*Sıcak İklim Nebatları Teksir ve Islah İstasyonu*) (Source: Çetin, 2012)

¹⁷⁶ Çetin, 2012, pp.61-66.



Figure 3.21. Workers houses in the Hot Climate Botanic Experimental Station (*Sıcak İklim Nebatları Teksir ve Islah İstasyonu*) (Source: Çetin, 2012)



Figure 3.22. Ateliers in the Hot Climate Botanic Experimental Station (*Sıcak İklim Nebatları Teksir ve Islah İstasyonu*) (Source: Çetin, 2012)

On the other side, the land of about 22000 ha in the northern part of the city, which belonged to the Directorate of Foundations, had been neglected for a long time before the Republican period. In 1937, this land was analyzed by the Directorate and the characteristics of the soil was found suitable to plant various tree types. However, the lack of water blocked the advancement of the production in the land. In 1937, the opening work of the water channel from Kırkgöz source to the land started.(Figure 3.23- 3.24- 3.25) In 1965, an olive-oil factory was established in the Waqf Farm, which worked with the power of the water.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁷ Anon. *Türk Akdeniz*, n.11-12. (1938). pp.121-123. For more details, see Chapter 3.2.3.1.

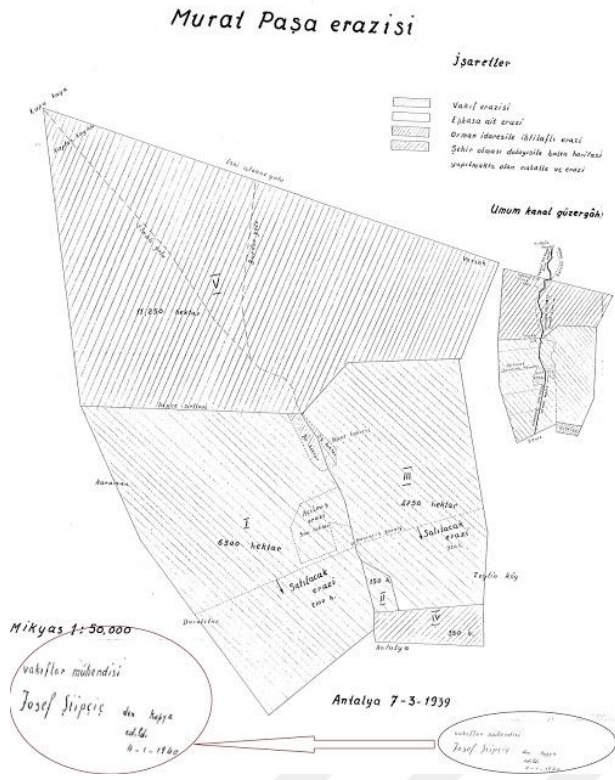


Figure 3.23. The plan of the Waqf Farm prepared by the engineer of the Directorate of Foundations, 1939. (Source: <http://fairycrab.blogspot.com/2017/>)



Figure 3.24.-Workers on the channel construction of Waqf Farm (Olive Grove) (Source: <http://fairycrab.blogspot.com/2017/>)

Figure 3.25. The channel that was bringing water to the Waqf Farm (Olive Grove) (Source: <http://fairycrab.blogspot.com/2017/>)

In the first fifteen years of the Republic, after the analysis of Antalya lands by the Ministry of Agriculture, cotton was also planted in the city and in a short time high performance was achieved in cotton production thanks to both fertile lands and new scientific methods.¹⁷⁸ The attempts of the state and the efforts of the society as the response would result in a large industry after the 1950s.¹⁷⁹

Besides the economic supports and policies to increase agricultural productivity, modernization ideals also prescribed cultural and social development in rural areas. Education was seen as the main tool to reach this sociological aim. National education policy had been defined in the First Education Congress in 1921 in Ankara by President Atatürk. After the Law on Unity of Education (*Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu*) in 1924, National Schools (*Millet Mektepleri*) were established to provide equal education to all the members of the society. Education progress in villages started in 1937 under the name of the Campaign of Education in Villages (*Köy Eğitim Seferberliği*) by Minister of Education Saffet Arıkan and General Director of Primary Education İsmail Hakkı Tonguç. In this philosophy, teachers were missioned to apply state policies in villages with the aim to modernize them. Teachers were also responsible to spread the knowledge and implementation of scientific agricultural techniques in villages. Instead of the ongoing Village Teacher Courses (*Köy Eğitim Kursları*) and Village Teachers' Training Schools (*Köy Öğretmen Okulları*) that educated teachers who would be assigned to work in villages, Village Institutes, as more comprehensive models, were established on the same locations and courses were connected to the Village Institutes in 1940.¹⁸⁰ In the site selection of the Village Institutes, regions were analyzed in terms of population, geography and socio-economic status. Considering a uniformed distribution around the country, the sites were selected out of cities and on uncultivated lands near villages. Therefore, recognizing local conditions and applying scientific methods in situ would be

¹⁷⁸ Anon. *Türk Akdeniz*, n.11-12. (1938). pp.101-102.

¹⁷⁹ For more information, see Chapter 3.2.3.1.

¹⁸⁰ Pakize Türkoğlu, *Tonguç ve Enstitüleri*. (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1997). pp.100-153.

possible in an education program, which included not only theoretical courses but also and more effectively practical and vocational ones.¹⁸¹

For the architectural projects of the village institutes a national competition was organized by the Ministry of Education. Common spaces that should be included in all the institute projects were defined as classrooms, dormitory, meeting rooms, kitchen, restrooms, barns, farms, etc., and new functions could be added to the projects according to local necessities. One of the fourteen village institutes established in Turkey in 1940 was Aksu Village Institute in the Antalya region. The project of Aksu Village Institute was designed by Architect Asım Mutlu¹⁸² who also won the competition of the village schools together with architect Ahsen Yapanar.¹⁸³ (Figure 3.26)

In the spatial organization of Aksu Village Institute Complex, a segmented layout of small-scale buildings was preferred, and each function was located in different buildings. Therefore, easiness in the collaborative construction process was provided while the construction cost was reduced. Moreover, the architectural language of the complex was accommodated to the local village characteristics with large green areas together with functionalist small-scale buildings.¹⁸⁴ (Figure 3.27)

¹⁸¹ Türkoğlu, 1997, pp.173-174.

¹⁸² Asım Mutlu, graduated from Fine Arts Academy and taught at the Academy during the period of 1940- 1983, also designed Kastamonu Gököy Village Institute in 1940. He worked as a jury member in many other competitions during the period of 1950-69. *Cumhuriyet*, July 27, 1997, Anon., *Yarışmalar Dizini*, 2004.

¹⁸³ The second winner of the Village School Competition was Zeki Sayar and the third one was Rebii Garbon. Anon. "Köy Okulları Proje Müsabakası" *Arkitekt*, no.1941/42-01-02(121-122) (1941). pp.12-23; Türkoğlu, 1997, p.189.

¹⁸⁴ Sıdika Çetin, Ahmet Kahya, "Kırda Bir Modernleşme Projesi Olarak Köy Enstitüleri: Aksu ve Gönen Örnekleri Üzerinden Yeni Bir Anlamlandırma Denemesi" *METU JFA*. (2017/1). pp.133-162.

Waqf Farm, the aim was raising the awareness of the society about the works that would fit to the local climate and culture.¹⁸⁶ Agricultural projects of the early Republican period had the importance of being the spaces of mass education besides their productive and economic contribution to the new regime.

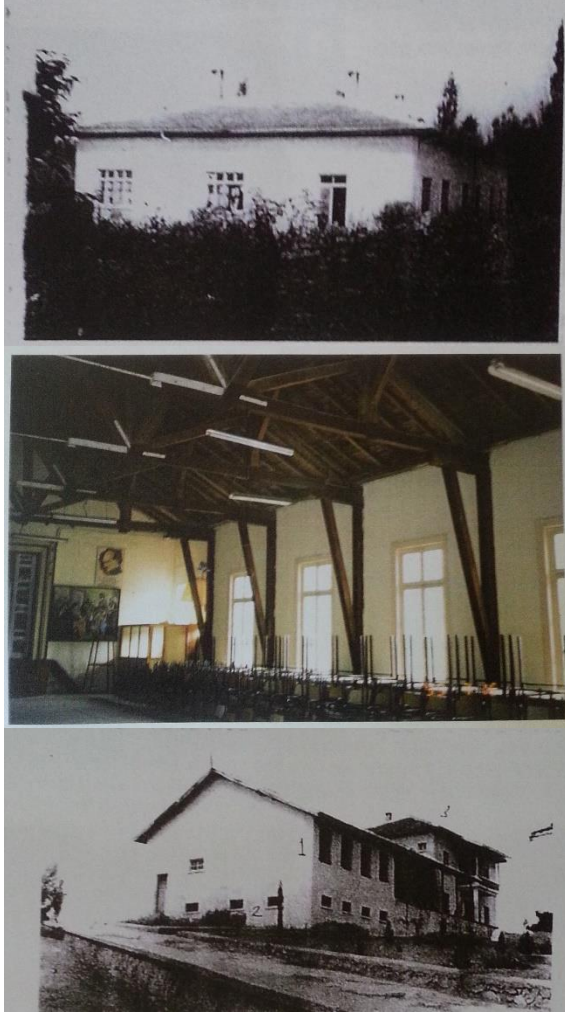


Figure 3.27. Administration building, dining hall and dormitory buildings of Aksu Village Institute (Source: Asım Mutlu, nd.)

¹⁸⁶ Anon. “Aksu Eğitim Kursunda ve Köy Enstitüsünde Bir Konferans, Conference by Rasih Kaplan in September 29, 1940”. *Türk Akdeniz*, v.4. (1940). pp.2-6.

Analyzing the impacts of rural policies on villages, Karpat indicates that, even though the major actor of rural modernization was the state, the enthusiasm of villagers in the development and their voluntary contribution in terms of labor force and financial support had been influential and acceleratory in the realization of the projects.¹⁸⁷ As specified above, stations established by the state, farms belonged to the Directorate of Foundations and privately-owned farms and gardens became the modern agriculture spaces of the young Republic in Antalya during the 1920-1940 period. In the formation of the local modernization, not just the state with its central decisions but also local dynamics were very efficient and indicative with their practices.

3.2.2. Transformation of the Urban Center

After the proclamation of the Republic, the country underwent radical reforms in all fields including the built environment. Even though the major subject of transformation was the new capital Ankara, the influences of the reforms were felt in peripheral cities as Antalya albeit to a lesser extent. The processes of modernization realized in an agricultural-rural settlement resulted in the confluence of local characteristics with central decisions.

As explained above, in the first two decades of the Republican period, Antalya kept its agricultural and rural characteristics and experienced modernization under the influence of rural policies. During these early decades, the city could not still fully witness the application of the mainstream approaches in architecture seen in the central cities like Ankara. This was also related to the limited number of actors in Antalya who were active in the creation of the built environment. Neither architects as professionals nor planning activities in urban scale was on the agenda in the period. Therefore, the local identity of the city, which was based on agricultural lifestyle, was kept to a great extent, rural approaches in architecture and construction fields continued, and buildings were frequently constructed without the contribution of architects.

¹⁸⁷ Karpat, 1960, pp.83-103.

At the same time, as the continuation of the traditional lifestyle, many tribes were still living in a nomadic way even in the 1940s.¹⁸⁸ Haşim İşcan, the governor of the city between 1940 and 1945, had an important role in the urbanization of the city by implementing a forced inhabitation policy during the period. In addition to the villages for immigrants planned by the government, villages for nomad people were also planned and built in Antalya in this era.¹⁸⁹ Besides political decisions, mechanization in agriculture and development in transportation altered the nomadic life style and considerable amount of nomads (*yörük*) were settled down.

As the local representative of the state, İşcan's direct link with the center and his efforts to create a modernized city resulted in rapid developments in urban scale during the 1940s. The most important feature of the 1940-1945 period was the consideration of local sources in modernization efforts. Haşim İşcan tried to involve the society in the process and therefore the attempts were adopted by the citizens. Even though the country was affected by the process and results of the Second World War, the city was developed at the time and many new investments were done in Antalya. The modern approach of the Republic was felt in the physical environment with large concrete boulevards, electricity network in public spaces, pools, *miradors* (view terraces), and landscape elements that enriched the urban life. The city also witnessed infrastructural improvement during the period. The moving of cemeteries out of the city center, the widening of Atatürk Street as the main boulevard of the city, the cleaning of the channels that provided natural water to the citizens were the operations of the period of Governor Haşim İşcan.

In 1944, journalist author Vala Nureddin portrayed Antalya in his book "*Antalya İkinci Dünya Harbi İçinde Nasıl Güzelleşebildi?*". He expressed his amazement as follows:

We, metropolitans, look down on the towns by saying 'let it grow' tongue on cheek. Was not there many of us who did this in the first development of Ankara? To be honest, I was feeling the same for Antalya, thinking that it is a long way to go.

¹⁸⁸ There were still people who lived in caves in Kırkgöz-Yalınlı Village, Piyadin Quarter and in tents in different regions. Güçlü, 1997, p.79.

¹⁸⁹ Yeşilbayır Village, one of them, was established in 1942-1948. Having a similar plan with the Sincan Model Village in Ankara, the project is criticized with its insufficient storage and animal housing solutions for an agrarian settlement. Örmecioğlu, 2003, pp.80-81.

However, it surpassed the elders. The fact that a Turkish city could soon become like this shakes me with a high level of satisfaction; I'm excited.¹⁹⁰

Vala Nureddin argued that, with its large and well-organized public parks that included People's House, and a coffee house and casinos, Antalya was an enviable city to be followed by many Mediterranean cities.¹⁹¹ While depicting the natural richness of the city on one hand, he praised the works done by Governor Haşim İşcan during the Second World War years on the other. As the local representative of the center, Haşim İşcan's effort to create a modernized city is considerable in the urban development of Antalya, which was expected to be resulted in economic welfare in the forthcoming years.¹⁹²

Even though, the country was highly affected by the war conditions during the 1939-1944 period, investments and developments continued in Antalya via *Antalya'yı Güzelleştirme İmar ve Tanıtma Cemiyeti* (Association of Public Works, Publicity and Embellishment of Antalya). The association was established in August 14, 1940 with the aim to support the municipality in public works and to promote the city and its environment.¹⁹³ Governor Haşim İşcan was the leading actor in the establishment of the association, which played an important role in the construction of the new and modern face of the city. Citizens gave moral and material support to the operations of the association with the encouragement of Haşim İşcan. Vala Nureddin attributed the success in the urbanization process to the collaboration of the government and the society: "When asked about the secret of the success of Governor Haşim İşcan, the secret

¹⁹⁰ Translated by the author from Turkish: "Biz büyük şehirliler, kasabalara hayli tepeden bakarak: 'Hele yetişedursun!' diye bıyık altından gülümseriz. Ankara'nın ilk inkişafında da böyle yapanlarımız çok olmamış mıydı? Doğrusu, ne yalan söyleyeyim, Antalya hakkındaki hissim böyleydi: 'Kırk fırın ekmek ister!' diyordum. Halbuki şimdi, 'Sonradan çıkan boynuzun kulağı aştığını' görüyorum. Bir Türk şehrinin kısa zaman içinde bu hale gelebilmesi beni memnuniyetten de yüksek bir hisle sarsıyor; heyecan duyuyorum."

¹⁹¹ Vala Nureddin (Va-Nu), *Antalya İkinci Dünya Harbinde Nasıl Güzelleşebildi?* (İstanbul: Kenan Matbaası, 1944). p.7.

¹⁹² Kemal Ülkücü, "Hayallerdeki, Bugünkü ve Yarınki Antalya". *Türk Akdeniz*, v.4, n.24. (1942). pp.8-9. Ülkücü claims that, if the city would be planned under the guide of a well-designed plan and sufficient services would be provided for visitors, the city could be the most beautiful touristic city of the world.

¹⁹³ Vala Nureddin, 1944), p.9.

is to provide the public support physically and in property within or outside the city boundaries...¹⁹⁴

In other words, the involvement of the society in urban decisions and their efforts to beautify the city resulted in radical transformations in the first half of the 1940s. The urban development experienced in Antalya during İŖcan's governance was followed and the organization of *Antalya'yı GüzelleŖtirme İmar ve Tanıtma Cemiyeti*, which had been established in Antalya for the first time, served as a model for other cities in Turkey. The association supported the construction of the major public projects in Antalya such as İnönü (Karaaliođlu) Park (1940s), İsmet İnönü Institute for Girls (1941-44, demolished), İnönü Primary School (1946, demolished), Maternity Hospital (1946, demolished) and Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative (1943-44).

HaŖim İŖcan is also known with his efforts to transform Antalya into a *sayfiye* (summer resort) where touristic activities would define the urban characteristics. In parallel to the increasing consciousness about tourism, the demand for public needs increased; thus, the rehabilitation of land transportation network, beach facilities, parks, roads and streets was also realized at the time. (Figure 3.28)



Figure 3.28. Ali Çetinkaya Street, 1936 and 1940. (Source: Kaan Kapan, AyŖe Nur Timor, “Turizm GeliŖme Modellemeleri AçıŖından Antalya Ŗehri” *Türk Cođrafya Dergisi*, 71. (2018). pp.53-61.)

¹⁹⁴ Translated by the author from Turkish: “Vali HaŖim İŖcan'ın muvaffakiyet sırrı sorulacak olursa, sırrı Ŗudur: ‘Halkın Ŗehir hudutları içinde ve Ŗehir hudutları dıŖında imar hareketine malen, bedenen iŖtirakini temin edebilmiŖ olmak...’”

In the 1950s, in parallel to the industrialization and urbanization experience in the country, economic and infrastructural development of the city was on the agenda. Bank buildings and communication structures were built in the city in this decade. One of the main changes of the era was the fact that architects started to work in Antalya as professionals effective in the formation of the built environment. Therefore, communication opportunities with the center and contemporary architectural milieu increased, the interaction became possible and the city met new building types and technologies in this period. On the other side, agricultural production was still intensive in economic life of the city and agricultural lands were determinant in its urban morphology.

In 1955, a competition for the first master plan of Antalya was organized by the Bank of Provinces (*İller Bankası*).¹⁹⁵ In 1967, the plan was revised and little changes were suggested by urban planner Bülent Berksan who had received the third prize in Antalya Master Plan competition in 1955.¹⁹⁶ Since the plan included a limited area and agricultural lands were out of the plan borders, the city had a scattered development in the later decades.

The planned development era that started in the post-war decades was a milestone in the transformation of Antalya. Central decisions made via the Regional Development Project, Five-Year Development Plans, determination of Tourism Development Regions, Master Plans, Kaleiçi Conservation Plan and lastly Southern Antalya Tourism Development Plan of the period from the 1960s to the 1980s had a great influence on the identity and hence on the physical environment of the city, which witnessed new functions, and new approaches and experienced social, cultural and spatial changes with the increasing population.

¹⁹⁵ The plan designed by Rauf Beyru, Turgut Tuncay and İlhan Artuner was approved by the Ministry of Public Works and Housing in 1957. Prof. Dr. Beyru was graduated from İstanbul Technical University Faculty of Architecture in 1947. After his experience in the Ministry of Public Works, he started his academic career at METU in 1961. Beyru and his teammates also contented several urban planning competitions and won prizes in team or on an individual basis. As a team, Beyru, Tuncay and Artuner had also a honorable mention in Ankara Master Plan Competition (1955), in which Uybadin and Yücel won the first prize. Anon. *Yarışmalar Dizini*, 2004.

¹⁹⁶ Berksan had many prizes and honorable mentions in several urban planning and architectural competitions and worked as a jury member in many others.

In sum, while agricultural and rural complexes were the medium for the modernization process of the rural hinterland, the urban center experienced the transformation via wide variety of building types such as public buildings, finance and trade buildings, leisure and recreation places and housing typologies. Each building type had the role in the modernization of the urban center not just with their physical existence but also with their production processes and main actors.

3.2.2.1. Representatives of the Modern City: Administrative and Public Service Buildings

In the first two decades of the Republic, the rural identity of Antalya continued with planned agricultural activities especially in the hinterland of the city. On the other hand, although few in number, administrative and public service buildings that were built in the city center were the representatives of the modern city of the new regime. Creating a modern society and providing required spaces for a modern life style were the major considerations of the Republic. The very first and the dominant example of the period was People's House (*Halkevi*) (1932) in Antalya. (Figure 3.29)

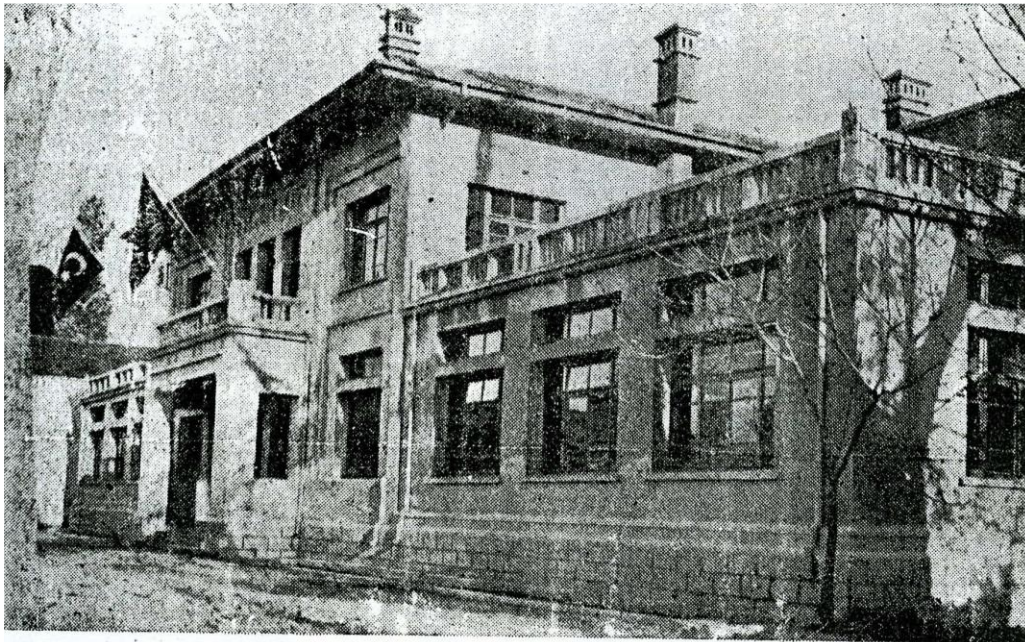


Figure 3.29. Antalya People's House (Source: *Türk Akdeniz Dergisi*, 1937)

The establishment of People's Houses aimed to spread the ideology of the new state and the principles of the governing single-party - Republican People's Party. Another important aim was to create a coherent and classless society.¹⁹⁷ With this purpose, People's Houses included various branches from language, history, literature to social aid, which acted as the media to educate the society extensively from cultural and social perspective.¹⁹⁸ During the first years, educational activities were supported with entertainment activities to attract the society's attention. People's Houses became a meeting place for citizens and their locations became a significant aspect for urban life. People's House in Antalya was established in June 24, 1932 together with nineteen other cities around Turkey.¹⁹⁹ (Figure 3.30)



Figure 3.30. Antalya People's House, 1938. (Source: Çimrin, 2007)

¹⁹⁷ Gurallar, 1997, p.57-69.

¹⁹⁸ Gurallar, 1997, p.74. The branches include drama, art, sports, library and publication, museum and exhibition, village life, public courses.

¹⁹⁹ Kapusuzoğlu, 2013, p.1.

The architectural design of People's Houses was a significant subject for Republican People's Party in an attempt to impose the new taste on the society. The buildings were supposed to represent the symbols of the nation-state and its new identity. In Antalya, People's House was established on the land of the building of the earlier similar organization *Türk Ocağı* (Turkish Heart) in Yenikapı. Designed by Architect Reşit Rıza, People's House building was located at Karaalioğlu Park.²⁰⁰ The construction process was finished in 1934. The building had a multi-purpose hall with 800 seats, meeting rooms, offices, storage, restrooms and two balconies.²⁰¹ The balconies were important architectural elements to give opportunity to the leaders to address the people. (Figure 3.31)



Figure 3.31. The front elevation drawing of Antalya People's House by Architect Reşit Rıza, 1932. (Source: Koç University AKMED Library, 2017)

²⁰⁰ Reşit Rıza, who was the architect of Antalya Municipality in the first half of the 1930s, started to work at Diyarbakır Municipality in 1936. Anon. "Duyumlar". *Arkitekt*, (1936). p.244.

²⁰¹ Kapusuzoğlu, 2013, p.77.

The construction process of People's House was used also as a tool for education. In 1933, courses about modern construction were given to carpenters and workers.²⁰² Antalya People's House carried on projects also for the rural areas. Considering the high percentage of rural population, village studies were an important medium to reach the society. The village programs included a wide range of subjects from animal care and public health to rehabilitation of the built environment. Social and cultural activities were also planned within this programs and trainings about modern living standards were given to the villagers.²⁰³

In 1950, after Democrat Party's accession to power, People's Houses were closed down because of its organic link with Republican People's Party. The building was bought by Antalya Municipality from the Ministry of Finance in 1955, and a year later, it was transformed as the municipal service building. (Figure 3.32)



Figure 3.32. Antalya People's House (taken by the author, 2015)

²⁰² Gurallar, 1997, p.86.

²⁰³ Kapusuzoğlu, 2013, pp.106-107.

While giving information about the public works of the first fifteen years of the Republic, Director of Public Works Bedi Enüstün emphasizes the road constructions in and around the city. The construction of İsmet Paşa, Ali Çetinkaya and Kazım Özalp Streets in the city center were realized within the period.²⁰⁴ Burdur roadway that connected the inner Anatolian lands to the Mediterranean, was an important development in an economic perspective; along the way, wooden bridges were changed with concrete ones. Korkuteli and Manavgat roads were reconstructed in modernized ways and Aksu Bridge was built on the Antalya-Manavgat axis in 1932. In this period, latest technology was used in road and bridge constructions that were seen as the demonstration of modernized environments.²⁰⁵ Enüstün defines Aksu Bridge as the model for the elegance in technique. It was located on a significant connection between the city center and fertilized agricultural lands of Aksu.²⁰⁶ The duality of local necessity and the central approach in the construction and architectural language could be traced in Aksu Bridge. (Figure 3.33)

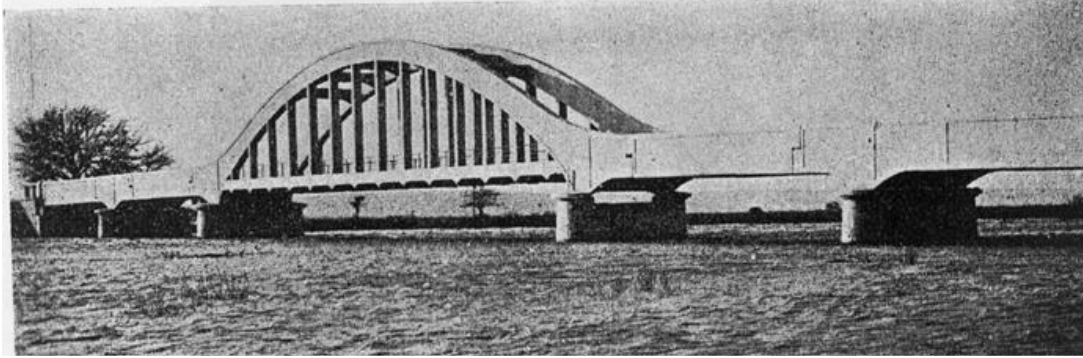


Figure 3.33. Aksu Bridge (Source: *Türk Akdeniz*, n.11-12. (1938). p.57.)

²⁰⁴ Anon. *Türk Akdeniz* v.11-12. (1938) p.31.

²⁰⁵ Hilal Tuğba Örmecioğlu, *Technology, Engineering and Modernity in Turkey: The Case of Road Bridges Between 1850 and 1960*. PhD Thesis.(Ankara: METU, 2010). p.115.

²⁰⁶ Anon. *Türk Akdeniz* v.11-12. (1938) p.53.

Alongside the efforts to create modern urban environments, the number of educational buildings were increased in cities following the instructions of the Republican regime. İsmet İnönü Institute for Girls was the first vocational school of Antalya opened after the proclamation of the Republic.(Figure 3.34) It was established with the support of Minister of Education Hasan Ali Yücel and the construction work started in 1941 with the participation of the Minister himself, together with Deputy Rasih Kaplan and Governor Haşim İşcan.²⁰⁷ *Antalya'yı Güzelleştirme İmar ve Tanıtma Cemiyeti* (The Association of Public Works, Publicity and Embellishment of Antalya) had an important role in the construction process of the institute. Besides its historical value in the education life, the building also created a border between historical Balbey District and urbanized commercial center by way of its location and also of its architectural characteristics that reflected its era. The building was two-storey with tiled roof, and in 1979 a new block with three floors was built in the same garden. In the atmosphere of solidarity, the institute was built in collaboration with the society. The institute was named as “İsmet İnönü”, which was a common name for institutes for girls all around the country. The reason behind this decision was the support of current President İsmet İnönü and First Lady Mevhibe İnönü on the spread of institutes. It is known that the institute in Antalya was a popular school of the period especially for the daughters of local bureaucrats.²⁰⁸



Figure 3.34. İsmet İnönü Institute for Girls (Source: Va-Nu, 1944)

²⁰⁷ Rıza Erdem, “Maarif Vekilimiz Antalya’da” *Türk Akdeniz*, v.4, n.21. (1941). pp.3-4.

²⁰⁸ <https://bianet.org/bianet/toplum/90466-kiz-enstitusu-ve-dogum-evi-kurtarilmali>

Located on Ali Çetinkaya Street close to İsmet İnönü Institute for Girls, İnönü Primary School was also established with the efforts of *Antalya'ya Güzelleştirme İmar ve Tanıtma Cemiyeti* (The Association of Public Works, Publicity and Embellishment of Antalya). Education in the school started in the 1946-1947 period.²⁰⁹ The most important part of its education was the special classes in which uneducated teenagers had the opportunity to learn how to read and write.²¹⁰

Another representative of the education policy of the period was Antalya Boys' Art Institute/School (*Antalya Erkek Sanat Enstitüsü/Erkek Sanat Okulu*) (currently Antalya Technical and Vocational High School) that was established in 1944 and moved to its current building in 1946. Three different buildings were added to the school complex in the 1965-1968 period.²¹¹ (Figure 3.35) Institutes of the period were the components of a comprehensive educational project that aimed at not only training teenagers but also providing them with occupation. Antalya Boys' Art Institute/School reflected not just the educational policy of the Republican regime, but also architectural and planning philosophy of the era. The analysis of the buildings in the complex reveals that the main concern in their design was to create functionalist and rationalist spaces. Changing organization of openings according to the special needs of the spaces such as ateliers, climatic solutions as concrete sun shading elements on the south façade, and colonnaded pull-back of the atelier spaces demonstrate the

²⁰⁹ İnönü Primary School was demolished in 2007 together with İsmet İnönü Institute for Girls and Maternity Hospital, which were built on the same street with the support of the association. A recreational park has been designed on the land of these three Republican buildings. Since they had significant places in the social memory of the city, during the demolition of the buildings there were protests by citizens. Hande Egel, Aydın Uçar, Eser Gültekin, "Geleceği Yaratırken Antalya'nın Yok Edilen Cumhuriyet Dönemi Yapılarının Çerçevesinde Geçmiş Hatırlama Sorunu". (n.d) p.3. The decision of Antalya Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board dated March 9, 2007 indicates that the buildings do not have the features of a cultural heritage according to the 2863 Conservation Law, and does not register the buildings as cultural heritage.

²¹⁰ Deniz, 2009, pp.141-143.

²¹¹ A Block was designed by master architect Tuğrul Atuf Kansu and application project of the same block was drawn by architect and constructor Yalçın Kaya and Ahmet Yücel. Information about the architects of the other blocks could not be found in the archival study. Kansu, graduated from Fine Arts Academy, worked for the Ministry of National Education and designed many school buildings within the Campaign of Education for more than 30 years. Metin Atuf Kansu, K.İşık Kansu, *Nafi Atuf Kansu Yaşamı ve Yazıları*. (Ankara: Mülkiyeliler Birliği, 2011). p.46.

consideration of local environmental features in its architectural design.(Figure 3.36) In addition, as a consequence of the populist approach of the period, collaborative construction process was experienced in the construction of the first building of the complex in which students were active.²¹²



Figure 3.35. Antalya Boys' Art School, Block A, 1965. (taken by the author, 2013)



Figure 3.36. Antalya Boys' Art School, Block B and metal atelier, 1946. (taken by the author, 2013)

²¹² Esin Bölükbaş Dayı, "Antalya Teknik ve Endüstri Meslek Lisesi". *Türkiye Mimarlığında Modernizmin Yerel Açılımları IX, DOCOMOMO Türkiye Ulusal Çalışma Grubu Poster Sunuşları*. (Antalya, 2013).

Besides particular public projects, infrastructural development was on the agenda of Antalya as a result of the attempts of the state in the 1950s in improving transportation. Rapid urbanization of the period led to the transformation in the physical environment and urban infrastructure projects were developed and constructed in Antalya at the time. Road network was expanded with new roads and streets²¹³ (Figure 3.37), nodal points such as the bus terminal²¹⁴ and the airport²¹⁵ that provided connection with other cities were built. (Figure 3.38) Since the city had a disadvantageous position in terms of railway connection, the construction of these communication structures was an important step for the regional development.

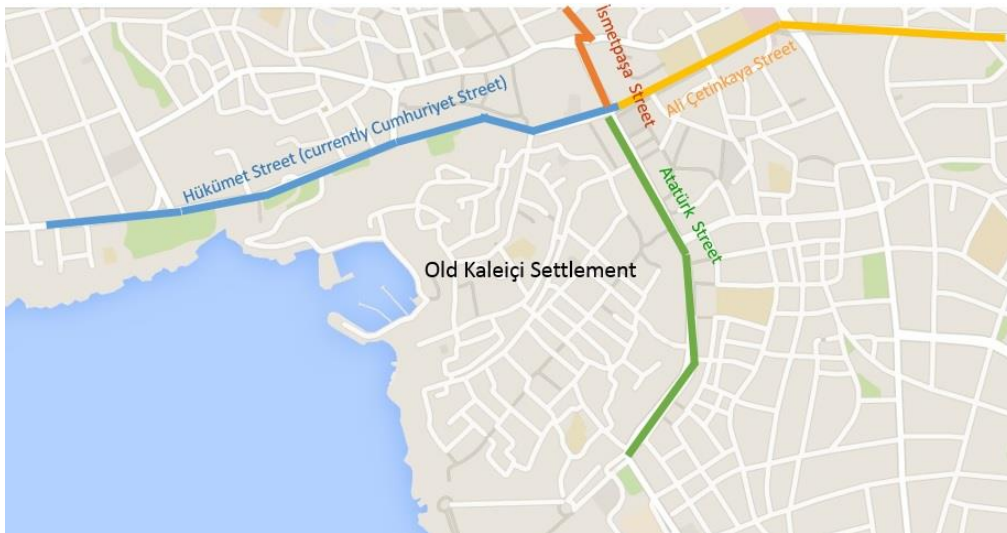


Figure 3.37. The main streets of Antalya in the early Republican period. (Reproduced on the base of Google Maps)

²¹³ At the beginning of the 1950s, the most important streets were Atatürk Street, Şarampol Street, Recep Peker Street, Hükümet Street, Hapishane Street, Ali Çetinkaya Street and Kazım Özalp Street in Antalya. Değirmenönü Street was newly constructed in these years. Gönüllü, 2010, p.191.

²¹⁴ The bus terminal was built near to the cemetery at the beginning of the 1950s. It is known that the project of the building was designed by a master architect from Ankara with the request of the municipality.

²¹⁵ In the 1950s, the airstrip was in use only during the summer periods. Following the membership of Turkey to NATO, building an airport in Antalya became a current subject, and in 1957, the construction of the airport started. Gönüllü, 2010, pp.444-445.



Figure 3.38. Antalya Airport, 1973. (Source: Antalya İl Yıllığı, 1973)

Urban planning that provided a general projection for public works became efficient after the 1950s in Antalya. After the examination of the city by a commission consisted of Assistant General Manager of Provincial Bank Mithat Yenen, master architect and urban planner Nihat Yücel²¹⁶ and designer Sabri Yetişmen, and several meetings that were organized by the Governor's Office with the local people about the public works²¹⁷, Antalya Master Plan Competition was organized by the Provincial Bank (*İller Bankası*) in 1955.²¹⁸ The first architect of Antalya, Tarık Akıltopu, who was also one of the competition participants, indicates that thirty projects participated to the competition. From his explanations that give clues about the jury process, it is understood that multiple actors, both local and central

²¹⁶ Yücel, graduated from İstanbul Fine Arts Academy in 1944-45, worked for the Provincial Bank between 1945 and 1955. He is the designer of many buildings and urban plans such as Ankara Master Plan, İstanbul Open Air Theatre, Ereğli Iron and Steel Plant, etc.

²¹⁷ Gönüllü, 2010, p. 187.

²¹⁸ The jury of the competition composed of Paul Bonatz, Mişat Yenen, Recai Akçay, Burhanettin Onat, Ahmet Tekuş, Atilla Konuk, Luigi Piccinato, Zahit Mutlusoy, Talat Özışık, Celal Uzer and Feşi Tuglar, started to evaluate the project on Jul 4, 1955 and after a week the results were announced. The exhibition of the projects was opened in İnönü Primary School on July 11, 1955. *Yarışmalar Dizini*, 2004.

representatives, were involved in the jury and were quite efficient in the final evaluation.²¹⁹ (Figure 3.39)



Figure 3.39. The 1955-August issue of the Bulletin of Chamber of Civil Engineers (*Türkiye Mühendislik Haberleri* (Engineering News in Turkey)) announces the results of the Antalya Master Plan Competition organized by the Provincial Bank.

The first master plan of the city by the team of Rauf Beyru, which was acquired as the result of the competition by the Provincial Bank, was approved by the Ministry of Public Works and Housing in 1957. (Figure 3.40) In the following period, Antalya Municipality started practices according to the plan projections that included Yenikapı, Şarampol, Bahçelievler and Kaleiçi neighborhoods. The demolition of certain buildings around the historical entities, and the

²¹⁹ He narrates the process as follows: “The Italian jury member liked the proposal of Turgut Cansever, in which the existing urban pattern was preserved and the new settlement was suggested in the region where State Hospital and Akdeniz University are located today. Even though the jury liked this project, the representatives of the municipality did not agree about the expansion projection of the project.” For the memories of Tarık Akıltopu, see: <https://www.akiltopu.com>

expropriation and parceling works especially in the city center were the major implementations of the period.²²⁰

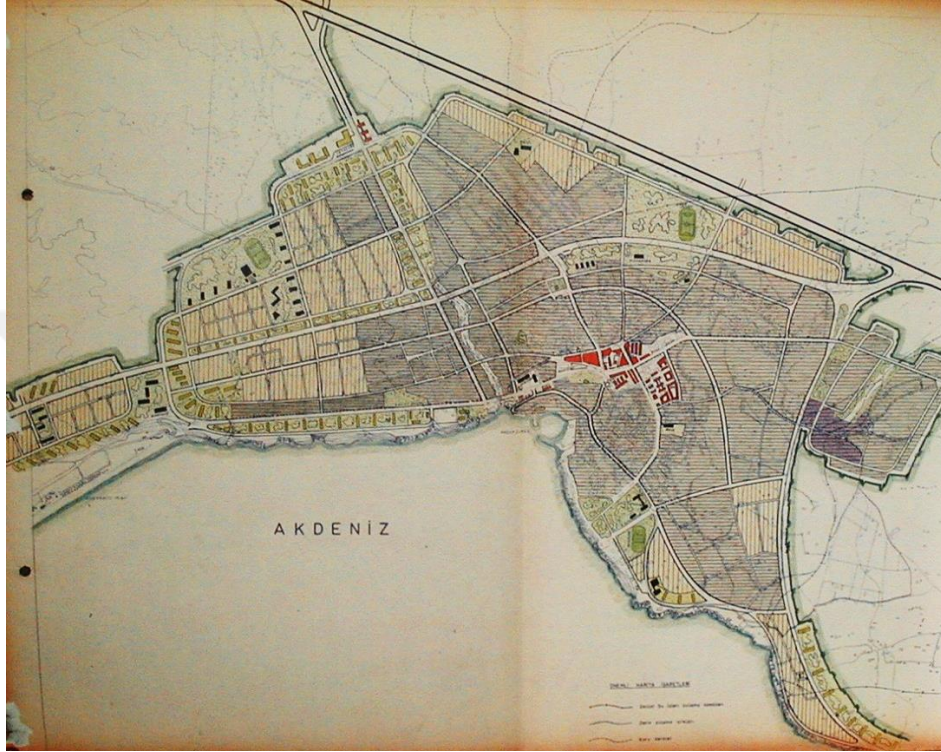


Figure 3.40. 1957 Master Plan by Rauf Beyru and et al. (Source: M. Nazım Özer archive)

Emphasizing the increase in population and industrialization, the necessity to revise the 1957 Master Plan came to the agenda as early as the end of the 1950s. (Figure 3.41) However, the decision for the revision was given in 1965, and in 1967, urban planner Bülent Berksan was commissioned for the task. 1967 Revision Plan that suggested little changes was criticized

²²⁰The first implementation of Antalya Municipality according to the approved master plan was the demolition of the patisserie, coffee-house, storehouse and power-distribution unit buildings in *Kalekapısı* (Castle Gate) in May 13, 1957. The main aim of the demolition was to open a view through the sea. In 1958, a square project started to be executed in front of Paşa Mosque. In the same year, parceling for the Blacksmiths Bazaar, and a year later, the expropriation for Industrial Bazaar started. In the 1960-1965 period, *Kalekapısı Çarşı* was formed, and the city center was enlarged to Yenikapı in the south and to Kışlahan Hotel in the north with the formation of Atatürk and Şarampol Streets. Gönüllü, 2010, p.187.

because of its main decisions which did not consider the geographical and climatic features of the region. This plan considered the conservation of Kaleiçi and protection of the Lara coast; however, it failed in the predictions about population, commerce, tourism, industry and social developments.²²¹ The projected urban expansion was on the eastern direction, and the construction of multiple-storey apartments along Konyaaltı Road became the result of the plan.²²² On the other side, developments in the city center, mainly considering the commercial life, continued until the 1970s.²²³ (Figure 3.42)

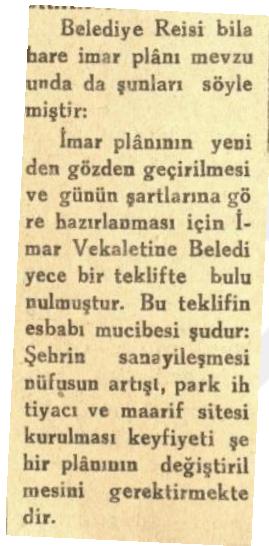


Figure 3.41. Newspaper clipping about the reasons of the renovation of the master plan (Source: *İleri*, July 30, 1958)

²²¹ The memories of Emin Kepez (an architect graduated in 1975): <http://ansiad.org.tr/old2010/v4/dergiler>

²²² Mehmet Nazım Özer, "Antalya Kıyı Alanlarının Değişimi Üzerine Saptamalar". *Planlama Dergisi* (2009). p. 60.

²²³ Between 1965 and 1970, various commercial functions were located between Kalekapısı and Belediye İşhanı. While the main core of the city was Kalekapısı and its environment, Şarampol Street was the commercial center especially for the low income group.



Figure 3.42. 1967 Master Plan by Bülent Berksan (Source: Özer, 2009, p.60)

Thereafter, the master plan designed in 1978-1980 by Zühtü Can defined the location of the important service areas as the wholesale market hall, organized industrial site, bus terminal and port. (Figure 3.43) From the late 1970s onwards, a huge demand emerged in the construction field. Some of the main reasons of this demand were the announcement of the Southern Antalya as the tourism area, the construction of the new port, the increase in the capacity of the airport, the implementation of the Kaleiçi conservation projects²²⁴, the new road through Kaş, and thus the new mission of the city as the touristic center of Turkey. All these central policies led to dramatic changes in the urban characteristic of Antalya. In parallel to the increase in population, the city experienced a linear development starting from the historical city center (Kaleiçi) to the Konyaaltı coast on the west and to the Lara-Kundu coast on the east.²²⁵

²²⁴ Kaleiçi Conservation and Development Plan was transformed into the master plan by the Municipality and approved by the Ministry of Public Works and Housing in 1982.

²²⁵ After the military intervention of September 12, 1980, the municipal border was changed and according to the new border, 1/25000 scale Environmental Master Plan was designed in 1981 and approved by the Ministry of Public Works and Housing in 1982. In 1985, due to the increase in population more than expected, the revision plan was designed and approved in 1986.

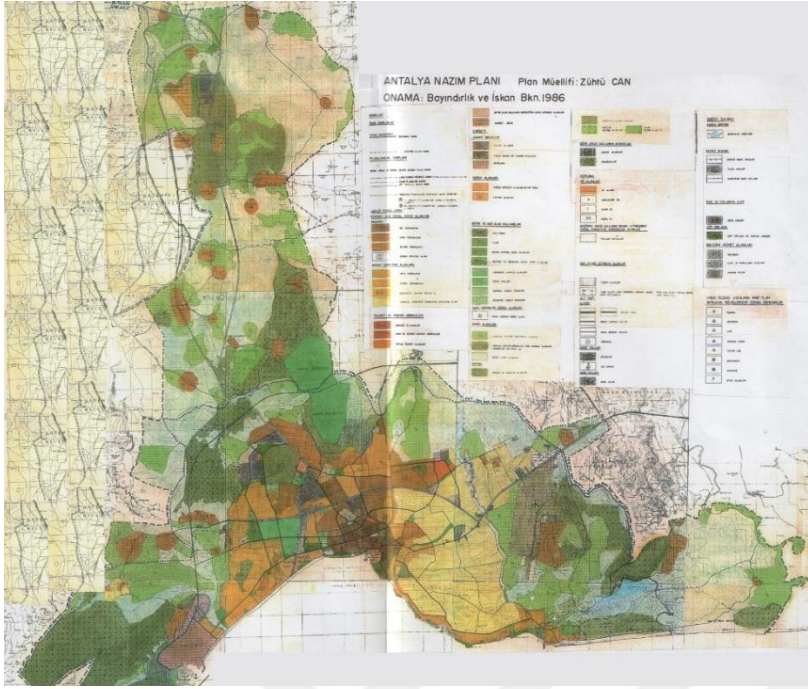


Figure 3.43. 1980 Master Plan by Zühtü Can. (Source: M. Nazım Özer archive)

Meanwhile, increasing opportunities and diversification in building typologies enriched the period in terms of architectural productions. In the 1960-80 period, headquarters of public institutions, office blocks and apartments took the place of schools, people's houses and single storey houses of the early Republican period. While the state was developing plans that would be executed by the private sector, another field where the state had an active role was the construction of administrative buildings. In parallel to the development plans of the period, regional headquarters of public institutions were established in Antalya, and their new service buildings and social centers were constructed. XIII. Regional Directorate of State Hydraulic Works (*DSİ*) (1967), Regional Directorate of Highways (1967-68), Turkish Radio and Television Association (*TRT*) (1970), Provincial Special Administration (1982) and Hacı Dudu-Mehmet Gebizli Mosque (1978), a modest religious project of the period, were among them.

XIII. Regional Directorate of State Hydraulic Works (*DSİ*) was built in 1967 on the land that had been expropriated at the end of the 1950s.²²⁶ The building is located on the northern side of the city, which had yet been unsettled in the period. (Figure 3.44)



Figure 3.44. XIII. Regional Directorate of State Hydraulic Works (DSİ), 1967. (Source: Galip Büyükyıldırım, *20. Yüzyılda Su İşleri ve Antalya*. (Ankara: DSİ, 2017), p.363)

The building presents similarities in its design with the General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works in Ankara,²²⁷ which was built in 1964. Its high-rise and rectangular form is in line with the main principles of the modernist International Style, which had become the subject of discussions in the post-war decades in relation to the new searches in formal organizations. (Figure 3.45- 3.46)

²²⁶ Information about the architect of the building could not be found in the archival study.

²²⁷ The project of the General Headquarter of State Hydraulic Works in Ankara was obtained after a competition. The winner project was designed by Behruz Çinici, Teoman Doruk and Enver Tokay. Özgecan Canarslan, “Devlet Su İşleri Genel Müdürlüğü Binası, Ankara”. *Türkiye Mimarlığında Modernizmin Yerel Açılımları II, DOCOMOMO Türkiye Ulusal Çalışma Grubu Poster Sunuşları*, (İzmir, 2005).



Figure 3.45. XIII. Regional Directorate of State Hydraulic Works (DSİ), 1967. (Source: Büyükyıldırım, 2017, p.363.)



Figure 3.46. XIII. Regional Directorate of State Hydraulic Works (DSİ), built in 1967. (taken by the author, 2017)

Turkish Radio and Television Association (*TRT*) building, built in 1970, was also an example of the modern rationalist approach, which was adopted and commonly used during the post-

war decades.²²⁸ Its right-angular system and symmetric plan and façade organization were strengthened with the emphasized vertical circulation on the front façade and horizontal sequence with flat roof and extended balconies. (Figure 3.47)



Figure 3.47. Turkish Radio and Television Association (TRT) building, built in 1970. (taken by the author, 2014)

Regional Directorate of Highways (1967-68), designed by architect Nezihi Özyalçın²²⁹, is a precise design that considered the geographic and climatic peculiarities of its environment. While following the modern architecture language, solutions such as sun shading elements, arcaded entrance zone, reflection pool in front of the south façade and openings on the interior walls were developed to create natural climatization and ventilation. The building attempts to

²²⁸ The building was demolished in 2016.

²²⁹ Architect Nezihi Özyalçın was graduated from İstanbul Technical University in 1958 and established his company in Antalya in 1962.

make an interpretation of modern architecture by utilizing local and regional features, similar to solutions suggested in other Mediterranean countries at the time.²³⁰ (Figure 3.48-3.52)



Figure 3.48. Regional Directorate of Highways (1967-68) (taken by the author, 2017)



Figure 3.49. The arcaded entrance of the Regional Directorate of Highways (1967-68) (taken by the author, 2017)

²³⁰ Lejeune and Sabatino, 2010, p.6.



Figure 3.50. Reflection pool in front of the south façade of the Regional Directorate of Highways (1967-68) (taken by the author, 2017)



Figure 3.51. Openings on the interior walls of the Regional Directorate of Highways that were used for natural ventilation (taken by the author, 2017)



Figure 3.52. Main staircase of the Regional Directorate of Highways (1967-68) (taken by the author, 2017)

Another public building built by the state was the Provincial Special Administration building (1982). The building, consisted of a 14-storey office block that was built up on a two-storey multifunctional unit, had a public square in its front. The layout of the project was reflecting the Wrightian plasticity that depended on angular movement in principle. Defined as *Organhaft* architecture in the literature, the formation aimed at distorting the strict and rigid geometrical approach of the International Style of the 1950s, and introduced fragmentation on the plans and façade organizations. Turkey met this concept firstly with the Sheraton Hotel in İstanbul (1958-74), Grand Ankara Hotel (1960) and Ministry of Defense Student Dormitories (1967-68).²³¹ Antalya Provincial Special Administration building might be seen as a late example of the approach. At the same time, its high-rise office block, which was not common in the neighborhood, provided a monumental appearance to the building.²³² (Figure 3.53- 3.54)



Figure 3.53. Antalya Provincial Special Administration (1982)
(Source: <http://www.kemerhaber.com/>)

²³¹ Yücel, 1984, p.135.

²³² The building was demolished in 2014 due to structural problems.



Figure 3.54. Antalya Provincial Special Administration in 1970s. (Source: wowturkey.com)

Hacı Dudu-Mehmet Gebizli Mosque (1978), designed by architect Özcan Kırmızıoğlu²³³, is one of the limited number of religious buildings in Turkey in which new formal organization with contemporary materials was searched for. (Figure 3.55) The dominant material of the period was reinforced concrete and Kocatepe Mosque by Vedat Dalokay became an inspiration with its reinforced concrete shell and plank design for contemporary mosque designs in the country.²³⁴ However, the formal organization of Gebizli Mosque resembles Dalokay's Shah Faisal Mosque (1973) in Islamabad.(Figure 3.56) Its triangular spaces located on a grid system provides a monumental and sculptural effect to the mosque. Even though it has a modest scale and it is an unknown and late example, the building could be classified among qualified contemporary mosques in Turkey. On the other hand, Gebizli Mosque also reveals the increasing interaction possibilities in worldwide scale thanks to the developments in the communication field in the era.

²³³ Özcan Kırmızıoğlu (1934-2018) was graduated from State Fine Arts Academy in 1959 and designed many buildings in Antalya during his career.

²³⁴ Hasret Akdoğan, Hilal Tuğba Örmecioğlu, "Hacı Dudu- Mehmet Gebizli Camii". *Türkiye Mimarlığında Modernizmin Yerel Açılımları X, DOCOMOMO Türkiye Ulusal Çalışma Grubu Poster Sunuşları*, (Erzurum, 2014).



Figure 3.55. Gebizli Mosque (taken by the author, 2013)



Figure 3.56. Shah Faisal Mosque (Source: http://www.mimarizm.com/makale/sah-faisal-cami-vedat-dalokay_113495)

In the years between 1972-74, Ministry of Public Works organized architectural competitions for the Museum, Governor's Office and Tourism and Hotel Management High School in Antalya. In 1983, competitions for the Palace of Justice (1983) by the Ministry of Public Works and for Antalya Faculty of Medicine Training and Research Hospital (1983) by Ankara University were organized.

Antalya Museum designed by Doğan Tekeli, Sami Sisa and Metin Hepgüler is an example of the articulated plan scheme that was widely applied from the 1960s onwards.²³⁵ (Figure 3.57-3.60) The plan concept, the relation of spaces with exhibits, building organization in changing spatial problems and environmental and climatic features of the location were defined as the main considerations of the jury.²³⁶ The proposal was formed of small blocks, considering the relation with the city and natural assets. The sizes of the articulated volumes were defined according to the exhibition methods and exhibited materials. The project also offers open exhibition areas to take the advantage of natural environment. The building gains a strong horizontal characteristic with flat roof and horizontal windows in contrast to the natural scene of Beydağları. The surfaces of the building were designed in the modern style with their plenary organization and pure facades. The relation of interior and exterior spaces was seen as one of the positive features by the jury of the competition. The projects that received the second and the third prizes in the competition also consisted of small blocks as a reflection of the mainstream approach of the period. (Figure 3.61- 3.62)

²³⁵ Afife Batur, *A Concise History: Architecture in Turkey during the 20th Century*. (Ankara: Chamber of Architects of Turkey, 2005). p.70.

²³⁶ Anon., "Antalya Bölge Müzesi Mimari Proje Yarışması Jüri Raporu". *Arkitekt*, v.1. (1964). p.28.

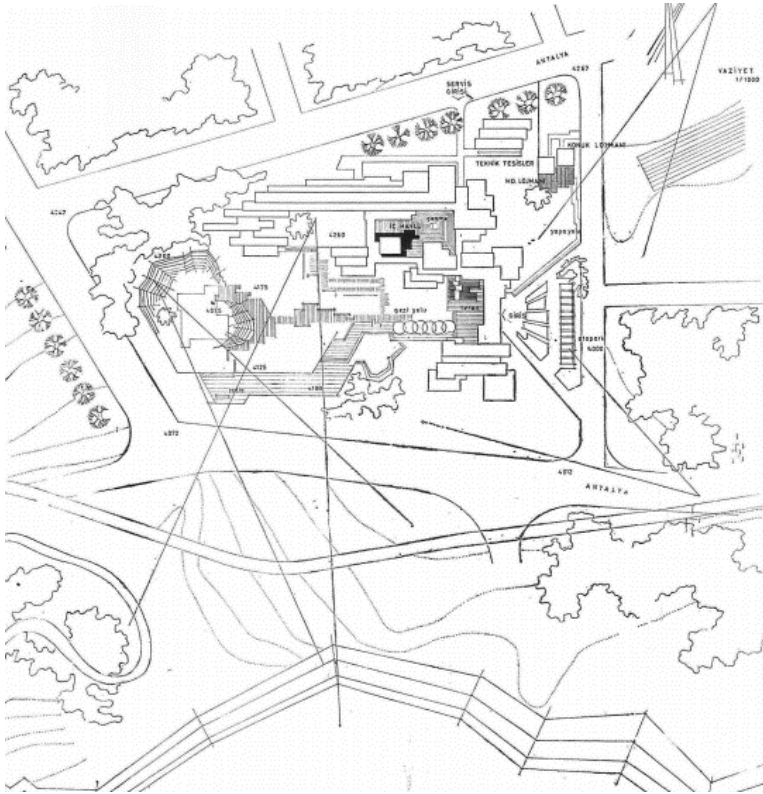


Figure 3.57. Site plan (Source: Anon., *Arkitekt*, 1964, p.29.)

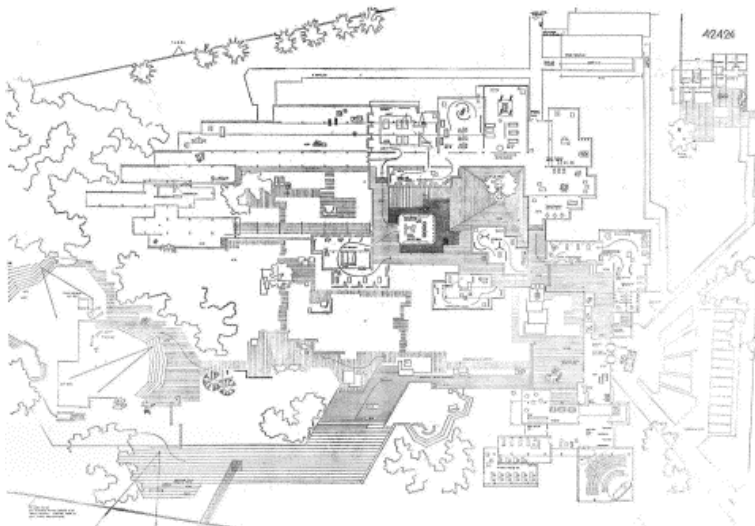


Figure 3.58. Floor plan (Source: Anon., *Arkitekt*, 1964, p.30.)

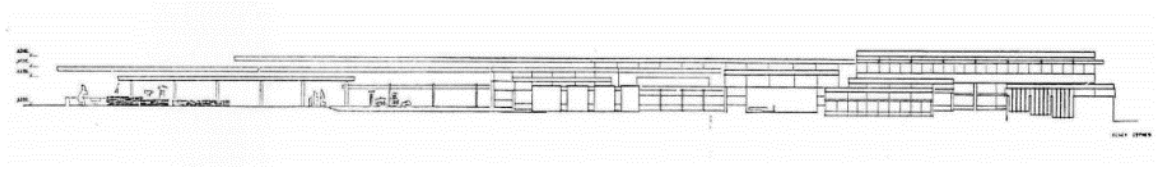


Figure 3.59. South facade (Source: Anon., *Arkitekt*, 1964, p.31.)



Figure 3.60. Entrance of Antalya Museum (taken by the author, 2018)

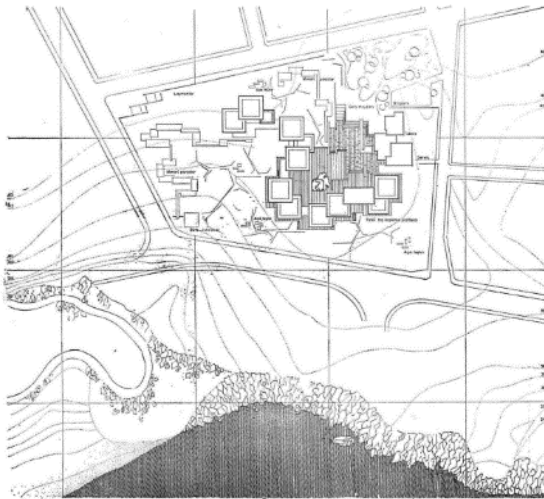


Figure 3.61. Second prize by Şaziment and Neşet Arolat. (Source: Anon., *Arkitekt*, 1964, p.32.)

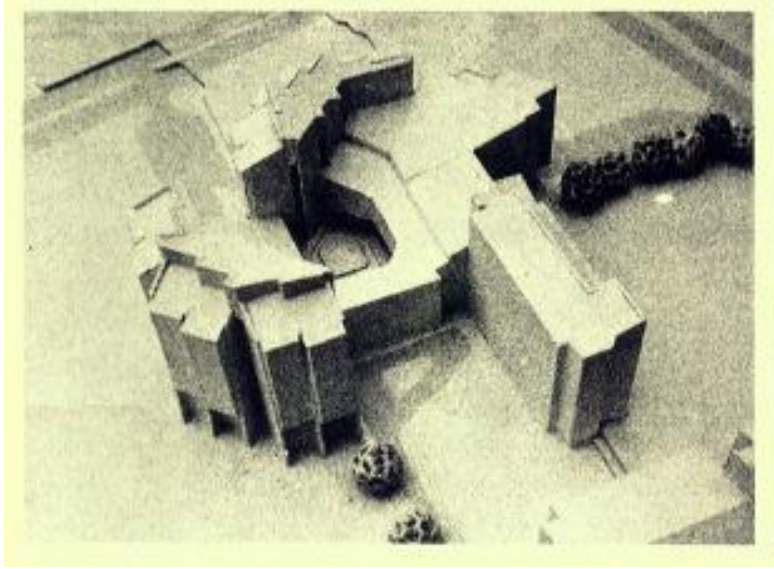


Figure 3.63. Winner project by Zafer Aldemir, Nühket Ünsal, Osman Türker, Mehmet Avcı.
(Source: Anon. *Mimarlık*, 1975, p.20.)



Figure 3.64. Winner project by Zafer Aldemir, Nühket Ünsal, Osman Türker, Mehmet Avcı
(Source: Anon. *Mimarlık*, 1975, p.20.)

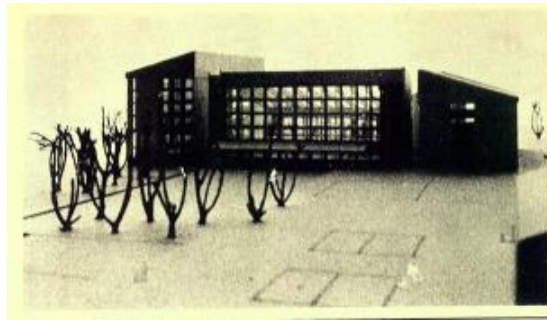
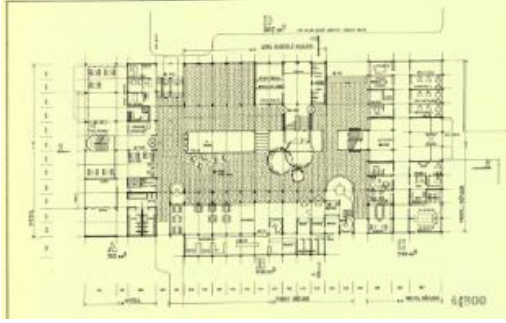


Figure 3.65. The ground plan of the second prize project by Filiz Erkal-Coşkun Erkal. (Source: Anon. *Mimarlık*, 1975, p.20.)

Figure 3.66. The model of the second prize project by Filiz Erkal-Coşkun Erkal. (Source: Anon. *Mimarlık*, 1975, p.20.)

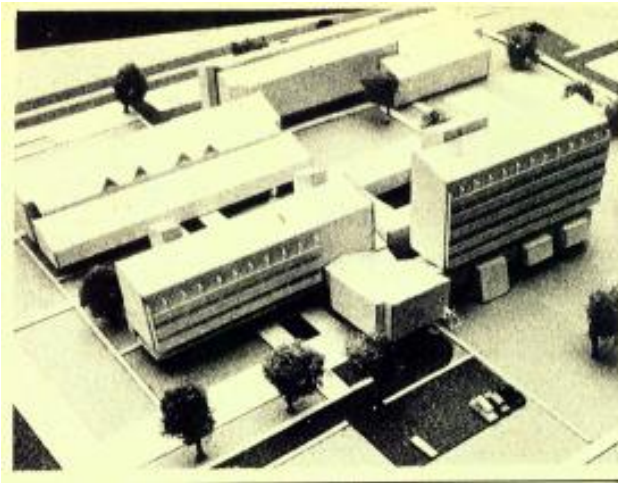


Figure 3.67. The model of the third prize project by Nuran Karaaslan, Merih Karaaslan and Mahmut Tuna. (Source: Anon. *Mimarlık*, 1975, p.20.)

Figure 3.68. The ground floor plan of the third prize project by Nuran Karaaslan, Merih Karaaslan and Mahmut Tuna. (Source: Anon. *Mimarlık*, 1975, p.20.)

In the 1970s, new buildings for Government Offices in accordance with the changing necessities of the bureaucratic structure came to the agenda for many cities. Ministry of Public Works preferred to organize competitions for each city in order to obtain the architectural projects of Government Offices. For Antalya, a competition was organized in 1973 and the

project of Mahmut Tuna, Merih Karaaslan and Önen Aktürk won the competition.²³⁹ The former Government Office building was demolished and the construction of the new project started in 1974 on the same location, which is on Cumhuriyet Square.²⁴⁰ (Figure 3.69) Architect Merih Karaaslan criticized the architectural language of their design in an interview dated 1984. Focusing on the roof type of the building, he remarked that, even though the main consideration was to keep a balance with the society and the human scale, the building failed in the representation of its administrative function. Karaaslan defined the building form in reference to the rural characteristic and related this approach to the rural life style of small cities in the competition period.²⁴¹



Figure 3.69. Antalya Government Office built in 1974. (Source: Anon., “Söyleşi: Osmanlı’dan Bugüne Hükümet Konakları, Güven Birkan, İnci Aslanoğlu, Baran İdil, Umut İnan, Merih Karaaslan, İlber Ortaylı, Naci Özbek, Affan Yatman”. *Mimarlık*, vol.5. (1984). p. 11.)

²³⁹ Anon., *Yarışmalar Dizini*, 2004.

²⁴⁰ In 2008, the building was demolished and the square has been enlarged.

²⁴¹ Anon., *Mimarlık*, 1984, p.11.

Two competitions in 1983 for Palace of Justice by the Ministry of Public Works and Antalya Faculty of Medicine Training and Research Hospital by Ankara University, had a great impact on the urban morphology. Located on the two sides of a newly-developed boulevard, the buildings acted important roles in the development of new neighborhoods.²⁴²

The analysis on the buildings of the period for public administration and public services reveals that, even though the state had the pioneering role in the design and construction of public buildings in all times, the local support was more perceivable in the early period of the Republic. The participation of the local people, collaboration of non-profit associations and interaction between the center and local dynamics resulted in the spaces that became a part of the urban memory afterwards. On the other hand, in the second half of the twentieth century, central decisions and applications were more dominant in the formation of public places of the city. While the buildings were more representative in terms of the mainstream architectural approaches in post-war decades, the sense of local ownership could not be observed as much as the earlier decades. Still, the consideration of the environmental conditions continued without any rupture, and acclimated local building types of the earlier period gave place to the buildings in which climatic solutions were developed by using contemporary construction techniques.

3.2.2.2. Places for Modern Economic Life: Finance and Trade Buildings

Besides administrative and service buildings of public use, buildings for finance and trade were also significant for understanding the transformation of the economic life in Antalya within the modernization process. The economic policy of the early Republican period mainly aimed to reduce foreign dependency. Thus, the State Monopolies (*İnhisarlar İdaresi*, later *Tekel*) organization was the pioneer of the economic and social arrangements of the state while supporting national production.²⁴³ In many cities, the buildings of the organization were

²⁴² Aydın Uçar et al. “Antalya Adalet Sarayı”. *Türkiye Mimarlığında Modernizmin Yerel Açılımları VII, DOCOMOMO Türkiye Ulusal Çalışma Grubu Poster Sunuşları*, (Mersin, 2011).

²⁴³ Sinan Demirbilek, “Tek Parti Döneminde İnhisarlar (1923-1946)”. *ÇTTAD*, XII/24. (2012). pp.203-232.

constructed during the period. Ankara Headquarters of State Monopolies by Giulio Mongeri (1928), and its buildings in Antalya (1934) and Konya (1935) by Tahir Tuğ²⁴⁴, and Afyon (1937-38) were the earlier examples. The so-called Ankara “cubic style” of current modern approach was dominant in Tahir Tuğ’s designs of State Monopolies buildings in Antalya and Konya. Located on an L-shape plot, the rectilinear plan organization of the building in Antalya was enforced with the symmetrical and cubic window projections.²⁴⁵ Functionality was the main consideration both in the plan layout and the choice of building materials. Climatic necessities were regarded, contemporary materials and techniques were applied in the construction.²⁴⁶ (Figure 3.70- 3.71)

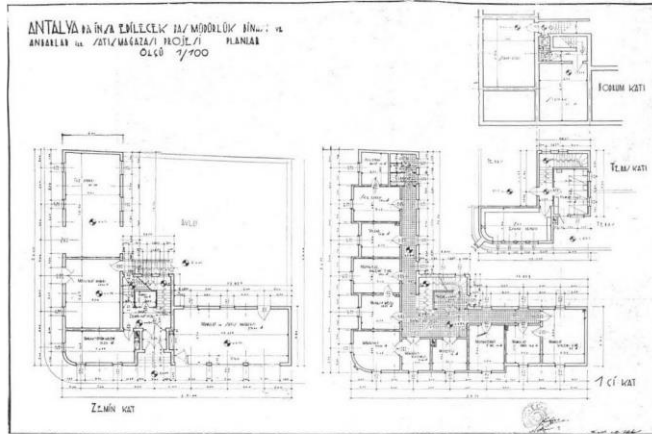


Figure 3.70. Antalya Monopoly Building (Source: A. Tahir “Antalya İnhisarlar Müstakil Müdürlük Binası Projesi”. *Arkitekt.* (1934-11). pp.305-306)

²⁴⁴ Tahir Tuğ was graduated from Fine Arts Academy in 1934. His Monopoly Building designs in Antalya and Sivas were published in *Arkitekt.* He also designed Konya Monopoly building in 1935. In 1941, he started to work in the architectural office of the Ministry of Education.

²⁴⁵ Bozdoğan indicates that many Turkish architect were influenced by the so-called Ankara cubic or Vienne cubic style. The inverted T-shape projections of Holzmeister and the cubic window projections of Egli were the models in this sense. Bozdoğan, 2012, pp.201-203.

²⁴⁶ Tahir Tuğ, “İnhisarlar İdare Binası”. *Arkitekt* (1935-09). pp.245-246; A. Tahir, “Antalya İnhisarlar Müstakil Müdürlük Binası Projesi”. *Arkitekt* (1934-11). pp.305-306; Anon. “İnhisarlar”. *Türk Akdeniz* n.11-12. (1938). p.118.

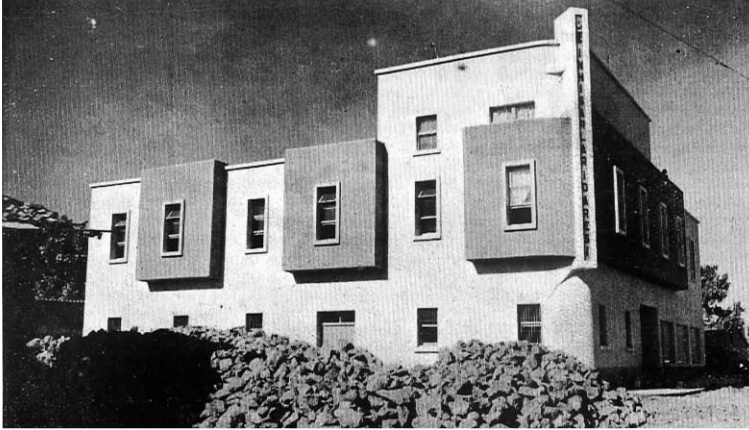


Figure 3.71. Antalya Monopoly Building (Source: Tuğ, 1935, pp.245-246)

Another intervention of the state to promote national production was to support private enterprises. As early as 1924, the first bank, *İş Bankası* (Business Bank), was founded by the support of the state, to be followed by other state-funded banks during the 1920s and the 1930s, in order to support production with credits. The bank buildings of the period were the indicators of the new economic system, but more importantly became the spaces for new life practices.²⁴⁷ Towards the 1950s, increasing population, urban growth and industrial development increased the need of credits and funds and the first private banks started to be established. In the architectural features of the bank buildings, the common architectural approaches of the period could be traced, changing in time from modernist to historicist and to modernist again from the 1930s onwards, as seen in the examples in Antalya.²⁴⁸

The two banks of the Ottoman period had their branches in Antalya: *Ziraat Bankası* (Agriculture Bank) and *Osmanlı Bankası* (Ottoman Bank). Two new banks also opened branches until the 1940s: *İş Bankası* (Business Bank) and *Emlak Kredi Bankası* (Bank of Real Estate and Credit). After 1950, in parallel with the growing trade in the city, bank buildings were renovated or new buildings were designed for the banks. The new building of *Ziraat*

²⁴⁷ Elvan Altan Ergut, “Ankara “Bankalar Caddesi” ve Ötesi.” *Bülten*, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi. (2005). pp.28-29.

²⁴⁸ Anon., “Yapı Kredi Bankası Bursa Şubesi”, *Arkitekt*, v.209. (1949). pp.97-99.

Bankası opened with a ceremony with the participation of Governor İ. Sabri Çağlayangil (1950-1953). In 1954, Antalya Branch of *Türk Ticaret Bankası* was built by the constructors Nadir Berksoy and İsmail Kulak, while a year later, *Halk Bankası* Antalya Branch was established in an existing building (the ground floor of Yayla Palas Hotel).²⁴⁹



Figure 3.72. Bank buildings on Atatürk Street (taken by the author, 2016)

The first bank buildings were located in the Kaleiçi region in Antalya. After the 1940s, due to the urban growth and the emergence of potential lands for new constructions, bank buildings started to be built on the main arteries of the urban context. While *Türk Ticaret Bankası* and *Ziraat Bankası* were located on Atatürk Street (Figure 3.72)²⁵⁰, Antalya Branch of Central Bank of Turkey was built on a plot on Ali Çetinkaya Road in 1963.²⁵¹ (Figure 3.73) Rationalist and functionalist approach of the period was reflected in the prismatic buildings that were complemented with the contemporary interpretation of traditional elements. Providing consistency with the existing built environment was considered in the bank buildings in terms

²⁴⁹Gönüllü, 2010, p.449.

²⁵⁰ Information about the architects of the buildings could not be found in the archival study.

²⁵¹ The plot, which was formerly a library, was located on the opposite of İnönü Primary School.

of scale whereas façade organizations, especially of the front façades, carried monumental features that emphasize the public use of the buildings.



Figure 3.73. Antalya Branch of the Central Bank of Turkey (Source: *Antalya İl Yıllığı*, 1973)

Consequent to the agricultural potentials of the country, Commodity Exchanges (*Ticaret Borsaları*) were seen as important mediums to transform agricultural productivity into a powerful economic source for the country. As one of the earlier examples, Commodity Exchange was established in 1920 in Antalya.²⁵² In 1951, Antalya Commodity Exchange building underwent a comprehensive renovation and in 1959 its new building, designed on the

²⁵² The first Commodity Exchange was established in İzmir in 1891, the followings were in Konya (1912), Adana (1913) and Antalya (1920). Güven Dinç, Nimet Ayşe Bakırcılar, *Geçmişten Günümüze Antalya Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası*. (Antalya: Turkuaz Yayınları, 2012). p.80; Mustafa K. Yılmaz, Gökhan Mirahmetoğlu, “Türkiye’de Ticaret Borsalarının Gelişimi, Ekonomideki Yeri ve Performansı Üzerine Analitik Bir Değerlendirme”. *The Journal of Accounting and Finance*, Issue 33. (2007). p. 82.

same plot by master architect Turan Kemaloğlu²⁵³, was opened with the participation of Governor Niyazi Akı.²⁵⁴ (Figure 3.74- 3.75)



Figure 3.74. Antalya Commodity Exchange Building, 1970s. (Source: Çimrin, 2007, p. 299)

Figure 3.75. Antalya Commodity Exchange Building, 2018. (taken by the author)

After the 1950s, changing economic policies introduced new building typologies with new functions. While bazaars (*çarşı*), traditional or modernized, were the spaces for the main economic activities in the early Republican period, a new typology called *İşhanı* (Office Block) was introduced in the post-war decades, including commercial stores and passages in the ground and office units in the upper floors. Responding to the need of the increasing population and developing commercial facilities, office blocks were usually designed as high-rise buildings in central locations by means of the developments in construction techniques and materials of the era. The Kalekapısı region, which was the center of commerce during the previous years, became the favorite location for this typology in Antalya. With the construction of these buildings, the central zone had an increase in density. *Vakıf İşhanı*, built by Directorate

²⁵³ Turan Kemaloğlu was graduated from İstanbul Technical University in 1952.

²⁵⁴ Gönüllü, 2010, p.446.

of Foundations in the 1970s²⁵⁵, had eight floors consisted of offices, shops and a restaurant. The office floors were used by both the public institutions and private companies; shops and the restaurant on the eight floor contributed to the social and economic life of the city.²⁵⁶ The reiterated façade organization of the building contributed to its modernist language, while sun shading elements represented the local consideration in its architectural design. (Figure 3.76)

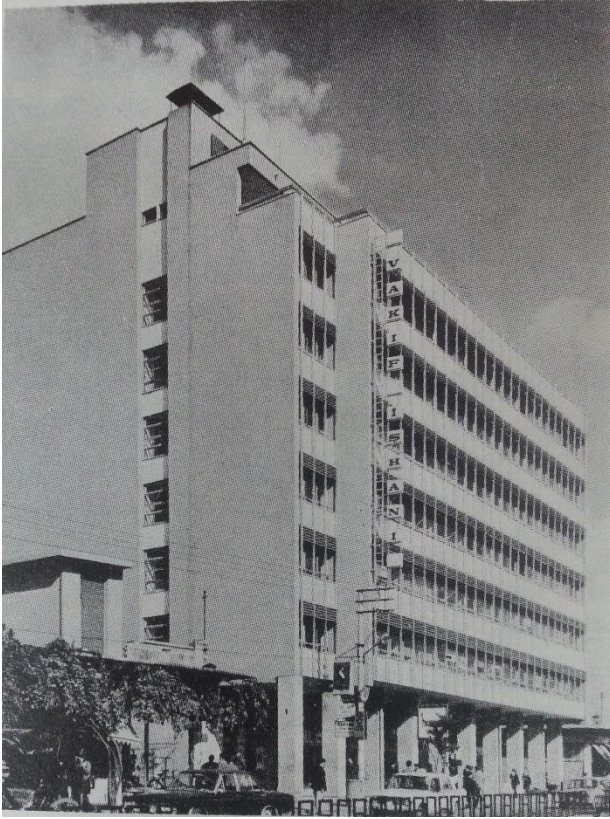


Figure 3.76. *Vakıf İşhanı* (Source: *Antalya İl Yıllığı*, 1973)

²⁵⁵ Information about the architect of *Vakıf İşhanı* could not be found in the archival study. The building was demolished in 2008.

²⁵⁶ *Antalya İl Yıllığı*. (1973). p.226.

In the opposite corner of *Vakıf İşhanı*, *Belediye İşhanı* (Municipality Office Blok) was built in 1964 on the plot of *Kasap Hali* (Butcher Market Place).²⁵⁷ (Figure 3.77) *Belediye İşhanı* was a modest representative of the prevailing modern architectural language of the post-war period. Two little office towers were located on a horizontal commercial base on an important corner of the city center. The cubic and plain organization of the building reflected the rational and functional priorities of the era. (Figure 3.78) In 1976, during the 13th Antalya International Film and Art Festival (The Plastic Arts Festival), artist Orhan Taylan painted the legend of Prometheus to the blind wall of the building.(Figure 3.79) However, after the Military Coup of 1980, the mural painting was covered, as a result of the claim that it had a hidden political message.²⁵⁸ (Figure 3.80) Representing both the cultural production of the period and also the effect of political mechanisms on arts and architecture, *Belediye İşhanı* gives information about the life practices of the period.²⁵⁹



Figure 3.77. *Kasap Hali* (Butcher Market Place), 1942. Built in 1932 by the Municipality. (Source: Çimrin, 2007, p. 307)

²⁵⁷ The building was designed by technician Nedim Yaltırık. Since Yaltırık was not legally authorized for designing the project, it was submitted by engineer Hacı Kayı for approval. Hilal Tuğba Örmecioğlu et al., “Antalya Kırımlioğlu İşhanı”. *Türkiye Mimarlığında Modernizmin Yerel Açılımları VII, DOCOMOMO Türkiye Ulusal Çalışma Grubu Poster Sunuşları*, (Mersin, 2011). After the demolishing of Vakıf İşhanı in 2008, the building was transferred from the Municipality to the General Directorate of Foundations.

²⁵⁸ <http://www.fullantalya.com/prometheusu-kurtardik-diyelim-peki-ya-digerleri/>

²⁵⁹ SALT Beyoğlu (2013) *Scared of Murals*, SALT Online (2013) *Talk: Orhan Taylan, Selahattin Tonguç*. (<https://saltonline.org/tr/521/konusma-orhan-taylan-ve-selahattin-tonguc>)



Figure 3.78. *Belediye İşhanı* (Source: <http://fairycrab.blogspot.com/2018/06/3-perecin-rehberliginde-scarpanin-ve.html>)



Figure 3.79. Mural Painting by Orhan Taylan on *Belediye İşhanı*, late 1970s. (Source: <http://fairycrab.blogspot.com/2018/06/3-perecin-rehberliginde-scarpanin-ve.html>)



Figure 3.80. *Belediye* (currently *Vakıf İşhanı*, 2017). (Source: Google Maps)

Due to their significant positions in economic life, finance and trade buildings became efficient factors in the urban development process in Antalya. Located in the city center and usually built by the central mechanisms, these buildings also contributed to the modern face of the city with their functional design approaches.

3.2.2.3. Places for Modern Social Life: Buildings for Leisure and Recreation

Creating a modern society would not be possible just with modern boulevards and public buildings, but also daily life of the society needed to change via modernized urban spaces.²⁶⁰ For this reason, the planning of leisure and recreational facilities was an inseparable part of the modernization project.

²⁶⁰ Zeynep Uludağ, “Mimarlık Tarih Yazımına Eleştirel Bir Bakış: Cumhuriyetin Modern Kent Peyzajını Okumak” in *Cumhuriyet’in Mekanları, Zamanları, İnsanları*. ed. Elvan Altan Ergut, Bilge İmamoğlu. (Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları, 2010). pp.153- 168.

Sea bathing practice, which had started in the late Ottoman period, continued in the early Republican period. It is known that the sea bath in Mermerli, a quarter in Kaleiçi, Antalya, was still in use during the period of 1930-1935. The access to the bath was provided by a 25-30 meters' length, and 1-meter width wooden dock. In the middle of the structure, a pool with sea water was designed for the ones who were not able to swim properly. Sea bath was used by men in the mornings and by women in the afternoons.²⁶¹ (Figure 3.81- 3.83)

Sea baths are seen as the initial models of beach facilities in coastal cities. The transformation in sea bathing/swimming places after the proclamation of the Republic demonstrates the impacts of the changing power on social life. The enclosed and gender-oriented layout of sea bathes were transformed into mix-used and open environments after the proclamation of the Republic.²⁶² The reformist attitude of the new regime could easily be followed in daily life practices as seen in seaside environments. Gürel argues that the transformation in daily life practices was not the result of a unilateral imposition; rather, the involved actors as administrators, designers, builders and users were the ones that triggered the modernization experience.²⁶³

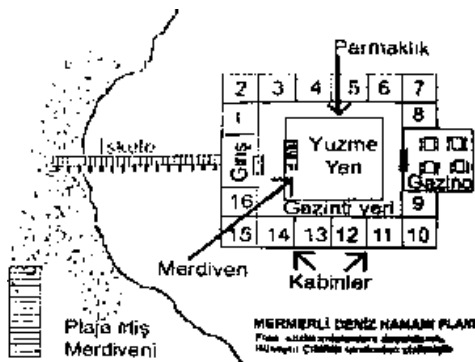


Figure 3.81. A schematic drawing of Mermerli Sea Bath (Source: Çimrin, 2007)

²⁶¹ Memoirs of Tarık Akıltopu, the first architect of Antalya. (<https://www.akiltopu.com>)

²⁶² Meltem Ö. Gürel, “Seashore Readings: the Road From Sea Baths to Summerhouses in Mid-Twentieth Century İzmir” in *Mid-Century Modernism in Turkey: Architecture Across Cultures in the 1950s and 1960s*. (Oxon: Routledge, 2018). pp.45-73.

²⁶³ Meltem Ö. Gürel, 2018, pp.45-73.



Figure 3.82. Sea Bath typology introduced by Yağan. (Source: Yağan, 2018)

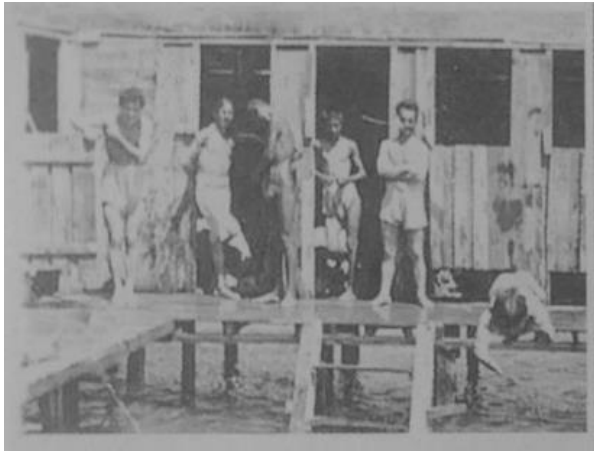


Figure 3.83. Mermerli Sea Bath, 1930s. (Source: Hüseyin Çimrin Archive)

Besides sea baths, another dominant activity special to the Antalya region was related to the nomadic life style. During the early periods of the twentieth century, the society continued to live in a semi-nomadic way (staying in Antalya in winters and going to calmer regions, highlands (*yayla*) in summers). However, developed commercial, industrial and public life of the city, especially after 1950s, did not give opportunity to leave the city seasonally. Therefore, alternatives were developed to struggle with the climatic problems in summers. The initial solution was to get benefit from the sea in the areas close to the city center. A sort of a modern interpretation of traditional life-style was experienced in the waterfront by which both nomad culture and also sea bathing practice of the society continued in an altered way. Temporary

settlements were placed on Konyaaltı and Lara beaches by using straws. The settlements were developed as local summer cottages called '*oba*' (the term *çardak* is used in Manavgat, and Side regions) in time and generated a new and unique lifestyle for the city.²⁶⁴ (Figure 3.84)



Figure 3.84. "*Oba*"s in Konyaaltı, 1978. (Source: Çimrin, 2007)

In parallel to the public demand for this summer life style, around 50-60 wooden *obas* were built in Konyaaltı in 1957 to be rented by the citizens.²⁶⁵ Although 'these were also mainly for the local people, in the first years, German tourists, who were attracted by the Governor Niyazi Akı's interview with the German magazine Bunte, were also hosted in them. The attempt of the governor is known as the trigger for the development of international tourism in Antalya.²⁶⁶

The spontaneous and simple local identity of *obas* gave place to the iterant architectural language of the chain of touristic hotels with the planned tourism policies in time. *Oba* life

²⁶⁴ Büyükyıldırım, 2017, p.368.

²⁶⁵ *Obas* with two rooms and a kitchen had water and electricity installation and were rented out for 90 liras in 1957. Gönüllü, 2010, p.220.

²⁶⁶ Çimrin, 2007, p.630.

continued in Konyaaltı until the 1990s and in Lara until the 2000s. This culture still survives in a few locations out of the city center. (Figure 3.85)



Figure 3.85. ‘Oba’s in Kumköy, 2018. (Source: www.hurriyet.com.tr)

In the transformation of the sea side environments, Governor’s Office, Special Provincial Administration and Municipality acted important roles by importing beach facilities and building rentable *obas* in the Konyaaltı and Lara coasts. (Figure 3.86) For the rehabilitation of the Lara coast, another local actor, Güzeloba Village, was also participated in the process. The association composed of Special Provincial Administration, Antalya Municipality and Güzeloba Village, carried out the projects of hydroelectric plant, beach casino, changing rooms and camping site with forty-three *obas* inside in the first half of the 1950s.²⁶⁷ It is known that the central government also gave support for the development of the region in terms of beach facilities. (Figure 3.87)

²⁶⁷ Gönüllü, 2010, p. 221.

As a coastal Mediterranean city, Antalya had the advantageous environmental dynamics in its modernization history. The combination of natural sources, traditional life style and central-local authorities with modern urban approaches resulted in unique projects such as the development of the Konyaaltı and Lara beaches as touristic areas towards the end of the twentieth century. On the other hand, the city was also under the effect of mainstream ideologies of the country. The modernization project of the new nation-state promoted prosperous public spaces that offered secular lifestyle to the citizens.²⁶⁸ Starting with Gençlik Park in the capital Ankara and Culture Park in İzmir, large urban parks were designed in various cities including Antalya.

The most influential urban project of the early Republican era in Antalya, Karaalioğlu Park (initially called as İnönü Park), was designed by architect Necmi Ateş²⁶⁹ and built in the 1940s. (Figure 3.88) As an important step for the modernization of the city, the park was designed in the city center on the 70.000 square meter swamp lands called Karaalioğlu Garden. Vatan Coffee House, Cinema Leyla and Turkish Heart (*Türk Ocakları*) buildings were located in the garden, which had been in use as a recreation area in the 1930s. The transformation of the garden into a modern park was realized; water channels, pools, squares and *miradors* (belvederes) were applied to the area within the project. The park design displays the centralized planning approach of the early Republican period. Alpan relates the design approach to the international urban planning movements, to the City Beautiful Movement in particular.²⁷⁰ Beautification of cities by functional urban elements such as parks, public squares and fountains is the main principle of the movement and its impacts can be traced in the design of Karaalioğlu Park of Antalya.

²⁶⁸ Özlem Arıtan, “Modernleşme ve Cumhuriyetin Kamusal Mekan Modelleri”. *Mimarlık*, v.342. (2008). pp.49-56.

²⁶⁹ Necmi Ateş (1907-1959) had the degree in architecture from Fine Arts Academy and educated in Paris in the field of urban planning afterwards. He had the third prize in Ödemiş Master Plan competition in 1944 with Feyyaz Tüzüner. Ateş was elected as the Istanbul Deputy in the 1954 election. *Cumhuriyet*, March 04, 1959.

²⁷⁰ Açıly Alpan, *Urban Restructuring Process of Antalya Walled Town and the Roles of Stakeholders*. PhD Thesis in City and Regional Planning. (Ankara: METU, 2013). p.41.



Figure 3.88. The entrance of the Karaaliolu (İnönü) Park, 1943. On the left side: People's House. (Source: Çimrin, 2007)

Although the construction of the park was realized during the Second World War period that had financial difficulties, the project could be applied with community involvement and with the support of *Antalya'yı Güzelleştirme İmar ve Tanıtma Cemiyeti* (The Association of Public Works, Publicity and Embellishment of Antalya).²⁷¹ Due to the collaborative process and the resultant qualified spaces, the park became famous countrywide in a short time. In the first place, the book *Antalya İkinci Dünya Harbinde Nasıl Güzelleşebildi?* by Vala Nureddin, and articles in *Türk Akdeniz* journal of the People's House in Antalya, promoted the natural and built environment of Karaaliolu Park and made it widely known by the society.²⁷² (Figure 3.89- 3.90)

²⁷¹ Çimrin, 2007.

²⁷² Va-Nu addresses the park as follows: "... Yalçın kayalar üzerindeki miradorlar ile, pergolalar ile, gazinolar ile, havuz ile; Halkevi, hatta çıkırlı kahvesile- Ankara ve İstanbul dahil- bütün Türk şehirlerini kışkandıracak bir ihtişamdadır...." In *Türk Akdeniz* Oğuz, R. describes it as "Denize doğru uzanan geniş ebton caddenin, Halkevinin önündeki ölçülü ve tertipli genişliğin de akşamların alacalığında renk ve ziya cümbüşü içinde yükselen fıskihasında, miradorlara doğru uzanan yolların sağ ve solundaki çiçek tarhlarında ve tezminatında, nihayet büyük miradorun Akdenize hakim olan vakarlı durumunda, yurdun her parçasına sahip olmanın, Cumhuriyetçi ve inkılapçı başların neler yapabileceğini gösteren kuvvetli bir ifadenin çelik ve tok edası mevcuttur." Reşat Oğuz, "Bugünkü Antalya" *Türk Akdeniz*, v.5, n.27. (1943). p.5.



Figure 3.89. İnönü (Karaalioğlu Park) (Source: Va-Nu, 1944)



Figure 3.90. Karaalioğlu Park built in the 1940s. (taken by the author, 2018)

In addition to large green areas, Karaalioğlu Park also included public buildings as People's House, Sericulture Institution, a stadium and a sports hall that enriched the social life in different aspects. Besides being the center of the sports activities, Atatürk Stadium and Sports Hall²⁷³, built in between 1951 and 1965, were the spaces for the celebration of national feasts.

²⁷³ Information about the architects of the buildings could not be found in the archival study. The Stadium was demolished and Sports Hall is currently under a renovation process as a part of City Museum project.

Hence, the buildings, as the representatives of Republican Turkey, had a significant role in the changing modern urban life of Antalya. (Figure 3.91- 3.94)

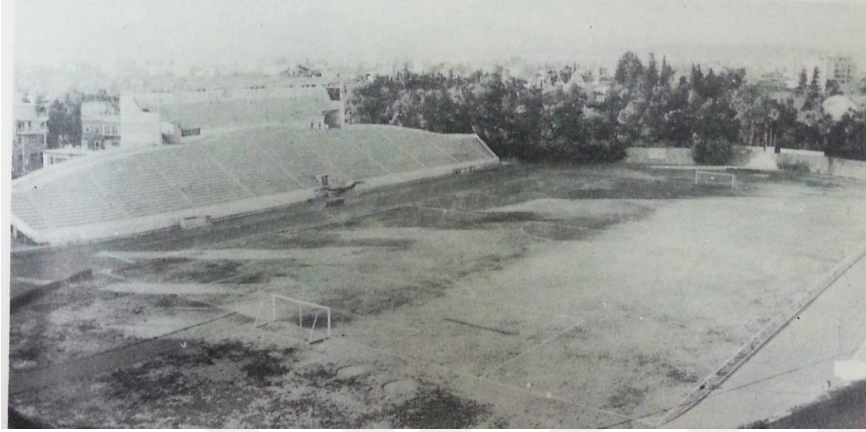


Figure 3.91. Atatürk Stadium in 1973. (Source: *Antalya İl Yıllığı*, 1973)



Figure 3.92. Atatürk Stadium in 2013. (taken by the author)



Figure 3.93. Atatürk Sports Hall in 1973. (Source: *Antalya İl Yıllığı*, 1973)



Figure 3.94. Atatürk Sports Hall in 2013. (taken by the author)

Another modernization attempt of the period was to design large squares where meetings and social events could be realized. In Antalya, as one of the most significant representatives of the state in the city, an existing central square, *Tophane* (Armory) Square, was rehabilitated and renamed as *Cumhuriyet* (Republic) Square. Besides being an indicator of the governing power, the square had also an active role in the creation of a modern urban life. *Cumhuriyet* (Republic) Square was the place where national feast celebrations were usually realized.

Yücel indicates that, during the post-war period, economic relations with the West gained momentum which affected intellectual life, institutions and also lifestyles deeply. A pluralistic

world view emerged and introduced new concepts to Turkey.²⁷⁴ Within this pluralist environment, many competitions as significant tools for architectural production were organized by Ministry of Public Works, governmental institutions and municipalities in this period. Hospitals, university campuses, high schools, government offices were the most common subjects of the competitions as needed by the changing economic and bureaucratic structures. The first competition of the period in Antalya was organized for a monument by the Atatürk Monument Building Association in 1964. Tarık Akıltopu, the first architect of the city, played an important role in the organization of the competition. Being a jury member of the competition, he took advice from his professors Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Mehmet Ali Handan for the competition process.²⁷⁵ In the competition, the proposal by Sculptor Prof. Dr. Hüseyin Gezer was selected among 28 participants. Akıltopu was also commissioned to build the base of the sculpture, named as the *Ulusal Yükseliş* (National Ascension) Monument. The monument is located on *Cumhuriyet* (Republic) Square as one of the unique samples in which the base of the monument was designed as a complementary part of the whole structure.²⁷⁶ (Figure 3.95)



Figure 3.95. Cumhuriyet Square and National Ascension (*Ulusal Yükseliş*) monument. (taken by the author, 2015)

²⁷⁴ Yücel, 1984, p.126.

²⁷⁵ Memoirs of Tarık Akıltopu, (<https://www.akiltopu.com>)

²⁷⁶ <http://www.fullantalya.com/antalyanin-heykelleriulusal-yukselis-aniti/>

In 1980, a preliminary design was prepared for Cumhuriyet Square and its historical environment by architect Cengiz Bektaş.²⁷⁷ (Figure 3.96) The project consisting of different levels with changing functions proposed to change the location of the National Ascension (*Ulusal Yükseliş*) monument from the current place to the other side of the main road. According to the time schedule of the project, it could be said that even though the project has not been applied, a significant aspect of the project was to effort for the participation of the citizens into the decision-making processes. (Figure 3.97)

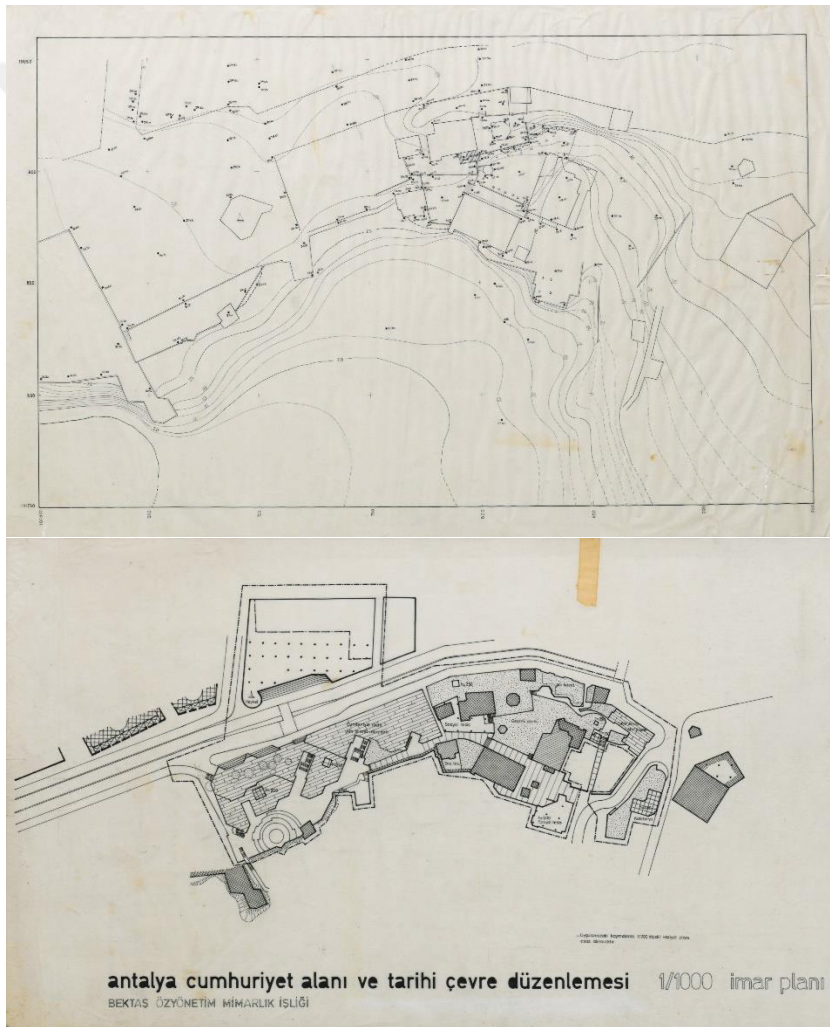


Figure 3.96. The survey and proposal project of Cumhuriyet Square prepared by architect Cengiz Bektaş in 1980. (Source: SALT Research, Cengiz Bektaş Archive, 2019)

²⁷⁷ SALT Research, Cengiz Bektaş Archive. (last accessed: September, 2019)

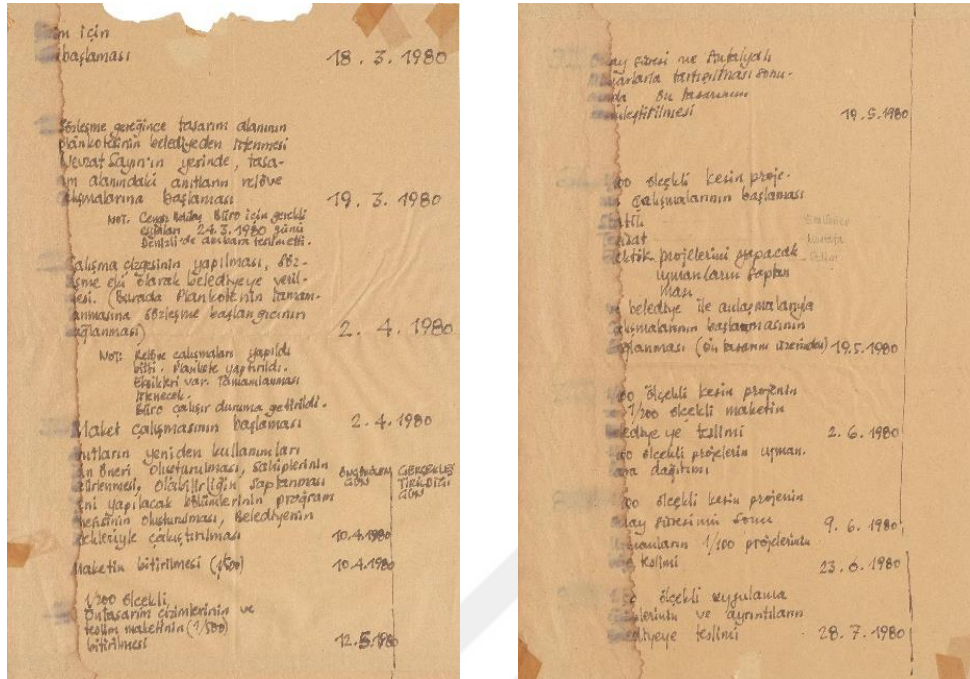


Figure 3.97. The time schedule of Cumhuriyet Square Project by Cengiz Bektaş, 1980. (Source: SALT Research, Cengiz Bektaş Archive, 2019)

The proposal project for Cumhuriyet Square included functions such as urban museum that represents the urban history of Antalya, shopping streets in which traditional and local products would be sold, restaurants, coffee houses, amphitheatres and meeting places that facilitate the social events such as festivals. The main aim of the project was to create a vivid social and cultural life in Cumhuriyet Square. (Figure 3.98)



Figure 3.98. General overview of the proposal project of Cengiz Bektaş for Cumhuriyet Square, 1980. (Source: SALT Research, Cengiz Bektaş Archive, 2019)

As one of the cultural and social daily life practices, going to cinemas became a common practice in Turkey after the 1940s due to the developments in the cinema sector, technology and transportation. Movie theaters, as the spaces of the new leisure activity, had impacts on the social and cultural life of the city. Located on different points in the city, both summer cinemas and movie theater buildings were the meeting spaces of the society.²⁷⁸ By 1949, there had been four movie theaters in Antalya; *Şehir* (City), Elhamra, People's House and New Cinema. Several new movie theaters were opened over the years such as Gebizli open air cinema on Ali Çetinkaya Street (1953), İnci Movie Theater in Kaleiçi (1954), and Yıldız Movie Theater on Hapishane Street (1955).²⁷⁹ Generally serving for the close neighborhood, some of the movie theaters were built in the newly-established quarters, while some others

²⁷⁸Hakan Erkılıç, "Düş Şatolarından Çoklu Salonlara Değişen Seyir Kültürü ve Sinema". *Kebikeç*. (2009) pp.143-162; Elif Tan, *Tarihi Sinema Salonlarının Dönüşümü: Roma- İstanbul Karşılaştırması*. Master's Thesis. (İstanbul: İTÜ, 2016). p.10

²⁷⁹ Gönüllü, 2010, p.375.

were located in the Kaleiçi historical settlement. İnci Movie Theater, built in 1954 in the traditional Kaleiçi neighborhood, represents the rational approach of the modernist era together with an approach that attempts to be in harmony with the existing texture.²⁸⁰ (Figure 3.99- 3.100) The building takes references from traditional architecture in terms of scale, proportions and environmental relations. At the same time, by using contemporary materials and techniques, it offers plain and functional space solutions. İnci Movie Theater became a modernist focal point in the historical context in time.²⁸¹

Leisure and recreation places had to be considered important in creating a complete scene of a modernized city. The environments in which social and cultural practices of the citizens continued had to be rehabilitated or new places for new life practices had to be designed according to the Republican ideals. The introduction and promotion of modern sea side activities, such as sports and cinema, which were offered in new social meeting places by designing a central urban square, were the attempts to enrich the social life in Antalya and thus to have a modernized city and society consequently.



Figure 3.99. Antalya İnci Movie Theater in the 1990s. (Source: Antalya Cultural Heritage Preservation Board)

Figure 3.100. Antalya İnci Movie Theater in 2014. (taken by the author)

²⁸⁰ The architect of the building is not known. However, archival studies revealed that the building had a renovation process in the 1990s within the renovation project prepared by architect Tarık Akıltopu.

²⁸¹ Esin Bölükbaş Dayı, “Antalya İnci Sineması”. *Türkiye Mimarlığında Modernizmin Yerel Açılımları X, DOCOMOMO Türkiye Ulusal Çalışma Grubu Poster Sunuşları*, (Erzurum, 2014).

3.2.2.4. Places for Modern Daily Life: From Single-Family Houses to Apartment Blocks

Even though the core of the urban layout was still the old Kaleiçi settlement at the beginning of the twentieth century, Atatürk Street (formerly Yenikapı Street), which is out of the city walls, determined the major development zone of the city. New functions and places provided by the Republican regime, such as Cumhuriyet Square as the social gathering area, Cumhuriyet Street as the business center, and Karaalioglu Park as the central green space of the city, also initiated new formations in terms of housing.

While the life style was changing, the housing spaces for the new life practices were created in the country as a result of the modernization project of the new regime. The “Modern House” was seen as the symbol of modern life and so of the modern state. In this direction, in the design process of new houses, the references to Ottoman architecture were abandoned and modern elements such as flat roofs, horizontal window strips and white-plastered surfaces were adopted by the architects of the new nation-state.²⁸²

In the early years of Republican Turkey, the main consideration in the architectural milieu was creating a built environment according to the new and modern national culture and identity. While the majority of the population was living in villages, designing modern cities had no restriction as increasing population or land speculation. Therefore, in this period detached single-family houses which were designed in the modernist vein were widespread in many cities.

The 1930s was the influential period in which the promotion of the modern house increased and so modern architecture became popular. The publications included popular magazines that had an important effect on the perception of modernity by the society. Baydar Nalbantoğlu indicates that “the emphasis on health and efficiency, and promotion of new aesthetic

²⁸² Baydar Nalbantoğlu, 1993, p. 67; Bozdoğan, 2012, pp. 212-259.

sensibilities complemented the image of the modern, civilized and secular nation that Turkey aspired to become”.²⁸³

Besides the changes in population and socio-economic conditions, construction regulations and technological changes in construction affected the characteristics of the residential architecture. Batur²⁸⁴ defines the characteristics of the residential architecture in the period by referring to the aspects as;

- functionalist design approaches,
- circular-shaped spaces or rounded corners in prismatic blocks,
- elements as horizontal window strips and flat roofs,
- reinforced concrete structural systems,
- grouped service spaces, and
- continuous balconies along façades or large verandas.

Significant examples of modern single-family houses were built in Antalya during the 1923-1950 period. The most important examples of this building type in the city are located in Karaalioğlu Park that was the public symbol of the modernization project. Located very close to the old Kaleiçi settlement, Villa Zamanlar, Villa Göksoy, Villa Dr. Onat and Villa Kıvrak of the period represent the different approaches in the production of the “modern house”. (Figure 3.101)

²⁸³ Gülsüm Baydar, “Tenuous Boundaries: Women, Domesticity and Nationhood in 1930s Turkey”. *The Journal of Architecture*, v: 7. (2002). p.229.

²⁸⁴ Afife Batur, “1925-1950 Döneminde Türkiye Mimarlığı” in *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*. ed. Yıldız Sey. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998). p. 226.



Figure 3.101. The map displaying the location of the significant single family houses and apartment blocks in Antalya. (Reproduced on Google Maps)

Villa Göksoy (est.1930-1940) was built as a three-storey single-family house with a garden. Besides having modern elements as pilotis and vertical windows, it is also representative of traditional architectural approaches with some details as large eaves, bow window-like balconies and ornamental balustrades.²⁸⁵ (Figure 3.102)

²⁸⁵ Student Exhibition of the Architectural Inventory of Republican Antalya Project coordinated by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hilal Tuğba Örmecioglu at Akdeniz University (2013).



Figure 3.102. Villa Göksoy (taken by the author, 2015)

Next to Villa Göksoy, a two-storey house was designed for Dr. Burhanettin Onat who had been the mayor and Antalya Deputy. Considering the scale of the traditional Kaleiçi texture and the natural richness of Karaalioğlu Park, Villa Dr. Onat (est.1940-1950) contributed to the local formation of modern architecture in Antalya. Geometric elements as the rounded circulation tower with glass mosaic, circular balcony and hexagonal column on the corner that contrast the rectilinear composition of the building and the sculptural design of the entrance door created an extraordinary modern house image for the era.(Figure 3.103) The combination of reinforced concrete, metal, wood and glass in changing forms enforced the modernist language of the building.²⁸⁶ (Figure 3.104- 3.105)

²⁸⁶ Esin Bölükbaş Dayı, “Antalya Dr. Burhanettin Onat Villası”. *Türkiye Mimarlığında Modernizmin Yerel Açılımları XI, DOCOMOMO Türkiye Ulusal Çalışma Grubu Poster Sunuşları*, (Bolu, 2015).



Figure 3.103. The main entrance of Villa Dr. Onat. (taken by the author, 2013)



Figure 3.104.- The circular corner of the balcony of Villa Dr. Onat. (taken by the author, 2013)



Figure 3.105. The rounded circulation area of Villa Dr. Onat. (taken by the author, 2013)

In 1958, another villa was built in Karaalioğlu Park for the Kıvrak family. The most impressive feature of the building is the strong linear façade order. Building materials of wood and stone were used as the tools for emphasizing the vertical and horizontal organization. Functional

space organization could be traced on the façade, by which the rationality of the building could be underlined.²⁸⁷ (Figure 3.106- 3.107)

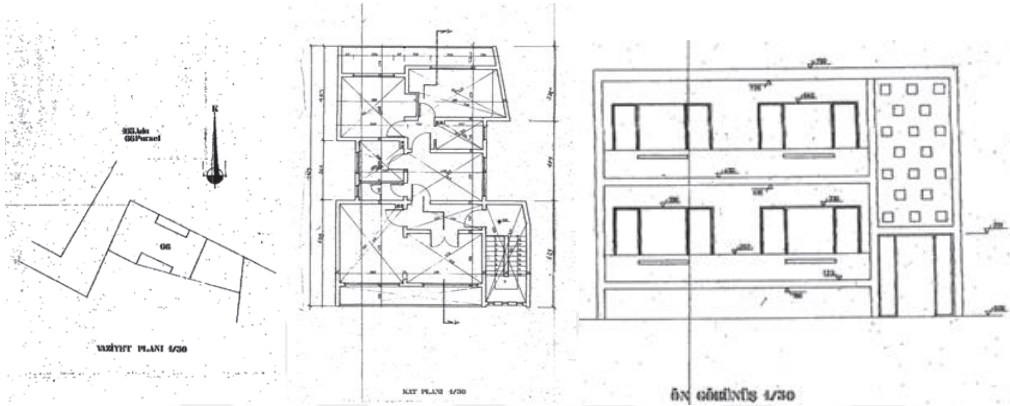


Figure 3.106. Architectural project of Villa Kıvrak (Source: Student Exhibition of the Architectural Inventory of Republican Antalya Project coordinated by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hilal Tuğba Örmecioğlu at Akdeniz University (2013).



Figure 3.107. Villa Kıvrak. (taken by the author, 2015)

²⁸⁷ Student Exhibition of the Architectural Inventory of Republican Antalya Project coordinated by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hilal Tuğba Örmecioğlu at Akdeniz University (2013).

Villa Zamanlar (est.1960), an interpretation of Mediterranean modernism, was also located in Karaalioğlu Park on the same row with the other single-family houses. The use of traditional materials in a modern way, simple and geometric architectural elements that refer to the mainstream modernist approaches, and consideration of climatic and environmental factors in the design add distinction to the building. (Figure 3.108)



Figure 3.108. Villa Zamanlar. (taken by the author, 2015)

While individual housing projects were common in the city center, for mass migration policies of the era, bigger scale projects were applied in the periphery of the city. In the 1930s, in parallel with the migration to big cities, cooperatives became a solution for the lack of an housing policy in the area.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁸ Antalya had already been a migration-receiving town throughout history. In the Republican period, a part of the migrants who came in the 1924-27 period according to the exchange agreement between Turks and Greeks were settled in Değirmenönü. On January 1, 1927, the number of the households of migrants and refugees who settled down in Antalya after the Treaty of Lausanne was 170 in the city center and 413 in the central villages, including Çirkinoba (1925) Model Village, Zeytin and Dumanlar Villages. Gönüllü, 2010), p.122.

The first housing cooperative in Turkey was established in Ankara with the name of Bahçelievler (Garden Houses) Housing Cooperative in 1935. The examples of cooperatives followed in other cities. Workers' houses in İzmir and in Zonguldak, and mass housing projects in Kayseri, Nazilli, İzmir and Turhal for industry workers were realized. In Antalya, the first mass housing project of the city, Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative, was established with the support of *Antalya'yı Güzelleştirme İmar ve Tanıtma Cemiyeti* (İngilizce) during the years of the Second World War and became an influential element of the urban morphology.²⁸⁹ The location of Bahçelievler Cooperative houses in the western part of the city determined the direction of urban growth in the 1950s.

The first congress of Bahçelievler Cooperative was done in October 21, 1943 and Tahsin Sezen (Republican People's Party member), Hüseyin Ülgen, Hasan Göksoy, Murad Adsız, Ahmet Gürel, Şükrü Başargan and Adnan Selekler were elected as the board members. The main aim of the project was to create a modern living environment. 200 garden houses in two different types were planned on two decares of land for each on the way to Konyaaltı. The project also consisted a park, a primary school, a sea club (casino) and shops to meet the contemporary needs of the society. The infrastructure of the neighborhood was also planned, main road to Konyaaltı Beach was designed as a 20-meters boulevard, and water was provided from Düden River. The houses in the first type had 11-acre land in the front side, which provided direct sea view. In April 1944, the construction of the first fifty houses started. Since the environment of the project site had not been settled yet, the promotion by Governor Haşim İşcan was very effective in the realization of the project.²⁹⁰

Following the Second World War, the state-controlled policy was abandoned in favor of the liberal economic and political order of the Western world. The consequent developments in social structure forced changes also in architecture.

²⁸⁹ Until the end of the first half of the twentieth century, in parallel with the construction of public buildings, the city was enlarged towards the east. Then, in 1944, Bahçelievler Housing on Konyaaltı Road, and in 1951, Memurevleri Housing in Arapalanı changed the direction of the growth towards the west.

²⁹⁰ <https://www.sabah.com.tr/akdeniz/2014/12/15/bahcelievler-semti-nasil-kuruldu>

Tanyeli asserts that the most important change of the 1950s was the increasing role of the private sector in the construction sector.²⁹¹ Architecture milieu in Turkey adopted the new model in design processes due to the developments in construction materials and methods. Also, increasing opportunities of using imported construction materials and following the projects and applications of foreign constructions easily affected the change in designs.

In the 1950s, industrialization and mechanization in agriculture led to the migration of labor from rural settlements to cities in Turkey. Housing demand of the increasing population had a great impact on the physical environment of cities while also the social features of the society became more complex.

In parallel to the increase in population, the necessity for housing increased and so housing cooperatives continued to be established also during the Democrat Party period (1950-1960).²⁹² The main housing cooperatives of the period in Antalya were *Memur Evleri* (Houses for Officers) (1951-1952), *Öğretmen Evleri* (Houses for Teachers) (1954),²⁹³ *Adalet Evleri* (Houses for Justice Employees), *Şirin Evler* (Pretty Houses), *Şoför Evleri* (Houses for Drivers), *Gümrükçüler* (Customs Officers) and *Barınak* (Shelter) (1956)²⁹⁴ Housing Cooperatives, some of which gave names to different quarters today. (Figure 3.109)

²⁹¹ Tanyeli, 1998, p. 238.

²⁹² Gönüllü, 2010, p. 452.

²⁹³ The cooperative was established in an attempt to build houses on 600 square meters lands according to the 5228 Building Construction Promotion Law in 1954. Founders: Burhanettin Katlandur, Vahap Arıkan, Refik Tuncer, Osman Hatipoğlu, Ali Sahip Şengünler, Erdoğan Altay, Avni Sungur.

²⁹⁴ *Barınak* (Shelter) Houses, designed on the way of Lara Beach, were designed as summer houses. Therefore, the houses had simple and modest characteristics.



Figure 3.109. Approximate locations of housing cooperatives established in Antalya in the 1940-60 period. (reproduced on Google Maps, 2019)

Housing cooperatives had an important place in the daily newspapers of the period. Even though cooperatives were established as autonomous organizations, the support and promotion of the central and local mechanisms were influential in the spread of this new culture of living.

In a series of the local newspaper of Antalya, *İleri*, the involvement of General Directorate of Foundations, Municipality and central administration by means of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Public Works and Housing in the cooperative processes could be followed from the 1958 onwards. While the Mayor was in contact with the Directorate of Foundations to provide lands for the newly-established cooperatives, after approximately three months, a letter to the Prime Minister to complain about the attitude of the Mayor about the land allocation was published in the newspaper. The hot agenda of the city resulted in meetings in Ankara with the Prime Minister and site visits by central authorities, primarily the Minister of Public Works and Housing, to solve communication problems between institutions, local administration and the society. (Figure 3.110- 3.113)



Figure 3.110.- Figure 3.111.- Figure 3.112.- Figure 3.113. Newspaper clippings of *İleri*, indicating the interest of politicians and bureaucrats in cooperative organizations of Antalya (July 30, 1958, October 15, 1958, October 16, 1958, November 8, 1958)

As in other parts of the country, while the formation of the first cooperatives also considered traditional lifestyle of citizens and offered modernized low-rise garden-houses, the increase in population due to industrialization and urbanization attempts introduced high-rise apartment blocks to Antalya. Additionally, the introduction of the Flat Ownership Law in 1965 became a milestone for the construction of apartment blocks. This led to build-and-sell system and a repetitive production of housing occurred. Gürel indicates that the architects and builders embraced the modern apartments as integral to urbanization, modernization and westernization.²⁹⁵ After this point, residential architecture became more dominant in urban

²⁹⁵ Meltem Ö. Gürel, "Defining and Living Out the Interior: The 'Modern' Apartment and the 'Urban' Housewife in Turkey during the 1950s and 1960s". *Gender, Place and Culture*, vol. 16, no. 6. (2009). pp. 703- 722.

identity. (Figure 3.114) Even though squatting and build-and-sell practice determined the urban texture to an extent as in other cities, Antalya witnessed in the post-war years some significant housing projects as Yalı Apartment (*Kırk Daireler*) (1950-65) and Elbirlik Apartment (1968).

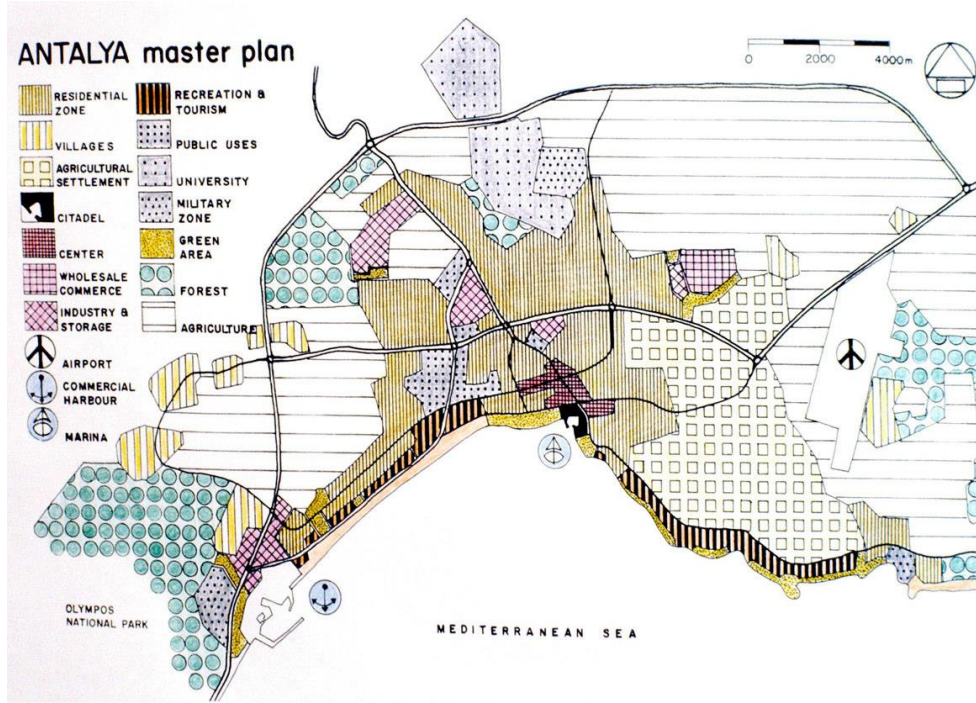


Figure 3.114. 1980 The dominance of the residential zone in Antalya master plan. (Source: Baykan Günay Archive)

The first apartment block in Antalya, Yalı Apartment started to be constructed in the 1950s, and opened for use in 1964.²⁹⁶ Besides its rationalist approach, the design of the building also considered the climatic features of the environment. The apartments surrounded by balconies on three directions provide comfortable open-spaces in different time periods of the day. On

²⁹⁶ The building license of Yalı Apartment was signed by architect Hakan Eyican. İkbâl Erbaş, Furkan Şen, "Antalya 40 Daireler" *Türkiye Mimarlığında Modernizmin Yerel Açılımları IX, DOCOMOMO Türkiye Ulusal Çalışma Grubu Poster Sunuşları*. (Antalya, 2013); Student Exhibition of the Architectural Inventory of Republican Antalya Project coordinated by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hilal Tuğba Örmecioglu at Akdeniz University (2013).

the western façade, hexagonal bricks give a unique geometric characteristic besides its sun shading function – a feature commonly seen in the design of the period. The building was raised on *pilotis* and the entrance and roof terrace were provided as common spaces used by all the residents, in line with the design understanding presented by modernist architect Le Corbusier. (Figure 3.115- 3.117)

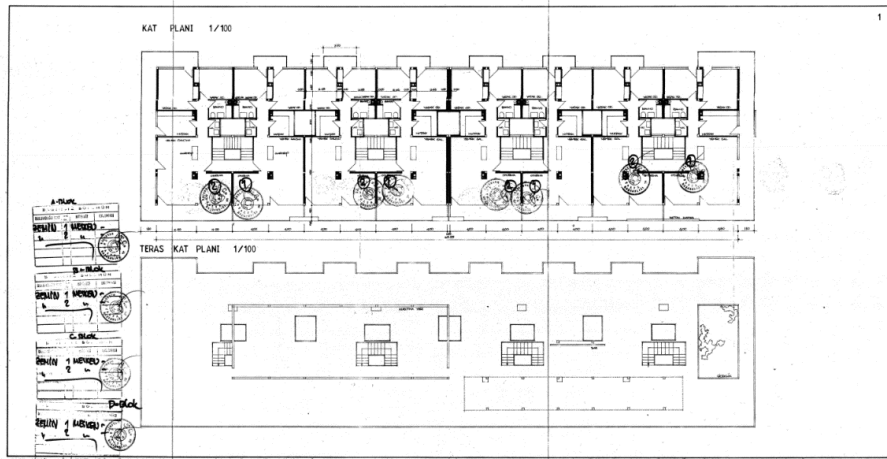


Figure 3.115. The plan of Yalı Apartment. (Source: Student Exhibition of the Architectural Inventory of Republican Antalya Project coordinated by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hilal Tuğba Örmecioğlu at Akdeniz University (2013))



Figure 3.116. The general view of Yalı Apartment. (taken by the author, 2019)



Figure 3.117. The entrance and pilotis of Yalı Apartment. (taken by the author, 2019)

Le Corbusier's design approach as exemplified in his Unite d'Habitation²⁹⁷ was applied in Turkey in the post-war decades in many examples of apartment blocks, such as Hukukçular Apartment (İstanbul) of 1967. (Figure 3.118- 3.119) Considering the main design principles and spatial layout, Yalı Apartment in Antalya could also be addressed as a small-scale follower of the approach in a local environment.



Figure 3.118. Hukukçular Apartment (Source: (<http://www.arkitera.com>))

Figure 3.119. Unite d'Habitation (Source: <http://corbusierhaus-berlin.org/en/unite/>)

²⁹⁷ Le Corbusier's Unite d'Habitation project in Marseille, France was a response to the need for housing after the Second World War. The project was designed as a multi-family residential housing block in 1947. Its massive impact, elevated structure with pilotis, roof terraces, interior streets became an inspiration source for many projects all over the world afterwards.

The impact of the Unite d'Habitation project is also seen in other apartment blocks in Antalya such as Elbirlik Apartment, designed in 1968 by Özcan Kırmızıoğlu. (Figure 3.120) This block consists of duplex apartment units, which is also a dominant feature of Le Corbusier's design. The open circulation areas (defined as interior streets in the Unite d'Habitation), and the angular orientation of the building according to the climatic conditions and seascape direction provide a characteristic identity for the building, which reflects the search for a spirited harmony between rational design approach and regional / environmental factors. (Figure 3.121)



Figure 3.120. The general view of Elbirlik Apartment from the main street. (taken by the author, 2013)

Figure 3.121. The entrance of flats in Elbirlik Apartment. (taken by the author, 2013)

In the housing development of Antalya, migration has been a determinant issue throughout its history. While mainly external migration was experienced before the 1950s, internal migration also started towards the city after the 1950s with the development of industry and the establishment of new factories and touristic facilities. The increase in population, which had started with the industrialization and urbanization attack of the 1950s, continued and gained

momentum in the 1980s due to development in tourism. New job opportunities in tourism primarily and then in the supporting sectors of tourism such as commerce and service encouraged people to migrate to Antalya.²⁹⁸ On the other hand, due to the increasing potential of the city, migrants with the aim of investment in various fields from real estate to enterprise were settled in Antalya. While this demographic transition created a variety in socio-cultural environment, it also changed the spatial layout of the city. The people who had migrated for work had an impact on the spread of squatter settlements from the 1950s onwards. The urban texture and especially coastal zones also had a pressure with the cooperatives for middle-income and residences or secondary houses for high-income groups²⁹⁹.

Spending summertime in the highlands (*yayla*) also continued in the region to a lesser extent in the second half of the twentieth century. Throughout history, mountain villages had been preferred as summer residences. Following the changes in accommodation culture (from tents to lightweight structures and then to secondary houses), the characteristics of the mountain settlements also changed and those lands gained a settled outlook. While the habit of having a “second house” that became fashionable from the 1960s onward in Turkey, was also spread in Antalya, the fact that the establishment of new factories provided new employment opportunities also increased the demand for housing in the city. The existing squatters were legitimized and new ones were built in different parts of the city in this period. It is known that, in the early 1980s, the number of the squatters in Antalya was more than 10.000. Squatting continued also after 1985, and the squatter neighborhoods in the northern part of the city were enlarged.³⁰⁰

Considering that the major part of the city was formed via residential buildings and idealized domestic life was the significant indicator of the modernization process, the transformation in

²⁹⁸ Antalya allowed migrants with the reasons of job search/employment, appointment and family reasons, while the reason for the migration from the city was mainly education. DPT, *Türkiye’de İç Göçler ve Göç Edenlerin Nitelikleri 1965–2000*. (Ankara, 2001). pp.54-55.

²⁹⁹ Chamber of Architects, *Antalya Kıyı Yerleşmeleri Planlama Yapılanma Kullanma ve Sorunlar*, (Antalya: Chamber of Architects, 1996). pp.60-107.

³⁰⁰ Gönüllü, 2010, p. 190.

dwelling forms gives information about the way by which the city experienced this process. Since houses formed the important part of daily life environment, their functionality and sustainability in terms of environmental aspects, and their references from traditional and local examples, provided a local characteristic to the modernization story.

3.2.3. Transformation of the Urban Hinterland

In 1937, in the opening speech of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, President Atatürk announced the national economic development policy with his consideration that agricultural, trade, and industrial activities and all other public works could not be handled separately.³⁰¹ Even though the base of the national economy was seen as agriculture, in order to create a value for products, industrialization was seen mandatory. Industrialization in the Anatolian lands had already started in the late Ottoman period; however, it could be adopted and developed country wide only after the reforms of the Republican modernization project.

The new capital Ankara and the regional cities that were connected in the national transportation system by railway, became the sites of the initial and large-scale industrialization interventions. On the other side, many cities such as Antalya rather witnessed smaller-scale industrial formations in the early Republican period. In the establishment of industrial buildings in Antalya, the partnership of public institutions with private enterprises was a common practice that strengthened the impacts of the economic and social practices undertaken.

Modern architectural spaces were the important indicators of the industrial and economic progress of the country.³⁰² Functional and rational spaces were designed for industrial buildings in changing scales in accordance with necessities. In the formation of the industrial

³⁰¹ “*Derhal bildirmeliyim ki, ben, ekonomik hayat denince; ziraat, ticaret, sanayi faaliyetlerini ve bütün nafla işlerini, birbirinden ayrı düşünülmesi doğru olmayan bir kül sayarım.*” Anon. *Türk Akdeniz Dergisi*, v.1, n.6. (1937) p.1

³⁰² Bozdoğan, 2012, p.157.

identity of Antalya, local natural entities were definitive elements in terms of both the product range and also the land use decisions.

The first industrial activities of Antalya had been realized in small-scale ateliers and factories located in the historical core until the Republican period.³⁰³ In parallel with the increasing population and urban growth, the bigger scale factories were built in the peripheral lands of the city as industrial complexes in the second half of the twentieth century. The factories that offered social environments inside, had the power to transform their surroundings in a short time. Job opportunities attracted the migrated population and new residential zones emerged around the factory complexes. Therefore, after the late 1950s, the rural areas that had formed the hinterland of the city were thus transformed into a part of the expanding urban context with the impact of the industrial development.

Starting with the mills and factories in the city that used the water as the main power, the industrial development of Antalya between the 1920s and the 1980s included both the agriculture-based production such as cotton, guayule, olive-oil, and also the mining products like chrome, and ferrochrome. Since functionality was the main consideration for industry, the places of production were designed according to the changing necessities. Moreover, the social needs of users were considered in the architectural environments.

3.2.3.1. Sites of Modern Production: Industrial Complexes

Agriculture has always been a significant facility in the economic life of Antalya. The main field of factories was also agricultural production until the 1940s. In the mid-twentieth century, besides many ateliers, 11 cotton gin, three flour, two rice, one electricity, three sesame, and 29 timber factories were active in the city.³⁰⁴ However, even though these sites were called as

³⁰³ In the first years of the Republican period, there were 1 hardware, 9 flour, 1 canned food, 1 ice and 1 agricultural tool factories were existing in the city. Güçlü, 1997, p.66.

³⁰⁴ Anon. *Antalya Şehri İmar Komisyon Raporu*. (Ankara,1954) p.11.; Gönüllü, 2010, p.479.; *Şelale*, n.1541, Antalya 18 May 1954, p.1-2.; *Şelale*, n.1843, Antalya 24 March 1955, p.2.; *Şelale*, n.2504, Antalya 2 February 1957, p.1-2.; *Şelale*, n.2859, Antalya 4 February 1958, p.2.; *Şelale*, n.2977, Antalya 6 June 1958, p.1-2.; *Şelale*, n.3392, Antalya 12 August 1959, p.1. A flour plant in Değirmenönü was established in Değirmenönü by Aklar Company in 1954. The project for the plant was constructed by a

factories, the scale of the production of the period was limited and Antalya had the features of rather a small town until the 1940s.

The first factories of Antalya were located in the center of the city, and even some of them were established in the existing buildings of Kaleiçi. Since water was used as the main power supply for the production process, the waterside lands were the preferred locations for the buildings designed as factories.

The contact of the city and the water is not limited with the seashore in Antalya. With its branches going around the city, Düden River has been a significant element of urban infrastructure and cityscape. Thanks to the prominent *yediarıklar* (seven channels) of the river, water has been involved into life before meeting the sea. Antalya used this opportunity in a wise manner. Water was used for irrigation, agricultural and industrial production, for domestic use and for urban leisure activities. (Figure 3.122) Alongside the natural richness, this functional attempt contributed to define the identity of the city.

Mills, ice and flour factories, and a hydroelectric plant were built on the seashore of Antalya in the modernization period, and with their functions and architectural languages, they led to the transformation of the built environment. On the other side, they created a unique identity by using local natural elements as the source for modern production.

German company. In 1955, an iron foundry was established by Kemal Bozkurt and Nedim Kural. In 1957 Akın Sesame Oil Factory was established in Şarmpol by Mustafa Yaşa. Akdeniz Biskuit Factory was established on Hapishane Road in 1958 by Abdurrahman Uner, Mehmet Gülşen and İbrahim Gülşen. Olive Oil Factory in 1954, Conserve Factory in 1957, Rubber Products Factory in 1959 and Ferrochrome Factory in 1959-1960 were established in Antalya. The construction of Ferrochrome Factory was done by Etiler Yapı Limited Company.

In 1926, Flour Factory was established in Kaleiçi by the Special Provincial Administration. (Figure 3.125) Compared to the privately-owned mills, the capacity of the factory was quite high, and in the newspaper of the period it was stated that the highly-qualified flour produced in the factory was sold to İzmir, Çanakkale and even to the cities of the Black Sea region.³⁰⁵ Ayoğlu argues that the main trigger for the establishment of the flour factory in the city was the demolishing of the old flour mills during the First World War and the necessity to develop the economic structure of the city.³⁰⁶

Flour Factory also used one of the branches of Düden River as the power source. After the fire in the 1940s, the building was demolished in the 1970s. (Figure 3.126)



Figure 3.125. Flour Factory, 1930s. (Source: Büyükyıldırım, 2017)

³⁰⁵ Anon. *Türk Akdeniz*, n.11-12. (1938). p.41.

³⁰⁶ Evren Dayar, “Dr.Ferruh Niyazi (Ayoğlu) ve “Antalya İskele Un Fabrikası’nın Hazin Hikayesi”. *Akdeniz Son Nokta* (December 2012).



Figure 3.126. Flour Factory, 1973. (Source: Kaleiçi Conservation Project, METU Maps & Plans Documentation Unit)

Hydroelectric Plant (1927-28), located on the cliffs (*falez*), was a dominant figure of the city in terms of the transformation of the natural source into the energy for public needs. Using the water of Düden River, the plant was an earlier example of the country that met the society with electricity. (Figure 3.127)



Figure 3.127. Antalya Hydroelectric Plant, established by Tefik Işık. (Source: Google Maps, 2015)

In the late Ottoman period, lightening the cities with electricity had been seen as a public necessity and the first applications had been realized in İstanbul by foreign companies. In the first decade of the Republican period, the spread of electricity to the other Anatolian cities was considered important, and privately-owned companies, generally with foreign partners from Germany, Belgium, Italy and Hungary, were commissioned for the production and distribution of electricity.³⁰⁷

In January 1920, the right to generate electricity in Antalya had been given to Tevfik Hüseyin for 60 years by Sultan Mehmed Vahdeddin. In October 6, 1925 the generation and operation of electricity was commissioned to the municipality with an agreement between the Ministry of Public Works and the municipality. In April 3, 1926, Antalya Electricity Turkish Incorporated Company (*Antalya Elektrik Türk Anonim Şirketi*) in which the municipality was a shareholder, was established. The company prepared the electricity project of the city in March 20, 1927. The central building designed by Hungarian engineers was located on Tevfik Işık Street - on the way to Lara, Paşakavakları. (Figure 3.128) In January 15, 1941, the company was transferred to the municipality.

³⁰⁷ Mehmet Karayaman, “Ankara Elektrik Türk Anonim Şirketi Tarihçesi (1929-1939)”. *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları*, XVI/1. (2014). pp.50-72.

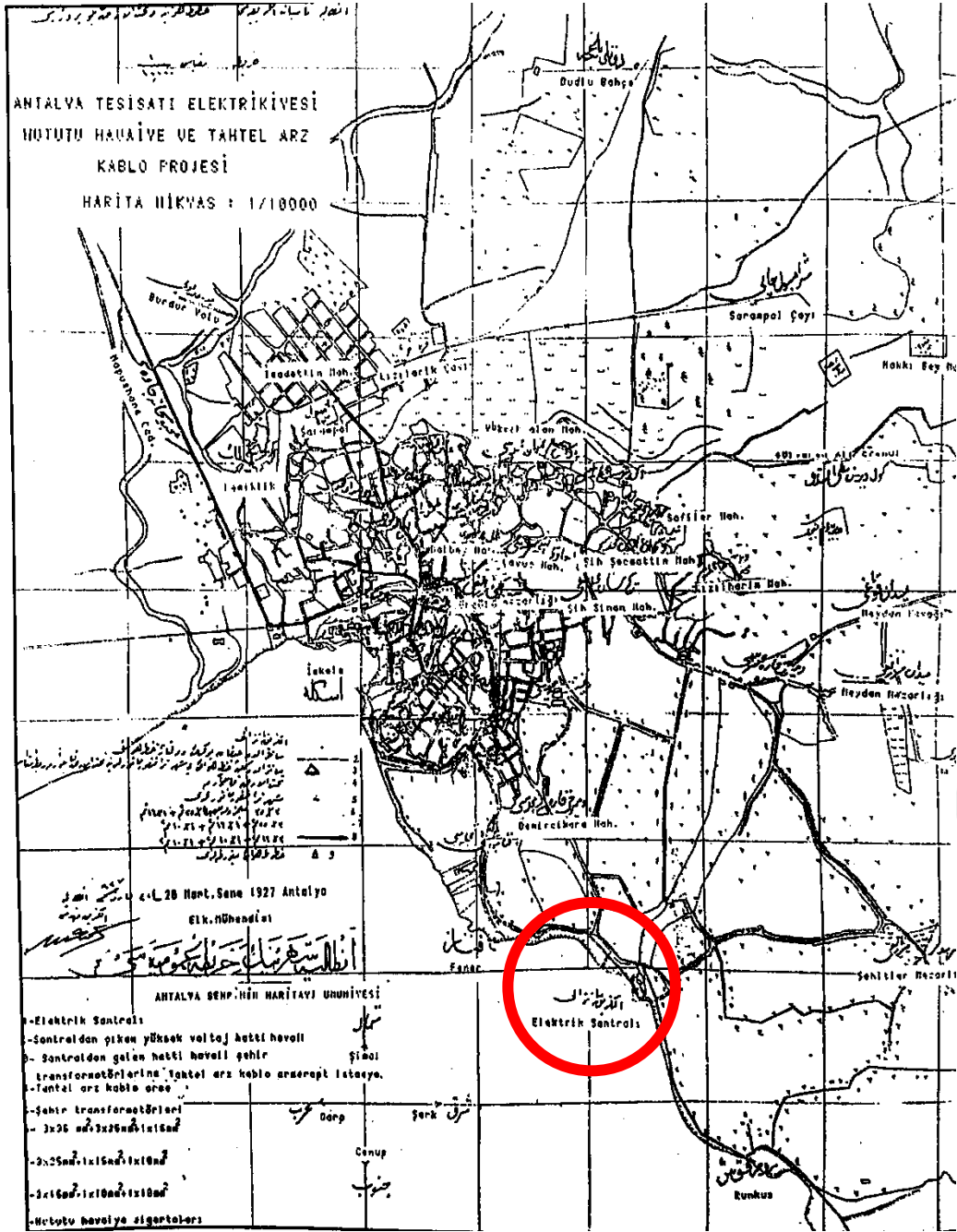


Figure 3.128. The first electricity network project and the location of the first hydroelectric plant (1927) (Source: Ahmet Ünsal, "Antalya Elektriğinin Tarihçesi". EMO Antalya Şubesi Yayını no.8. (2011). pp. 8-12.)

Having a large single space, it is clear that the main consideration of the building process was functionality as in the other industrial buildings of the period. Introducing electricity to the society, the building had a pioneering role in the modernization of the city. (Figure 3.129-3.130) In the first stage, Yenikapı, Kalekapısı and Şarampol quarters were provided with electricity. However, due to the limited production, electricity was used in public spaces rather than residential buildings in the first place. In 1955, in consequence of the establishment of Cotton Weaving Factory, as the existing production level of the plant became insufficient, Kepez Electricity Incorporated Company was established in 1957- 1961.³⁰⁸ In the 1970s, the production in the plant slowed down due to the reduction of the water and the lack of technical developments, and the plant was closed in 1975.



Figure 3.129. Top view of Antalya Hydroelectric Plant. (taken by the author, 2017)

³⁰⁸ Güçlü, 1997, p.65. (original source: Takvim-i Vekayi, 24 June 1336; Takvim-i Vekayi, 1 July 1336.)



Figure 3.130. The interior space of Antalya Hydroelectric Plant. (taken by the author, 2017)

In the 1930-1940 period, traditional building techniques and materials started to be abandoned, and imported materials and reinforced concrete construction were preferred even in single-storey buildings in Turkey.³⁰⁹ However, during the Second World War, problems occurred in the construction sector due to the insufficient local industry and the dependency on other countries for materials. Following the circumstances in the construction field, factories that produced building materials were established in various cities such as the Cement Factory in Sivas; and in this way, industry led to the development of cities. Antalya differs from other cities in this respect. While the construction industry developed in other cities, industrial facilities in Antalya were mainly based on agriculture. The industrial development of the city thus followed its productive historical background.

In 1928, Sericulture School and Station was established in Yenikapı and moved to the building in Karaalioğlu Park in 1931 to revive sericulture (*ipekböcekçiliği*), which had been one of the developed facilities in Antalya in the nineteenth century. (Figure 3.131) Large part of the mulberry trees whose leaves had been the food source for silk worms were destructed at the beginning of the twentieth century because of the unsteady political situation of the city (Italian

³⁰⁹ Mimar Şevki, “Bursa’da Halk İnşaatı”. *Mimar*. n.2.(1932). p.96.

occupation, First World War, the war of Independence) and of the intention of immigrants to cut them in order to manufacture tobacco instead.³¹⁰ Sericulture, which had been abandoned due to those reasons in the beginning of the era, tried to be revived after the proclamation of the Republic. Sericulture Station and School was established with the aim to redevelop this local production and to increase the economic income of the city in this way. However, the facilities of the station could not reach to the expected level, and in 1938, the school was closed down to be followed by the station.

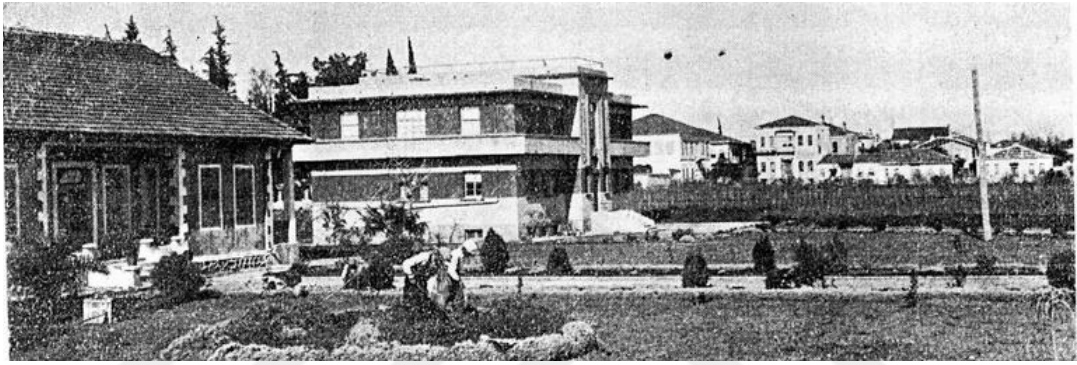


Figure 3.131. *Antalya İpekböcekçiliği Mektebi* (Sericulture School), 1938. (Source: *Türk Akdeniz*, n.11-12, p.59.)

Besides its modernist philosophy that combined local culture of production and the institutionalization aims of the new regime, Sericulture School also carried the features of modernism in terms of its architectural style. Located in an urban configuration of the Republican period, Karaalioğlu Park, the building has a modern language with the composition of vertical and horizontal elements, flat roof and modest façade organization. (Figure 3.132)

³¹⁰ Güçlü, 1997, p.63.



Figure 3.132. *Antalya İpekböcekçiliği Mektebi* (Sericulture School) (taken by the author, 2016)

As seen in the examples above, the natural assets of Antalya were the resources for urban life. While the arable lands formed a definitive aspect of the urban morphology in the early Republican era, with the industrial developments, the power of the water and sericulture as the local tradition became the subject for the urban development. Antalya, as one of the strategic settlements of the Mediterranean region, had also natural mines that constituted new opportunities. The only mining plant of the early Republican Antalya was in Tekirova, a town on the western coast of the city. Even though the works in the mining plant had started earlier, the buildings of Tekirova Chrome Mining Plant complex were built in 1938. The director of the mining Plant, Lütfü Barışta, indicates that its establishment became possible thanks to the support of the state and the efforts of the local people. (Figure 3.133) By being successful in this attempt, the region would gain a productive industrial center. The complex included buildings for production, storage, and transportation as well as workers' houses.³¹¹ (Figure 3.134- 3.135)

³¹¹ Lütfü Barışta, "Tekirova Krom Madenleri" *Türk Akdeniz* n.11-12. (1938). pp. 114-115; Emine Barbaros Akay, Hilal Tuğba Örmecioğlu, "Endüstri Yapılarının Kültürel Miras Olarak Değerlendirilmesi: Antalya- Tekirova Maden İşleme Tesisi Örneği" *Journal of International Social Research*, vol.11, no.60. (2018). pp.488-498.

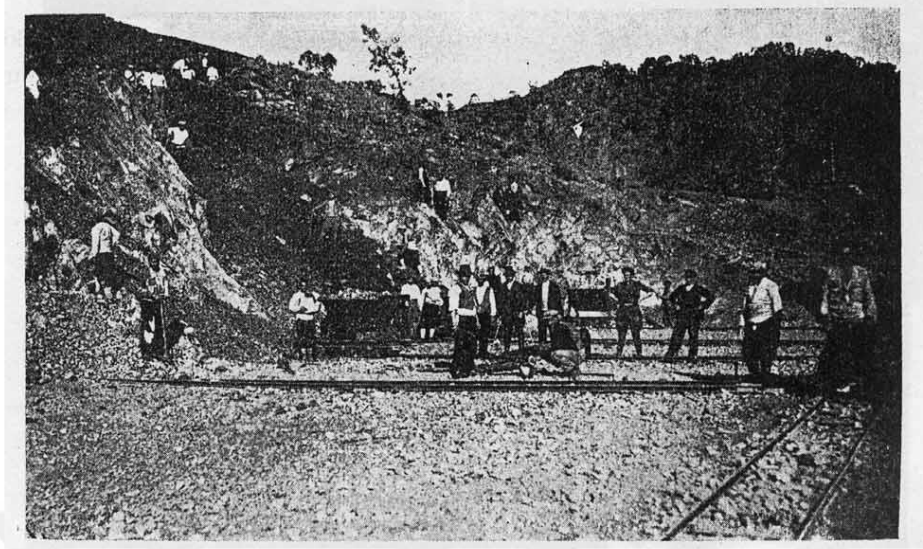


Figure 3.133. The director of the Mining Plant. Lütüf Bariřta indicates that the establishment of the plant became possible thanks to the support of the state and the efforts of the local people. (Source: Bariřta,1938)



Figure 3.134. Tekirova Chrome Mining Plant, processing unit (Barbaros and Örmeciođlu, 2018; Original Source: Antalya Cultural Heritage Conservation Board)

Figure 3.135. Tekirova Chrome Mining Plant, storage building (Barbaros and Örmeciođlu, 2018; Original Source: Antalya Cultural Heritage Conservation Board)

After the 1950s, the changes in the economic policies of the country and the developments in the communication field led to complex industrial organizations in the city. Public investments increased, and factories were established with the state support in the post-war decades.

Antbirlik, Union of Cooperatives for Cotton and Citrus Production and Sale (*Antalya Pamuk ve Narenciye Tarım Satış Kooperatifleri Birliği*) had an important role in the development of agriculture and agricultural industry. In 1955, Cotton Weaving Factory, one of the important investments of the period that associated the industrial enterprise with the agricultural past and the potential of the city, was established by the decision of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes. (Figure 3.136) Therefore, while the increasing amount of the cotton produced after mechanization could be used for contemporary textile products, the factory also became an opportunity for the unemployment problem of the city.³¹²



Figure 3.136. Cotton Weaving Factory, under restoration process, 2015. (Source: Kepez Municipality, <http://www.kepez-bld.gov.tr/news.php?id=4184>)

³¹² <http://www.kepezdokuma.com/?p=Tarihce>

Antalya Cotton Weaving Factory was established with the cooperation of the private sector and the state-owned economic enterprise, Sümerbank, which had a big share in the capital of the factory. For the project of the factory engineers Faruk Sümbül, Müçteba Buharalı and Süreyya Yücesan from Bakırköy Cotton Weaving Factory, who were commissioned by Sümerbank. 506.000 square meters land in the Kepezaltı region was bought from the Murat Paşa Foundation for the construction of the factory building. (Figure 3.137) The construction of the factory complex started with the participation of President Celal Bayar and Prime Minister Adnan Menderes.³¹³ After the completion of the construction by the contractor Mehmet Kutlu Özen in 1959, production started in 1961.



Figure 3.137. Cotton Weaving Factory
(Source: <http://www.kepezdokuma.com/?p=Fotograflar>)

³¹³Gönüllü, 2010, p.234.

As the other industrial complexes built by Sümerbank, Cotton Weaving Factory was located on a large plot and included residential and social buildings besides the production spaces. As an important medium to create a social and modernized life style, the buildings in the complex were designed in a rational and modernist language.³¹⁴ (Figure 3.138) The social and productive environment was also supported with the landscape decisions that followed the general tendencies of the period. The buildings in the complex were surrounded with gardens that were used for open air activities as the modern environments of the social transformation. Being active until 2005, the factory also had important effects on the development of its surroundings. New residential zones were constituted in the region, which were followed by the establishment of new factories.



Figure 3.138. Cotton Weaving Factory (Source: Akış, 2018)

In the same period, another factory that would lead the urban growth towards the northern direction was established close to Cotton Weaving Factory. (Figure 3.139) As distinct from the agricultural raw material of the cotton weaving industry, mineral richness of the region was the source for the newly-established industry. Ferrochrome and Carbide Factory (1959-

³¹⁴ Sıla Ceyhan, “Antalya Pamuklu Dokuma Sanayi T.A.Ş.” *Türkiye Mimarlığında Modernizmin Yerel Açılımları VI, DOCOMOMO Türkiye Ulusal Çalışma Grubu Poster Sunuşları*, (Eskişehir, 2010); Ceylan Akış, *Endüstri Yapılarının Dönüşümü Üzerine Değerlendirmeler “Antalya Pamuklu Dokuma Fabrikası”*. Master’s Thesis. (İstanbul: Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf Üniversitesi, 2018).

1961) was established by the partnership of the French Pechiney-Compadec Group and state-owned economic enterprise of the period, Etibank. The partnership was supported with the foreign investment incentives of the period. The 400.000 square meters land located on the Antalya-Burdur highway was determined as the factory site where the chrome mine of Fethiye would be processed.³¹⁵ As the first ferrochrome factory of Turkey, the large part of the production was mainly exported abroad. Processing the natural source of the hinterland and creating an economic value by the developed transportation and communication opportunities of the city, the factory provided a strategic importance to Antalya.



Figure 3.139. Factories that led to the urban growth on the northern direction. (Source: Google Map, 2015)

³¹⁵ <http://www.etimet.com/tr/hakkimizda>

The production units of the factory were organized on an axis, and as a measure of safety, residential and social buildings were located away from the production zone. Still, the factory was designed as a complex in which the needs of daily life practice were easily met. A simple and functionalist architectural approach could be followed in the plan and façade organization of the buildings in the factory complex.³¹⁶ (Figure 3.140)



Figure 3.140. Buildings in Ferrochrome and Carbide Factory (Source: Çetin and Eriz, 2016)

In the 1959-64 period, Guayule Rubber (*Kauçuk*) Factory was established in the 263.000 square meters land next to Cotton Weaving Factory. The main objective of the factory was to produce rubber as the raw material for national industry. (Figure 3.141) With the establishment of the factory, it was aimed to introduce the guayule plant to the society and to promote its production in the farms. Despite extensive efforts, the sector could not be developed in the

³¹⁶ Sıdıka Çetin, Özlem Eriz, “Antalya’daki Cumhuriyet Dönemi Fabrika Yapılarının Endüstri Mirası Olarak Değerlendirilmesi” *Yapı*, issue 421. (2016). pp.140-147.

city.³¹⁷ The factory was thus closed and its building was transformed to be used as the storehouse building of Battery Factory that was established on the same location in 1976.



Figure 3.141.- Newspaper clippings about the establishment of Dunlop Rubber Factory in Antalya (*İleri*, December 30, 1958)

Battery Factory was established to meet the battery demand of the Turkish Land Forces (*Kara Kuvvetleri Komutanlığı*) during the military operation in Cyprus in the 1970s. The building complex belonged to the Mechanical and Chemical Industry Corporation (*Makine Kimya Endüstrisi Kurumu*) and was designed as a settlement. The deputy of the period, Gökhan Durgun, indicates that the production system and technological equipment in the factory were insufficient at the time and the complex was largely used as a camping site for bureaucrats.³¹⁸ The Battery Factory complex was quite rich in terms of social and leisure spaces that included housing, a social center, sports areas, a pool and an open-air movie theatre. The usage of the

³¹⁷ Çimrin, 2007, pp.290-291.

³¹⁸ *Cumhuriyet*, February 16, 2011.

hexagonal form in different scales and manners in the buildings created a holistic and modern architectural language.³¹⁹ (Figure 3.142- 3.143)



Figure 3.142. The Battery Factory (Source: Google Maps)

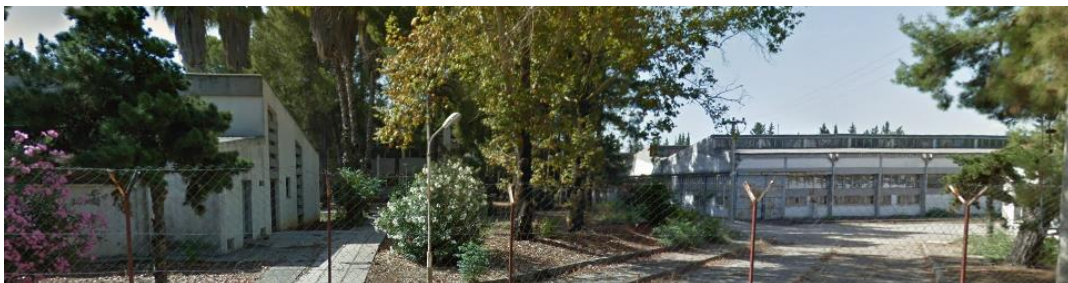


Figure 3.143. The Battery Factory (Source: Google Maps)

³¹⁹ Çetin and Eriz, 2016, pp.140-147.

With the industrialization attack of the 1950s, large-scale factory buildings and settlements were introduced in Antalya, changing the economic and social life of the city. The major factories of the city were built on the areas that were in the periphery of the city at the time, which would become a part of the city center afterwards. Cotton Weaving, Guayule Rubber, Battery and Ferrochrome Factories were all located in the Kepez region where the Muratpaşa Foundation had large and fertile areas. The Waqf Farm, which was rehabilitated within the agricultural reforms of the early Republican period, was surrounded by industrial buildings after the 1950s. Since olive production in the farm increased after the rehabilitation works, developing an olive-oil industry within the farm came to the agenda at the beginning of the 1960s. (Figure 3.144)



Figure 3.144. Newspaper clipping about the new factory of the city (Source: *İleri*, August 29, 1958.)

Olive-Oil Factory was established in the Waqf Farm in 1965. (Figure 3.145- 3.148) The project consisted of not only Olive-Oil Factory but also smaller ateliers for the production of fruit jams and salted foods, together with administrative units and houses.³²⁰ Thus, the Waqf Farm

³²⁰ http://fairycrab.blogspot.com/2017/04/hayaller-gercek-olunca-bir-uretim-ve_85.html

served for the transformation of natural agricultural sources into industrialized final products with its dominant green lands among the industrial complexes.



Figure 3.145. Olive Oil Factory in 2017.
(Source:http://fairycrab.blogspot.com/2017/04/hayaller-gercek-olunca-bir-uretim-ve_85.html)

Figure 3.146. Olive Oil Factory after restoration works in 2017. (taken by the author)

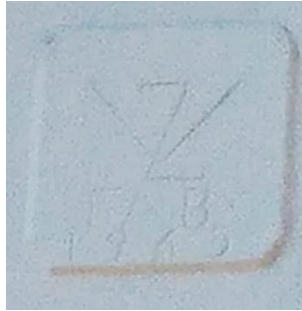


Figure 3.147. The symbol of the Olive-Oil Factory and its establishment day on the pediment before the restoration works (Source: http://fairycrab.blogspot.com/2017/04/hayaller-gercek-olunca-bir-uretim-ve_85.html)

Figure 3.148.-The symbol of the Olive-Oil Factory and its establishment day on the pediment after the restoration works (taken by the author)

In 1976, the Organized Industrial Site was established on the Burdur highway, which is 30–km away from the city center. By this planned development, the industrial center of the city was moved away, and due to the urban growth through north direction, the zone of factories became a part of the urban center.

Industrialization in Antalya was experienced under the impacts of natural and local characteristics of the city since the very first small-scale production activities. Nature has been the major source for production facilities, industry was developed on the base of agricultural identity of the city. Moreover, providing economic sources for the urban development, industrial complexes as the sites of modern production were also acted as the model spaces of modernization.

3.2.4. Modernization in a Natural Environment

As seen in the case of Antalya, the reformist perspective of the modernization project of the Republican regime that started to transform the urban characteristics of cities, considered the natural environment as the source for its aims, accepting the local identity as the guide to be developed.

Antalya has been a convenient region for agricultural production by means of its geographical and climatic features, and agriculture has thus been an active field in its economy since the ancient eras. Even though agricultural productivity continued without rupture in the city, due to its decreasing performance in the international trade, the city could not take an effective role in the world arena. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the economy of Antalya was depending mainly on grains, and livestock, and partly on trade. Therefore, in the early Republican period, the major part of the population of Antalya was living in the countryside. Consequently, the very first attempts in Antalya was to regulate and modernize the rural and agricultural regions in the hinterland of the city.

The modernization applications in the rural hinterland was followed by the urbanization attacks in the city center. Increasing communication and technology opportunities led the city to be a part of the world eco-system. Since following the world became easier, mainstream

architectural approaches started to be effective also in Antalya. Administrative and public buildings, finance and trade centers, leisure and recreation places and residential neighborhoods were constructed in modern designs in consideration with the changing life style of the society. In the Antalya case, environmental factors, particularly climatic features, were considered in the formation of new building types.

The transformation in Antalya via the modernization project started in the rural hinterland and continued in the urban center. Thereafter, the urban layout began to extend with the provision of new industrial and residential regions, and a new urban periphery at places that used to be the hinterland of the city was thus defined based on the industrial identity of the city. In all the steps, the natural entities and environmental conditions were evaluated as significant factors. In other words, the city experienced the modernization project without losing its local identity completely.

In writing local architectural histories, the determination of the effective actors in the modernization process is important to evaluate the changing conditions of localities. Besides the architects, seen as the leading actors in conventional historiography, political representatives, local architectural communities and the relation between them had important roles in local processes of modernization, as seen in the transformation of Antalya from a rural to an urban settlement during the twentieth century. Considering the center-periphery relations and the roles of central and local actors could provide the writing of the local history with the internal approach.³²¹ Vernacular habits and local traditions that formed the local culture also significantly affected the modernization of the physical environment. Both in the formation of modern architectural environment and also in the determination of contemporary functions, natural and local features had important roles. The analysis in this chapter about the modernization of Antalya in the twentieth century aimed to present this kind of a local history to understand the urbanization of a peripheral city in Turkey in relation to its natural environment.

³²¹ İlhan Tekeli, “Yerel Mimarlık Tarihlerinin Yazılma Yolları Üzerine Düşünceler” in *Cumhuriyet’in Mekanları Zamanları İnsanları*, ed. Elvan Altan Ergut, Bilge İmamoğlu (Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları, 2010). pp.305-317.

3.3. A Touristic Settlement towards the Late Twentieth Century

In the first half of the twentieth century, agriculture and agriculture-based industry were the determinant sectors in the urban economy of Antalya. The most dramatic change of the century for Antalya and its hinterland was its involvement in the tourism policies after the 1960s. The transformation experienced in the city that would lead it to be a tourism center in the 1980s, and its results in architectural environment, are the subjects of this chapter.

The increase in foreign aids that helped mechanization in agriculture resulted in the expansion of cultivated sites in Turkey during the 1950s. The rise in agricultural production triggered economic development and so an increase in national income occurred. However, at the end of the 1950s, all the arable lands were already in use and thus agricultural productivity reached its saturation point.³²² Together with the political atmosphere subsequent to the military intervention in 1960, the steady state of agricultural production ended up with economic recession. The 1960s started in Turkey within this socio-political climate and the planned development policy was adopted afterwards. Inter-regionally balanced development was one of the main aims of the plans of the era; new regulations in economic and social fields were planned, which regarded regional potentials the main sources.

The first action of the planned development period was the establishment of the State Planning Organization (*Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı*) by the 1961 Constitution, and the Five-Year Development Plans began to be prepared by this new institution. The Five-Year Development Plans acted as the base for the national development policies of the state from 1963 onwards. The economic model that was offered by the development plans was giving priority to industrialization with the aim to decrease foreign trade deficit. The main consideration of the First Five-Year Plan (1963-67) was the necessity to develop a systematic approach and a radical reform in agriculture to increase the level of agricultural productivity, which was seen as the pre-requisite for industrial objectives.³²³ As a consequence, the improvement of non-

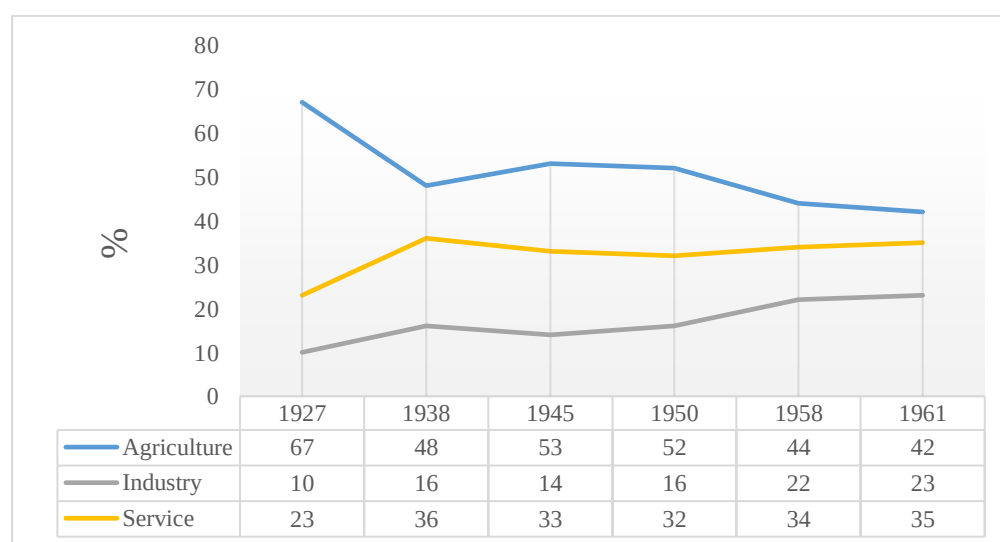
³²² The First Five-Year Development Plan, p.26.

³²³ The First Five-Year Development Plan, p.27.

agricultural economic activities in agricultural regions, and by doing so, providing a balanced population in rural and urban areas, were planned within the first development plan.³²⁴ Even though the plan suggested that major steps would be taken by the state, private sector was also encouraged to be active especially in undeveloped regions.³²⁵

Considering the potentials of the sector in labor creation and in the production of raw materials for industry, agriculture still had a large share both in national income and also in the investment plans during the 1963-67 period.³²⁶ (Table 3.4) Strategies on agriculture addressed not just the organizational and economic practices but also educational activities to raise public awareness about the yields of agriculture.³²⁷

Table 3.4. Agriculture, industry and service facilities in national income (developed from the First. Five-Year Development Plan, p.9).



³²⁴ The First Five-Year Development Plan, p.36. Another significant subject of the First Five-Year Development Plan was the objectives about building more low-income residential units rather than luxury ones and thus solving the housing problem of many settlements. Researches on existing squatters were aimed, blocking the new ones was planned, and cooperatives were encouraged while extra taxes were offered for luxury houses (The First Five-Year Development Plan, p.433)

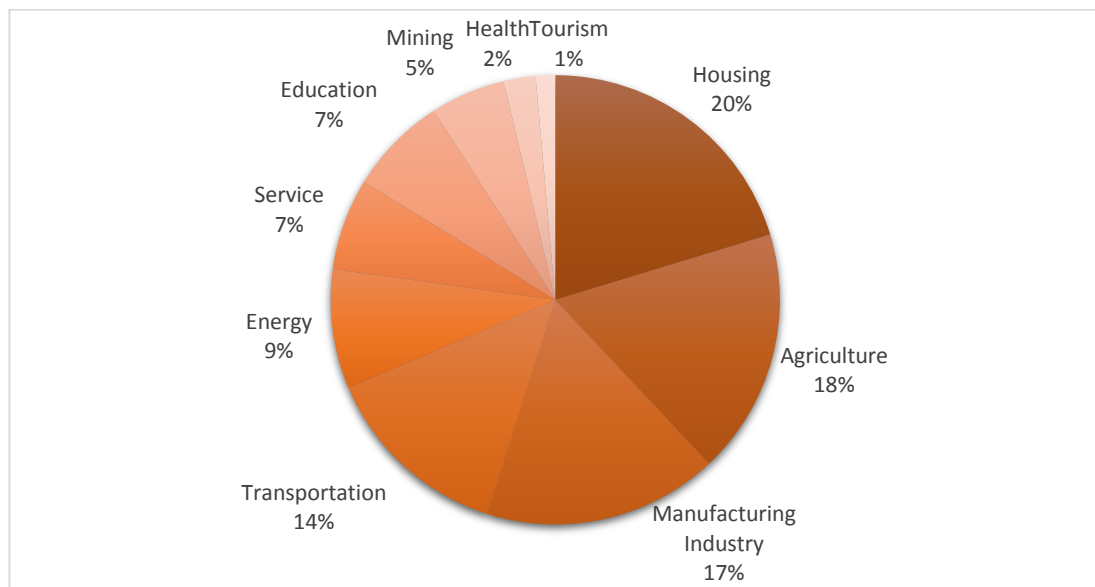
³²⁵ The First Five-Year Development Plan, p.58.

³²⁶ The First Five-Year Development Plan, p.136.

³²⁷ The First Five-Year Development Plan, p.187.

Even though tourism had a limited place in the investment plans (Table 3.5), focusing on the natural and historical richness, the tourism potential of the country was still considered important in the sectoral development plans of the 1963-67 period. Antalya, one of the richest cities of the country in this respect, took place by itself while other regions comprised more than one city in the analysis of overnight touristic facilities in the First Five-Year Development Plan. (Table 3.6) This analysis indicates the pioneering role of Antalya city in the region. Thus, Antalya was located in the priority areas for regional planning that was introduced in the First Five-Year Development Plan.³²⁸

Table 3.5. Distribution of facilities in investment plans in the 1963-67 period (developed from The First Five-Year Development Plan, p.136).



³²⁸ The First Five-Year Development Plan, p.475. Gürer, former head of Regional Planning Department of the Ministry of Public Works and Housing, addresses Antalya as one of the 13 regional centers in his article. Yılmaz Gürer, "Türkiye'de Bölge Planlama Stratejisi" *Mimarlık*, no.37. (1966). pp.75-76.

Table 3.6. Analysis of overnight touristic facilities in different regions (1961) (Source: The First Five-Year Development Plan, p.426.)

Region	Number of Hotels	Total Number of Visitors
Marmara	114	526 506
Aegean	34	331 605
Antalya	7	33 425
Çukurova-Hatay	22	121 415
Central Anatolia	76	499 471
Eastern Black Sea	5	26 000

Even though the first attempts were undertaken in the 1930s,³²⁹ the main momentum in tourism was gained after the 1960s in Turkey with the impact of world-wide developments. After the establishment of the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion in 1963, tourism became one of the determinant aspects in the state policy. Radical decisions about coastal regions and specific cities were discussed and dramatic changes were experienced in the country.

The years between 1960 and 1980 formed the period when Antalya started to have a new vision with tourism master plans. Economic policies, regional plans and encouragement of tourism investments had a great effect on the physical environment in Antalya. Building hotels and complexes especially on the coastal zone, conservation of historical sites including old city center, and improvement of service facilities to increase the touristic capacity of the city came into the agenda. Even though agricultural and industrial facilities were still active in the urban life, the priority began to be given to the tourism potential of the city after the 1960s.

Antalya Regional Development Project (including Antalya, Isparta, and Burdur) (*Antalya Bölgesel Gelişme Projesi*) was prepared by the State Planning Institution with the support of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (*Birleşmiş Milletler Kalkınma Fonu*) and of Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) (*Dünya Tarım ve Gıda Örgütü*) in the 1959-65 period. The aim of this project was to realize “pre-investment” research that would create a base for economic and social development of the region. The project was seen as the model

³²⁹ See the Brief Chronicle of Tourism-Oriented Developments in Turkey and Antalya (Appendix- D)

for other regional development projects and aimed to train the personnel in planning methods.³³⁰

Within the Development Project, research and project studies in the region were carried out in three phases: Mediterranean Development Survey (*Akdeniz Kalkınma Etüdü*) by FAO (1959), Mediterranean Basin Survey Report (*Akdeniz Havzası Keşif Raporu*) by the State Hydraulic Works (*Devlet Su İşleri*) (1960), and Pre-Investment Research in Antalya Region (*Antalya Bölgesi Yatırım Öncesi Araştırması*) by FAO (1962). While the first two steps were focusing on the land use and natural resources of the region, in FAO's research, the region was investigated under four sub-zones: coast, mountains, western highland and lakes. The first finding of the report was the irregular characteristic of the settlements, which made the planning activity complicated.³³¹ In this report, tourism was proposed as the potential development field of the city. Additionally, as the necessary infrastructure to establish tourism industry, the construction of a new port and the improvement of an airport were offered in the report.³³² Even though the project includes various subjects as manufacturing industry, tourism, commerce, agriculture and forestry, Keleş criticizes it by indicating the lack of unity between those subjects.³³³ Due to the complicated structure of the region and the difficulties in the management of wide range facilities, the project could not be applied.

In 1969, Tourism Development Area (*Turizm Gelişme Alanı*) through the Çanakkale-Antalya coast of Turkey from the northern part of the Aegean Sea to the Mediterranean, was declared. Associated with the announcement of the Antalya region as a Tourism Development Area, and with the projects that were realized according to the Tourism Development Project in the

³³⁰ Aydan Gürkan, "Antalya Bölge Planlaması" *Mimarlık*, no.09. (1967). p.35.

³³¹ İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı, *Antalya Bölgesi'nde Yapılmakta Olan Planlama Çalışmalarına Bölgesel Yaklaşım ve Bununla İlgili Davranışlar Hakkında Düşünceler*. (Ankara, 1963). Quoted in: Abdullah Taştekin, *Avrupa Birliği'nde Bölgeselleşme Politikaları ve Türkiye'de Bölgesel Stratejiler*. PhD thesis in Public Administration. (İzmir: Dokuz Eylül University, 2007). p.163.

³³² Alpan, 2013.

³³³ Ruşen Keleş, *Kentleşme Politikası*. (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 1990). p.255.

1970s, service and tourism sectors gained importance in the urban economy. The number of the investments in the tourism field increased in the city, many hotels were built, and tourists from different countries started to be hosted in Antalya.

International Tourism Planning Competition for Side and Its Environment, which was organized by the Ministry of Tourism and Publicity in 1969, was an important step in the development of mass tourism in the Mediterranean coast. The competition was organized according to the principles of International Union of Architects (UIA), and had a high level of international participation. Main aim of the competition was to take principle decisions for creating a tourism center in the region around Side, which was in the east of the Antalya city center, in parallel to the state politics on large scale tourism facilities. (Figure 3.149) The winner project of the competition, designed by Ersen Gürsel, Mehmet Çubuk and Nihat Güner, proposed a modular settlement in which local texture and climatic conditions were the main considerations. (Figure 3.150)³³⁴

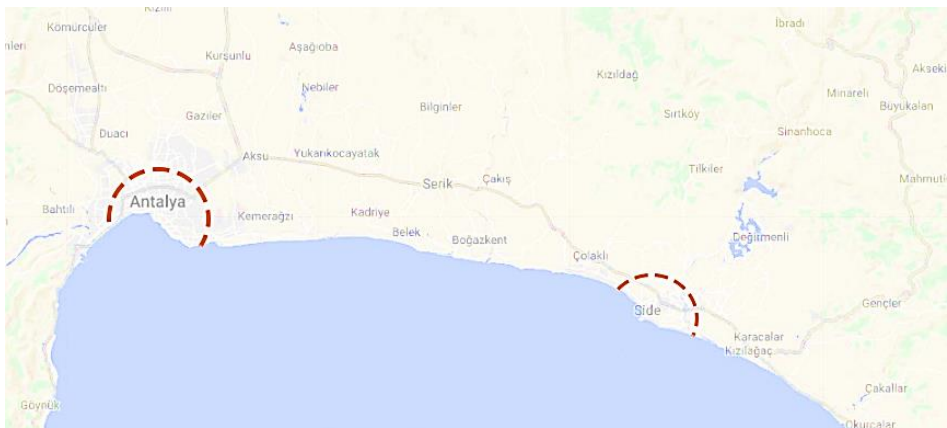


Figure 3.149. Side, located approximately 80 km away from Antalya city center. (Source: Google Maps)

³³⁴ The architectural approach of Ersen Gürsel, which is largely based on observation, analysis and research phases, prioritizes environmental relations, natural elements and synthesis of local architecture and materials. For more information about the competition process and participant projects: Anon. (1970) “Side Uluslararası Turizm Planlama Yarışmasında Derece Alan Projeler” *Arkitekt.* (1970-01). pp.5-22, 25-28,39. About the winner project by Ersen Gürsel, Mehmet Çubuk and Nihat Güner: <http://epamimarlik.com/tr/proje/side-ve-cevresi-turistik-duzenleme-projesi/> (Access: 22.11.2018); Mehmet Çubuk et al., “Side 1971” *Mimarlık*, no.97. (1971). pp. 27-34. About the architectural approach of Ersen Gürsel: N. Müge Cengizkan, Gizem Albayrak, *Yere Ait: Ersen Gürsel Mimarlığı*. (Ankara: Chamber of Architects, 2017)

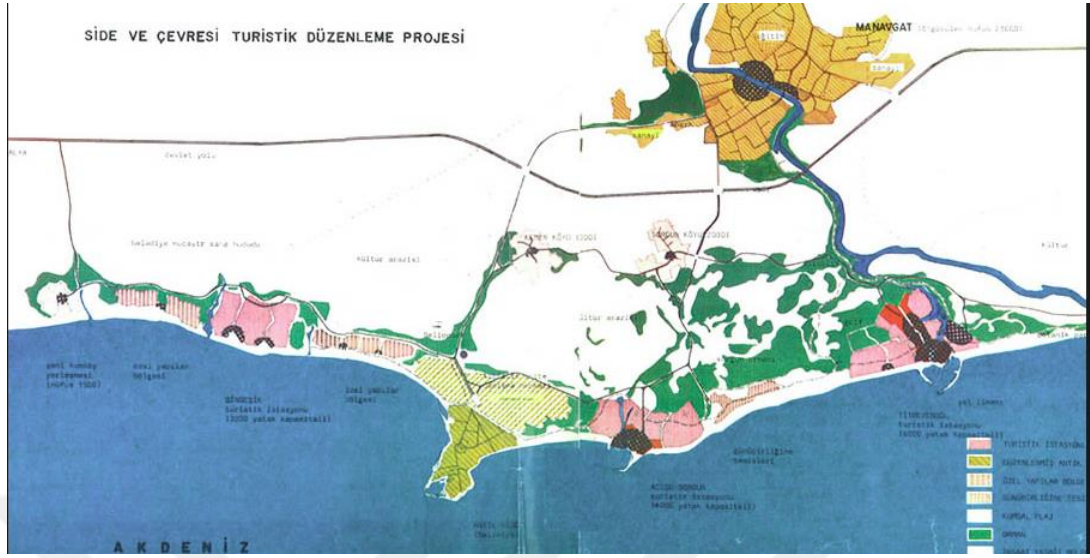


Figure 3.150. Side and Its Environment Project by Ersen Gürsel, Mehmet Çubuk and Nihat Güner. (Source: www.arkitera.com)

At the beginning of the 1970s Antalya was still known as an agricultural, commercial and historical city, not as a tourism city yet.³³⁵ Hüseyin Ögütçen, governor of the 1971-75 period, acted an important role in the development of the city in terms of tourism. Saklıkent Hotel, Tünektepe Club and many other large-scale hotels were provided with lands and/or built during his governorship period. Beyond this central mechanism that acted as the local dynamic, the impact of the five-year plans on the characteristic transformation of the city also gained strength in those years.³³⁶ In the Third (1973-77), Fourth (1979-83) and Fifth (1985-89) Five-Year Plans, the policy to develop mass tourism capacity in the defined priority regions was promoted and supports for investments were planned. In 1973, Antalya Master Plan was prepared by the Scandinavian Planning and Development Organization

³³⁵ The memories of Emin Kepez (an architect graduated in 1975): <http://ansiad.org.tr/old2010/v4/dergiler/56/pages/16.htm>

³³⁶ Turizm ve Tanıtım Bakanlığı (Ministry of Tourism and Publicity). *Turistik Düzenleme*. (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Eğitim Dairesi Başkanlığı Yayını. no.49, 1983); The Southern Antalya Tourism Development Plan (Güney Antalya Turizm Gelişim Projesi)

(İskandinavya Planlama ve Geliştirme Örgütü) by the request of the Ministry of Tourism.³³⁷ The Southern Antalya Tourism Development Plan (*Güney Antalya Turizm Gelişim Projesi*), which is known as the first and only integrated tourism project of the era, was also prepared then.³³⁸ (Figure 3.151)

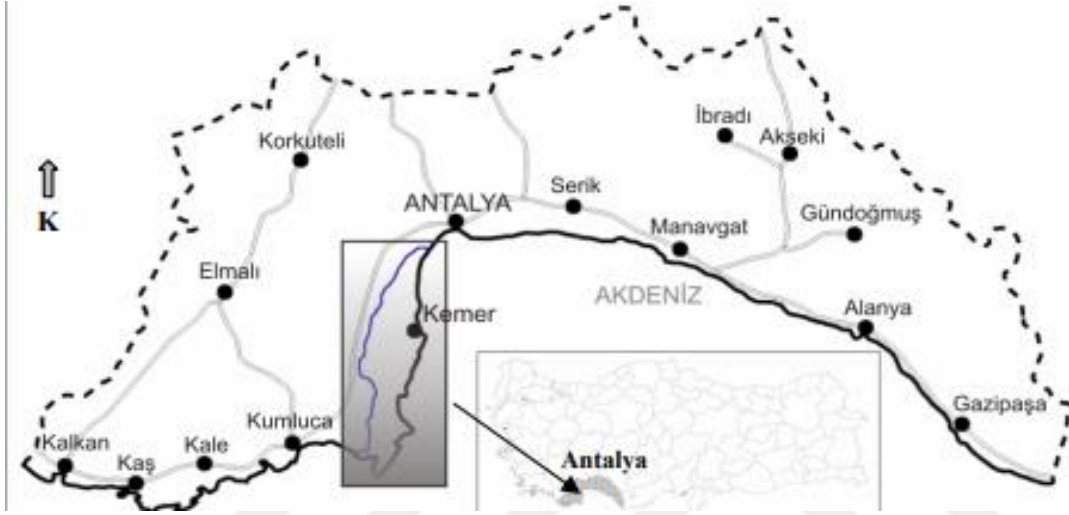


Figure 3.151. The hinterland of Southern Antalya Project (Source: Meryem Atik et al., “Turizm ve Doğa Koruma Güney Antalya Bölgesi: Gelişmeler ve Sonuçları” *Akdeniz Üniversitesi Ziraat Fakültesi Dergisi*, vol: 19, no: 2. (2006). pp.165-177.)

In the same period, historical richness started to be seen as a touristic entity. In the Southern Antalya Tourism Development Plan (*Güney Antalya Turizm Gelişim Projesi*), in which tourism development in the region was the main focus, the conservation of natural lands was adopted as one of the primary objectives. Archaeological-natural sites, national parks, beaches, scenic coasts, farms and citrus gardens were included in the project area to be protected with the aim to increase agricultural productivity and also to support nature tourism. On the other

³³⁷ TTB, 1983.

³³⁸ The project which was developed for the southwestern coasts of the city (from Antalya to Kemer) approached to the plan, program, finance and management processes in an integrated way. For more details: Mimarlar Odası Antalya Şubesi, “Güney Antalya Turizm Gelişim Projesi”. *Mimarlık* 05. (1988) pp.57-61; Hülya Örs, “Güney Antalya Turizm Gelişim Projesi”. *Anatolia: Turizm Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol.16, issue.2. (2005). pp.204-210.

hand, projects on the historical city center of Antalya were developed by the Ministry of Tourism, and conservation, restoration and reuse of historical artifacts became a part of the tourism attack in Antalya.

One of the factors affecting the transformation of the historical city center was the new city port (1968), which is located on the western side of the city. The new city port was designed within the agreement of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Municipality and the High Council of Immovable Monuments and Antiquities, and started to serve in 1968.³³⁹ (Figure 3.152-3.154)



Figure 3.152. Newspaper clipping about the examination of the land for the new port (Source: *İleri*, September 2, 1958)

³³⁹ In the 1950-1959 period, 7 port projects in Antalya (including Antalya, Alanya, Gazipaşa, Kaş and Manavgat) were delegated to Holland Kingdom Company which also constructed Mersin Port. The first examinations for the new ports were done by the company in 1957. (*İleri*, September 2, 1958). Antalya Port project was completed in 1959. In 1968-1973, the port was moved to the current location at the end of Konyaaltı. The 1964-January 1st issue of the *Bulletin of Chamber of Civil Engineers (Türkiye Mühendislik Haberleri)* (Engineering News in Turkey)) gave place to the construction of the new Antalya port. The article written by Cahit Karakaş underlines the importance of the construction for the city and for the region and shares the technical aspects and the site plan of the project. In the 1967-December 1st issue of the bulletin, the importance of the new port for the city was emphasized again. For its touristic, agricultural, forestry, mining capabilities, the inadequacy of the existing port and the accurate need for the new one were presented by engineer Necdet Güran.

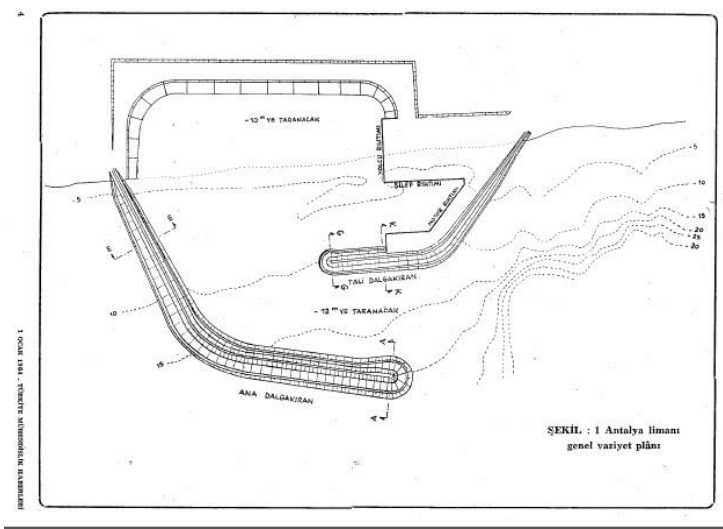


Figure 3.153. Antalya Port (Source: *Türkiye Mühendislik Haberleri*, 1964)



Figure 3.154. Location of the old and new ports in Antalya.(Source: Google Maps)

After this change, conservation ideas started to be developed for the old harbor area in the Kaleiçi district. This area, which had had an important role in the commercial life of the city during the Seljukian and Ottoman periods, was declared as a tourism center.³⁴⁰ The harbor was

³⁴⁰ After the Smyrna (İzmir) Port came into prominence in the eighteenth century, Antalya Port started to lose its significance. In the Republican period, even though there were official applications about the restoration of the port to the government, the port stayed on hold. Still, the port served both for

designed as a marina and its close environment was designed to incorporate touristic accommodation and entertainment units. Yalım defines the harbor project as the forerunner model for other historical centers in Turkey.³⁴¹ At the same time, Kaleiçi was declared as the protected area. The High Council of Immovable Monuments and Antiquities (*Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu*) approved the project for the marina and its environment in 1976, and the Kaleiçi Conservation and Development Plan in 1979. (Figure 3.155) With these developments, the historical settlement of Antalya turned into the focal point of touristic facilities. Therefore, the conservation of cultural heritage in Antalya gained an important place in the formation of the urban transformation during the late twentieth century.



Figure 3.155. Kaleiçi Conservation and Development Plan, 1979. (Source: METU Maps & Plans Documentation Unit)

passengers and commodities until 1945. The port had neither a pier nor a lifter and its dock had 100 m length and 10 m width. Its breakwaters and towers were devastated. In 1938-1939, a new custom house and two breakwaters were constructed, and in 1941, the port was repaired partly although its capacity was still not enough for the commercial life. Güçlü, 1997; Gönüllü, 2010.

³⁴¹ Güler Yalım, “Antalya Citadel: A Project for Project for a Leisure and Commercial Center” in *Conservation as Cultural Survival*. ed. Renata Holod. (Philadelphia: The Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 1980)

However, political and economic disturbance due to the military intervention of 1971, the world oil crisis in 1974, and the military intervention of 1980 had negative impacts on the tourism sector in terms of land supply and financial supports. Still, tourism kept its importance in the national economy to some extent thanks to the foreign currency income that it provided. It was the 1980s when the efficiency and extensiveness of tourism in Turkey increased and tourism became the most powerful industry in Antalya.

3.3.1. Transformation of the Center and the Hinterland

At the beginning of the 1960s, the city was under the impact of the national tourism policy, in which holistic countrywide decisions were taken. However, in the following decades, the role of the state changed from decision-maker to the supporter of entrepreneurs, and especially as a result of the Tourism Encouragement Law in 1982, tourism investors became the definitive actor in the tourism areas. Developing mass tourism and increasing the capacity of touristic facilities were adopted as the tourism policy of the country in those decades of the second half of the twentieth century.

The encouragement of tourism investments, development of tourism areas, and organization and supervision of the facilities were the main considerations of the Tourism Encouragement Law, which defined Tourism Regions (*Turizm Bölgeleri*), Tourism Zones (*Turizm Alanları*) and Tourism Centers (*Turizm Merkezleri*). According to Günay, those three notions determined the structure of the planning activities: i.e. the tourism regions were defined in the nationwide scale in the first step, the tourism zones where investments would be centered in the second, and specific tourism centers in the zones in the third step, in order to realize direct interventions and investments.³⁴² Following the general elections in 1983, the new government (widely known as the Özal period with reference to the Prime Minister) gave importance to the tourism sector and took decisions to attract the private sector for tourism investments. State lands started to be expropriated with the aim of tourism development, and bureaucratic

³⁴² Hüseyin Erdem Pekpak, *Kıyı Alanlarında Turizm Odaklı Mekansal Gelişim: Lara Örneği*. Uzmanlık Tezi. (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yatırım ve İşletmeler Genel Müdürlüğü, 2012); Baykan Günay, “Turizm Merkezi Kavramının Gelişimi ve Yargı Denetimi” *Mekan Planlama ve Yargı Denetimi*. (2000). pp.200-283.

processes and regulations were reorganized to ease foreign investments. During this period, the concepts of tourism regions and zones lost their importance, creating tourism centers took the primacy instead. By means of the Tourism Encouragement Law, twenty-one different sites in Antalya were declared as tourism centers, which brought Antalya the leading role in the sector. The city had a special place in the tourism promotion policies of the state. It is aimed to attract both domestic and international tourists and advertising works were planned in different medias. Turkish Radio Television (*TRT*) and the Ministry of Tourism were collaborated for this mission and video clips were broadcasted on television during the period. One of the significant advertisements about Antalya was the popular song named “*Çağrı* (Invitation)”, which invited the world to Turkey by emphasizing the cultural interaction.³⁴³

The touristic potential of the city was enforced with the state policies, regional plans and encouragement for investments. The establishment of the Organized Tourism Regions, which would affect especially the coastal regions, was decided in the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1979-1983). The development of tourism centers, building large-scale tourist facilities and improvement of airline transportation in those centers were the primary visions of the period. The 1980 Antalya Master Plan, following the central policies, offered high capacity touristic facilities alongside the public zones through coastal regions. Beach facilities in the Lara coast and camping zones in the forest areas of Lara, which had been projected by the master plan, became attractive destinations not just for foreign tourists but also local people. (Figure 3.156) In 1984, the Lara coast was declared as a Tourism Center (*Lara Turizm Merkezi*), and touristic facilities, camping zones, nomad camping zones (*oba*) and public touristic zones were planned in the master plan prepared by the Municipality in 1986.³⁴⁴ However, the large scale and top-

³⁴³ The song was composed by Suavi Karaibrahimgil in 1981. Its lyrics was as follows in Turkish and English:

*Kucak kucak insanlar gelmeli Türkiye'ye, Yan yana oynanmalı samba ve harmandalı,
Gitar cevap vermeli şu bizim türkülere, Dünya gülümsemeli ve hep böyle kalmalı.
İnsanlar birarada hayattan zevk almalı, Düşünün Antalya'da mutlu bir Hollandalı,
Türk, İtalyan, İngiliz bir Bodrum gecesinde, Rakı bardaklarında kardeşliği bulmalı.*
Many people should come to Turkey, Samba and *harmandalı* should be danced side by side,
Guitar should response to our traditional songs, The world should smile and remain as such,
People should enjoy life together, Think about a happy Dutch in Antalya,
Turk, Italian, English at a night in Bodrum should find brotherhood in *rakı* glasses.

³⁴⁴ Pekpak, 2012; Chamber of Architects, 1996, pp.60-107.

down interventions based on tourism development had a negative impact on agricultural lands in Lara. A large part of the agricultural zone was then defined as a settlement area; while hotels were built in the region, local people had to leave their homelands.



Figure 3.156. Location of Konyaaltı and Lara beaches.(Source: Google Maps)

On the other side, the Konyaaltı beach, easily accessible due to its close location to the city center, had been used by the citizens since the establishment of the city. The Konyaaltı coast was public property until the 1970s when the lands were hired by the municipality and released to the public. Wooden structures (*oba*) constructed in Konyaaltı during the period provided close relationship between sea and citizens as an initial form of touristic accommodation in the city. In parallel to the changing tourism policies, *oba* life in Konyaaltı was abandoned, and the beach gained a recreational role for daily visitors after the 1980s.

All these developments strengthened the way for the transformation of Antalya into a tourism center. The rapid progress that Antalya faced in tourism facilities prompted not just the transformation in economics but also urban and spatial changes. Due to the increasing population and diversified functions, the city started to spread towards the agricultural lands in its periphery, industrial buildings were built and commercial and cultural facilities based on

tourism were developed. New constructions resulted in dramatic changes both in the urban morphology with the expansion through the peripheries and in the historical city center with many high rise buildings built nearby the protected areas. The agriculture-based identity of the city started to be transformed into the tourism-based identity.

Tourism had an extreme impact also on the urban culture from the point of sea-city interaction. Antalya had an active relation with the water in changing senses throughout history. The dynamic and spontaneous use of the sea and the coasts was transformed into mass tourism facilities due to the state policies after the 1960s. As a result, alongside with the change of the user profile from local people to a hybrid combination of locals and tourists, architectural and urban characteristics of the coast had a dramatic transformation in terms of function, scale and architectural language.

Due to the economic outcomes and expanded facilities, the 1960-80 period could be defined as the tourism urbanization³⁴⁵ period for Antalya. The city became one of the focal points both in the region and in the country with its coastal characteristics, and historical and natural richness. (Figure 3.157) The combination of the existing features of the city with the planned development and investment policies created a tourism center. The main discussion then became the unpredictable physical and social transformation of the city as a consequence of demographic change. The urban culture, which had been based on production through agriculture and industry respectively, started to be transformed into consumption by way of the offered touristic facilities after the 1960s.

³⁴⁵ As Mullins defines, tourism urbanization is a type of urbanization formed by the rapid expansion of resort areas. His discussion underlines the consumption-based characteristic of tourism. Patrick Mullins, "Tourism Urbanization" *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol.15, issue.3. (1991). pp. 326-342.

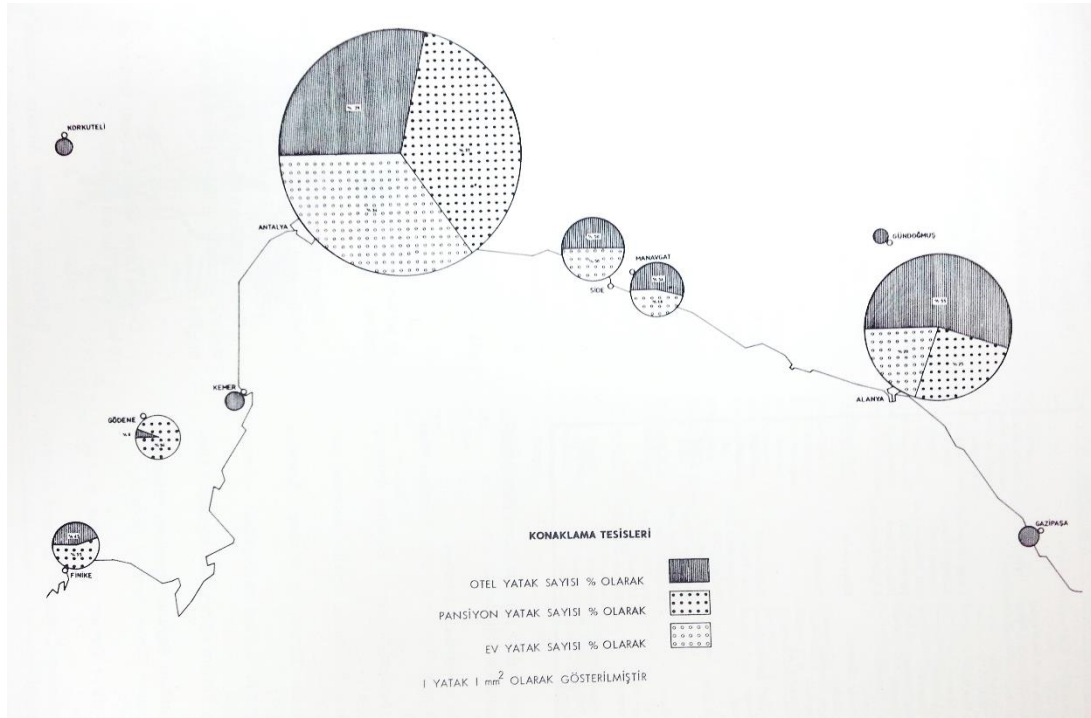


Figure 3.157. The bed capacity of accommodation buildings in Antalya and its towns in 1973. (Source: *Antalya İl Yıllığı*, 1973)

3.3.1.1. Facilities for Modern Holiday: From City Hotels to Resort Villages

In parallel to the changing economic and social conditions in the second half of the twentieth century, transformation was also experienced in the understanding of leisure and holiday activities and tourism facilities became more intense in the hinterland rather than the city center as was before. Even though resort villages became the delineative figures of the coastal zones of Antalya after the 1960s, the city had already had city hotels, although limited in terms of both quantity and quality, in the earlier years. In 1949, the Association for Tourism and Promotion of Antalya, which was founded by Burhanettin Onat and Osman Batur, had an important role in the promotion of the city in both national and also international levels. In addition to the accommodation spaces as khans and hotels that were converted from houses, the very first hotel building, Park Hotel, was constructed in 1928 by the General Director of Foundations in Tophane Park.³⁴⁶ (Figure 3.158- 3.159)

³⁴⁶ Çimrin, 2007, pp.626-627.



Figure 3.158. The view of Park Hotel from the sea, 1932. (Source: Çimrin, 2007, p.626)

Figure 3.159. Park Hotel, 1932. (Source: Çimrin, 2007, p.626)

The number of the hotels in Antalya at the beginning of the 1950s was merely three.³⁴⁷ During the next decade, new hotels were opened by private entrepreneurs in the city. As a consequence of the limited number of tourists, hotels constructed during this period were not big-scale facilities and many of them were established in existing buildings that had been built for different functions. The investors of the first hotels were mainly local businessmen of Antalya.³⁴⁸

An extraordinary and innovative attempt in architectural production was experienced in 1950 with the architectural competition for a hotel in Tophane Park, which was organized by

³⁴⁷ *TBMM Tutanak Dergisi* (1953), Dönem IX, C.20, Ankara, p.496 cited in Gönüllü, 2010, p.481. Gönüllü cites the reports of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in which deputy Burhanettin Onat indicated the number of the hotels in the city. Onat is known with his major impacts on the development of tourism in Antalya. He made great efforts to organize artistic events, the Aspendos Festival in the first place, and contributed to the activities of Tourism and Promotion of Antalya Association.

³⁴⁸ In 1951, a new hotel, Hotel İzmir Palas, was opened near the Old İzmir Hotel by Lütfü Şendünder. This was a 20-roomed hotel on Şarampol Road named İzmir Hotel in 1960. Ahmet Trak rented the newly built 29-roomed hotel in Zincirlihan (built by Konuklar Company) and established Trak Palas Hotel in 1952. In the same year, Ege Hotel with 40 beds was opened on Şarampol Road by Sabrioğlu. Yayla Palas Hotel with 29 beds built by Salih Sipahioğlu and Mehmet Lambaoğlu on Ali Çetinkaya Road was opened in 1953. Mustafa Yedek and Bekir Şimşek restored the upper floors of Ottoman Bank in Kalekapısı as a hotel and opened it with the name Emniyet Hotel in 1955. The old İzmir Hotel was restored by Hacı Salih Kandı and opened as İmren Palas Hotel in 1956. A newly-built hotel, Yüksek Palas Hotel, was established in Şarampol in 1957. In 1958, Divan Hotel started to serve in Antalya. Gönüllü, 2010, p.480.

Antalya Municipality. (Figure 3.160) The hotel can be considered as one of the few examples designed after a competition in Turkey until that time. Besides specific hotels as Yalova Thermal Hotel (1934), Yozgat Thermal Hotel (1935), and Haymana Thermal Hotel (1945), competitions had been organized for city hotels in only few cities in the 1940-50 period (Zonguldak, 1943; Adana, 1944). The architects of the winner project in Antalya were Muhteşem Giray, Affan Kırımlı, Muhlis Türkmen, Süha Taner and Fazlı Tuncalı,³⁴⁹ who had also designed the Sümerbank Pavilion in İzmir International Fair in 1938. The project aimed to follow the scale of the existing environment and to create harmony with the old town.³⁵⁰ (Figure 3.161)



Figure 3.160. Antalya City Hotel (Source: *Mimarlık ve Dekorasyon* (n.d))

³⁴⁹ *Yarışmalar Dizini*, 2004; *Mimarlık*, 1950/1, p.23; *Mimarlık*, 1950/2, pp.2-9, Gönüllü, 2010, p.480.

³⁵⁰ Anon., “Antalya Şehir (Belediye) Otel” *Mimarlık ve Dekorasyon*. (nd). p.72.

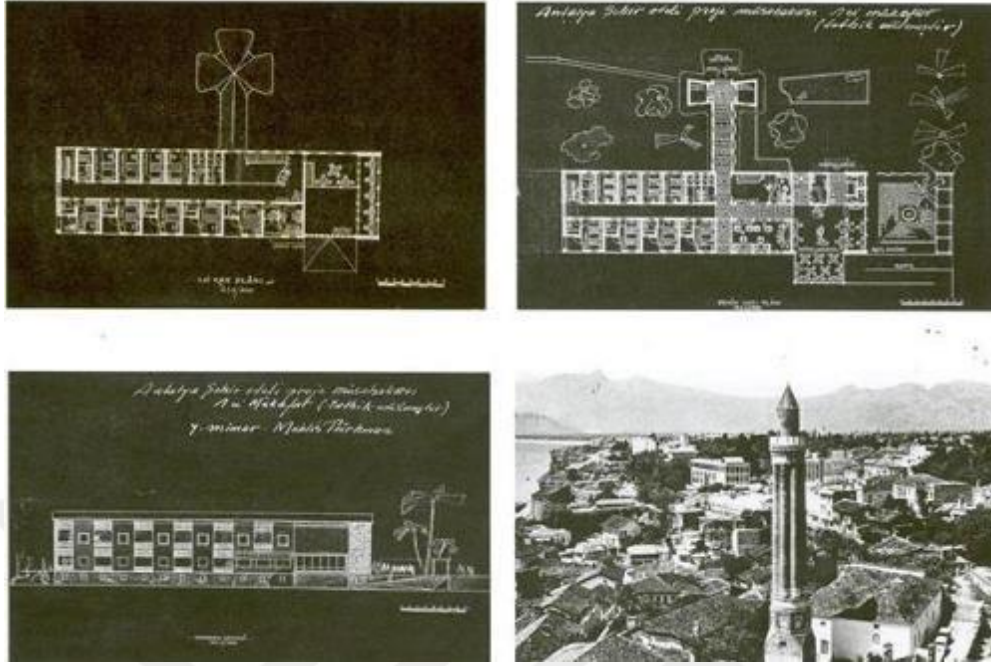


Figure 3.161. Antalya City Hotel (Source: *Mimarlık*, 1950/2)

Touristic Teras Hotel, built in 1958 by the General Directorate of Foundations, had 42 rooms in three floors. Çimrin indicates that the hotel was built for the tourists who would come for the Antalya Film Festival. Even though it lacked enough customers in the first years, due to the development in tourism sector in the following years, the number of customers increased.³⁵¹ (Figure 3.162)

³⁵¹ Çimrin, 2007.



Figure 3.162. Touristic Teras Hotel (Source: Çimrin, 2007)

Many hotels continued to be constructed in the city center until the 1960s. One of the most impressive hotels among these was Divan Hotel that had a large place in local newspapers of the period. Built in 1958 in Karaalioğlu Park, Divan Hotel had an important role in the urban life and offered luxury services for the period such as central heating and air-conditioning systems applied by an Italian company.³⁵² (Figure 3.163- 3.166)

³⁵² Even though the façade organization has differences with the images of the 1958 newspaper, official records confirm that the current building was built as a 3-storey hotel.
(<https://parselsorgu.tkgm.gov.tr/#ara/cografi/36.87844915627322/30.706840753555298>)



Figure 3.163. Newspaper clippings of the advertisement of Divan Hotel (Source: *İleri*, December 26, 1958 and August 2, 1958)

Figure 3.164. Divan Hotel, 2018. (Source: Google Maps)



Figure 3.165. Newspaper clipping of the advertisement of Divan Hotel (Source: *İleri*, December 26, 1958)

Figure 3.166. Clipping of the news about the application of heating and air-conditioning system in Divan Hotel (Source: *İleri*, August 2, 1958)

Another hotel located in Karaalioğlu Park was the Park Hotel constructed in the same period. The luxury and comfort assertion of the advertisement draws attention: “The best hotel that comforts you is the Park Hotel with phone, radio, hot and cold water in each room.”³⁵³

The common feature of the above-mentioned hotels of the 1950s was their location that is quite close to the historical city center. In their architectural language, their scale that was in harmony with the environment and a modest functionalist approach were dominant features. Local factors were considered in their design processes; still, contemporary materials and techniques were preferred in the buildings as much as possible. While this gives clues about the limited expansion of the urban morphology until this period, it can be also claimed that the old Kaleiçi settlement and its environment were seen as the main potential area for tourism facilities.

While city hotels were spreading and serving more actively from day to day, larger scale decisions on the way to increase touristic facilities of Antalya were also taken and local and/or foreign entrepreneurs were supported by the central authorities in the beginning of the 1960s. Hotel complexes were thus constructed along the coast out of the city center. The topographic feature of the city and the necessity to build larger hotels determined the location of these hotel complexes. Since the city center was located on cliffs, locating hotels on flat lands where accessibility to the sea could be better provided was preferred. Therefore, starting from the Lara and Konyaaltı coasts, complexes were spread through the periphery of the city in time.

In 1968, as an individual attempt of architect Ercan Evren³⁵⁴, Motel Antalya was built on a location that was 5 km distant from the city center on the way to the Lara beach. (Figure 3.167) He expresses that, even though there were many city hotels in Antalya, there was a need for a

³⁵³ “Her odasında telefonu, radyosu, sıcak ve soğuk suyu ile sizi rahat ettirebilecek en iyi otel Park Otel’dir.” İleri, November 13, 1958.

³⁵⁴ After his graduation from İstanbul Technical University in 1956, Ercan Evren worked as architect in Switzerland for two years. After his return to Turkey, he settled in Antalya and established his office there.

bigger-scale accommodation for tourists on the seaside.³⁵⁵ The existence of the *obas* (nomad camping sites) at the Konyaaltı beach, which were open to the public, led him to build the motel in Lara coasts that had the tourism potential at the time. After the construction phase, Evren also ran the motel in collaboration with his family members.

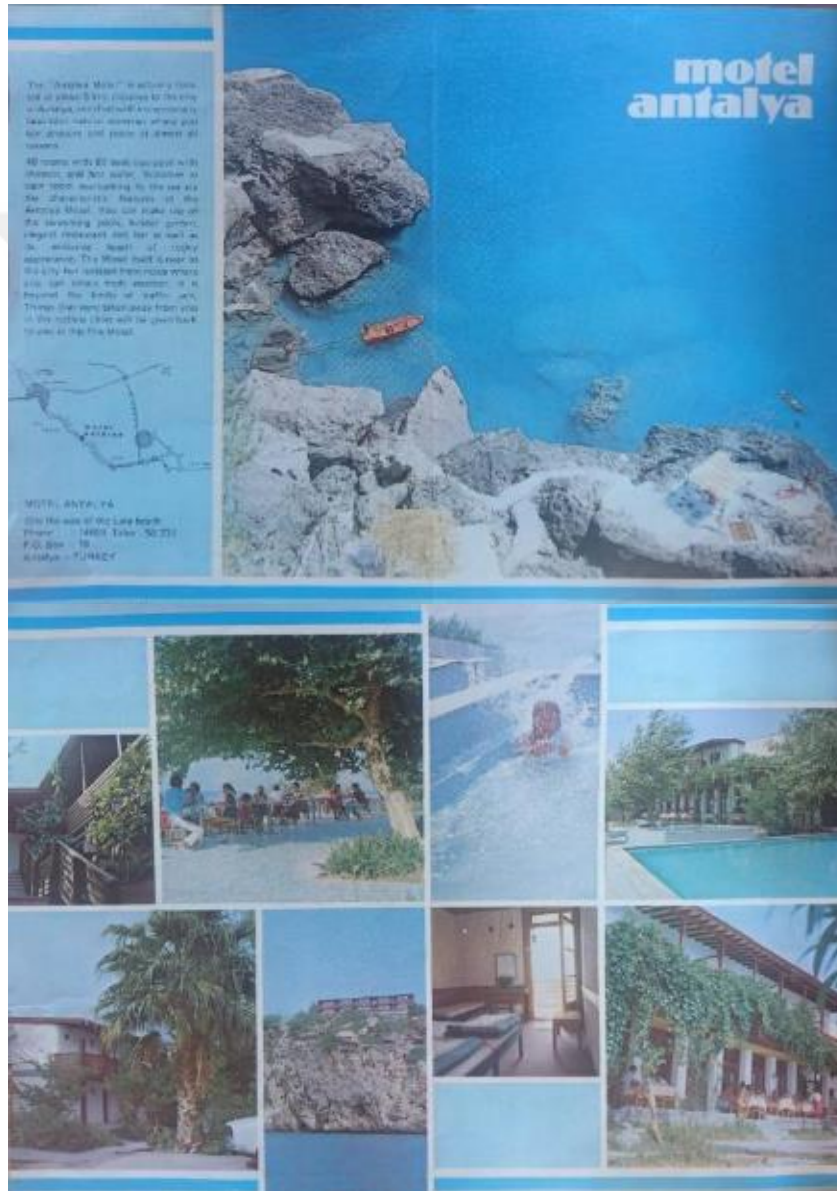


Figure 3.167. Booklet of Motel Antalya (1968) (Source: Ercan Evren's Personal Archive)

³⁵⁵ Interview conducted by the author with architect Ercan Evren, July, 2017.

Motel Antalya offered a domestic life with its management style but also with its architectural language. 12 rooms placed in two floors were reached from an open-corridor, which referred to traditional houses with open sofas. The strong relation with its environment and respect to local features provided the building with the Mediterranean characteristics. Motel Antalya, which was preferred especially during the Film Festival³⁵⁶ seasons, acted as the scene for many Turkish movies, too. (Figure 3.168- 3.170) The building was demolished in 1995 and gave place to a high-rise hotel building.



Figure 3.168.- Figure 3.169.- Figure 3.170.-Scenes from Turkish movie, Boş Çerçeve, 1969. (Source: www.youtube.com)

³⁵⁶ EXPO organization which had been ongoing in Karaalioğlu park was transformed into Antalya Film Festival (Golden Orange) by the Mayor Avni Tolunay in 1963. Afterwards, the festival gained national and international interest and provided public recognition to Antalya.

In 1970, another influential building of the city, Antalya (Talya) Hotel was designed by Metin Erözü³⁵⁷ and Harald Loebermann, and opened in 1974. (Figure 3.171- 3.172) The hotel was built by Tataş Turkish-German Tourism Inc. and then passed to the ownership of the Koç company afterwards. Located on the cliffs, the main consideration of the design was to use the advantages of the climate and the panoramic view of the location. The repetition of equilateral triangular axes provides an angular composition to the fragmented design. This layout enables to create open spaces in the direction of wind and sea view. Besides its modernist language, Hotel Antalya is also precious for urban memory as the first five-star hotel in the city center.³⁵⁸ (Figure 3.173- 3.174)

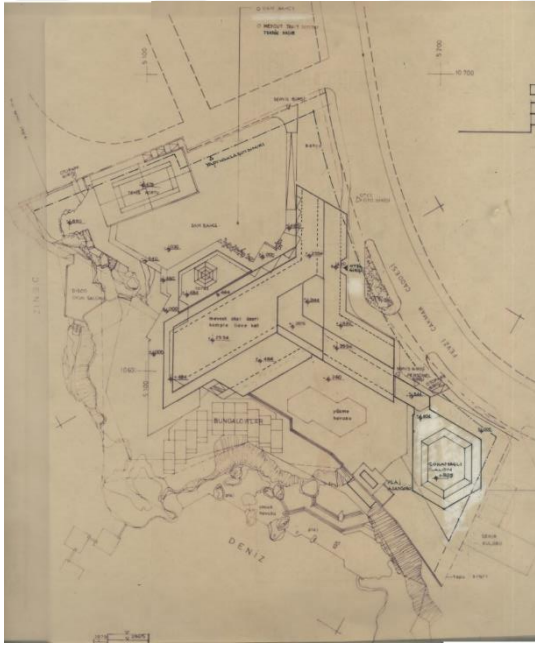


Figure 3.171. Hotel Antalya, site plan. (Source: Erözü archive, <http://erozu.com/talya-oteli/>)

³⁵⁷ Metin Erözü (1935- 2011) was graduated from İstanbul Technical University in 1959. After his graduation, he worked as architect in architectural offices in Germany and designed several large scale buildings. In the period of 1962-1970 he worked for Architektbüro Harald Loebermann in Nurnberg. In 1970, he turned back to Turkey and established his own office for the project of Talya Hotel. (<http://erozu.com>)

³⁵⁸ For more information: Metin Erözü, Harald Loebermann, "Antalya Otel," *Arkitekt*, (1979-03). pp.83-87; İkbâl Erbaş, "Eski Antalya Otel" *Türkiye Mimarlığında Modernizmin Yerel Açılımları IX, DOCOMOMO Türkiye Ulusal Çalışma Grubu Poster Sunuşları*, (Antalya, 2013).

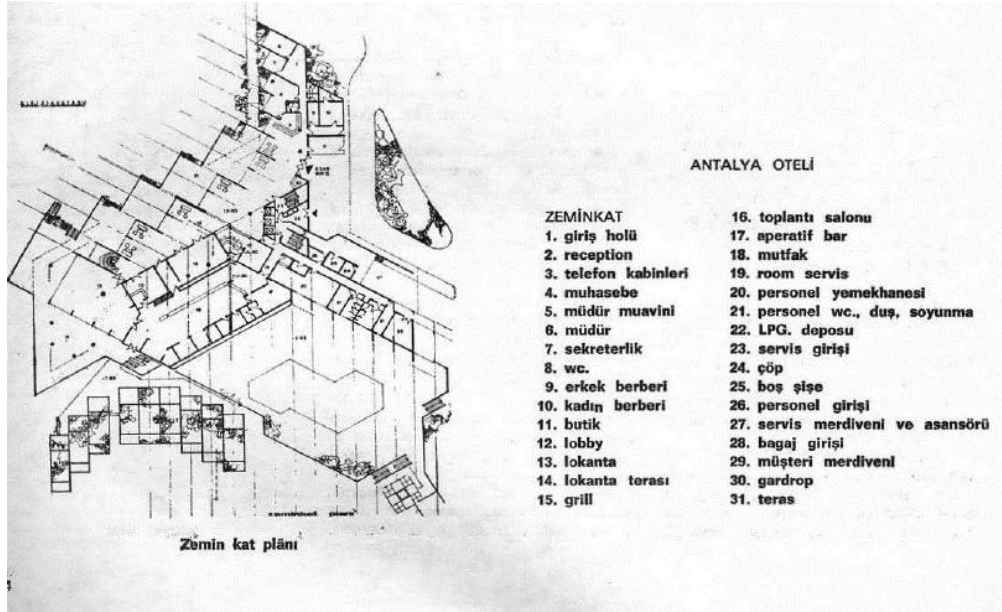


Figure 3.172. Hotel Antalya, ground floor plan. (Source: Erözü and Loebermann, 1979, pp.83-87.)

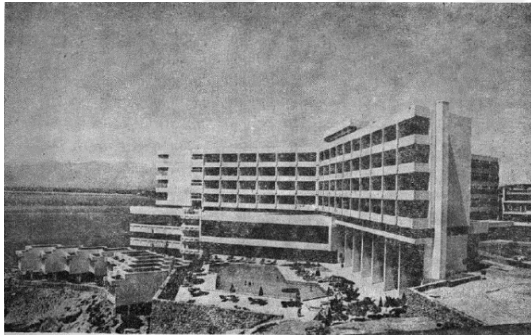


Figure 3.173. Hotel Antalya (Talya) in 1979. (Source: Erözü and Loebermann, 1979, pp.83-87.)

Figure 3.174. Hotel Antalya (Talya) in 2019. (taken by the author)

Hotel Antalya (Talya) became a significant representative of the period with its innovative approach to tourism architecture that considered the local factors in a modernized way. Therefore, the images of the building were used in posters and in the cover of the most important architectural publication of the country, *Arkitekt*, in the 1970s. (Figure 3.175- 3.176)



Figure 3.175. Hotel Antalya Poster, 1975. (Source: National Library)



Figure 3.176. The cover of the *Architect* journal, 1979.

As a part of the tourism policies of the period, vocational high schools were established in Turkey with the aim to have educated and qualified staff for the tourism sector. Starting with the one in Ankara (1961), many high schools for tourism education were established in different cities including Antalya.³⁵⁹ A competition was organized for the Tourism and Hotel Management High School in Antalya by the Ministry of Public Works in 1974.³⁶⁰ (Figure 3.177) Practice Hotel built within the project became one of the alternatives for tourists besides its educational mission. Located on a plot near the Konyaaltı beach, the building was surrounded by public buildings, such as Antalya Museum (1964, competition project by Doğan

³⁵⁹ Arzu Toker, "Türkiye'de Bir İlk: Ankara Otelcilik Okulu (1961-1974)" in *Dünden Bugüne Türkiye'de Turizm, Kurumlar, Kuruluşlar, Turizm Bölgeleri, Meslekler*. vol.10. ed. Nazmi Kozak. (2018). p.565.

³⁶⁰ For more details about the competition process, see: Chapter 3.2.

Tekeli, Sami Sisa, Metin Hepgüler) and Karayolları (*Highways*) Housing (1967), which were also representatives of the architectural milieu of the period.



Figure 3.177. Antalya Tourism and Hotel Management High School, designed by Zafer Aldemir, Nükhet Ünsal, Osman Türker and Mehmet Avcı in 1974. (taken by the author, 2019)

While the main approach was to design new tourism buildings in the city, the conservation of historical buildings also came to the agenda as a consequence of the pluralistic atmosphere of the 1970s. In line with the international developments in the conservation field, legal arrangements were extended at the time to include the conservation of cultural heritage in settlement scale alongside the singular monumental entities.³⁶¹ Following the conservation policies about the historical Kaleiçi neighborhood, the restoration and reuse of historical buildings started to be seen as a potential for touristic development. As a result of the Kaleiçi Conservation Project, the bank building dated 1869 in Kaleiçi was restored and started to give services as TURBAN Adalya Hotel in 1983.³⁶² Refunctioning a historical building with touristic facilities by the state agency would be exemplary for the many other traditional buildings in the Kaleiçi neighborhood in time.

³⁶¹ Nuran Zeren Gülersoy, “Cumhuriyet Döneminde Planlama ve Kültürel Miras İlişkileri” in *Cumhuriyet’in Mimarlık Mirası* (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, 2011). pp.71-90.

³⁶² Mehmet Özdemir, “Türk Turizm Tarihi İçinde TURBAN Yeri ve Önemi” *Anatolia*, vol.3, issue 6. (1992). pp.23-34.



Figure 3.178. Manavgat TUSAN Motel in 1970s. (Source: Tuna Ultav and Savaşır, 2018; Denizeri and Ultav Archive)

Figure 3.179. Manavgat TUSAN Motel in 2012. (Source: Tuna Ultav and Savaşır, 2018; Denizeri and Ultav Archive)

Lefebvre determines the sudden tourism boom in the Mediterranean coast that occurred after the Second World War as the “transformation of the perimeter of the Mediterranean into a leisure-oriented space for industrialized Europe”.³⁶³ Relating the transformation in the Mediterranean coasts to the post-war capitalism, he argues about the hegemony of bourgeois life style over everyday life in those lands. Holiday villages were built in several countries (by Club-Med in the first place), and those complexes created an economic revenue. Those developments in the new industry of tourism were followed by Turkey as well. The 1970s was the period when hotels and resort complexes became widespread in the towns of Antalya due to the planned development in tourism, creating a new field for architects and designers.³⁶⁴ TUSAN, established in the 1960s as an example of the developments in the field, was the first privately-owned chain of hotels/motels in Turkey. The chain had facilities in different regions that had touristic potentials, including one in Manavgat as the station in Mediterranean region. TUSAN Motel in Manavgat used the camping building of Petrol Ofisi Corporation in the 1970s. Tuna Ultav and Savaşır emphasize the role of TUSAN in the introduction of a new touristic typology, i.e. motel, to the country. Considering the local dynamics, the buildings

³⁶³ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*. (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1991). p.58., Henri Lefebvre, *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014). p. XVII.

³⁶⁴ Aydan Balamir, “Mimari Kimlik Temrinleri I: Türkiye’de Modern Yapı Kültürünün Bir Profili” *Mimarlık*, 314. (2003). pp.24-29.

provided job opportunities for the local people besides their economic profits in both local and country-wide scale.³⁶⁵ (Figure 3.178- 3.179)



Figure 3.180. Kemer Resort Village (Source: Çavdar, T. (1975))

In the same period, another important facility was established in the western part of the city. The first resort village in the city was built in Kemer, 45 km away from the city center, by the Italian company Valtur and started to give service in 1973.³⁶⁶ The building complex was transferred to Club Med Company at the end of the 1970s.³⁶⁷ (Figure 3.180) The 700-bed

³⁶⁵ Zeynep Tuna Ultav, Gökçeçiçek Savaşır, “Türkiye Turizminin İlk Özel M/oteller Zinciri: TUSAN” in *Dünden Bugüne Türkiye’de Turizm, Kurumlar, Kuruluşlar, Turizm Bölgeleri, Meslekler*. vol.10. ed. Nazmi Kozak. (2018). pp.529-563.

³⁶⁶ Kemer Resort Village was designed by Birleşmiş Mimarlar Ortaklığı Ofisi (The Office of United Architects) which was established in 1957 by academicians including Ahsen Yapanar, Emin Uzman, İrfan Bayhan and Mahmut Bilen, and had an organizational transformation in 1969. Tuncay Çavdar, graduated from Politecnico di Milano in 1960, became the member of the office in 1969. He had an active role in the design and application of Kemer Resort Village. In 1984, he established his private office and designed many other touristic buildings afterwards.

³⁶⁷ *Antalya İl Yıllığı* 1973, pp.189-190. The first resort village in Turkey was built in Foça by Club Med in 1967. Kemer project carries similarities with Foça Resort Village. (for more information: İlknur

capacity resort was the first all-inclusive holiday village of Antalya and built after the completion of the road between Antalya and the settlements in its western periphery.³⁶⁸ The concept of the project was based on a holistic approach that placed the built spaces into the natural environment in a harmonious way. The plain and small-scale units placed in a fragmented composition pays attention to the local context of the site. (Figure 3.181). Formed on a two-centered plan layout, both the public spaces of the complex and also the accommodation units were located according to the natural entities of the site.³⁶⁹ (Figure 3.182)

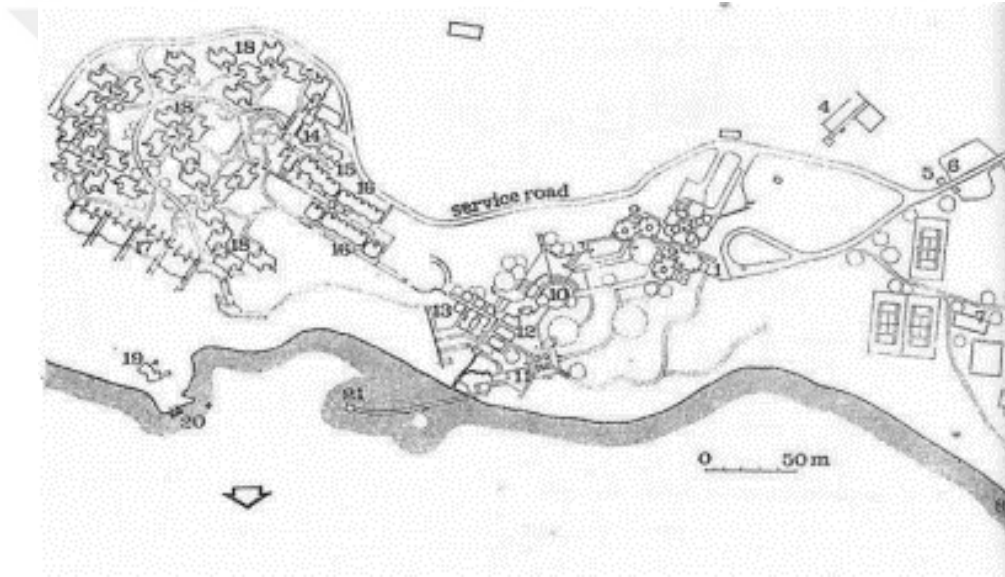


Figure 3.181. Kemer Resort Village, site plan (Source: Çavdar, 1975)

Türkseven Doğrusoy, “Foça Tatil Köyü (Club Med Fransız Tatil Köyü)” *Türkiye Mimarlığında Modernizmin Yerel Açılımları IV, DOCOMOMO Türkiye Ulusal Çalışma Grubu Poster Sunuşları*, (Bursa, 2008).

³⁶⁸ Çimrin, H., <https://www.sabah.com.tr/akdeniz/2015/09/28/antalyada-turizme-nasil-basladik>

³⁶⁹ Tuncay Çavdar, “Kemer Tatil Köyü”. *Arkitekt*, 358, (1975- 02). pp.60-65.

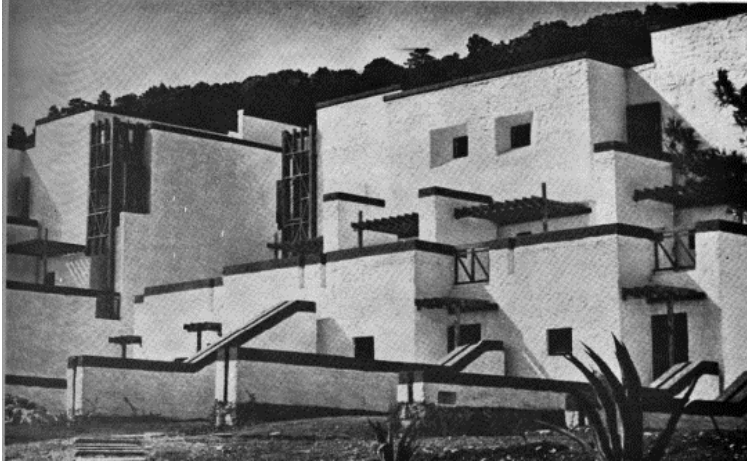


Figure 3.182. Kemer Resort Village, accommodation units (Source: Çavdar, 1975)

Until the 1980s, the capacity of tourism buildings in Antalya was approximately of 2000 beds, which was met mainly by Kemer Valtur Resort Village (700), Talya Hotel (150) and Alanya Alantur Hotel (380).³⁷⁰ The capacity of the region started to develop as smaller towns around the city also began to provide touristic facilities. Established in 1963, privately-owned Alantur Hotel was the first touristic hotel in Alanya, a small town in the east of the city. (Figure 3.183-3.184) The hotel was heavily used by touristic tour programs and so played a role in the development of Alanya in terms of tourism. At the same time, offering new employment opportunities, the hotel contributed to the economy of Alanya where agriculture had also been the dominant sector previously.³⁷¹ (Figure 3.185)

³⁷⁰ Seher Gülenç and Ece Doğan, “Pamfilya’nın Tarihi Liman Kenti: Antalya” in *Dünden Bugüne Türkiye’de Turizm, Kurumlar, Kuruluşlar, Turizm Bölgeleri, Meslekler*. vol.10. ed. Nazmi Kozak. (2018). pp.73-92.

³⁷¹ Feyzi Açıkalın, *42 No’lu İşletme: Alantur*. (2017) <https://www.turizmguncel.com/makale/42-nolu-isletme-alantur-m1589.html>

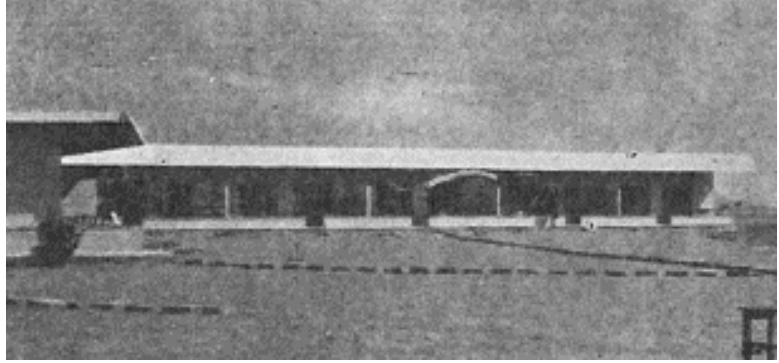


Figure 3.183. Alanya Alantur Hotel (Source: Ercan Evren, “Turizm ve Mimari”. *Arkitekt*, 326, (1967-02). p.68.)

Figure 3.184. The hall building of Alanya Alantur Hotel (Source: Ercan Evren, “Turizm ve Mimari”. *Arkitekt*, 326, (1967-02). p.68.)



Figure 3.185. Alanya Alantur Hotel (Source: <https://www.turizmguncel.com/makale/42-nolu-isletme-alantur-m1589.html>)

In the 1965-1974 period, another significant tourism project was applied in Side, another small town in the east of Antalya, by Turtel Tourism Company. (Figure 3.186) Having the capacity of 152 beds, the motel complex also had a camping site and beach facilities. The architectural project of the motel was designed by Yalçın Tezcan and Esen Bolak³⁷² and became famous in a short time. (Figure 3.187- 3.188) The quality of the spaces was promoted in national newspapers, as in the words of journalist Abdi İpekçi:

However, the real surprise is in the perfection of some of the facilities located in these beauties. For a significant example, there is the newly completed motel of Turtel in Side, a similar one of which cannot be easily found in Europe or America.³⁷³

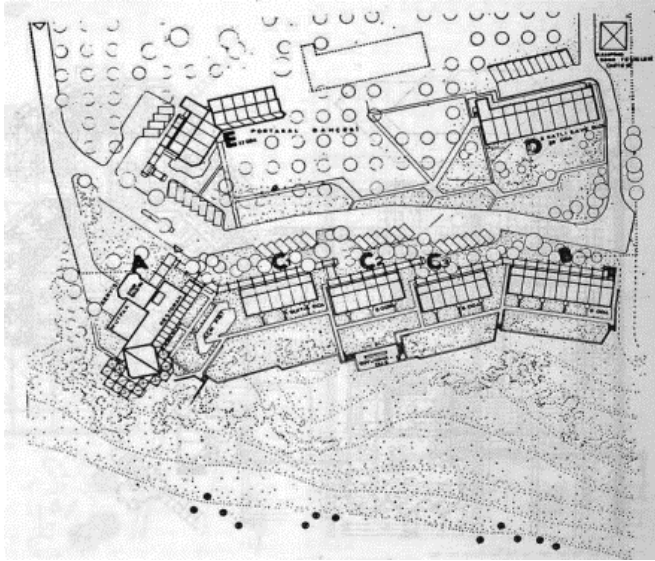


Figure 3.186. Side Turtel Tourism Facility, Site Plan (Source: Anon., 1979, *Arkitekt*, pp.11-13)

³⁷² Yalçın Tezcan had his master degree in architecture and engineering from İstanbul Technical University in 1960 and had his associate professorship in 1981. He established his architecture and construction company in partnership with his friends in 1959 and designed many other large scale projects such as the Ministry of Industry and Technology in Ankara (1967-72), Petkim Residential Settlement (1975-78), Adana Çukobirlik Facility (1973-76), etc. Esen Bolak, graduated from the same university in 1959, was one of the partners of the same company until 1984. (<http://www.yalcintezcan.com>)

³⁷³ Translated by the author from Turkish: “Ama asıl sürpriz bu güzellikler arasına konurulan bazı tesislerin mükemmeliyetindedir. Hele şimdi Side’de Turtel’in yeni tamamlanan bir moteli var ki, benzerini Avrupa ve Amerika’da bulmak kolay değildir...” Abdi İpekçi, *Milliyet*, 29 March 1967.

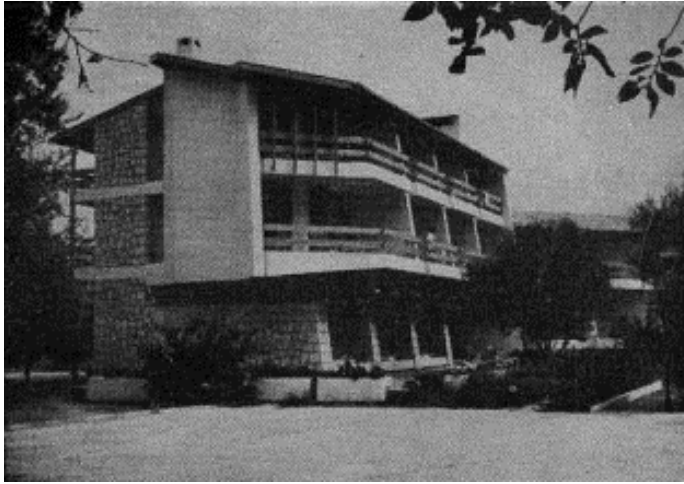


Figure 3.187. Side Turtel Tourism Facility, Accommodation Units (Source: Anon., 1979, *Arkitekt*, pp.11-13)

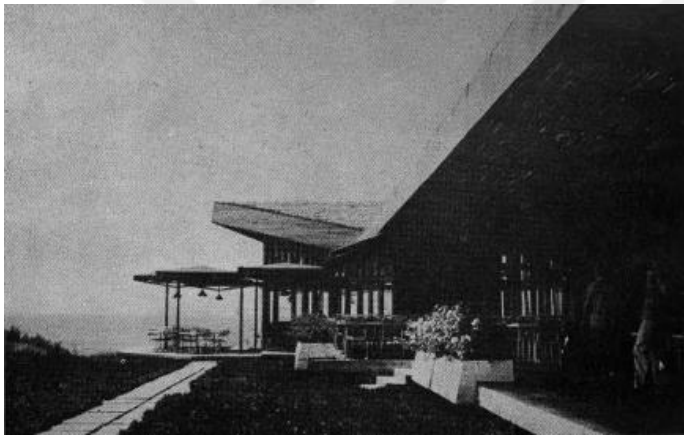


Figure 3.188. Side Turtel Tourism Facility, Restaurant Block (Source: Anon., 1979, *Arkitekt*, pp.11-13)

Located in a site one-km away from Side ancient city, the complex was constructed in four phases. Including interior design, infrastructural solutions and landscape design, the project was a successful example of a holistic design process.³⁷⁴ (Figure 3.189- 3.190)

³⁷⁴ Anon. (1979) “Turtel Turistik Tesisleri Side”. *Arkitekt*, 373. (1979-01). pp.11-13.



Figure 3.189. The interior view from the accommodation units of Side Turtel Tourism Facility.
(Source: <http://www.yalcintezcan.com/tr/mimarlik-faaliyetleri/10.aspx>)



Figure 3.190. The interior view from the restaurant of Side Turtel Tourism Facility.
(Source: <http://www.yalcintezcan.com/tr/mimarlik-faaliyetleri/10.aspx>)

In addition to the new hotel/motel buildings and accommodation complexes, the development in tourism sector also had dramatic impacts on domestic life of the city. Besides its impacts on economic life, a new daily life style occurred in time that indeed ruptured the relation of the

local people with the water and the seashores. With the accommodation buildings built for the middle and upper classes along the coast, the daily use of the seashore by wider groups of people was limited. The successor of the local nomadic life, *obas*, started to be built mainly for touristic use, and even some public institutions designed *obas* and camping sites in Antalya and offered holidays to their employees.

Still, besides promoting hotel investments along the coastline to attract tourists, the Southern Antalya Tourism Development Plan (1974) also offered to meet the demands of local citizens as well as domestic tourists.³⁷⁵ Thus, while hotel complexes started to cover most of the coastline, in the 1980s, Tourism Bank (TURBAN) pioneered camping services with the aim to develop tourism activities for a wider group of people including families with lower-incomes. Kemer Kızıltepe Camping (1980-1988) (Figure 3.191- 3.192) and Beldibi Camping (1984-1988) were the ones in the Antalya region established by the Tourism Bank. Campings had restaurants, shops, laundry services and leisure spaces in addition to tent zones.³⁷⁶ These camping sites were located in the natural environment with dense pine-trees and mountain views.³⁷⁷ Service buildings were located in these areas according to the existing natural elements, and therefore, the sites continued to offer natural-ventilated spaces in the hot Mediterranean climate.

³⁷⁵ Ece Doğantan et al. “The Evolution and Transformation of Camping and Coastal Campgrounds in Antalya, Turkey”. *Tourism: An International Interdisciplinary Journal*, vol.65. (2017). pp.75-85.

³⁷⁶ Gülenç and Doğantan, 2018, p.84; Özdemir, 1992, pp.23-34.

³⁷⁷ Memoirs of Gürcan Şen, <https://dunyaislerim.wordpress.com/2017/10/15/konyaalti-turban-kiziltepe-1981/>



Figure 3.191. The entrance of Kızıltepe Camping Site, 1981. (Source: Gürcan Şen Archive, <https://dunyaislerim.wordpress.com/2017/10/15/konyaalti-turban-kiziltepe-1981/>)

Figure 3.192. The reception building of Kızıltepe Camping Site, 1981. (Source: Gürcan Şen Archive, <https://dunyaislerim.wordpress.com/2017/10/15/konyaalti-turban-kiziltepe-1981/>)

The need for the holiday places for employees of public institution led to another formation in Antalya. With the aim to spread contemporary holiday practice, guest houses were built by the institutions and served as holiday sites for public employees. The Army, General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works (Figure 3.193- 3.194), General Directorate of Highways, Ministry of Transportation, Turkish Radio and Television, Police Service and Gendarmerie were the institutions that built holiday resorts and guest houses in Antalya and its periphery in the 1980s.



Figure 3.193. General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works (*DSİ*) Guest House (Source: Büyükyıldırım, 2017, p.365)



Figure 3.194. General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works (*DSI*) Camping Site in Manavgat, Sorgun. (Source: Source: Büyükyıldırım, 2017, p.369)

Holiday facilities of public institutions were usually planned on the seashore (especially on the Lara coast if in the city center, or on the bays of peripheral towns) to provide easy access to beach activities. Besides accommodation units, they also included caf  s and restaurants, social centers and beach services. (Figure 3.195- 3.196)



Figure 3.195. TRT Camping Site in Lara, accommodation units. (taken by the author, 2019)

Figure 3.196. TRT Camping Site in Lara, beach facilities. (taken by the author, 2019)

Spending summertime in the highlands (*yayla*) also continued in the region to a lesser extent in the later decades of the twentieth century. Throughout history, mountain villages had been preferred as summer residences. Following the changes in accommodation culture (from tents to lightweight structures and then to secondary houses), the characteristics of the mountain settlements changed and those lands gained a settled outlook.

Apart from the temporary use of local people, mountains were also influenced by the tourism attack of the late twentieth century. In 1972, the construction of a ski-resort, Saklıkent, which is 50 km far from the city center and located on the Bey Mountains, introduced a new function that would increase the tourism potential of the city by offering a different experiment from sea-sand-sun triple. One of the most remarkable projects of the 1970s was the casino building constructed on Tünektepe, a hill close to the city center. Designed by architect Özcan Kırmızıoğlu, the casino offered an extraordinary leisure experience accompanied with a panoramic city-view.

While the modernization experience of Antalya was based on the interpretation of the natural characteristics and local culture during the first half of the twentieth century, after the development of tourism as a sector from the post-war decades onwards, the natural environment became a touristic attraction for the city.

3.3.2. Natural Environment as a Modern Touristic Attraction

In addition to the central policies and tourism development plans for the Aegean and Mediterranean coasts, changes in the understanding of leisure and thus in holiday activities and the developments in the road and airway transportation, played important roles in the development of the tourism sector in the post-war period. More importantly, the recreational power of natural environments had always been an active determinant of daily life activities and thus of the built environment including tourism architecture. In the subject of tourism and leisure, the dominant impact of the natural opportunities could be easily followed. The nature

acted as a guiding element in tourism architecture by providing local variations as the responses to the local, natural and historical richness.³⁷⁸

Being a coastal city had the most significant role in the tourism activities of Antalya. From the central policies that determined Antalya and its hinterland as the tourism region to the encouragement of private enterprises in the tourism field, the opportunities provided by the natural entities were very effective. As the result of the central policies and its local responses that considered the historical, cultural and environmental richness of the region, Antalya gained the status of the tourism center of Turkey.

The natural assets, primarily the sea and then the large green lands, forests, hills and mountains, had been effective in the formation of the city throughout history. Consequently, the tourism identity of the city did not develop just on the sea-sun-sand triple but also varied touristic activities were offered in the high lands of the region. Having a ski-center in the Mediterranean climate added a distinction to Antalya as the result of its natural diversity.

The 1980s became a turning point for the region as mass tourism gained speed thanks to the transportation developments and changes in the organization systems. Tourist profile and tourism understanding in general began to be based on consumption, and this brought uniformity in building typology by minimizing diversity in expectations. The efforts to attract visitors for pre-defined and standard life style created a conflict with the main aim of tourism, i.e. to provide the opportunity to discover and experience local characteristics for visitors. From this point of view, cultural sustainability as an aim of tourism policies, could not be provided by the large part of the existing accommodation complexes.

While economic policies of the period introduced new functions as resort hotels, beaches, airport, etc. to Antalya, the architectural language of those buildings was defined in association with the contemporary worldwide tendencies. In time, each intervention began to have different characteristics due to the investors' demands and budget expectations, losing the

³⁷⁸ T. Elvan Altan, "Modern Spaces of Travel and Leisure: Tourism Architecture in Post-War Turkey" METU Architectural History Graduate 30th Anniversary Meetings, Lectures - METU Studies Architectural History Program (April 24, 2019), Unpublished presentation. (https://www.academia.edu/38919904/Modern_Spaces_of_Travel_and_Leisure_Tourism_Architecture_in_Post-War_Turkey)

quality of design features. Architectural languages of those which were built especially in the seashore after the 1980s could especially be subject to criticism because of their incompatible features with human scale and natural environment.

Considering the discussions on the subject of local modernization, this transformation represented the impacts of the changing perspective towards the constant element of natural environment in this case, on the formation of the modern architectural environment and implicitly the modern architectural historiography of a locality.



CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

In Republican Turkey, modernization was adopted as the ideal of the new regime by the central authority and was implied through the reforms in the social structure. However, the comprehensiveness of the central policies that did not consider the diversity of localities could be questioned by considering the heterogeneous characteristics of the society. Indeed, the potentials and understandings of each local context determined its way of modernization. Even though the modernization policy prescribed identical transformations, local features led to unique results in different geographies.

The starting point of the dissertation was to open up such a discussion on the place of the “local” as a concept to be evaluated in architectural historiography by focusing on a peripheral city in a peripheral country: Antalya in Turkey. As being transformed from an agricultural “peripheral” town to a tourism “center” in a century, Antalya is seen as one of the most appropriate cases to question the supposed center-periphery dichotomy. Analyzing the modernization process in Antalya from the 1920s to the 1980s, accepted as the significant milestones in country-wide modernization in the twentieth century, required to define the contexts by which the “local” modernization was formed in the city. Since architectural history is a discipline with a ‘multifaceted nature’ that relates to various disciplines, the material/physical evidence of architectural entities had to be supported with textual-visual historical evidence to widen the context of the discussion in the study.³⁷⁹

The discussion on the place of the “local” concept in architectural historiography was framed on two main contexts in the dissertation. Initially, criticizing the canonic historiography

³⁷⁹ Elvan Altan Ergut, Belgin Turan Özkaya, “Introduction: Mapping Architectural Historiography” in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, ed. Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, Belgin Turan Özkaya. (Oxon: Routledge, 2006) pp.1-13. Andrew Ballantyne, “Architecture as Evidence” in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, ed. Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, Belgin Turan Özkaya. (Oxon: Routledge, 2006) pp.36-49.

methods, the “local” was discussed in relation with the center, examining the roles of central and local actors in the formation of “local modernization”. Since the network of central-local dynamics could show similarities in different locations, environmental factors could be pointed out as determinant for specific local identities. The other frame of the dissertation is defined with reference to this consideration, and the supposed dualities of natural-modern and rural-urban environments formed the second line of the analysis.

In line with the contemporary critique of the canonic approach in architectural historiography that has mainly been based on centric perspectives,³⁸⁰ the frame of discussion in study aimed to reveal the complexity and diversity of the relation between central and local dynamics. As a peripheral city of Turkey, the decisions of and the applications by the central mechanisms played an important role in the modernization of Antalya. Still, the modernization experience of the city cannot be defined without taking into account the local responses that were developed towards the central policies. Thus, rather than discussing the modernization process of the city in the frame of only the central approaches, the study aimed to demonstrate the importance of the local approaches, and more importantly, of the interaction between the center and the periphery in the modernization process.

Such an integrated approach undertaken in the dissertation also required to consider the roles of influential central and local actors in the modernization of the city. The active authorities, institutions and individuals who had an effect on the formation and transformation of the cityscape during the defined period varied due to the social, economic and political dynamics. While the state and the public institutions were the dominant power of the early Republican period, the private sector started to be strengthened especially after the 1950s. On the other hand, the position of architects, engineers and master builders as the professionals of the sector

³⁸⁰ Even though conventional architectural historiography, which has mainly been formed with Western-oriented narratives, is associated with the so-called dichotomous relation of center and periphery, the same duality also exists in the country-wide scale. In the case of Republican Turkey, firstly Ankara and then İstanbul acquired the central roles and became the main subjects of the architectural historiography of Turkey, in which a centric perspective has also been dominant. Consequently, many peripheral settlements remained out of context in architectural historiography until recently. About the spatial and temporal constraints of the presented subjects in conventional historiography, see: Elvan Altan Ergut, “Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: Tanımlar, Sınırlar, Olanaklar” in *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, v.7, no.13. (2009) pp.121-130.

was also influential in the modernization period. While the professionals, who contributed to the built environment of Antalya, were commissioned by the state on a large scale in the early Republican period, in later decades the number of local professionals considerably increased. Lastly, the society, as the recipient but also one of the decision-maker actor at the same time, is the significant subject of the modernization process in Antalya. In the early Republican period, in which rural and agricultural lifestyle was still dominant in the identity of Antalya, the modernization attempts of the state were met with the efforts of the society. Central policies that aimed to create modern environments in villages and to introduce scientific agricultural techniques in the newly established state farms were welcomed by the society. Villagers became active actors in the transformation of villages, and farmers volunteered to experience the contemporary agricultural techniques in their farms. In the 1940s, the contribution of the society acquired another dimension that led to the formation of an urban center via major development projects. Under the leadership of the governor of the period, who acted as the local representative of the central mechanism, local associations were established that gave moral and material support to the transformation of the city. The active involvement of the citizens in the urban decisions resulted in the embracement of urban projects by the local people. On the other side, there could also be reactions such as in the case of the inhabitation policy of the 1940-45 period forced the nomad people to be settled down in the newly-planned villages, which resulted in both the support and also the resistance of the society. In any case, the phenomenon of local actors and the impacts of the local processes on the modernization process cannot be ignored for an in-depth analysis of the period.

Following the industrial developments in the country after the 1950s, increasing communication opportunities strengthened the links between the center and the peripheral regions. The exchange of materials, experiences and ideas became easier in this context, as not only the economic structure but also social and cultural life had dramatic changes due to contemporary industrialization. During the post-war decades, Antalya met new building types and technologies, master plans were prepared that projected the future of the city, and agricultural productivity became the source for the development of a local industry in the city. Even though architectural productions of the era could not attract the attention of a wider audience in the context of the country, the approaches and processes, which emphasized the local identity, should be underlined in the modernization history of the city.

The most influential identity transformation in Antalya started to be experienced after the 1960s following the tourism development plans of the state. The major objective of the tourism policy of the period was to create a modern center for tourism in the region. As a result, the local praxis in the use of urban environment changed, and tourism potential became the main determinant in the formation of the city. The transformation of the seaside usage from *obas* as traditional elements used by the local people to modern beach facilities for a hybrid user group of local people and domestic/ foreign tourists, exemplifies the impacts of tourism on urban daily life. Starting from the city center, touristic facilities spread along the hinterland towns of the city on the coastal zone. In this spread, the most efficient factor was the natural potentials of the lands. In the subject of tourism, the nature acted as a factor of attraction besides being the guide for the creation of the built environment.

In addition to framing the discussion in relation the supposed duality between the center and the periphery, the analysis carried on in the dissertation revealed the necessity to think about the urban-rural and modern-natural environments as the other frame of discussion to evaluate the “local” modernization context. As against the conventional understanding of modernization and urbanization as unrelated to rural contexts and natural environments, which thus takes these couples of concepts as dichotomous, the relationships between urban centers and their rural hinterlands, and between natural geography and the built environment were accepted as complementary in this study in order to provide a holistic view for the analysis of local modernization. Lands, mountains, water sources, forests and mineral sources, which had been influential in the formation of the built environment in Antalya throughout history, were also effective in the modernization phase of the city and its large hinterlands. Not only as the physical determinant but also with the culture created on the basis of environmental features, the nature played an important role in the formation of a modern city. Traditions, vernacular features, local life styles and exchanges among regions thus provided a “local” characteristic to the modernization of Antalya.

In the analysis of the modernization of Antalya from such an environmental perspective, it was seen that relation of architecture and environment were formed in two different manners. In the early period of the modernization process, the natural environment guided the urban identity and hence the architectural and urban development of the city. This manner could be

related to the local culture and traditional lifestyle in the city that had been in a strong relation with the nature throughout its history. Thereafter, in parallel to the policies accepted from the post-war decade onwards, in which Antalya and its region was declared as a tourism center, natural entities started to be used as attraction tools for the tourism sector. With this changing perspective, the importance of the central and local policies in the perception of environment was confronted as the subject to discuss. As Mikhail indicates in his outstanding book, *Nature and Empire in Ottoman Egypt, An Environmental History*, experiences and realities that already exist in localities and the central management policies that focus on the control of the lands, form the holistic picture of “local” histories together.³⁸¹

It is generally accepted that settlements had to abandon their local identities to be modernized. However, the detailed investigation on the urban and architectural development of Antalya during the twentieth century showed that, while the city was following the central modernization policy, it also kept its local agricultural identity. Even though it is seen as a dichotomy to consider traditions and local identities in modernization, the analysis of the study showed that the development of a unique path of modernization required such dynamic resources. In the case of Antalya, agricultural and rural identity of the city had a great influence on the modernization of the city. The study proved that architecture played an important role in shifting rurality into an element of local modernity both as a tool for modernization and an instrument for cultural development.³⁸² Furthermore, the local features acted as the agents that generated specific modernization stories for localities.

The study, focusing on the impacts of the central-local relations and the natural features on modernization in the case of a peripheral city of Turkey, Antalya, thus manifested a broader perspective for writing the history of modern architecture. Critical of the discussions on modernization that have been defined and formed by central mechanisms and centric perspectives in conventional architectural historiography, the thesis emphasized the necessity to see a “peripheral” city in the light of both central and local lenses. Depending on an

³⁸¹ Alan Mikhail, *Nature and Empire in Ottoman Egypt, An Environmental History*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011). p.296.

³⁸² Popescu, 2010, C. p.145.

understanding of modernization that has been formed by exchanges and cross-fertilized processes, the concepts of the ‘local’ and the ‘modern’ seem related and intertwined. As the result of continuous relations, the notion of ‘hybridization’ is also used to define the resultant architectural products. Nonetheless, the way of hybridization in different locales varies according to the local characteristics of the geographies.³⁸³ Arguing for the requisite of interdisciplinary researches on the subject, Stieber states:

The result has been a shattering of the project to construct large-scale explicative narratives of history and culture. Instead, the focus has come to be on the contingent, the temporary, and the dynamic, on processes rather than structures, on hybridity rather than consistency, on the quotidian as well as the extraordinary, on the periphery as well as the centre, on reception as well as production.³⁸⁴

The comprehensive attempt that relates the central and local dynamics with the urban and built as well as the rural and natural environments, points at the need to widen the framework and to develop an interdisciplinary approach. Stieber underlines the importance of the dialogue between architectural history and other fields that study space, cities and architecture such as cultural geography, anthropology and literature, which will result in a ‘transdisciplinary discourse of space’.³⁸⁵ Within this perspective, environmental history as one of the most related disciplines in “local” context had a significant place in the structure of the dissertation.

Discussing architecture in its environments (or as an environment in itself) provided a broader perspective to understand the mutual interactions among them.³⁸⁶ On the other hand, the discussion of architectural production in its political, social, economic and cultural contexts beyond the supposed dichotomy between the center and the periphery, helped in realizing the

³⁸³ Akcan, 2010, p.193.

³⁸⁴ Nancy Stieber, “Architecture Between Disciplines” in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 62 No. 2, (Jun. 2003). pp. 176-177.

³⁸⁵ Nancy Stieber, “Space, Time and Architectural History” in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, ed. Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, Belgin Turan Özkaya. (Oxon: Routledge, 2006) pp.179-180.

³⁸⁶ Andrew Leach, “Architectural Historiography in the Anthropocene” in *Architecture, Environment, History: Questions and Consequences*, *Architectural Theory Review*, 22:2, 2018, pp.249-286.

aim of the study to reframe the architectural history of Antalya as a case of “local” modernization.

Architectural production in the early twentieth century in Antalya was a kind of a sequence of its processor examples. The local tradition that had come from its agricultural lifestyle was influential in the formation of the architectural milieu of the city during the early Republican period. While the modernization experience of this period was unique with its unconscious consideration of local dynamics, following the mainstream architectural approaches intensely especially in the postwar era resulted in an architectural environment that carried the common features with many other modern cities. By the 1960s, under the impact of the pluralistic environment, the regional and local features in architecture came into the agenda world-wide and this time Antalya faced its local identity in a more conscious and centralized way. The modernization of the city, starting from the rural hinterland, coming into focus in the urban center and finally spreading along the city center and coastal hinterland, brought changing building typologies such as agricultural stations, public administration buildings, recreational areas, residential buildings, industrial complexes and tourism buildings respectively. The common feature of the changing periods in the modernization narrative of Antalya is the impact of central and local processes and actors as well as natural conditions on the formation of the modern city. The transformation in the central/peripheral and urban center/hinterland relations, the interaction between central and local actors, and the consideration of the relation of nature and built environment, were all experienced in changing extents during the period of 1920s-1980s in Antalya. The local and therefore unique modernization in Antalya depends on the togetherness of these central and local dynamics.

On this argument, the subjects included within the thesis have potentials for possible future researches in wider contexts. First of all, as any history research, the study was mainly formed on the archival study in local institutions and archives for information about the production of architecture in Antalya during the period of concern. However, the archival visits done during the research period revealed the lack of archiving especially about the Republican era of a “peripheral” city. It should be once more underlined that the archiving methods of local administrations should be professionalized, visual and textual documents should be found,

categorized and shared. The dissertation could be seen as a modest attempt to collect the data about the architectural and urban development of the city, which should be developed further.

As indicated in the Introduction chapter, the existing buildings were seen as the primary sources within the study. Even though brief information about the buildings and architects is included and interpreted in line with the main discussion, it was not possible to develop a detailed documentation about them within the boundaries of the dissertation. Since the literature about the modern buildings in Antalya is limited with DOCOMOMO poster presentations and a limited number of researches, a comprehensive study about the period could be developed in the light of the building list attached to the study. Definitely, each building and architect could also be the subject of focused researches.

The major contribution of the study in architectural historiography is seen as to underline the complex relations between the supposed center/periphery, central/local, center/hinterland and urban/rural dichotomies. From this point of view, to talk about a decentralized and holistic approach, the level of the existence of “local” histories in modern architectural historiography should be increased and each locality should be analyzed within its unique characteristics. The dissertation, in which Antalya is the focus of the discussion, tries to develop an investigation method by discussing center/periphery relations, central/local actors and nature/built environment. The method and subjects in this case are also open for improvement.

Lastly, the consideration of nature in the contextual discussion of the study revealed the insufficiency of the environmental approach in architectural historiography. Getting use of the literature developed in the related fields of study such as environmental history, provides to gain another perspective about the supposed dichotomies of urban/rural and natural/built environment. Advocating the necessity of interdisciplinary studies, the dissertation could also be seen as an initial model for an environmental architectural historiography.

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List of Interviews Conducted during the Study

Ahmet Ünsal (Electrical Engineer). July, 2017.

Bekir Bülend Özsoy (Honorary Consul of Hungary, Former President of ANSIAD). July, 2017.

Ercan Evren (Architect). July, 2017.

Hilmi Ünsal (President of the Advisory Board of ANSIAD). June, 2017.

Kayhan Dörtlük (Former Director of AKMED), November, 2017.

Mustafa Sözen (Constructor). May, 2017.

Ruhi Özgen (Assistant Regional Manager of XIII. Regional Directorate of Highways). June, 2017.

APPENDICES

A. CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF BUILDINGS IN ANTALYA, FROM THE LATE 19TH TO THE LATE 20TH CENTURY

Function	No	Design / Construction Date	Building(s)	Patron / Builder	Details	Developments in Antalya	Worldwide/Countrywide Developments	PERIOD
INDUSTRIAL	1		Flour Mills	Initiatives of individuals who were mainly immigrants		*1840: New gate on the city walls, Yenikapı.		BEFORE 1923
LEISURE	2		Vatan Coffee House	Individual	Demolished in 1990s	*1908: Establishment of Şarampol for Cretan immigrants		
RURAL	3	1882	Bileydi Farm	Individual	In 1925, rice plant started	*1919-1921: Italian occupation	*1877-1878: Ottoman- Russian War	
PUBLIC	4	1898	Antalya High School	Ministry of Public Works (Nafia Vekaleti)	First high school (Beş Sınıflı Liva İdadisi)	*1919-1921: City map drawn by Italian engineer and constructor İskarba	*1914- 1918: First World War	
PUBLIC	5	1900	Memleket Hospital	Municipality		*1906: Establishment of Institute of Italian Colonialism and Consulate 1913	*1919- 1923: Independence War	
PUBLIC	6	1916	Gazi Mustafa Kemal Primary School	İttihat ve Terakki	Current Use: Governor's Office			
LEISURE	7	1919	Elhamra Cinema	Individual	Demolished in 1970s			
RURAL	8	1925	Çirkinoba Model Village	State				1923- 40
RURAL	9	1926	Citrus Tree Nursery	Ministry of Public Works (Nafia Vekaleti)				
INDUSTRIAL	10	1926	Flour Factory	Special Provincial Directorate	Demolished in 70s			
INDUSTRIAL	11	1927 (28)	Hydroelectric Plant	Ministry of Public Works - Municipality- Antalya Electricity Turkish Incorporated Company (Antalya Elektrik Türk Anonim Şirketi)	Designed by Hungarian engineers		*1923: Establishment of Turkish Republic *1923: İzmir Economic Congress, rural and agricultural policies *1924: The Village Law *1924: The Law on Unity of Education *1927-28: The Law of Architecture and Engineering *1927: Establishment of Turkish Architects Society	
TOURISM	12	1928	Park Hotel	General Director of Foundations				
LEISURE	13	1930s	Sea bath in Mermerli	Municipality				
DWELLING	14	1930-40	Villa Göksoy	Individual		*1923-...: Immigrants and refugees settled down due to the Treaty of Lausanne, model villages and economic houses	*1930: Agriculture Schools and Institutions in various cities *1930: Municipal Corporations (Belediyeler) and Public Health (Umumi Hıfzısıhha) Laws. *1930s: The Law of Encouragement of Industry (Teşvik-i Sanayi), foreign architects in Turkey *1930s: Architectural competitions in Turkey became widespread *1931: Professional periodical "Mimar" *1937 Campaign of Education in Villages	
INDUSTRIAL	15	1931	Sericulture School- Station	Special Provincial Directorate	Closed in 1938			
PUBLIC	16	1932	Peoples' House	Governor, Municipality, RPP	Architect: Reşit Bey			
PUBLIC	17	1932	Aksu Bridge	Ministry of Public Works (Nafia Vekaleti)				
RURAL	18	1933	Antalya Rice Plant Experimental Station	Ministry of Public Works (Nafia Vekaleti)	The name of the station changed as Hot Climate Botanic Experimental Station (Sıcak İklim Nebatları Teksir ve İslah İstasyonu)			
FINANCE	19	1934	Antalya Monopoly Building	Ministry of Public Works (Nafia Vekaleti)	Architect: Tahir Tuğ			40S
RURAL	20	1937-39	Rehabilitaton of Waqf Farm	Directorate of Foundations	Established in 1574 and abandoned in the 19th century			
INDUSTRIAL	21	1938	Tekirova Chrome Mining	Mining Company				
LEISURE	22	1940s	Karaalioğlu (İnönü) Park	Special Provincial Directorate, support of Antalyayı Güzelleştirme Cemiyeti	Architect: Necmettin Ateş			
RURAL	23	1940	Aksu Village Institute	Ministry of Education	Architect: Asım Mutlu			
DWELLING	24	1940-50	Villa Dr.Burhanettin Onat	Individual				
PUBLIC	25	1941-44	İşmet İnönü Institute for Girls	Ministry of Education, support of Antalyayı Güzelleştirme Cemiyeti	Demolished in 2006	*1940: The Governor of the period: Haşim İşcan, modernization in urban infrastructure *1940: Establishment of Antalya'yı Güzelleştirme, İmar ve Tanıtma Cemiyeti (Association of Public Works, Publicity and Embellishment of Antalya)	*Second World War 1939- 1945 *1940s: The number of periodicals was increased to four: Arkitekt (Mimar), Mimarlık, Yapı, Eser	
PUBLIC	26	1941	Antalya High School Block A	Ministry of Education				
DWELLING	27	1943-44	Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative	Cooperative, support of Antalyayı Güzelleştirme Cemiyeti				
PUBLIC	28	1945	Bababurnu Lighthouse	State		*Inhabitant of nomads, Yeşilbayır Village 1942- 1948		
PUBLIC	29	1946	İnönü Primary School (I.İnönü)	State, with the support of Governor Haşim İşcan and Antalyayı Güzelleştirme Cemiyeti	Demolished in 2006	*1949: First architect: Tarık Akıltopu		
PUBLIC	30	1946	Maternity (Waqf) Hospital	Built by Antalya'yı Güzelleştirme Cemiyeti, assigned to Ministry of Health	Demolished in 2006			
PUBLIC	31	1946- 68	Boys' Art Institute/School	Ministry of Education	Block A was built in 1965.			
DWELLING	32	1949	Bahçeli Memur Evleri Housing Cooperative	Cooperative				

	Built by the Local Actors (Individual attempts, private companies, cooperatives, etc.)
	Built by the Central Authorities (State and Public Institutions)
	Built by the Local Authorities (Municipality)

A. CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF BUILDINGS IN ANTALYA, FROM THE LATE 19TH TO THE LATE 20TH CENTURY (CONT'D.)

Function	No	Design / Construction Date	Building(s)	Patron / Builder	Details	Developments in Antalya	Worldwide/Countrywide Developments	PERIOD
TOURISM	33	1950	Antalya City Hotel in Tophane	Competition by Municipality	Muhteşem Giray, Afan Kırımlı, Muhlis Türkmen, Süha Taner and Fazlı Tuncalı	*1950-51: Immigrants from Bulgaria *Restoration of mosques and tombs by the Directorate of Foundation *1955: Antalya Master Plan Competition by Provincial Bank *1956: Transformation of People's House into the Municipality *1957: Approval of Antalya Master Plan (Beyru et al.) by the Ministry of Public Works *1958: Lara Master Plan *1959: Development Project for Antalya Region by FAO *Increase in internal migration after the 1950s	*1950: Accession of Democrat party to power *People's Houses were closed *Urbanization, public investments *Industrial development, migration, squatting *1954: Establishment of the Chamber of Architects *1957: Establishment of the Ministry of Tourism and Publicity	50S
PUBLIC	34	1950s	Bus Terminal	Municipality				
FINANCE	35	1950s	Ziraat Bank	Ziraat Bank				
FINANCE	36	1950s	Türk Ticaret Bankası	Türk Ticaret Bank				
DWELLING	37	1950-65	Kırk Daireler	Individual	Architect: Hakan Eyican			
LEISURE	38	1951-65	Atatürk Stadium	Governor Haşim Işcan				
LEISURE	39	1951-65	Atatürk Sports Hall	Governor Haşim Işcan				
DWELLING	40	1951	Memurevleri Housing Cooperative	Cooperative				
LEISURE	41	1950s	Lara Beach and Camping Site	Larabirlik with the partnership of Güzeloba Village, Municipality and Provincial Special Administration				
DWELLING	42	1953	Yeşil Antalya Memurevleri Housing Cooperative	Cooperative				
LEISURE	43	1953	Gebizli Open Air Cinema	Individual				
LEISURE	44	1954	İnci Movie Theater	Individual				
DWELLING	45	1954	Öğretmenevleri Housing Cooperative	Cooperative				
LEISURE	46	1955	Yıldız Movie Theater	Individual				
DWELLING	47	1956	Barınak Housing Cooperative	Cooperative				
INDUSTRIAL	48	1956	Cotton Weaving (Textile) Factory	State-owned economic enterprise + private sector :Antalya Pamuklu Dokuma Sanayi Türk Anonim Şirketi, with the partnership of Sümerbank.	Faruk Sumbül, Müçteba Buharalı and Süreyya Yücesan from Bakırköy Cotton Weaving Factory, who were commissioned by Sümerbank.			
PUBLIC	49	1957	New Airport	İstanbul Yol Yapı Ltd.Company				
PUBLIC	50	1957	Tuberculosis Hospital	Ministry of Public Works				
PUBLIC	51	1957	Namık Kemal Primary School	Ministry of Education				
LEISURE	52	1957	Obas in Konyaaltı Beach	Municipality				
DWELLING	53	1958	Villa Kıvrak	Individual				
TOURISM	54	1958	Touristic Teras Hotel	General Directorate of Foundations				
TOURISM	55	1958	Divan Hotel	Individual				
FINANCE	56	1959	Commodity Exchange Building	State	Architect: Turan Kemaloğlu			
PUBLIC	57	1959	Worker' Insurance Hospital and Lodgement	Workers' Insurance Institution				
DWELLING	58	1960	Villa Zamanlar	Individual				
INDUSTRIAL	59	1959-64	Guayule Rubber Plant	Private enterprise				

	Built by the Local Actors (Individual attempts, private companies, cooperatives, etc.)
	Built by the Central Authorities (State and Public Institutions)
	Built by the Local Authorities (Municipality)

A. CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF BUILDINGS IN ANTALYA, FROM THE LATE 19TH TO THE LATE 20TH CENTURY (CONT'D.)

Function	No	Design / Construction Date	Building(s)	Patron / Builder	Details	Developments in Antalya	Worldwide/Countrywide Developments	PERIOD
INDUSTRIAL	60	1959-61	Ferrochrome and Carbide Factory	Eti Electrometallurgy Inc. with the partnership of Etibank and French Pechiney-Compasdec Group		*1960-65: Kalekapısı Çarşısı *1963: Transformation of the Development Project of FAO into the Regional Plan by SPO (DPT) *1964: First office of the Chamber of Architects *1965-67: Revision of Master Plan by Bülent Berkşan *1966: First office of the Chamber of Civil Engineers *1969: Declaration of the Tourism Development Area along the coast of Çanakale-Antalya *1969: International Tourism Planning Competition for Side and Its Environment *Increase in tourism investments	*1960: Coupe D'etat *1963 Ministry of Tourism and Promotion *1965: Flat Ownership Law * Five Year Development Plans after 1963	60S
INDUSTRIAL	61	1961	Kepez Electricity Plant	State-owned economic enterprise + private sector :Kepez Electricity Incorporated Company				
TOURISM	62	1963	DSİ Social Center-Guest House	DSİ				
TOURISM	63	1963	Alantur Hotel in Alanya	Private enterprise				
FINANCE	64	1963	Antalya Branch of Central Bank	Central Bank				
FINANCE	65	1964	Belediye İşhanı	Municipality	Designed by technician Nedim Yalınırık. Since Yalınırık, submitted by engineer Hacıp Kayı for approval			
LEISURE	66	1964	Ulusal Yükseliş (National Ascension) Monument	Competition by Association	Designed by Sculptor Prof. Dr. Hüseyin Gezer			
TOURISM	67	1965- 74	Side Turtel Tourism Facility	Turtel Tourism Company	Architect: Yalçın Tezcan and Esen Bolak			
INDUSTRIAL	68	1965	Olive Oil Factory in Waqf Farm	Directorate of Foundations				
PUBLIC	69	1967	Regional Directorate of State Hydraulic Works (DSİ)	DSİ				
PUBLIC	70	1967-68	Regional Directorate of Highways	Highways	Architect: Nezâhî Özyalçın			
TOURISM	71	1967-69	Highways Social Center-Guest Hous	Highways				
TOURISM	72	1968	Motel Antalya	Individual	Achitect: Ercan Evren			
DWELLING	73	1968	Elbirlik Apartment	Individual	Architect: Özcan Kırmızıoğlu			
TOURISM	74	1968-73	New City Port	Agreement of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Municipality and the High Council of Immovable Monuments and Antiquities	Holland Kingdom Company	*1973: Antalya Master Plan by the Scandinavian Planning and Development Organization by the request of the Ministry of Tourism *The Southern Antalya Tourism Development Plan *1976: Conservation Project of Marina and its environment *1978-80: Master Plan by Zühtü Can *1979:Declaration of Kaleiçi Conservation Area, Kaleiçi Conservation and Development Plan		70S
TOURISM	75	1970	Antalya (Talya) Hotel	Tataş Turkish-German Tourism Inc., then passed to Koç Holding	Architect: Metin Erözü and Harald Loebermann			
TOURISM	76	1970s	TUSAN Motel Manavgat	TUSAN				
FINANCE	77	1970s	Vakıf İşhanı (Office Block)	Directorate of Foundations				
PUBLIC	78	1970	Turkish Radio and Television Association (TRT)	TRT				
TOURISM	79	1972	Saklıkent Ski-Resort					
PUBLIC	80	1972	Antalya Museum	Competition by the Ministry of Public Works	Architect: Doğan Tekeli, Sami Sisa and Metin Hepgüler			
PUBLIC	81	1973	Antalya Governor's Office	Competition by the Ministry of Public Works	Architect: Mahmut Tuna, Meriç Karaaslan and Önen Aktürk			
TOURISM	82	1973	Kemer Resort Village	Italian company Valtur, then passed to Club-Med.	Architect: Tuncay Çavdar			
TOURISM	83	1974	Antalya Tourism and Hotel Management High School	Competition by the Ministry of Public Works	Architect: Zafer Aldemir, Nükhet Ünsal, Osman Türker, Mehmet Avcı			
TOURISM	84	1975-83	Tünektepe Döner Gazino (Turning Restaurant)	Provincial Special Administration, Governor Öğütçen	Architect: Özcan Kırmızıoğlu			
PUBLIC	85	1976	Barbaros Primary School	Ministry of Education	Architect: Cemil Cahit Sönmez			
INDUSTRIAL	86	1976	Organized Industrial Site	State				
INDUSTRIAL	87	1976	Battery Factory	MKE				
PUBLIC	88	1978	Hacı Dudu-Mehmet Gebizli Mosque	Directorate of Religious Affairs	Architect: Özcan Kırmızıoğlu			
TOURISM	89	1980-88	Kemer Kızıltepe Camping	Tourism Bank (TURBAN)		*Huge demand in construction field due to tourism, developed infrastructure (portt and airport) and Kaleiçi project *1980: Change in municipal border *1981-82: Environmental Master Plan *1982: Kaleiçi Master Plan *1983: Reduction in the Falez Protection Site (from 150 m to 35 m) *1984: Lara coast was declared as a Tourism Center *1986: Lara Master Plan *Urban sprawl in agricultural lands *Increase in squatters *Increase in tourism investments, infrastructure, refreshments, entertainment	*1980: Military Intervention *1982: Tourism Encouragement Law *1984: Coastal Law *1985: 3194 Law on Land Development Planning and Control	80S
PUBLIC	90	1982	Provincial Special Administration	Provincial Special Administration				
TOURISM	91	1983	TURBAN Adalya Hotel	Tourism Bank (TURBAN)	Restoration project in Kaleiçi			
PUBLIC	92	1983	Palace of Justice	Competition by the Ministry of Public Works				
PUBLIC	93	1983	Antalya Faculty of Medicine Training and Research Hospital	Limited competition by Ankara University				
TOURISM	94	1984-88	Beldibi Camping	Tourism Bank (TURBAN)				
TOURISM	95	1980s	Holiday resorts and guest houses of the Army, General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works, General Directorate of Highways, Ministry of Transportation, Turkish Radio and Television, Police Service and Gendarmerie	Public Institutions				

	Built by the Local Actors (Individual attempts, private companies, cooperatives, etc.)
	Built by the Central Authorities (State and Public Institutions)
	Built by the Local Authorities (Municipality)

B. CHRONOLOGICAL MAP OF ANTALYA



The map was reproduced on the base of analytical maps of DAMPO (2003) and Google Earth (2019) (Source:METU Maps&Plan Documentation Unit)

C. CENTRAL-LOCAL MAP OF ANTALYA



The map was reproduced on the base of analytical maps of DAMPO (2003) and Google Earth (2019) (Source:METU Maps&Plan Documentation Uni

D. BRIEF CHRONICLE OF TOURISM-ORIENTED DEVELOPMENTS IN TURKEY AND ANTALYA

1923: Establishment of the Travelers' Association (*Seyyahin Cemiyeti*) (renamed as Touring and Automobile Club of Turkey in 1930)

1934: Establishment of Turkish Office (*Türk Ofis*) which had the Tourism Desk responsible for tourism and promotion under the Ministry of Economy³⁸⁷

1949: Establishment of the Association for Tourism and Promotion of Antalya by Burhanettin Onat and Osman Batur.

1950: Law for Encouragement of Tourism Institutions (*5647 Turizm Müesseseleri Teşvik Kanunu*)

1953: Law for Encouragement of Tourism Industry (*6086 Turizm Endüstrisini Teşvik Kanunu*)

1955: Establishment of Tourism Bank

1957: Establishment of the Ministry of Press Publication and Tourism (*Basın, Yayın ve Turizm Vekaleti*)

1959-65: Antalya Regional Development Project (Antalya, Isparta, Burdur) (*Antalya Bölgesel Gelişme Projesi*)

1959: Mediterranean Development Survey (*Akdeniz Kalkınma Etüdü*)

1960: Mediterranean Basin Survey Report by the State Hydraulic Works (*DSİ*) (*Akdeniz Havzası Keşif Raporu*)

1962: Pre-Investment Research in Antalya Region by FAO (*Antalya Bölgesi Yatırım Öncesi Araştırması*)

1963: Establishment of the Ministry of Tourism and Publicity (*Turizm ve Tanıtma Bakanlığı*)

1963-67: The First Five-Year Development Plan (*I. Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı*)

1968-72: The Second Five-Year Development Plan (*II. Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı*)

³⁸⁷ Oytun Eylem Doğmuş, *Antalya Örneğinde Ulusal Turizm Politikalarının Sorgulanması*. Ph.D. Thesis, (İzmir: Dokuz Eylül University, 2010)

D. BRIEF CHRONICLE OF TOURISM-ORIENTED DEVELOPMENTS IN TURKEY AND ANTALYA (CONT'D.)

1969: Determination of Tourism Development Area (*Turizm Gelişme Alanı*) through Çanakkale-Antalya coast.³⁸⁸

1972: Additional articles to the Building Law (*İmar Kanunu*) about the coastal regions

1973: Antalya Master Plan by the Scandinavian Planning and Development Organization by the request of the Ministry of Tourism

1973-77: The Third Five-Year Development Plan (*III. Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı*)

1974: Southern Antalya Tourism Development Plan (Güney Antalya Turizm Gelişim Projesi, GATGP)

1979: Kaleiçi Conservation and Development Plan

1979-83: The Fourth Five-Year Development Plan (*IV. Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı*)

1980: Antalya Master Plan (*Nazım İmar Planı*)

1982: Law for the Encouragement of Tourism (no.2634) (*Turizmi Teşvik Kanunu*)

1984: Coastal Law (no.3086) (*Kıyı Kanunu*)

1984: Declaration of Lara coast as a Tourism Center (*Lara Turizm Merkezi*)

1985: 3194 Law on Land Development Planning and Control

1985-89: The Fifth Five-Year Development Plan (*V. Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı*)

1986: Lara Master Plan by the Municipality

³⁸⁸ A 3 km width belt in the Aegean and Mediterranean coast from Balıkesir-Çanakkale border to Antalya-Mersin border has been declared as the Tourism Development Area by the decree of the Council of Ministers dated 18.09.1969. This decree is known as the major start of tourism development in the country. For more information: Mimarlar Odası Antalya Şubesi, “Güney Antalya Turizm Gelişim Projesi”, *Mimarlık*, v.05. (1988). p.57.

E. CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Bölükbaş Dayı, Esin
Nationality: Turkish (TC)
Date and Place of Birth: 12 December 1983, Eskişehir
Marital Status: Married
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EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
PhD	METU, History of Architecture	2019
MS	Gazi University, Architecture(Restoration)	2013
BS	Anadolu University, Architecture	2007
High School	Yunusemre High School, Eskişehir	2001

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2013- Present	Antalya Bilim University	Research Assistant
2008- 2013	Chamber of Architects of Turkey, Ankara Branch	Executive Secretary
2007- 2008	Odunpazarı Municipality, Eskişehir	Architect
2006- 2007	Tuba Construction	Architect

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

Ardizzola, P., Bölükbaş Dayı, E. (2016) “How is Interior Architecture Perceived in Turkey? A Survey for New Methodologies and Strategies in Interior Architecture Education”, 1st International Symposium ‘Education in Interior Architecture’ in the Year of German- Turkish Research, Education and Innovation, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp.94-103. ISBN: 978-1-4438-8940-7.

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International Symposium of Interior Architecture, Mimar Sinan University, İstanbul, Turkey, pp.187-194.

Bölükbaş Dayı, E. (2015) “Facing the Middle East: Aalto’s Design Effort for Architectural Modern Spaces in Iraq”, Aalto beyond Finland: Architecture and Design, Helsinki: Alvar Aalto Foundation, pp. 43-49. ISBN: 978-952-549-35-6.

Bölükbaş Dayı, E. (2015) “Rereading the City in the Light of Continuity”, ArchTheo’15 Theory and History of Architecture Conference, İstanbul, Turkey, DAKAM, pp.225- 233. ISBN: 978-605-9207-10-2.

Bölükbaş Dayı, E., (2014), “Design Policies: Hints from Rural Settlements”, 3rd International Congress on Urban and Environmental Issues and Policies, Aksaray University, Aksaray, Turkey, Proceedings Book, pp. 99- 109.

Bölükbaş Dayı E.,Uysal, Y., (2011), “Building Identities Catalogue”, Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch, Ankara. (editing)

Bölükbaş Dayı E.,Şahin,Ö, (2011), “Altındağ Tarihi Kent Merkezi Mimarlık Rehberi”, Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch, Ankara. (technical team)

Bölükbaş Dayı E.,Uysal, Y., (2011), “Bina Kimlikleri Söyleşileri 1-5”, Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch, Ankara. (editing)

F. TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

MODERN BİR KENTİN OLUŞUMU: ANTALYA, 1920’LER- 1980’LER

Cumhuriyet’in ilanından sonra Türkiye’de modernleşme yeni rejimin ideali olarak benimsenmiş ve sosyal yapıdaki reformlar aracılığıyla uygulamaya konulmuştur. Ancak, merkezi politikaların yerelin çeşitliliğini göz ardı eden kapsayıcılığı toplumun heterojen karakteri dikkate alındığında tartışmaya açık bir konudur. Aslında, her yerel bağlamın kendi potansiyel ve anlayışı modernleşmesinin biçimini belirlemiştir. Modernleşme politikası benzer dönüşümleri tariflese de, yerel özellikler farklı coğrafyalarda özgün sonuçlar doğurmuştur.

Tezin çıkış noktası periferik bir ülkenin periferik bir kentine, Türkiye kentlerinden Antalya’ya odaklanarak, mimarlık tarihyazımında “yerel”in bir kavram olarak yerini tartışmaya açmaktır. Bir yüzyıl içinde tarımsal bir taşra kentinden bir turizm merkezine dönüşen Antalya’nın merkez/periferi tartışması için en uygun zeminlerden birini oluşturduğu düşünülmektedir. Antalya’nın ülke çapında yirminci yüzyıl için önemli dönüm noktaları olarak görülen 1920’ler ve 1980’ler aralığındaki modernleşme sürecinin analizi, öncelikle kentteki “yerel” modernleşmenin hangi bağlamlarda gerçekleştiğinin tanımlanmasını gerektirmiştir.

Bu çalışma kapsamında “yerel” kavramının mimarlık tarihindeki yerine ilişkin tartışma iki temel bağlam üzerinde şekillenmiştir. İlk olarak, kanonik tarihyazımı yöntemlerini eleştirerek, “yerel”in merkezle olan ilişkisi ve “yerel modernleşme”nin oluşumunda merkezi ve yerel aktörlerin rolleri incelenmiştir. Merkezi ve yerel dinamiklerin ilişki ağı farklı yerlerde benzerlik gösterebileceği için, özgün yerel kimlikler için çevresel faktörler belirleyici olarak gösterilebilir. Tartışmanın diğer aksı bu doğrultuda şekillenerek, doğal-modern ve kırsal-kentsel çevre ikilikleri analizin ikinci yönünü oluşturmuştur.

Tez, konvansiyonel mimarlık tarihi yazımının Batı merkezli yaklaşımını eleştirirken, “yerel” kavramına odaklanmaktadır. Dünya çapında sırasıyla Batı ve Batı-dışı olarak kullanılan merkez ve periferi kavramsal ikilemine dair süregiden tartışma, çalışma kapsamında ülke

ölçeğindeki bir analize çekilmiştir. Bu nedenle, merkez ve periferi kavramları ve bu kavramların Türkiye’deki türevleri çalışmanın konusunu oluşturmaktadır. Çalışma, periferik (diğer bir deyişle Batı dışı veya “öteki”) bir ülke olarak kabul edilen Türkiye’nin periferik bir kenti olan Antalya’nın modernleşme sürecini incelemektedir.

Türkiye’nin Akdeniz kıyısında yer alan bir kenti olan Antalya, tarihi ve çevresel özellikleriyle özgün bir örnek oluşturmaktadır. Coğrafi özellikleri özgün bir yaşam biçimi oluşturmuştur ve yirminci yüzyılda hızlı bir dönüşüm geçirmiş olsa da kentin yerel kimliği halen önemli ölçüde algılanabilir durumdadır. Yirminci yüzyılın başında Antalya “periferik” bir kasaba olarak tanımlanabilirken, yüzyılın sonunda değişen dinamikleriyle bölgede ve ülkede merkezi bir konuma sahip olmuştur. Bir yüzyıl içinde yerel dinamiklerin farklı bağlamlardaki değişken rolleri ile, Antalya yerel modernleşme tartışmaları için iyi bir örnek teşkil etmektedir.

Mimarlık tarihyazımının merkezi bakış açısı üzerinden şekillenen kanonik yaklaşımına ilişkin çağdaş eleştiriler paralelinde³⁸⁹ tartışma, merkezi ve yerel dinamikler arasındaki ilişkinin karmaşıklığını ve çeşitliliğini ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır. Türkiye’nin periferik bir kenti olan Antalya’nın modernleşmesinde merkezi aktörlerin karar ve uygulamaları önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Ancak, kentin modernleşme deneyimi merkezi politikalara verilen yerel karşılıklar hesaba katılmadan tanımlanamaz. Bu nedenle, kentin modernleşme sürecini salt merkezi yaklaşımlar çerçevesinde ele almak yerine, yerel yaklaşımların önemini ve daha da önemlisi, modernleşme sürecinde merkez ve periferi arasındaki etkileşimi göstermek çalışmanın temel amacıdır.

Çalışma, tarımsal ve kırsal kimliğe sahip Antalya’nın yirminci yüzyıldaki modernleşme süreci ile birlikte öncelikle bir kent merkezine ve daha sonra turistik bir merkeze dönüşümünü incelemektedir. Tez, politik, sosyal, ekonomik ve fiziksel değişimlerin tarihsel bağlamını ele

³⁸⁹ Batı merkezli anlatılarla şekillenen konvansiyonel tarih yazımı merkez ve periferi ikiliği ile özdeşleştirilse de, benzer bir ikilik ülke ölçeğinde de izlenmektedir. Cumhuriyetin kuruluşundan sonra, Türkiye’de önce Ankara ve sonra da İstanbul merkezi bir role sahip olmuş ve merkezi perspektifin baskın olduğu Türkiye’nin mimarlık tarihyazımında başlıca konular haline gelmiştir. Bu yüzden, son döneme kadar birçok periferik yerleşim mimarlık tarihyazımının dışında kalmıştır. Konvansiyonel tarihyazımında yer alan konuların mekansal ve zamansal kısıtlarına ilişkin: Elvan Altan Ergut, “Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: Tanımlar, Sınırlar, Olanaklar” in *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, v.7, no.13. (2009) pp.121-130.

olarak, merkez- periferi ilişkilerinin çok yönlü katmanlarını ve merkezi ve yerel aktörlerin kentin modern yapılı çevresinin oluşumundaki değişken rollerini analiz etmektedir.

Çalışma kapsamında merkez ve periferi tartışması Antalya'nın ülkenin modernleşme tarihindeki yeri üzerinden kurgulanmıştır. Antalya gibi belirli bir yere ait süreci anlamak için kanonik mimarlık tarihi yazımındaki sözde “merkez” ve “periferi” arasındaki karmaşık ilişkilerin analiz edilmesi gerekmektedir. “Merkez” karar verici pozisyonu temsil ederken, “periferi” ise genellikle “merkez”in farklı konularda takipçisi olan yerlere referans vermektedir. Tez kapsamında denenen bütüncül yaklaşım sürecin “merkezi” ve “yerel” aktörlerini de tartışmanın temelini oluşturan önemli özneler olarak karşımıza çıkarmaktadır. Devletin yanı sıra, valiler ve memurlar gibi devlet tarafından atanan kişiler ve kimi durumlarda devlete ait teşebbüsler merkezi politikaların temsilcileri olarak görev yapan merkezi aktörler olarak analize dahil edilmiştir. Kentsel gelişimde etkin olan yerel aktörler, daha açık bir anlatımla yerel otoriteler, mimarlar, mühendisler ve müteahhitler gibi aktif profesyoneller ve dernekler de tartışmada önemli bir yere sahiptir.

Belirlenen dönemde kentin oluşumunda ve dönüşümünde etkisi olan aktif otoriteler, enstitüler ve kişiler sosyal, ekonomik ve politik dinamiklere göre çeşitlilik göstermektedir. Erken Cumhuriyet döneminde devlet ve kamu kurumları baskın güç iken, özellikle 1950'lerden sonra özel sektör güç kazanmaya başlamıştır. Diğer taraftan, sektörün uzmanları olarak mimarların, mühendislerin ve ustaların pozisyonları da modernleşme sürecinde etkili olmuştur. Erken Cumhuriyet döneminde Antalya'nın yapılı çevresine katkıda bulunan profesyoneller büyük ölçüde devlet tarafından görevlendirilirken, sonraki yıllarda yerel profesyonellerin sayısında önemli bir artış yaşanmıştır. Son olarak, toplum da hem bir alıcı olarak hem de karar verici bir aktör olarak Antalya'nın modernleşme sürecinin önemli bir öznesi olmuştur. Kırsal ve tarımsal yaşam biçiminin Antalya'nın kimliğinde halen baskın olduğu erken Cumhuriyet döneminde devletin modernleşme girişimi toplumun çabaları ile biraraya gelmiştir. Köylerde modern çevreler yaratmayı amaçlayan merkezi politikalar ve yeni kurulan devlet çiftliklerinde başlatılan bilimsel tarım teknikleri toplum tarafından desteklenmiştir. Köylüler köylerin dönüşümünde etkin aktörler olurken, çiftçiler çağdaş tarım tekniklerini çiftliklerinde denemek için gönüllü olmuşlardır.

1940’larda toplumun katkısı kent merkezinin büyük ölçekli projeler aracılığıyla dönüşümünü sağlayacak başka bir boyut kazanmıştır. Bu dönemde, merkezin yereldeki temsilcisi olarak görev yapan valinin önderliğinde kentin dönüşümüne maddi ve manevi destek sağlayacak yerel dernekler kurulmuştur. Kentlinin kente ilişkin karar süreçlerine aktif katılımı yerel halkın kentsel projeleri benimsemesini sağlamıştır. Diğer taraftan, 1940-45 dönemine göçebe toplulukların yeni planlanan köylerde zorunlu iskan edilmesine yönelik izlenen politika bir taraftan toplumun desteğini kazanırken, bir taraftan da dirençle karşılaşmıştır. Her iki şekilde de, yerel aktörlerin varlığı ve yere özgü süreçlerin modernleşme üzerindeki etkileri dönemin derin bir analizi için göz ardı edilemez.

Ülkenin 1950’lerdeki endüstriyel gelişiminden sonra artan iletişim olanakları merkez ve periferik bölgeler arasındaki ilişkileri güçlendirmiştir. Bu bağlamda, çağdaş endüstrileşmeye bağlı olarak sadece ekonomik yapıda değil sosyal ve kültürel yaşamda da dönüşüm gerçekleşmiş ve malzemenin, deneyimin ve düşüncenin takası mümkün hale gelmiştir. Savaş sonrası dönemde Antalya yeni yapı tipleri ve teknolojileri ile tanışmış, kentin geleceğini belirleyen kent planları hazırlanmış ve tarımsal üretim kentte yerel bir endüstri oluşturulması için kaynak olarak görülmüştür. Dönemin tarımsal üretimi ülke çapında yoğun bir ilgiyle karşılanmasa da, yerel kimliğe referans veren yaklaşım ve süreçlerin kentin modernleşme tarihindeki yeri vurgulanmalıdır.

Antalya’nın kimliğindeki en etkili dönüşüm devletin turizm gelişme planlarını hazırladığı 1960’lardan sonra yaşanmıştır. Dönemin turizm politikasının en önemli amacı bölgede modern bir turizm merkezi yaratmaktır. Sonuç olarak, kentsel çevrenin yerel kullanım pratiği değişmiş ve turizm potansiyeli kentin oluşumundaki ana belirleyici haline gelmiştir. Kıyılarda yerli halk tarafından inşa edilen geleneksel *obaların* yerine yerli halk ve yerli/yabancı turistlerden oluşan karma bir kullanıcıya hitap eden modern plaj tesislerinin inşası turizmin günlük kent yaşamındaki etkisine bir örnektir. Turizm tesisleri kent merkezinden başlayarak kıyı şeridinde yer alan çevre kasabalara doğru bir yayılım göstermiştir. Bu yayılmada en etkili faktör bölgenin doğal potansiyeli olmuştur. Doğa, yapılı çevrenin oluşumunda yol gösterici olurken aynı zamanda da turizm için bir cazibe ögesi olarak rol oynamıştır.

Merkez ve periferi arasında var olduğu kabul edilen ikilik ile ilişkili olarak kurulan tartışma çerçevesine ek olarak, tez kapsamında yapılan analiz kentsel- kırsal ve modern-doğal çevre ilişkilerinin de “yerel” modernleşme bağlamında değerlendirilmesi gerektiğini göstermiş ve bu ikilikler de tartışma için bir diğer çerçeveyi oluşturmuştur. Çalışma kapsamında “kentsel” ve “kırsal” ikiliği “merkez” ve “hinterlant” kavramları arasındaki ilişkiler çerçevesinde tartışılmıştır. “Hinterlant” kavramı sadece fiziksel durumu değil daha da önemlisi bölgeler arasındaki sosyo-ekonomik etkileşimi işaret etmek için kullanılmıştır. Antalya geniş hinterlanda sahip bir merkez niteliğinde olduğu için, kente ilişkin yapılan araştırmada kent merkezinin büyük ölçüde kırsal karaktere sahip olan hinterlant ile kurduğu ilişki de dikkate alınmıştır.

Modernleşme ve kentleşmeyi kırsal bağlamdan ve doğal çevreden bağımsız olarak gören ve bu nedenle bu kavramsal ikilikleri zıtlık olarak ele alan konvansiyonel anlayışa karşıt olarak, kent merkezleri ile kırsal hinterlantları ve doğal coğrafya ile yapılı çevre arasındaki ilişkiler yerel modernleşmenin bütüncül bir analizini sağlamak amacıyla bu çalışmada birbirini tamamlayıcı olarak kabul edilmişlerdir. Bölgenin coğrafi çeşitliliğini de gözetenek, Antalya’nın yerel kimliği aynı zamanda çevresel karakteri ile de tanımlanmıştır. Antalya’nın yapılı çevresinin oluşumunda tarih boyunca etkili olan topraklar, dağlar, su kaynakları, ormanlar ve madenler kentin ve sahip olduğu geniş hinterlandın modernleşme sürecinde de etkin olmuştur. Sadece fiziksel bir belirleyici olmanın ötesinde, çevresel özellikler temelinde yarattığı kültürle de doğa modern bir kentin oluşumu için önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Gelenekler, yerel özellikler, yerel yaşam biçimleri ve bölgeler arasındaki alış-veriş Antalya’nın modernleşmesine “yerel” bir özellik sağlamıştır. Ancak, konvansiyonel yaklaşımda modernleşme kentleşme ile ilişkilendirilerek, bu süreçlerin kırsal ve doğal bağamları dönüştürdüğü kabul edilmektedir.³⁹⁰ Bu nedenle, çalışma aynı zamanda Antalya’nın yirminci yüzyıldaki modernleşme sürecinde doğal ve yapılı çevreleri arasındaki değişen ilişkileri anlamayı hedeflemektedir.

³⁹⁰ Duanfang Lu, *Third World Modernism, Architecture, Development and Identity*. (Oxon: Routledge, 2010); Panayiota Pyla, *Landscapes of Development: The Impact of Modernization Discourses on the Physical Environment of the Eastern Mediterranean*. (Harvard Graduate School of Design, 2013).

Antalya'nın modernleşmesinin böyle bir çevresel perspektifle analizi mimarlık ve çevre arasındaki ilişkinin iki farklı şekilde kurulduğunu göstermiştir. Modernleşme sürecinin erken dönemlerinde, doğal çevre kentsel kimliğe ve dolayısıyla kentin mimari ve kentsel gelişimine rehberlik etmiştir. Bu durum tarih boyunca doğayla güçlü bir iletişime sahip olan yerel kültür ve geleneksel yaşam biçimi ile ilişkilendirilebilir. Daha sonra, Antalya ve çevresini bir turizm merkezi olarak ilan eden savaş sonrası dönemi politikalarına paralel olarak, doğal varlıklar turizm sektörü için bir çekim nesnesi olarak kullanılmaya başlamıştır. Bu değişen perspektifle, merkezi ve yerel politikaların çevre algısındaki önemi tartışmaya değer bir konu olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Mikhail'in ünlü kitabı *Nature and Empire in Ottoman Egypt*'da belirttiği gibi, yerelde zaten var olan deneyim ve gerçeklikler ve toprakların kontrolüne odaklanan merkezi yönetim politikaları “yerel” tarihlerin bütüncül resmini birlikte oluşturmaktadır.³⁹¹

Tezin kronolojik aralığı 1920'ler ve 1980'ler arasındaki dönem olarak belirlenmiştir. Modernleşme bağlamında Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet dönemleri arasında keskin bir ayrım yapmak oldukça zor olduğu için, başlangıç noktası olan 1920'ler Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin resmi olarak ilanına (1923) referansla belirlenmiş fakat daha kapsayıcı ve gerçekçi olması amacıyla bir zaman aralığı olarak bırakılmıştır. Daha önceki yıllar da dikkate alınmış ancak daha köklü bir dönüşüm sürecini beraberinde getiren Cumhuriyet'in kuruluşu ana odak olmuştur. Diğer taraftan, Antalya'nın temel özellikleri 1982'de 2634 sayılı Turizm Teşvik Kanunu'nun ve 1985'de 3194 sayılı İmar Kanunu'nun yürürlüğe girmesiyle çarpıcı bir dönüşüm yaşamıştır. Kentsel planlama yönetimindeki değişimlere paralel olarak, bu kanunlara göre verilen arazi kullanım kararları kentin tarım arazisi olarak kullanılan alanlara doğru büyümesine neden olmuştur. Bu dönüm noktasını gözeterek, analizin bitiş noktası da 1980'ler olarak belirlenmiştir.

Tezin coğrafi çerçevesi ise esas olarak Antalya kent merkezini kapsasa da, hinterlandta gerçekleşen ve kentsel hayatın şekillenmesinde rolü olan önemli gelişmeler de tez kapsamına dahil edilmiştir. Bu çalışma kenti fiziksel, tarihi ve kültürel katmanlarıyla bütüncül bir bağlamda incelemeye odaklandığı için, çok yönlü bir tartışma geliştirebilmek fiziksel

³⁹¹ Alan Mikhail, *Nature and Empire in Ottoman Egypt, An Environmental History*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011). p.296.

bağlantılardan çok ilişki ağlarına önem vermeyi ve Antalya'nın modernleşme sürecinde doğal-yapılı çevre ve kırsal-kentsel ikiliklerini başlıca bileşenler olarak görmeyi gerektirmiştir. Kentin yapısı tarımsal nitelikli bir bölgeden, kentleşmiş ve endüstrileşmiş bir kente ve sonra bir turizm merkezine geçiş süreci ile şekillenmiş olsa da, bu dönüşümlerin her aşaması tarım ve endüstri, tarım ve turizm gibi ikilikler olarak ele alınmışlardır. İkilik gibi görünen bu kavramlar çalışma kapsamında birbirleriyle çelişkili olmaktan çok birbirlerini tamamlayıcı olarak okunmuşlardır.

Yirminci yüzyılın yapılı çevresine odaklanan çalışma, Antalya'nın henüz bir tarihsel katman olarak görülmeyen bir dönemine odaklanmaktadır. Bahsedilen dönem Türkiye'de önemli politik, sosyal ve ekonomik değişimlere sahne olmuştur. Yeni kurulan Cumhuriyet rejimi, çok partili sisteme geçiş, endüstrileşme, askeri darbeler, özelleştirme ve turizm politikaları süreklilik gösteren değişim sürecinin başlıca noktalarıdır. Dönüşüm, bu konularla her zaman doğrudan veya dolaylı ilişkili olan mimari ve kentsel üretimlerle somutlaştırılmıştır.

Mimarlık tarihi farklı disiplinlerle ilişki kuran çok yönlü bir disiplin olduğu için, tez kapsamında tartışmayı derinleştirmek adına mimari nesnelerin maddesel/fiziksel varlıkları yazılı, görsel ve tarihi belgelerle desteklenmiştir.³⁹² Araştırma süreci Türkiye'deki modern mimarlık literatürünün sınırlı bir kapsama sahip olduğunu bir kez daha göstermiştir. Bozdoğan ve Akcan'ın da belirttiği gibi, Türkiye'nin modern mimarlığının tamamı henüz detaylarıyla çalışılmamıştır.³⁹³ Mevcut literatür esas olarak Ankara ve İstanbul gibi kent merkezlerine ve az sayıda da olsa farklı kentlere odaklansa da, yine de çalışmanın başlangıcı için genel bir bakış sağlamıştır.

³⁹² Elvan Altan Ergut, Belgin Turan Özkaya, "Introduction: Mapping Architectural Historiography" in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, ed. Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, Belgin Turan Özkaya. (Oxon: Routledge, 2006) pp.1-13. Andrew Ballantyne, "Architecture as Evidence" in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, ed. Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, Belgin Turan Özkaya. (Oxon: Routledge, 2006) pp.36-49.

³⁹³ Bozdoğan and Akcan, 2012, p.12.

Diğer taraftan, Antalya'nın mimari ve kentsel tarihine yönelik yapılan çalışmalar genellikle kentin antik dönemlerine ve Selçuklu dönemine odaklanmaktadır.³⁹⁴ Antalya'ya ilişkin yapılacak çalışmalar için bir başka kaynak da sınırlı sayıda da olsa kentlilerin anılarını içeren derlemelerdir.³⁹⁵ Son yıllarda Antalya'nın yirminci yüzyılına ilişkin çalışmalar artmaya başlamıştır. Ancak, yapılan tez çalışmalarının³⁹⁶ ve bazı kişisel araştırmaların³⁹⁷ büyük bölümü belirli yapılara veya alanlara odaklanmaktadır. Mimari çevreyle ilişkili olarak, kırsal kültürel peyzajlar, çevresel öğelerin (özellikle deniz suyu ve kıyı bandı) kullanımı ve tarihi ve doğal çevrelerdeki sürdürülebilirlik de kente ilişkin yapılan araştırmaların konularından olmuştur.³⁹⁸ Son olarak, Antalya'ya ilişkin birçok güncel çalışma turizmin kentin dönüşümündeki etkisine veya geleneksel yapı ve çevrelerin korunmasına odaklanmakta, bu tür çalışmalar da genellikle kentin yapılı çevresinin belirli bir bölümünü ele almaktadır.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁴ Leyla Yılmaz, *Antalya (16. Yüzyılın Sonuna Kadar)*. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2002); Cemil Cahit Sönmez, *Antalya Kenti Kalesi'nin Tarihi: Burçlar, Kapılar ve Sur Duvarları*. (Antalya: Mimarlar Odası Antalya Şubesi, 2008) and Scott Redford, Gary Leiser, *Victory Inscribed: The Seljuk Fetihname on the Citadel Walls of Antalya*. (AKMED: İstanbul, 2008) bu konudaki başlıca yayınlardır.

³⁹⁵ En bilinen örneği Antalya'da yaşayan ve yıllarca turist rehberliği yapmış olan Hüseyin Çimrin tarafından yazılan *Bir Zamanlar Antalya, Tarih, Gözlem ve Anılar* (2007) adlı kitaptır.

³⁹⁶ Örneğin, *Model Villages and Village Studies in Turkey between 1850-1950*, H.T. Örmecioğlu (2003), *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Endüstri Yapılarının Kültürel Miras Bağlamında İncelenmesi: Antalya Örneği*, Ö. Eriz (2016) ve *Evaluations on the Transformation of Industrial Structures "Antalya Cotton Weaving Factory"*, C. Akış (2018).

³⁹⁷ Örneğin, DOCOMOMO Ulusal Buluşmaları'nda sunulan posterler: Cotton Weaving Factory (S. Ceyhan (2010)), Hacı Dudu-Mehmet Gebizli Mosque (H. T. Örmecioğlu (2014))

³⁹⁸ Örneğin, *Antalya Kaleiçi Yerleşiminin Doğal, Kültürel ve Tarihi Miras Olarak İncelenmesi ve Alanın Turizm Açısından Sürdürülebilir Kullanımı* by H. Kocaboyun (2009), *Antalya Su Havzasındaki Yerleşmelerde Su, İnsan, Mekan İlişkileri ve Su Yapıları*, S. Doğu (2009) ve *Yöresel Mimari ve Kültürel Peyzaj Analizi: Antalya Elmalı Örneği*, H. M. Danacı (2012).

³⁹⁹ Örneğin, *Turizmin Tarihsel Dokulara Etkileri: Antalya Örneği*, B.Yazar (2010); *Türkiyede Turizm Mimarisi Olgusunun, Yerden Bağımsızlık, Kimliksizlik ve Yeniden İşlevlendirme Kavramları Açısından İrdelenmesi: Akdeniz Bölgesi, Antalya Örneği*, G.Küçüktaşdemir (2013); *Conservation History of Cultural Heritage in Kaleiçi District in Antalya (from the 20th Century to Present Day)*, G. Çelik Başok (2016).

Mevcut literatürün sınırlı olması nedeniyle, tezde birincil kaynaklar önem kazanmıştır. Çok katmanlı bir kent olan Antalya'nın uzun bir tarihsel geçmişi vardır. Yerleşimin tarihi Roma dönemi ile başlar, Selçuklu döneminde kentin gelişimi en üst noktaya ulaşır, Osmanlı döneminde kentin yerleşimi temelde sur içinde inşa edilen konutlardan oluşur ve Cumhuriyet dönemi boyunca da, özellikle 1980'lerdeki turizm patlamasından sonra, kent bugünkü formuna ulaşır. Roma döneminden Osmanlı dönemine kadar uzanan aralıktaki tarihsel katmanlar bir ölçüde korunmuş olsa da, Cumhuriyet dönemindeki mimari üretim kentsel hafızanın bir parçası olarak görülmemektedir. Cumhuriyet döneminin bir çok yapısı henüz belgelenmeden yıkılmış veya dönüştürülmüştür. Bu nedenle, araştırmanın en önemli birincil kaynağı olan mevcut mimarlık örnekleri kısmen ulaşılabilir durumdadır. Tez kapsamında dönem özellikleri taşıyan, kentin modernleşmesinde ve kent hafızasında önemli roller olan yapılar incelenmiş ve yapıların mimari bağamları çerçevesinde kentin oluşumu ve dönüşümü anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Mimari eserlerin yanı sıra, kartografik belgeler, haritalar, planlar, çizimler ve eski fotoğraflar birincil kaynakların bir diğer bölümünü oluşturmuştur. Ancak, kentin mekansal gelişiminin analizine olanak sağlayacak kartografik belgelerin büyük bölümü ulaşılabilir durumda değildir. Arşiv kültürünün eksikliği sebebiyle, örneğin 1950'li yıllarda yarışma ile elde edilmiş imar planına devlet arşivlerinden ulaşılammıştır. Bu nedenle, mevcut analizin bu konudaki temel kaynağı plana referans veren akademik araştırmalar ve farklı kaynaklardaki yazılı açıklamalar olmuştur.

Dönemde inşa edilmiş yapıların mimari planlarına ulaşmak için başvurulmuş ilk yer belediye arşivleri olmuştur. Arşivler ziyaret edilerek mimari projelere ve projelere ilişkin yazılı belgelere ulaşılmaya çalışılmıştır. Belediye arşivlerinde ayrıca dönemin mimari çevresini belgeleyen eski fotoğraf ve kartpostal gibi görsel belgeler de araştırılmıştır. Ancak bu arşivlerin bir çoğu kişisel fotoğraflardan oluşmakta, büyük bir bölümü de tarihi Kaleiçi kentini konu almaktadır. Yine de, ulaşılabilir olanlar Antalya'nın yirminci yüzyılının analizi için kullanılmıştır.

Yazılı kaynaklar olarak, devlet arşivlerindeki belgeler, kentlilerin ve mimarların anıları, dönemi, bölgeyi ve kenti konu alan çağdaş yayınlar, yerel dergi ve gazeteler dönemin kentsel

yaşamının kavranmasında kullanılmıştır. Aynı olaylara ilişkin farklı hikayeler ve kent tarihine ilişkin yapılan akademik araştırmalar gerçeği daha iyi anlamak için bir kontrol mekanizması olmuştur.

Bununla beraber, Antalya'nın tarihine ışık tutacak belgelerin arşivlenmesindeki özensizlik ve arşivlerin fiziksel koşulları özellikle kentin yirminci yüzyılına ilişkin yapılacak çalışmalar için büyük sorun yaratmaktadır. Güçlü, Teke Mutasarrıflığı Mal Müdürü Hamdi (Abdulhamid) Bey'in 1889-1918 tarihlerine ait devlet belgelerini 1919'da Korkuteli'nin bir köyüne götürdüğünü ve bu belgelere daha sonra ulaşamadığını belirtir.⁴⁰⁰ Buna ek olarak, resmi belgelerin büyük bölümü 1930 yılında belediye tarafından Tophane mahzenlerinde tahrip edilmiş ve bataklık kurutma çalışmaları kapsamında Kadın Deresi'ne atılmıştır. Birçok resmi belge bu tür yollarla kaybolurken, korunması başarılan yaklaşık 100 adet Şer'îye Sicili 1941 yılına kadar Antalya Müzesi'nde korunmuş ve 1990 yılında Kültür Bakanlığı'nın kararı ile bir bölümü Milli Kütüphane'ye gönderilmiştir. Bu nedenle, kentin tarihinin izini sürmek belgelerin büyük bölümünün yok olması sebebiyle oldukça zordur.

Görsel ve yazılı birincil kaynakların yanı sıra, dönemi deneyimleyen mimarlarla ve kentlilerle (özellikle müteahhitler, mühendisler ve sivil toplum örgütü yöneticileri) yapılan görüşmeler çalışmaya farklı bir perspektif kazandırmıştır. Bir çok mimar projelerini arşivlemediği için, yapılan görüşmeler yazılı ve sözlü belgeler kadar önemli görülmüştür.

Sonuç olarak, mevcut mimari ve kentsel öğeler, dönemin mimarlığını ve kentsel özelliklerini inceleyen araştırma ve yayınlar, dönemin yerel gazeteleri, dergileri ve reklamları, kartografik belgeler, fotoğraf arşivleri, kurumların resmi yazışmaları ve görüşmeler çalışmanın temel kaynaklarıdır. Antalya'nın yirminci yüzyıldaki mimari ve kentsel gelişimi ile ilgili bilgi sağlayacak arşivler, kamu kurumları ve mimarlık ofisleri araştırma kapsamında ziyaret edilen yerler olmuştur.

⁴⁰⁰ Muhammet Güçlü, *XX Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Antalya*. (Antalya: ATSO Kültür Yayınları, 1997).

Bu perspektifle, periferik kentlerdeki arşiv eksikliğini işaret eden ve arşiv belgelerini kısmen de olsa bir araya getiren çalışmanın ikincil çıktısı Antalya'nın yakın geçmişi ile ilgili gelecek araştırmalar için temel oluşturması olacaktır.

Periferide bir modern kentin oluşumu sürecini Antalya örneği üzerinden inceleyen tez dört bölümden ve tamamlayıcı eklerden oluşmaktadır. İlk bölüm konu, kapsam, yöntem ve araştırmanın kurgusuna ilişkin bilgi veren bir giriş niteliğindedir.

“Yerel Modernleşme” başlıklı ikinci bölüm Antalya'nın modernleşme sürecine ilişkin yapılan analizin çerçevesini sunmaktadır. Bu bölümde merkez- periferi, merkezi- yerel ve modern- yerel ikiliklerine ilişkin eleştirel bir bakış açısı sağlanmaya çalışılmıştır. Öncelikle sürecin farklı yerlerde farklı moderniteleri üretme biçimini anlamak için, modernleşmeyi tanımlayan ilişkiler ağı “merkezi” ve “periferik” bağlamlarda tartışılmıştır. Bu tartışma, sürecin “merkezi” ve “yerel” aktörlerinin modernleşme sürecindeki karşılıklı etkileşimini analiz etmeyi de gerekli kılmıştır. Son olarak, modern yapılı çevrenin oluşumunda etkili olan doğal çevre dinamiklerini anlamak amacıyla “kentsel” ve “kırsal” ilişkiler “merkez ve “hinterland” kavramları çerçevesinde ele alınmıştır.

“Antalya'nın Modernleşmesi: Merkezi Politikalar ve Yerel Karşılıklar” başlıklı üçüncü bölüm temel olarak üç alt bölümden oluşmaktadır. İlk olarak, Antalya'nın yirminci yüzyılın başındaki yerel kimliği tarihsel ve çevresel özellikleriyle açıklanmıştır. Antalya'nın kırsal ve tarımsal kimliği sunulmuş ve çevresel koşulların kimliğinin oluşumundaki etkisi vurgulanmıştır. İkinci alt bölümde, kentin yirminci yüzyıl boyunca kırsal bir yerleşimden kentsel olana doğru geçirdiği dönüşüm üç konum üzerinden incelenmiştir: kırsal hinterland, kent merkezi ve kent hinterlandı. Kırsal hinterlandtaki dönüşüm kırsal ve tarımsal yapı kompleksleri üzerinden okunurken, kent merkezindeki dönüşüm kamu ve yönetim yapıları, finans ve ticaret binaları, eğlence ve rekreasyon alanları ve konutlar gibi çeşitli tipolojiler üzerinden incelenmiştir. Diğer taraftan öncelikle kent merkezinde yer alan ve daha sonra kent dışı alanlara taşınan ve böylece kentsel hinterlandı şekillendiren üretim mekanları da bu bölümde ele alınmıştır. Bu üç konumun analizindeki temel amaç merkezi ve yerel dinamiklerin ilişkilerini ve doğal bir çevrede modernleşmenin yollarını araştırmaktır.

Yerel mimarlık tarihlerini yazarken, yerlerin deęiřen kořullarını deęerlendirmek iin etkili aktörlerin tanımlanması önemlidir. Konvansiyonel tarih yazımında yönlendirici aktörler olarak görölen mimarların yan sıra, politik temsilciler ve yerel mimarlık organizasyonları ve bunlar arasındaki iliřkiler, Antalya’nın yirminci yüzyıl boyunca kırsaldan kent yerleřimine dönuřüm hikayesinde de göröldüğü gibi, büyük önem taşımaktadır. Merkez- periferi iliřkilerini ve merkezi ve yerel aktörlerin rollerini dikkate almak yerel tarihi ieriden bir bakıřla yazmayı mümkün kılmaktadır.⁴⁰¹ Yerel költürü oluřturan vernaküler aliřkanlıklar ve yerel gelenekler fiziksel evrenin modernleřmesini de büyük ölçüde etkilemiřtir. Modern mimari evrenin oluřumunda da aędař fonksiyonların belirlenmesinde de doęal ve yerel özellikler önemli rollere sahiptir. Tezin üçüncü bölümünde Antalya’nın yerel tarihi periferik bir kentin doęal evresiyle kurduęu ve devam ettirdiğı iliřkiler erevesinde ele alınmıřtır.

Son olarak, ge yirminci yüzyılda merkezde ve hinterlanda yařanan dönuřüm aracılıęıyla kentin bir turizm yerleřimine dönuřmesi incelenmiřtir. Turizm mekanları öncelikle kent merkezinde konumlandıkları ve zamanla hinterlanda doęru yayılma gösterdikleri iin bu bölümün kurgulanmasında da benzer bir yöntem izlenmiřtir. Ege ve Akdeniz kıyıları iin hazırlanan turizm geliřme planları ve merkezi politikalara ek olarak, toplumun eęlence ve tatil anlayıřında yařanan deęiřiklik ve karayolu ve havayolu ulařımındaki geliřmeler savař sonrası dönemde turizm sektörünün geliřiminde etkili olmuřtur. Daha da önemlisi, doęal evrelerin rekreasyonel gücü, günlük yařam biimlerinin belirlenmesinde ve turizm mimarlığı da dahil olmak üzere yapılı evrenin düzenlenmesinde aktif bir belirleyicidir. Turizm ve eęlence konularında doęal evrenin saęladığı olanakların etkisi kolayca görölebilir. Doęa, yerel, doęal ve tarihsel zenginlik olarak görölen yerel eřitliliğı oluřturarak, turizm mimarlığı iin rehber olmuřtur.⁴⁰² Turizm baęlamında doęal evrenin rolü önceki bölümlerden farklı bir perspektifle tartıřılmıřtır. ünkü analizler ıřıęında, doęal evrenin bu dönemde modern bir turizm ekim

⁴⁰¹ İlhan Tekeli, “Yerel Mimarlık Tarihlerinin Yazılma Yolları Üzerine Düşünceler” in *Cumhuriyet’in Mekanları Zamanları İnsanları*, ed. Elvan Altan Ergut, Bilge İmamoęlu (Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları, 2010). pp.305-317.

⁴⁰² T. Elvan Altan, “Modern Spaces of Travel and Leisure: Tourism Architecture in Post-War Turkey” METU Architectural History Graduate 30th Anniversary Meetings, Lectures - METU Studies Architectural History Program (April 24, 2019), Unpublished presentation. (https://www.academia.edu/38919904/Modern_Spaces_of_Travel_and_Leisure_Tourism_Architecture_in_Post-War_Turkey)

ögesi olarak rol oynadığı anlaşılmıştır. Üçüncü bölüm kentin turizm merkezi olarak değişen kimliği konusundaki tartışma ile sona ermektedir.

Kısaca, kırsal- tarımsal bir yerleşimin kentleşmesi, endüstrileşmesi ve turizm alanındaki gelişimi, diğer bir deyişle modernleşmesi, tezin ana strüktürünü oluşturmaktadır. Bu temalar, kente dair yapılan kronolojik bir okumanın çıktıları olarak, Türkiye'nin periferik bir kıyı kenti olan Antalya'nın mimarlık ve kentsel ortamındaki değişimleri anlamak için kullanılmıştır. Tezde modernleşmeyi tanımlamak amacıyla kullanılan temalar kronolojik bir kurguya sahip olsa da, her bir temanın Antalya'nın 1920'ler- 1980'ler aralığında modernleşmesindeki etkileri ayrı ayrı incelenmiştir. Her alt bölümde yapıları çevrenin dönüşümünü geniş bir perspektiften görmek amacıyla baskın yapı tiplerine ve kentsel projelere yer verilmiştir. Yapıların mimari özellikleri analiz edilirken, kent morfolojisi üzerindeki etkileri ve doğal çevreyle etkileşimleri çalışmanın temel söylemini oluşturmuştur.

Son bölüm tezin genel sonuç bölümüdür. Bu bölüm önceki bölümlerde sunulan tarihsel ve teorik altyapı üzerine şekillenen eleştirel bir değerlendirmeyi içermektedir. Sözde periferik bir kentin modernleşmesini merkezi- yerel ilişkiler ve aktörler ile kentsel ve doğal çevreler arasındaki etkileşim perspektifinden tartışan tez “yerellik” ve “yerel modernleşme” kavramlarının mimarlık tarih yazımındaki yerine işaret etmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Yerleşimlerin modernleşmek için yerel kimliklerini kaybetmek zorunda kaldıklarına ilişkin yaygın bir görüş vardır. Ancak, Antalya'nın yirminci yüzyıl boyunca yaşadığı kentsel ve mimari gelişim detaylı olarak incelendiğinde, kentin merkezi modernleşme politikasını takip ederken aynı zamanda yerel kırsal kimliğini de koruduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Yirminci yüzyılın ilk yıllarında Antalya'daki mimarlık üretimi önceki dönemlerde üretilen örneklerinin bir devamı niteliğindedir. Tarımsal yaşam biçiminden gelen yerel gelenekleri erken Cumhuriyet döneminin mimari ortamının şekillenmesinde etkili olmuştur. Bu dönemin modernleşme deneyimi yerel dinamikleri bilinçsizce gözetiyor olması sebebiyle özgünken, özellikle savaş sonrası dönemde ana akım mimarlık yaklaşımlarının takip edilmeye başlaması birçok diğer modern kentle benzerlikler taşıyan bir mimari ortamla sonuçlanmıştır. 1960'lara gelindiğinde, çoğulcu ortamın da etkisiyle, mimarlıkta bölgesel ve yerel özellikler dünya çapında bir gündem oluşturmuş ve Antalya bu kez yerel kimliği ile daha bilinçli ve merkezi bir yolla

yeniden yüzleşmiştir. Kırsal hinterland ile başlayan, daha sonra kent merkezinde yoğunlaşan ve en sonunda da kent merkezi ve kıyı boyunca yayılan modernleşme, tarım istasyonları, kamu yönetim yapıları, rekreasyonel alanlar, konut yapıları, endüstri kompleksleri ve turizm yapıları gibi yeni yapı tiplerini de beraberinde getirmiştir. Antalya'nın modernleşme hikayesindeki farklı dönemlerin ortak özelliği modern kentin oluşumunda süreçlerin, aktörlerin ve doğal koşulların baskın etkisi olmuştur. 1920- 1980 dönemi boyunca Antalya'da merkez/periferi ve kent merkezi/ hinterland ilişkilerinde dönüşüm, merkezi ve yerel aktörler arasında etkileşim ve doğa ve yapı çevre arasındaki ilişkinin gözetilmesi değişen şekillerde de olsa deneyimlenmiştir. Antalya'nın yerel ve bu nedenle de özgün olan modernleşmesi bu merkezi ve yerel dinamiklerin birlikteliğine dayanmaktadır.

Modernleşmede geleneklerin ve yerel kimliklerin dikkate alınması bir çelişki gibi görünse de, çalışma özgün bir modernleşme biçiminin gelişimi için bu tür dinamik kaynakların gerekli olduğunu göstermiştir. Antalya'da kentin tarımsal ve kırsal kimliği kentin modernleşmesinde çok etkili olmuştur. Çalışma, hem modernleşme hem de kültürel gelişim için bir araç olan mimarlığın, kırsallığın yerel modernitenin bir ögesine dönüştürülmesindeki önemli rolünü göstermiştir..⁴⁰³ Buna ek olarak, yerel özellikler yerlere ait özgün modernleşme hikayelerinin oluşmasındaki esas unsurlar olmuşlardır.

Çalışma, Türkiye'nin periferik bir kenti olan Antalya'nın modernleşmesinde merkez- yerel ilişkilerinin ve doğal özelliklerin etkisine odaklanarak modern mimarlık tarihinin yazımı için daha geniş bir perspektifi savunmaktadır. Tez konvansiyonel tarih yazımının merkezi mekanizmalarıyla tanımlanmış ve şekillenmiş modernleşme tartışmalarını eleştirirken, “periferik” kenti merkezi ve yerel bakış açısının birlikteliğinde okumanın gerekliliğini vurgulamaktadır. Çok yönlü bir alış-veriş ve iletişim yöntemiyle şekillenen bir modernleşme anlayışına dayanarak, “yerel ve “modern” kavramları ilişkili ve iç içe geçmiş görülmektedir. Sürekli ilişkilerin bir sonucu olarak, “hibritleşme” kavramı da elde edilen mimari ürünlerin tanımlanmasında kullanılan bir kavramdır. Bununla birlikte, farklı yerlerdeki hibritleşme biçimi de coğrafyaların yerel özelliklerine göre çeşitlilik gösterir..⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰³ Popescu, 2010, C. p.145.

⁴⁰⁴ Akcan, 2010, p.193.

Merkezi ve yerel dinamikleri kentsel, yapılı ve aynı zamanda kırsal ve doğal çevrelerle ilişkilendiren kapsayıcı girişim bakış açısını genişletmeyi ve disiplinlerarası bir yaklaşım geliştirmeyi gerekli kılmaktadır. Stieber “mekanın disiplinler ötesi söylemi” ile sonuçlanacak mimarlık tarihi ve mekan, kent ve mimarlık üzerine çalışan kültürel coğrafya, antropoloji ve edebiyat gibi diğer alanların arasındaki diyalogun önemini vurgular.⁴⁰⁵ Bu perspektifle, “yerel” bağlamla yakından ilişkili olan çevresel tarih tezin kurgusunda önemli bir yere sahiptir. Mimarlığı çevreleriyle beraber (veya kendisini bir çevre olarak kabul ederek) ele almak aralarındaki karşılıklı ilişkileri anlamak için geniş bir perspektif sağlamıştır.⁴⁰⁶ Diğer taraftan, mimarlık üretimini merkez ve periferi arasındaki varsayımsal ikiliğin sınırlarının ötesinde, politik, sosyal, ekonomik ve kültürel bağlamda tartışmak, tezin “yerel” modernleşmenin bir örneği olarak Antalya’nın mimarlık tarihine farklı bir açıdan bakma amacına ulaşmasını sağlamıştır.

Periferik bir yerleşimin moderleşmesinin mimarlık tarihini yerleşimin merkezle ilişkisinin yanı sıra yerel özelliklerini de dikkate alarak yazmayı amaçlayan çalışma modernizmin kanonik yorumuna bir karşı çıkış olarak görülebilir ve mimarlık tarihyazımında heterojenliği savunan merkezsizleşme girişimleri ile aynı çizgidedir.⁴⁰⁷ Dolayısıyla, merkez tarafından üretilen, dünyadaki ve ülkedeki baskın yaklaşımları oluşturan ve “en iyi” mimarlık eserlerine dayanan anlatılara karşı bir eleştiri niteliğindedir.⁴⁰⁸ Yerel çevreleri aktif belirleyici olarak

⁴⁰⁵ Nancy Stieber, “Space, Time and Architectural History” in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, ed. Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, Belgin Turan Özkaya. (Oxon: Routledge, 2006) pp.179-180.

⁴⁰⁶ Andrew Leach, “Architectural Historiography in the Anthropocene” in *Architecture, Environment, History: Questions and Consequences*, *Architectural Theory Review*, 22:2, 2018, pp.249-286.

⁴⁰⁷ Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu, “Between Civilization and Culture: Appropriation of Traditional Dwelling Forms in Early Republican Turkey.” *Journal of Architectural Education*, n: 47/2 (1993). p.73; Sandy Isenstadt, Kishwar Rizvi, *Modern Architecture and the Middle East*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008); Duanfang Lu, *Third World Modernism, Architecture, Development and Identity*. (Oxon: Routledge, 2010); Sibel Bozdoğan, Esra Akcan, *Modern Architectures in History*. (London: Reaktion Books, 2012).

⁴⁰⁸ Mark M. Jarzombek, Vikramaditya Prakash, Francis D.K. Ching, *A Global History of Architecture*. (New Jersey: Wiley, 2011); Richard Ingersoll, Spiro Kostof, *World Architecture: A Cross- Cultural History*. (Oxford University Press, 2012).

görmeyen tutumların yerine, çevresel tarih yaklaşımını benimseyerek, çevrenin mimari ve kentsel dönüşümdeki önemine vurgu yapmaktadır.⁴⁰⁹

Kostof'un belirttiği gibi: "Kültürleri ve toplumun dünyanın farklı yerlerindeki ve tarihin farklı dönemlerindeki yapılarını daha çok bildikçe, yapıları çevrelerini daha iyi okuyabilir duruma geliyoruz."⁴¹⁰ Bu yaklaşımla, çalışma Antalya'nın mimarlık tarihi için bütüncül bir bakış oluşturma girişimidir.

Tez kapsamında ele alınan konular gelecekteki araştırmalar için bir çok potansiyel barındırmaktadır. İlk olarak, her tarih araştırması gibi, bu çalışma da Antalya'nın modern mimarlığı ile ilgili bilgi sağlayacak yerel kurum ve arşivlere başvurmayı gerektiren bir arşiv çalışması üzerine inşa edilmiştir. Ancak araştırma süreci boyunca yapılan arşiv ziyaretleri özellikle "periferik" bir kentin Cumhuriyet dönemine ilişkin belgelerin arşivlenmesinde büyük sorunlar olduğunu ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bu noktada yerel yönetimlerin arşivleme yöntemlerinin profesyonelleşmesi gerekliliğinin altı çizilmeli, görsel ve yazılı dokümanlar bulunmalı, sınıflandırılmalı ve paylaşılmalıdır. Tez, kentin belli bir dönemdeki mimari ve kentsel gelişimine ilişkin bilgiyi toplayan ve sunan küçük bir çaba olarak değerlendirilebilir ve geliştirilmeye açıktır.

Giriş bölümünde belirtildiği gibi, mevcut yapılar çalışma kapsamında birincil kaynaklar olarak görülmüştür. Ana tartışma ekseninde, yapılar ve mimarlarına ilişkin kısa bilgiler verilmiş ve yorumlanmış olsa da, tez kapsamında detaylı bir belgeleme çalışması mümkün olamamıştır. Antalya'daki modern yapılara ilişkin literatür DOCOMOMO poster sunuşları ve sınırlı

⁴⁰⁹ Çevresel tarih yaklaşımına ilişkin genel bilgi için: John Robert McNeill, "Observations on the Nature and Culture of Environmental History". *History and Theory*, vol.42, no.4, issue 42. (2003). pp.5-43; Johnson Donald Hughes, *What is Environmental History?*. (Cambridge: Polity, 2006); Stephen Mosley, *The Environment in World History*. (Oxon: Routledge, 2010). Mimarlık tarihi ve çevresel tarih arasındaki ilişkiler konusunda: Vandana Baweja, "Sustainability and the Architectural History Survey." *Enquiry* 11(1) (2014). pp.40-51; Daniel A. Barber et al., "Architecture, Environment, History: Questions and Consequences". *Architectural Theory Review*, 22:2 (2018). pp.249- 286.

⁴¹⁰ "The more we know about cultures, about the structure of the society in various periods of the history in different parts of the world, the better we are able to read their built environment." Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped, Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History*. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991). p.10. Yazar tarafından Türkçe'ye çevrilmiştir.

sayıdaki araştırmalarla sınırlı olduğu için, tez ekinde yer alan yapı listesi ışığında döneme ilişkin kapsamlı bir belgeleme çalışması yapılabilir. Ve elbette, her yapı ve her mimar ayrı birer araştırmanın konusu da olabilecektir.

Çalışmanın mimarlık tarih yazımına başlıca katkısı merkez/ periferi, merkezi/ yerel, merkez/ hinterland ve kentsel/ kırsal ikiliklerinin arasındaki karmaşık ilişkilere vurgu yapmasıdır. Bu açıdan, merkezi olmayan ve bütüncül bir yaklaşımdan bahsedebilmek için “yerel” tarihlerin modern mimarlık tarihyazımındaki yerleri genişletilmeli ve her yer kendi özgün karakterleri doğrultusunda analiz edilmelidir. Tartışması Antalya üzerinden kurgulanan tez merkez/ periferi ilişkilerini, merkezi/ yerel aktörleri ve doğa/yapılı çevreyi tartışarak bir araştırma yöntemi geliştirmeye çalışmaktadır. Bu yöntem ve içerdiği konular da geliştirilmeye açıktır.

Son olarak, tartışmanın bağlamsal kurgusunda doğanın ele alınması mimarlık tarih yazımında çevresel yaklaşımın yetersizliğini ortaya çıkarmıştır. Çevresel tarih gibi ilgili alanlarla iletişim içinde olmak kentsel/ kırsal ve doğal/ yapılı çevre ikiliklerine ilişkin bir başka perspektif kazanılmasına yol açmıştır. Disiplinlerarası çalışmanın gerekliliğini savunan tez çevresel mimarlık tarihi yazımı için bir başlangıç adımı olarak görülebilir.

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