

Architectural mimicry, spaces of modernity: the Island Casino, Izmir, Turkey

Meltem Ö. Gürel

*Faculty of Art, Design & Architecture, Bilkent
University, 06800 Bilkent, Ankara, Turkey*

This article looks through the lense of an entertainment building in Izmir, Turkey, within the larger framework of modernity and identity in order to scrutinise ways in which cross-cultural influences are mediated. The programme of the building is conceptualised as a social structure and its aesthetics as a cultural form, which work to connect localities to the processes of modernisation and westernisation in the Turkish context of the 1950s' era. The analysis exposes how the edifice operates as a spatial structure that influences cultural norms and Western behaviour through practices of entertainment and architectural design, simultaneously serving as a medium through which people could perform and express their modernity.

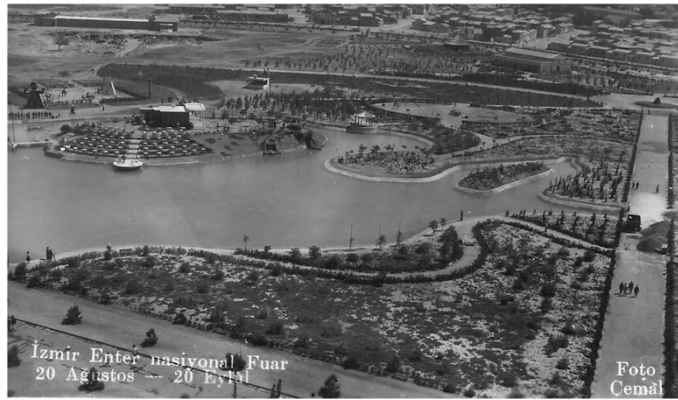
Introduction

A poetic objectification of mid-century modernism, the Island Casino exemplifies the instrumental position of aesthetic forms in signifying the aspiration to belong to a wider world. The architectural development of the building, as well as the practices it has facilitated, allows one to map the ways in which aesthetics mingles with concepts of modernity in a Turkish context. The edifice was originally built in 1937 within a public park in Izmir, the third largest city in Turkey. It was constructed on a miniature artificial islet formed with the soil extracted in creating the small artificial lake around it and was connected to the shore by a little wooden bridge (Fig. 1a, 1b). Starting its operations as a 'milk/tea garden' for families,¹ the establishment exemplified the spaces designed to accommodate the emerging leisure practices of contemporary Republican citizens who distinguished themselves from the practices of the traditional Ottoman society they were replacing. Its function emphasised the Republican ideas of a contemporary family.

During the 1940s, the building was turned into a restaurant in accordance with prevailing trends in the entertainment sector. To accommodate this function better, it was redesigned and rebuilt in the same location in 1958 (Fig. 2). Anchored into the curvilinear landscape of the islet, the fluid forms of the now concrete-and-glass building, designed by Rıza Aşkan, resemble a precedent of the same genre in a location far from Turkey: Casa do Baile (1940–43), designed by Oscar Niemeyer and landscaped by Roberto Burle Marx in Pampulha, Brazil. As remarkable as the physical resemblances are, the historical role of the edifice also resonates with the social function of this and other restaurants and dance halls of the era. While the formal and spatial changes to the Island Casino at the mid-twentieth century suggest cross-cultural influences from modern aesthetics, its historical role helps trace how an entertainment building can operate in carrying and processing international culture flows.

Figure 1a, b. Kültürpark
and the Island Casino
circa the late 1930s
(1a: courtesy of
C. Türkmenoğlu; 1b:
Arkitekt, vol. 9, nos
9–10 [1939], p. 199).

a



b

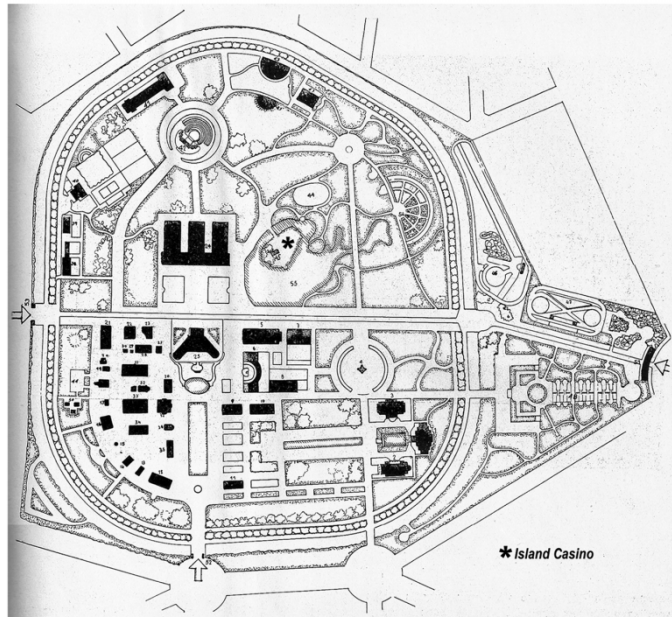




Figure 2. The new building designed by Rıza Aşkan in 1958 (courtesy of G. A. Derman).

The Island Casino, still in existence, stands out as a vivid survivor of a prevalent entertainment culture that mediated the transformations of Turkish society from an Islamic to a secular culture by accommodating practices that arguably played a significant role in normalising prevalent Western customs and behaviour, simultaneously empowering notions of secularity, gender equality and modern living. At this intersection of architectural modernism and socio-cultural modernity, the building epitomises processes through which prevailing norms and cultural practices were mediated, transformed and assimilated. In this article, I look through the lense of this building to the larger

framework of modernity and identity to scrutinise these processes as the means of connecting a local culture to a universal world civilisation. I examine the modern edifice not only as a spatial structure that constructs/influences cultural norms, social behaviour and Western lifestyles through practices of entertainment and architectural design, but also as a medium through which people could perform and express their modernity.

Casinos as social structures

The role of entertainment was arguably significant to the social transformation of the years following the founding of the Republic of Turkey (1923) as a

secular state. The new nation was conceived as a modern and Western state, distant from the Islamic Monarchy of the preceding Ottoman Empire. A series of reforms, ranging from the abolition of the Caliphate and Islamic law (1924) to the adoption of the Swiss Civil Code (1926), radically changed the social, political, cultural and economic structures of the country. In urban contexts, Western aesthetic forms—clothing, music and ball-room dancing in particular—were among the many manifestations of the radical changes in society. As such, they symbolised Republican modernity.

Bringing men and women into close proximity in the public domain as citizens of the new nation worked to destabilise the Islamic tradition of gender segregation. Physical spaces, where men and women could sit, dine and dance together were instrumental in doing precisely this and in influencing popular attitudes. These spaces worked to impose, translate or negotiate, and eventually to internalise, Western aesthetics, cultural norms and social behaviour in the public sphere. In a way, they were spatial indices that disciplined, transformed and mediated social and cultural practices.

The fact that many of the entertainment buildings from the 1930s onwards were built and rented out by the state indicates the role they took on as schools of modernisation and Westernisation.² In this context, a casino (*gazino*) was not related to gambling; the term usually suggested a restaurant, a cafe or a place that accommodated live music, dancing and/or shows. Casinos varied temporally in their function and in the style of music or per-

formances they housed. An iconic early example is the Çubuk Dam Casino near Ankara: a restaurant that accommodated mixed-gender entertainment for the modern citizens of the young nation's new capital. In Izmir, the municipality was active in constructing modern restaurants and social establishments, which were referred to as 'casinos'. A study of the 1930s' and 1940s' casinos in Izmir shows that the more famous ones either partially or extensively featured Western orchestral music and shows. Among them, the City Casino (*Şehir Gazinosu*), established in 1932 on the up-market Kordon waterfront, the Fair Casino (*Fuar Gazinosu*), established in 1936 in the culturepark (*Kültürpark*), where the Izmir International Fair takes place, and the Lake Casino (*Göl Gazinosu*), established around the same time as the Fair and Island Casinos and also inside the *Kültürpark*, were cited as the most modern and civilised.³

They were very popular and stood out for bringing in celebrated European orchestras, revues and performers and for organising garden parties. As such, they not only exemplified the early Republican casinos elsewhere, but also resonated with the city's lively entertainment culture which predated the Republic (Fig. 3).⁴ As the second most important port and commerce hub of the country, Izmir had a diverse and cosmopolitan population.⁵ However, the lively social life of the city could not be enjoyed by all residents. If the casinos' popularity was partly due to the city's multicultural character during these years, it also arose from a desire of the Republic's citizens to be modern and to take part in a wider world civilisation.

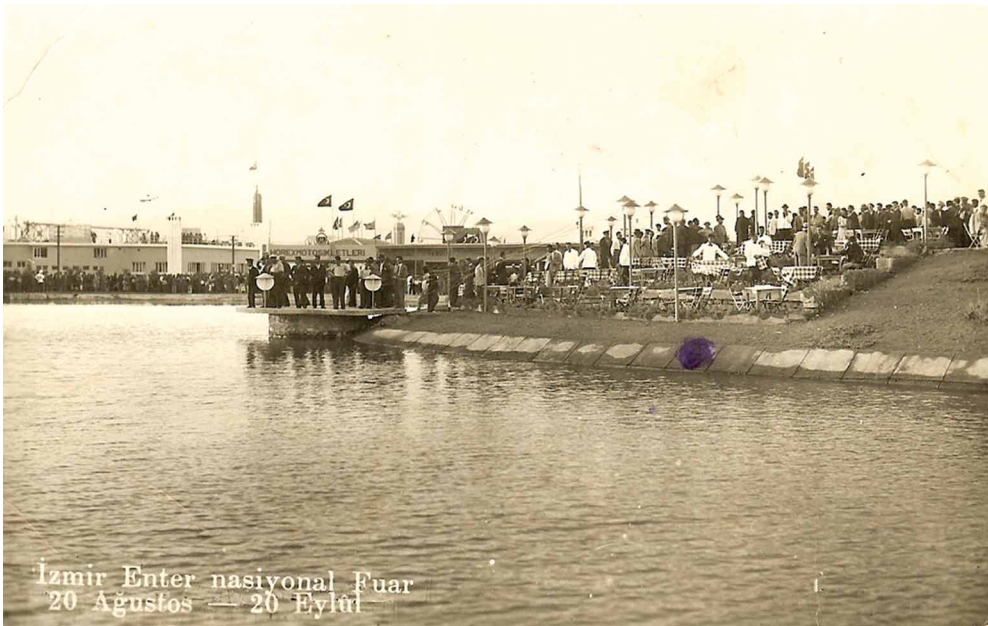


Figure 3. The Island Casino during its initial years, exemplifying the early Republican casinos and reflecting the lively entertainment culture (courtesy of C. Türkmenoğlu).

The reception of casinos as statements of modernity and westernisation can be observed through individual accounts as well as the media. For example, during a visit to Izmir's 1938 international trade fair in August of that year, the journalist Orhan Rahmi Gökçe described Kültürpark and its casinos as lively, happy and contemporary places where men and women mingled together and enjoyed life:

You will see the big casino of the fair in the distance. A Western establishment in the full sense of the word. . . Virtually, it is a distinctive casino, elegant, colourful, and full of lights inside. Musical waves spread from its windows. . . . Songs rise from the speakers. . . . From the

casino on the upper section of the Inhisarlar Pavilion float sounds of ukulele, mandolin and songs of a Greek orchestra. . . This is Izmir.

Praising the artificial lake with its small island and the famous Lake Casino to one side, he continues:

Passing gondolas make you imagine nights in Venice, and this impression is intensified by the music coming from the casinos. A serenade, a woman's laughter, oars whistling in the water make this scene more beautiful. The Lake Casino is packed with people.⁶

Kültürpark, with its casinos and recreational public spaces where men, women and children strolled and socialised was an icon of Republican modernity,

similar to other parks and municipal gardens of different scales in Turkey. As Bozdoğan points out, these parks—characterised by ‘geometrically shaped pools’ with fountains and regularised landscape design—played an important role in building a secular, ‘young’ and ‘healthy’ nation that broke away from the Ottoman Empire.⁷ What made Kültürpark one of the most important modernisation projects of the early Republican period, however, was its size as well as its function as the location for the Izmir International Fair: an important economic, social, cultural and recreational event not only for the city, but also for the country.⁸ Kültürpark was built in 1936 in a large area that had been destroyed in the big fire of 1922 following the War of Independence. The original proposal for a sixty-thousand-square-metre public park in the 1924 Danger plan for the city was modified by the municipality’s Science Committee to create the 360-thousand-square-metre Kültürpark.⁹

This project was the result of the strong will and initiatives of the Mayor, Dr Behçet Uz, who envisioned Kültürpark as a ‘public university’, modernising lifestyles, educating the public and bringing cultural events to masses of people.¹⁰ Its pavilions, exhibition halls, gates, leisure and entertainment spaces, ranging from a parachute tower to up-market casinos such as the Island Casino were, to a great extent, statements of modernism, exemplifying 1930s’ architectural culture in Turkey (Fig. 4).¹¹ Leisure spaces such as an artificial lake and parachute tower were not unique to Kültürpark; they were also in Ankara’s Youth Park, which was part of the German planner Hermann Jansen’s 1934 master plan for the new capital.¹² The plan for

that park was later altered by Theo Leveau, a landscape architect and planner hired by the Ministry of Public Works. Interestingly, a casino on a small island in the lake was also planned for the Youth Park, but was ultimately not realised.¹³

In the context of the post-Second World War era, when the early Republican children became adults, operation of casinos as cultivators of Western aesthetics, social behaviour and cultural practices became more widespread. This time period was marked by trans-national culture currents, which themselves were shaped by Cold War political processes. Even though Turkey did not participate in the Second World War, it received Marshall Aid, which was structured by the US government to provide political stability in post-war Europe.¹⁴ Aside from funds granted for agricultural, industrial and, later, military development, the aid supported cultural politics, including sponsoring Hollywood films abroad. This promoted post-war American culture, lifestyle and identity, and made modernisation and democratic capitalism appealing internationally.¹⁵ American influences were evident worldwide in spheres ranging from building to the entertainment sector.¹⁶ These influences in Turkey can be vividly followed through oral histories, biographies, national and local newspapers, popular magazines, advertisements, posters and the like.¹⁷

They can also be traced in Democrat Party government and the Prime Minister, Adnan Menderes’ aspirations to making the country a ‘little America’ together with urban renewal and modernisation projects, such as a shift in emphasis from railways to motor transport and building new road networks and housing projects.¹⁸ Concluding the one-party



Figure 4. 9th September Gate (Izmir International Fair, 1939) by Ferruh Örel: the gate had a casino with a terrace on the upper level (*Arkitekt*, vol. 9, nos 9–10 [1939], p. 201).

Republican era, the Democrat Party came to power in 1950 with a promise of rapid economic growth, which implied relaxing the control of earlier statist policies.¹⁹ Its foreign policies reinforced economic, political and military ties with the capitalist West. Ties were strengthened with Turkey's admission to The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in 1952 and enthusiasm for cooperating with the USA can be followed through newspaper headlines reporting on the new government's decision to participate in the Korean War in 1950: 'We are sending troops to Korea', 'The Turks are coming', 'Turkey will accomplish her mission'. A popular Turkish song of the 1950s, by Celal Ince, perhaps best depicts the

era and the fusion of American influence, politics and entertainment:

America, America, as long as the world stands
Turkish people are with you in the war for freedom.

This is a song of friendship, reflection of sibling-hood,

We became blood-brothers in Korea; the light
of this friendship does not go out...

The album cover of this song contained words of freedom by the founding fathers of the two countries, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938) and George Washington (1732–1799). The records were distributed free of charge during the 1954

Izmir International Fair, an important international showcase of technology, lifestyles, bipolar world-views, music and dance culture in Turkey.²⁰

During the 1950s, the number of casinos inside the fairgrounds alone increased to meet the rising demand of the young generation in Izmir. 'Mogambo' and 'Kübana' were famous additions built and rented out for operation by the municipality. Well-regarded casinos of the 1950s continued to solidify people's societal roles as modern citizens. Male patrons wore jackets and ties and female patrons dressed fashionably, akin to their Western counterparts. An individual's aesthetic expression was significant in forming his or her modern identity. As a founding owner of 'Mogambo' (1955) stated, 'the music and the shows in this genre of casinos were exquisite. The performers mostly came from Europe (Fig. 5). The service was top quality. The waiters wore suits and ties or bowties. They also made sure that the patrons matched this quality. One could not enter with inappropriate clothing and behaviour. Everybody looked stylishly contemporary and behaved as such'.²¹ To ensure such quality, the municipality secured special restrictions in addition to the rules of the standard contracts. These specified even the type of music to be played and the tableware to be used.

For example, the 'Special Restrictions' section of the rebuilt Island Casino's contract of 1958 stated that the restaurant had to employ experienced waiters who wore dinner jackets or clean and ironed suits. The waiters' appearance was termed to be of the utmost importance; they were also required to be shaved and groomed. The casino was obliged to serve alcoholic beverages, such as

'vermouth, gin, wine, beer and rakı [a Turkish alcoholic beverage]' and include both 'Western and Eastern' cuisine in the menu. These were to be served on the finest quality of porcelain dishes, with silverware and tablecloths and napkins made of linen or equivalent fabric. The restaurant was also 'required to provide a first-class jazz orchestra' (referring to Western orchestral music) during the duration of the Fair, which lasted from August 20th to September 20th at that period. The contract encouraged providing this type of music for the rest of the year as well.²² It is important to note that some famous casinos predominantly featured Turkish music and singers, and their practices were similar to those of the Island Casino. Casinos of this genre operated as spatial structures, delineating their subjects' social performance. These performances helped produce new socio-cultural identities both for women and men and defined casinos as spaces of modernity.

In this context, one cannot underestimate the significant function of casinos in restructuring and sustaining women's and men's socio-cultural position in Turkish society. Casinos facilitated the transformation of gender relationships by providing iterative mixed-gender activities such as ballroom dancing and garden parties. Hence, they operated as a medium through which men and women could live out their transforming social and gendered identities. The multiplicity of these acts in the public domain of restaurants, nightclubs and dance halls simultaneously controlled and produced their subjects.²³ In other words, women's and men's performativity, which was regulated by powerful discourses, constructed a social identity and



Figure 5. An advertisement for the 'Mogambo' nightclub showing European performers (*Yeni Asır*, 12th August, 1956).

distinction for them as 'proper' contemporary citizens. This is to say that women and men's performativity worked as sites of negotiation between the local and global prospects of what it meant to be a contemporary man or woman at the time. Casinos were spatial media through which dominant cultural forms—as products of political processes that connected local cultures to a wider world—were picked up and used, and, through their use, significantly translated and transformed.²⁴ In what

follows, I examine the ways in which the design of the Island Casino mediated these processes.

The Building as a reflection of Euro-American modernism

I am in favour of an almost unlimited plastic freedom, a freedom that is not slavishly subordinate to the reasons of any given technique or of functionalism, but which makes an appeal to the imagination, to things that are new and

beautiful, capable of arousing surprise and emotion by their very newness and creativeness; a freedom that provides scope—when desirable—for moods of ecstasy, reverie, and poetry.²⁵ The fluid forms of the Island Casino of 1958 are an illustrative Turkish example of the ‘plastic freedom’ proposed by Oscar Niemeyer in the above passage. The resemblance of the building to Niemeyer’s design for Casa do Baile (1940–43, translated as ‘house of dance’) is remarkable (Fig. 6). The curvilinear concrete canopy, resting on *pilotis*, the *brise-soleil* and the sinuosity of the building recall Niemeyer’s signature design in Pampulha (Fig. 7).²⁶ The meandering landscape, redesigned with tropical foliage, resonates with the asymmetrical and wavy landscape design ideas of Roberto Burle Marx, who worked with Niemeyer.²⁷ The resemblances resume in the spatial programmes of the buildings, both of which were designed as restaurants and dance halls with outdoor and indoor areas containing a dance floor, a lounge with tables, a kitchen and lavatories. As striking is the similarity in the siting of the two. The siting of the Island Casino (1937) predates that of Casa do Baile, but both structures stand on top of a small artificial island in an artificial lake. The difference is one of scale: the Island Casino overlooks a small pond, whereas Casa do Baile presides over the substantial Lake Pampulha.

Both buildings are connected to the edge by a small bridge. Interestingly, the curvilinear concrete canopy and the building’s location at the edge of the water recall the casino of Çubuk Dam (1936, by Theo Leveau) which was not only a representation of the technology and development of the

early Republic, but also a popular recreational public space near Ankara. Notably, this early precedent for casino architecture had a small artificial island next to it and predates Pampulha by a few years. Distinct despite the similarities, Rıza Aşkan’s architectural ‘reverie and poetry’²⁸ in the form of the Island Casino was built in 1958 when the municipality decided to replace the 1937 building with one that could better accommodate the transformed function of the operation as a restaurant and dance hall. The architect designed the building when he was the director of the municipality’s building division. The design adopts the curvilinear expressions of concrete not only in the building’s forms, but also in the surrounding environment. Izmir’s Mediterranean climate allowed for the recreation of the tropical-looking landscape of Pampulha (Fig. 8). The existing landscape of the island was enriched and manipulated in relation to the formal language of the edifice to showcase one of the most pervasive doctrines of modern architecture: the inside-outside continuum.²⁹ The curvilinear glass wall was intended to dematerialise the boundary between the interior hall and the tropical-like landscaped exterior.

This fluidity of boundaries, arguably reflecting the new fluidity of boundaries between men and women in Turkey, was also emphasised through unique design elements such as an interior fish pond that followed the contours of the glass wall and building around existing locust trees by designing openings for them in the ceilings of the interior hall and the exterior concrete canopy (Fig. 9). The continuum was further expressed through using the same stone on the interior and exterior walls



Figure 6. Casa do Baile (1940–43), designed by Oscar Niemeyer and landscaped by Roberto Burle Marx in Pampulha, Brazil: from D. Underwood, *Oscar Niemeyer and the Architecture of Brazil* (New York, Rizzoli, 1994), pp. 56–7.

and extending the floor material onto the adjacent patio. Most conspicuous among these formulations is the concrete canopy (still in existence) that wrapped the heart-shaped outdoor dance floor and terminated with an orchestra stand. The canopy has louvered and punctured segments that create a rhythm and play of light and shadow, respectively. As in Casa do Baile, the concrete canopy, which floats on circular columns, bonds the building's mass to the exterior dance area. In addition to providing shelter from sun and rain, the canopies similarly frame scenes of entertain-

ment. In Casa do Baile the canopy frames a view of the casino (also designed by Niemeyer) on the other side of the lake.³⁰ In the Island Casino, the canopy frames a view of the famous Lake Casino: an icon of Izmir's entertainment culture. From the Island Casino's interior-exterior assemblage to the lake, the mound is layered into terraces for outdoor eating.

Embedded into a profusion of vegetation, the architectural design proclaims the use of concrete so vigorously that the wooden bridge linking the islet to the shore was replaced with a concrete

Figure 7. The curvilinear concrete canopy, resting on *pilotis*, the *brise-soleil* and the sinuosity of the building recall Niemeyer's signature design in Pampulha (photograph by the Author, 2006).



one, similar to the Brazilian precedent. At the edge of the lake, the bridge is connected to a descending concrete ramp: a prevalent element in modern architecture manifested in the signature designs of influential architects from Le Corbusier to Niemeyer. The pervasiveness of concrete here implies the material's function as the local/international medium of modernisation whose effect is to make every place seem the same and to homogenise cultures.³¹ In cultural terms, concrete signifies a universal construction means. It can be domestically produced, thus making construction more do-able

and economical compared to using steel, which was not common or easily available in Turkey, or Brazil, in the 1950s. At this juncture of local and international, concrete embodies a form of negotiation: as a trans-cultural medium, concrete denotes participating in the more developed world whilst making use of local resources and acquired and available construction techniques.

In terms of its formal use in the Island Casino and the Casa do Baile, concrete operates differently. In Niemeyer's design, fluid and mutable forms of concrete represent divergence from the usual



Figure 8. The design adopts the curvilinear expressions of concrete not only in the building's forms, but also in the meandering landscape, redesigned with tropical foliage and terraces for outdoor eating (courtesy of C. Türkmenoğlu).

international expression of the material. Rather than simply signifying universality and commonality, concrete aesthetics for him worked as means of distinction and contestation. Niemeyer considered the Pampulha Complex as the first major project that gave him the opportunity to experiment with the plasticity of concrete and 'to challenge the monotony of contemporary architecture, the wave of misinterpreted functionalism that hindered it, and the

dogmas of form and function that had emerged'.³² For Aşkan (and the Turkish architectural culture that he represents), the fluid expression of concrete signified a site of connection more than it suggested contestation. The plastic quality of concrete allowed him to achieve a more sensual global expression while maintaining the shared signification of concrete as a medium of modernity and development. It also gave him an opportunity to get away from

Figure 9. The exterior
concrete canopy
designed to
accommodate existing
trees (courtesy of
C. Türkmenoğlu).



the corporate and institutional look of the so-called International Style, which became prevalent in Turkey during the 1950s.³³ Its most cited manifestation is the Istanbul Hilton Hotel (1952–1955) designed by the American firm Skidmore, Owings and Merrill (Gordon Bunshaft as the chief designer) in collaboration with Sedad H. Eldem, an influential Turkish architect in his own right.³⁴

The material embodiment of modernity can also be observed in the use of new materials/elements such as the Famerit floor of the outdoor dance

stage and the glass mosaic walls of the Island Casino. As the current owner-manager of the restaurant (the property is still state owned) pointed out, these materials were considered innovative and modern at the time,³⁵ epitomising connection to progress. The architect adeptly counterbalanced these popular modern materials with cut stone acquired from the quarries of the nearby town of Çeşme, and black marble that was locally available and commonly used in the construction sector at the time. The skilful fusion of the materials in a



modern design language emphasised reconciliation between regional distinction and international concerns (Fig. 10). A search for regional character is also evident in the building's decoration and ornamentation. For example, a variety of copper lighting fixtures not only displayed local craft and artistry, but also reflected the use of what was domestically available. The cultural specificity and regional circumstances were important to achieving a unique modernist design. In this respect, the building exemplified 1950s' Turkish modernism, which embraced architectural designs of individuality and originality rather than standardisation and mass production.³⁶

Aşkan's interest in modernist architecture greatly influenced İzmir's development throughout the 1950s, when he served as the director of the building division of the municipality, working with staff members/colleagues on municipality projects that



Figure 10. Fusion of the local and new materials in a modern design language emphasised reconciliation between regional distinctions and global concerns (photograph by the Author, 2008).

Figure 11. a, Aşkan with the Prime Minister, Adnan Menderes (courtesy of G. A. Derman); b, Aşkan with Richard Neutra (courtesy of G. A. Derman).

shaped the city (Fig. 11a, b).³⁷ Aşkan was trained in the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, where he studied with Sedad H. Eldem. Eldem's discourse on a nationalist Turkish architecture and on modernism had a great impact on Aşkan, as can be observed in some of his designs. However, a more important influence was his attitude towards architecture as 'total design'. This attitude was informed by other famous architects, including Le Corbusier and

Richard Neutra, with whom Aşkan briefly worked with during his tenure in the municipality. As the director of the municipality's building division, Aşkan invited Neutra to Izmir to consult on the Konak (city centre) Project while Neutra was visiting Istanbul.³⁸ Le Corbusier visited Izmir in 1948 to propose an urban plan for the city.³⁹ Because Aşkan was fluent in French, the municipality asked him to host Le Corbusier during his five-day stay. The visit led to a friendship between the two architects. Before Le Corbusier departed, he asked Aşkan to come and work for him in France. The architect considered this offer a great honour, but he chose not to leave Izmir for personal reasons.⁴⁰

Although Le Corbusier's plan for the city was considered utopian and was not actually implemented, his artistic approach and modernist aesthetics had an impact on Aşkan and his colleagues. These were what connected Le Corbusier to Niemeyer. Le Corbusier spoke highly of Niemeyer's Pampulha project and how his use of curves suggested a connection to Baroque architecture.⁴¹ For Aşkan, the poetic expression of concrete was a skilful manipulation of contemporary architectural design. Its embodiment in the Island Casino was a turning point in his career. With this project, the architect concluded his position in the municipality and pursued independent professional practice. In his words, he liberated himself from the bureaucracy of seventeen years of civil service,⁴² just as he believed that the modernist aesthetics he adopted in the design of the Island Casino suggested liberation from the rigid and rationalist manifestation of modernism. This belief and an aesthetic expression of modern architecture in dialogue with

regional, climatic and cultural specificities and conditions ties him to a theme of Euro-American modernism manifested in Oscar Niemeyer's work.⁴³

Spatial implications of contemporary aesthetics

The Island Casino embodies an artistic approach to architecture in search of contemporary cultural forms and practices of entertainment. But how did this artistic quest match the spatial design and access to modernity? How did an architecture driven from formal and aesthetic concerns function as a casino? How did it pair with the idea of space as a social structure that formed and performed social identities? What were some of the proliferating spatial and architectural elements that embodied the ambivalent ideas of modernity and social structuring as metaphors amid Cold War dynamics?

The casino was rebuilt at a time when there was approbation for the United States as the epitome of liberation and democracy, and American influence was strongly felt in all aspects of life in major Turkish cities. Goods such as cars and refrigerators arriving from the US were considered to be the best-quality products available.⁴⁴ Interest in American culture and modern ways of living connected to the liberal economic policies of the Democrat Party, foreign aid and the rise of the bourgeoisie.⁴⁵ A result of this social, economic and political context was the availability of new materials and construction methods, and the subsequent housing projects for middle- and upper-income groups (which can be categorised as government-initiated projects, individually undertaken buildings and housing cooperatives). Promotion of these as

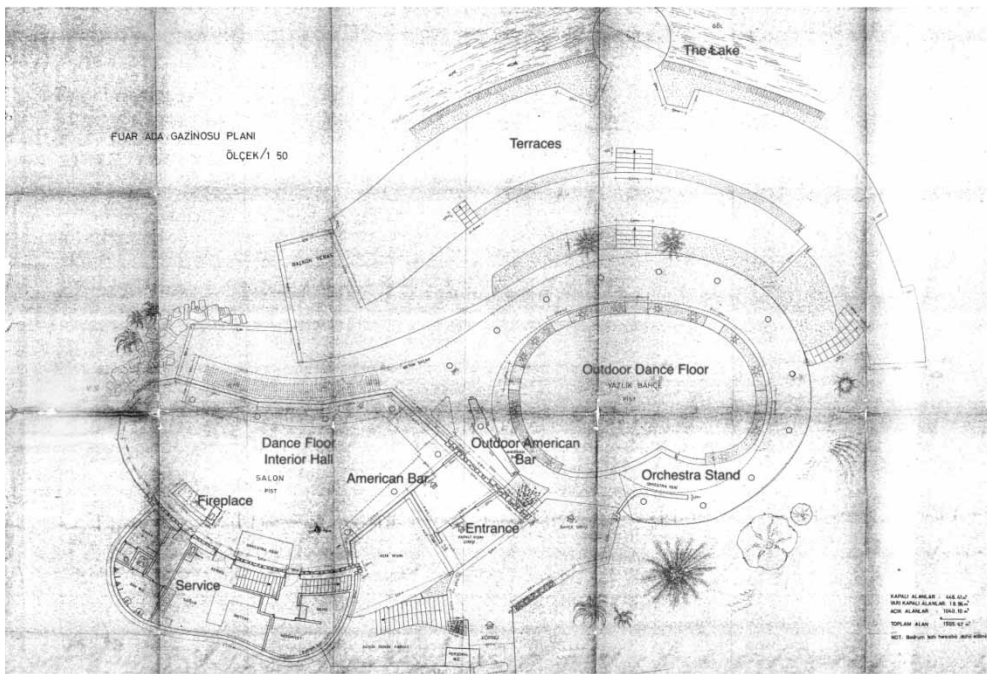


Figure 12. Plan of the Island Casino, reproduced by the municipality (Izmir Municipality Archives).

‘ideal homes’ with contemporary means of living is evident in a mass of advertisements in the media: for example, for houses offered as prizes by different banks. Spatial components in the Island Casino such as the fireplace, the ‘American bar’, the dance stage and the orchestra stand, therefore, are not unique to the building’s programme, but embody this general context (Fig. 12).

A fireplace was a typical architectural component of luxurious and stylish homes during the 1950s and 1960s, including single-family residences and flats. This was a symbolic element of European architec-

ture that was presented as an indispensable ingredient of American homes, most notably by Frank Lloyd Wright. ‘Modern Turkish homes were expected to have a fireplace at the time’ because it suggested an idealised lifestyle defined by the dominant culture of the post-Second World War West.⁴⁶ As such, a well-known architect stated, they were profitable: domestic designs with fireplaces rented more easily. This was also a feature preferred by Americans residing in Turkish cities, and they constituted a considerable market for rented flats at the time. The demand for fireplaces contributed to their

utilisation in spatial experiments by architects. Because fireplaces were not efficient ways of heating, they were rarely used. Rather than functioning as a heat source, fireplaces were regarded as status symbols, their locations determining the interior layout of furniture. The popularity of fireplaces for their visual attributes rather than their function shows the power of aesthetics in conveying a message about being part of a group.

The fireplace of the Island Casino may have brought it a domestic quality but did not facilitate its heating very well; radiators were installed later on in order to heat the building efficiently. The fireplace instead embodied concepts of being contemporary and thus signified belonging to world civilisation as defined by the post-Second World War West. Clad with Çeşme stone and detached from its conventional position within a wall, it recalled Wright's freestanding fireplaces, such as the early and well-known example in Chicago's Robie House (1908–1910). In this respect, the fireplace represents more than singular preferences or the acquired taste of an individual architect: rather, it epitomises a collective predilection that joins people who share common values, norms, beliefs and ideology at a precise point in history. The materialisation of the fireplace thus functions to communicate codes that are meaningful to the group or culture amalgamated by commonalities.⁴⁷

The American bar was a pervasive design element that was incorporated not only in entertainment buildings emerging in Turkey during the 1950s (including in the first five-star hotels), but, on a smaller scale, in the design of luxurious homes as well. Arguably, the use of this bar also signified a

desire to adopt socio-cultural practices associated with the post-war 'civilised world'. It also indicated an aspiration to the lifestyle of an urban culture related to a form of entertainment characterised by consuming a variety of alcoholic beverages, music and dancing.⁴⁸ In the Island Casino, the architect included an indoor and an outdoor bar, which were located adjacent to the interior and exterior dance floors. Both bars incorporated stylised counters with spotlights above (Fig. 13).

Doubtless, architects' use of American bars was a manifestation of the prevalent aesthetics of Euro-American modernism; significantly, it was also a materialisation of a dominant culture that served to regulate and discipline social interaction and cultural manners. The design language and spatial allocation of bars overlooking dance floors suggested certain cultural forms and practices such as 'Western' dancing, music, drinking and people watching. Appropriation of these forms and practices implied the homogenisation of cultures. In essence, the American bar was a spatial mechanism through which people were encouraged to reproduce the ideas and ideals of a dominant culture. Yet this reproduction had to be incomplete in order to be operative because it was interpreted and transformed as it was acted out.

The American bars and dance floors of the Island Casino were lived out in a similar, but not exactly the same way. As intended, the bars were utilised for serving drinks and for storage, but they were not usually used for sitting and socialising over drinks. They worked instead as conceptual and decorative backdrops for the constructed environment. The American bar and the dance floors were a case of



Figure 13. The outdoor bar of the Island Casino (courtesy of C. Türkmenoğlu).

mimicry; as expressed by Homi Bhabha, they reflected an instance of 'the desire for a reformed, recognisable Other, as a *subject of a difference that is almost the same but not quite*' [Bhabha's italics].⁴⁹ The curvilinear dance floor witnessed ball-room dancing, including the swaying movements of the samba with which its form resonated, but also featured local tunes and dance motifs. To be effective in their mimicry, practices had 'continually [to] produce [their] slippage, [their] access, [their] differ-

ence'.⁵⁰ The slippage produced by the ambivalence of mimicry in cultural terms worked as transformation, which meant that the local culture held the power to produce its own translation of the dominant culture.

Since the 1970s, the spaces of the Island Casino have undergone a number of renovations. Whilst the exterior remained relatively the same, the American bars were removed at different times to make space for tables. One by one, the fireplace, the

small fish pond and the locust trees growing through the ceiling were also removed. They had been given centre stage as statements of modernist architectural language and, from the point of view of the restaurant's management, these were still attractive decorative elements; however, they congested the restaurant area and obstructed operations—service areas such as the kitchen had been squeezed into small leftover spaces. The fish pond also presented difficulties, as it was hard to maintain. Furthermore, the rain and wind entering through the ceiling openings made the space draughty, and it could not be heated well enough by the fireplace. Izmir's climate, characterised by long and hot summers and mild to cool winters, required more efficient heating for the restaurant to function all year around. Consequently, radiators were added, and the kitchen was enlarged and equipped with up-to-date technologies in order to maximise functionality and to sustain the restaurant.

Intended to update the building, these changes scarred the original design. They occurred in opposition to the municipality and the tenant was fined for depleting the building's aesthetic integrity.⁵¹ Despite the fact that the renovations were badly implemented, the building with its sinuous curves, stone-and-aqua-glass mosaic walls, light concrete canopy and tropical-looking landscape still looks striking. And it is important to note, however, that the changes arose because the building was an example of modern architecture treated as an autonomous art object, impeding its other purposes and functions.⁵²

The ambition for a 1950s' aesthetic, achieved through the use of fashionable spatial components

and a modernist architectural vocabulary, as well as the use of contemporary materials and building techniques, was a manifestation of modern architecture, intended to define a 'civilised world'. The design was conflicted in the sense that it simultaneously allowed and diminished contact with modernity.⁵³ In cultural terms, this double operation of the edifice embodied the ambivalence of mimicry—'almost the same but not quite'—defining a liminal space between the local and the international.

Concluding remarks

Aesthetic expression is a powerful instrument. It communicates codes meaningful to a culture as a domain of shared values, beliefs, norms and significances, as well as a common ideology at a certain moment in history.⁵⁴ As such, it is a cultural form that works to connect localities to the processes of modernisation (and westernisation). The mimicry embedded in the design of the Island Casino was a cultural form that precisely grasped this connection.

The fluid forms of the edifice, taking cues from Niemeyer's Casa do Baile, are a manifestation of modernism, which acquired a wide acceptance in 1950s' Turkey. For those architects and builders who sought modernity in architectural design at the time, the plasticity of concrete, dematerialisation of boundaries and free-flowing design worked the same as other (and perhaps more rigid) expressions of modernism in conveying concepts of cultural liberation that were pertinent to the post-Second World War era. In other words, more than indicating a difference, the design was

a sign of commonality. Relevant to the local milieu and architectural culture, the architect expressed this spirit primarily in an aesthetic approach of Euro-American modernism. In the 1950s' Turkish context, the availability of steel and modern building techniques and materials was limited. The artistic and technological possibilities of concrete in dialogue with regional specificities had a double function in terms of cultural production: it at once homogenised cultures and facilitated the distinction of taking part in a larger and desired world civilisation.

Remaking the Island Casino was more than a process of redressing a space of modernity. Contemporary design had spatial implications. The programmatic components, such as the dance floor, the American bar and the fireplace, were ubiquitous forms, celebrated as objectifications of contemporary living for an urban culture of the 1950s. Imposing proliferating norms of social behaviour and practices of the culture, they were sites of modernity where cultural forms were picked up, mediated and, meaningfully, transformed in the processes of internalisation. As spatial structures, these components regulated performances—that is, their slippage by their inability completely to repeat themselves—worked to produce new socio-cultural identities. This process of translation epitomises the dynamic character of culture as shared values and common meanings, while showing its capacity as a site of difference. Throughout its existence, the Island Casino has exemplified culture as a transforming domain through which people could perform and express

their modernity. As a medium of modernity, the edifice of the 1950s embodied the modern condition as ambiguity between domestic and global attitudes, and opened up liminal spaces where these attitudes met and were negotiated. The Island Casino's architecture, landscape and setting highlight how space can work as a structure that forms, performs and transforms social, gender and cultural practices.

Notes and references

1. C. Türkmenoğlu (the current owner-manager and the son of the founder of the casino): interviews by the Author, Izmir, 7th November and 12th December, 2008. See also Ö. Hazar, 'Bebelerin Kahvaltı Yeri ve Ülseri İyi Gelen Su' ['Breakfast place for babies and the water that heals ulcers'], *Yeni Asır* (28th August, 1984), p.13.
2. In the Turkish context, the convoluted notions of modernisation and westernisation, embodying ideas of progress and development, generally implied Europe before the Second World War: the United States came to be considered as being the predominant index of these notions after the War.
3. There were also other well-regarded casinos that featured emerging Turkish singers who became very famous in the early years of the Republic. For example, İsmet Casino hosted such famous names as Safiye Ayla, Hafız Burhan, Müzeyyen Senar and Münir Nurettin Selçuk (oral histories taken 2005–2009). See also L. Dağtaş, *İzmir Gazinoları 1800'lerden 1970'lere* ['Izmir casinos from the 1800s to 1970s'] (Izmir, İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayını, 2004).
4. See H. Z. Uşaklıgil, *İzmir Hikayeleri* ['Izmir stories'] (İstanbul, Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1950); N. Morali, *Mutarekede İzmir: Önceleri ve Sonraları* ['Izmir during

- the armistice: before and after'] (İstanbul, Tekin, 1976); R. Beyru, 19. *Yüzyılda İzmir'de Yaşam* ['Life in İzmir in the 19th century'] (İstanbul, Literatür, 2000); L. Dağtaş, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–23; W. Sperco, *Yüzyılın Başında İstanbul* ['İstanbul at the turn of the century'] (İstanbul, İstanbul Kütüphanesi, 1989); R. E. Koçu, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* [İstanbul encyclopaedia] (İstanbul, Tan, 1958).
5. İzmir had a considerable non-Muslim population, mainly composed of Levantines, Jews, Greeks and Armenians. Although the demographics of the city changed after the War of Independence in 1922, like İstanbul, it has maintained a more cosmopolitan population than other Turkish cities. See E. Batur, ed., *Üç İzmir* ['Three İzmir'] (İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1992).
 6. O. R. Gökçe, 'İzmir Fuarında Bir Gece' ['A night at the İzmir Fair'], *Republican Newspaper* (31st August, 1938).
 7. S. Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2001), pp. 75–79. For the significant role of parks and planning in secularisation, see also U. Tanyeli, 'Çağdaş İzmir'in Mimarlık Serüveni' ['Contemporary İzmir's architectural adventure'], in *Üç İzmir, op. cit.*, p. 335; Z. Uludağ, 'Cumhuriyet Döneminde Rekrasyon ve Gençlik Parkı Örneği' ['Recreation in the republican period and the case of the youth park'], in Y. Sey, ed., *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık* ['75 years of city and architecture'] (İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998), pp. 65–74; I. Akpınar, 'İstanbul'u (Yeniden) İnşa Etmek: 1937 Henri Prost Planı' ['To (Re)build İstanbul: 1937 Henri Prost Plan'], in E. A. Ergut and B. Imamoglu, eds, *Cumhuriyet'in Mekanları/Zamanları/İnsanları* (Ankara, Dipnot Yayınları, 2010), pp. 107–124; F. C. Bilsel, 'Espaces Libres: Parks, Promenades, Public Squares...', in F. C. Bilsel and Pierre Pinon, eds, *From the Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Planning of İstanbul (1936–1951)* (İstanbul, İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2010), pp. 349–380.
 8. Following the lead of the first Economy Exhibition in 1923, the Fair was initiated in 1927 as the 9 Eylül Panayırı (9th September Fair). It moved to Kültürpark in 1936.
 9. In order to clean and reconstruct the area destroyed by fire and to make İzmir a modern as well as economic centre, Rene and Raymond Danger were asked to prepare a plan for the city (in collaboration with the famous French urbanist Henri Prost) in 1924. Due to financial constraints, however, their plan could only be implemented in the 1930s with the initiatives of the mayor Dr. Behçet Uz. At this time the municipality believed a new plan was necessary, and, in 1938, Le Corbusier was contacted. See U. Tanyeli, *op. cit.*, pp. 327–338; Ü. B. Seymen, 'Tek Parti Dönemi Belediyeciliğinde Behçet Uz Örneği' ['The Behçet Uz example in the municipal works of the one-party era'], in *Üç İzmir, op. cit.*, pp. 297–321; F. C. Bilsel, 'Ideology and Urbanism during the Early Republican Period: Two Master Plans for İzmir and Scenarios of Modernization', *METU JFA*, vol. 16, nos 1–2 (1996), pp. 13–30.
 10. The design for the park was inspired by a park in Moscow. See the accounts of Suad Yurdkoru in E. Feyzioğlu, *Büyük Bir Halk Okulu İzmir Fuarı* ['A big public school: İzmir Fair'] (İzmir, İZFAŞ Kültür Yayını, 2006), p. 29–31. See also U. Sönmezdağ, 'Atatürk Ormanı ve Kurtuluş Zafer Abidesi—İzmir Tarihinde Sergi, Panayır, Fuarlar ve Kültürpark' ['Atatürk forest and independence monument—exhibition, fairs and Kültürpark in İzmir's history'] (İzmir, Atatürk Ormanı Kurma ve Koruma Derneği Yayını, no. 6, 1978), pp. 53–56.
 11. Among these are the State Monopolies Pavilion (1936), designed by Emin Necip Uzman; the

- Sümerbank Pavilion (1936), by Seyfettin Arkan; the Culture Pavilion (1938–1939) by Bruno Taut; the İş Bankası Pavilion (1939) by Mazhar Resmor (interior designer); the Exhibition Hall (1939) and the 9th September Gate (1939), both by Ferruh Örel. The latter—also known as the İnönü Gate—had a casino with a terrace on the upper level: see ‘1939 İzmir Beynelmilel Fuarı’ [‘1939 İzmir International Fair’], *Arki-tekt*, vol. 9, nos 9–10 (1939), pp. 198–211 and *Yeni Asır* (August issues, 1936–1939).
12. Jansen won the international planning competition for his master plan of Ankara in 1927: S. Bozdoğan, *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 75.
 13. S. Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, *op. cit.*, p. 76. See also ‘Ankara Gençlik Parkı’ [‘Ankara Youth Park’], *Nafia İşleri Mecmuası*, vol. 2, no. 3 (1935), pp. 35–37.
 14. In the aftermath of the war, as communist parties became powerful in some European countries, the United States considered the political influence of the Soviet Union to be a major threat to a peaceful world and to the security of the country. In this political context, President Truman presented the Truman Doctrine before a joint session of Congress in 1947, proposing to extend military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey, which the US considered to be under Communist threat. Consequently, the Secretary of State, George C. Marshall, outlined what came to be known as the Marshall Plan at a speech given in Harvard University. The plan was intended to revive Europe and to generate a western economic system around US practices. For the text of the Truman Doctrine, see The Avalon Project at Yale Law School, ‘President Harry S. Truman’s Address Before a Joint Session of Congress, March 12, 1947’, Yale Law School, <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/trudoc.htm>. For the text of the Plan itself, see ‘The Marshall Plan’ (1947), *Congressional Record*, 30 June 1947, <http://usa.usembassy.de/etexts/democrac/57.htm>.
 15. A. J. Wharton, *Building the Cold War: Hilton International Hotels and Modern Architecture* (Chicago, IL, University of Chicago, 2001), p. 7; D. C. Engerman, N. Gilman, M. H. Haefele and M. E. Latham, eds, *Staging Growth: Modernization Development, and the Global Cold War* (Amherst and Boston, University of Massachusetts Press, 2003).
 16. For an analysis of America’s influence on British architecture and urbanism, see M. Fraser and J. Kerr, *Architecture and the ‘Special Relationship’: The American Influence on Post-War British Architecture* (London and New York, Routledge, 2007). For an analysis of American influence in France, see K. Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., The MIT Press, 1995).
 17. *Yeni Asır*, 1948–1960; *Hayat*, 1956–1965; *Resimli Hayat*, 1952–1955. *Hayat* (1956–1978) and its forerunner *Resimli Hayat* (1952–1955) were leading magazines. *Yeni Asır* is a valuable source for exploring İzmir life, urban developments and municipal works.
 18. Menderes’ urban renewal projects and demolitions of older sections in Istanbul have been compared to the modernism of Robert Moses and his interventions in New York City as described by Marshall Berman. See S. Bozdoğan, ‘The Predicament of Modernism in Turkish Architectural Culture: An Overview’, in, S. Bozdoğan and R. Kasaba, eds, *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity* (Seattle and London, University of Washington Press, 1997), pp. 133–56; I. Y. Akpinar, ‘The Making of a Modern *Pay-İ Taht* in Istanbul: Menderes’ Executions after Prost’s Plan’, in, F. C. Bilal and Pierre Pinon, eds, *From the Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City*, *op. cit.*, pp. 167–199.
 19. S. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (Cambridge, New York, Cambridge University

- Press, 1976–1977), pp. 405, 408. For an overview of Turkish politics during the 1950s see L. L. Roos and N. P. Roos, *Managers of Modernization: Organizations and Elites in Turkey (1950–1969)* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1971); F. Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (London, Routledge, 2000); H. Bağcı, *Türk Dış Politikasında 1950'li Yıllar* ['The 1950s in Turkish foreign politics'] (Ankara, METU Press, 2001); M. Albayrak, *Türk Siyasi Tarihinde Demokrat Parti (1946–1960)* ['The Democrat Party in Turkish political history'] (Ankara, Phoenix, 2004).
20. E. Feyzioğlu, *op. cit.*, p. 91. Undoubtedly, international fairs and exhibitions were important events to showcase bipolar worldviews during the Cold War era. A good example of this is the Kitchen Debates (1959) between the then American vice-president, Richard Nixon, and the then Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev during the American National Exhibition in Moscow. See E. T. May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York, Basic Books, 1988), p. 16; B. Colomina, 'The Private Side of Public Memory', *The Journal of Architecture*, vol. 4, no. 4 (1999), pp. 351–352. For a discussion of the Kitchen Debates in a Turkish context see M. Ö. Gürel, 'Defining and Living Out the Interior: The "Modern" Apartment and the "Urban" Housewife in Turkey during the 1950s and 1960s', *Gender, Place & Culture*, vol. 16, no. 6 (2009), pp. 703–722.
 21. A. Ömürgönülşen, interview by the Author, Izmir, 10th December, 2008.
 22. TC Maliye Vekaleti Kira Kontratosu, Hususi Şartlar, [Republic of Turkey Internal Revenue Office rental contract, special conditions], 24th October, 1958 (courtesy of C. Türkmenoğlu).
 23. J. Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York, London, Routledge, 1990); J. Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'* (New York, London, Routledge, 1993).
 24. A. Gupta and J. Ferguson, 'Culture, Power, Place: Ethnography at the End of an Era', in, A. Gupta and J. Ferguson, eds, *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology* (Durham, N.C., Duke University Press, 1997), pp. 1–51.
 25. O. Niemeyer, 'Form and Function in Architecture', in, J. Ockman and E. Eigen, eds, *Architecture Culture 1943–1968: A Documentary Anthology* (New York, Rizzoli, 1996), p. 309.
 26. This project was a part of the Pampulha Complex, commissioned by Juscelino Kubitschek. At the time, Kubitschek was the Mayor of Belo Horizonte. Later, he became the President of Brazil (1956–1961) and had the capital, Brasilia, built. His building programme included a casino, a restaurant/dance hall (Casa do Baile), a yacht club, a church and an hotel (unbuilt) around an artificial lake. See D. K. Underwood, *Oscar Niemeyer and the Architecture of Brazil* (New York, Rizzoli, 1994); L. B. Castriola, 'The Curves of Time: Pampulha, 65 Years of Age', in, D. Van Den Heuvel, M. Mesman, W. Quist and B. Lemmens, eds, *The Challenge of Change: Dealing with the Legacy of the Modern Movement* (Amsterdam, IOS Press, 2008), pp. 207–212. See also V. Fraser, *Building the New World: Modern Architecture in Latin America* (London, Verso, 2000) and J. M. Dixon, 'Due Recognition: Goodhue in Hawaii, Niemeyer at Pampulha', *Harvard Design Magazine*, vol. 2 (1997), pp. 54–59.
 27. V. Fraser, 'Cannibalizing Le Corbusier: The MES Gardens of Roberto Burle Marx', *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 59, no. 2 (2000), pp. 180–193.
 28. O. Niemeyer, 'Form and Function in Architecture', *op. cit.*, p. 309.
 29. T. L. Schumacher, '"The Outside is the Result of an Inside" Some Sources of One of Modernism's Most Persistent Doctrines', *Journal of Architectural Education*, vol. 56, no. 1 (2002), pp. 23–33.

30. D. K. Underwood, *op. cit.*, p. 61 and V. Fraser, *Building the New World, op. cit.*, p. 186.
31. A. Forty, 'Cement and Multiculturalism', in, F. Hernandez, M. Millington and I. Borden, eds, *Transculturation: Cities, Spaces and Architectures in Latin America* (Amsterdam, Editions Rodopi B.V., 1998), pp. 144–154.
32. O. Niemeyer, *Curves of Time: The Memoirs of Oscar Niemeyer* (London, Phaidon Press, 2000), p. 62.
33. For this prevalence, see *Arkitekt*, 1948–1965. For a pivotal text see M. Tapan, 'International Style: Liberalism in Architecture', in, R. Holod and A. Evin, eds, *Modern Turkish Architecture* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), pp. 105–18.
34. The building was a version of Lever House (1950–1952), a canonic example of (post-Second World War) International Style modernism disseminating from the United States. A reinforced concrete load-bearing system was used as an adjustment to local conditions. Funded by the Republic of Turkey's Pension Fund, the hotel's construction represents both Turkey's aspiration to become a 'little America' and the United States' political ambitions to Americanise the country. Eldem (1908–1988) is the only Turkish architect after Mimar Sinan (1489–1588) included in architectural history survey textbooks often used to teach architecture courses. See W. J. R. Curtis, *Modern Architecture Since 1900* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice-Hall, 1996).
35. Türkmenoğlu, interview by the Author.
36. S. I. Vivanco, 'Tropes of the Tropics: The Baroque in Modern Brazilian Architecture, 1940–1950', in, F. Hernandez, M. Millington and I. Borden, eds, *Transculturation, op. cit.*, p. 194.
37. Among the staff, Aşkan collaborated with Harbi Hotan in a number of important projects including municipal wedding halls, pavilions for the Fair and an opera building (not built). See *Arkitekt* (1949, 1955). See also M. Ö. Gürel, 'İzmir'de Moderni Nesnelleştirmek: Bir Dönem, Üç Mekân ve Rıza Aşkan' ['Materialization of the modern in Izmir: one era, three places and Rıza Aşkan'], *Mimarlık*, no. 354 (2010), pp. 62–68.
38. From Rıza Aşkan's personal archives, courtesy of his daughter, Gülen Aşkan Derman. See also 'Meşhur Amerikan Mimarı Richard Neutra'nın İstanbul'u Ziyaret'i' ['The famous American architect Richard Neutra's Istanbul visit'], *Arkitekt*, no. 279 (1955), p. 44.
39. See *Yeni Asır*, 2, 4, 6–9, 12, 13 (October, 1948). The foundation of this project had been laid in 1939, when Dr Uz was the mayor. See 'Le Corbusier'in Türkiye Mektuplaşmalarından Bir Seçki' ['A selection from Le Corbusier's correspondence with Turkey'], trs., Orçun Türkay, *Sanat Dünyamız*, nos 86–87 (2003), p. 141–149.
40. G. A. Derman, interview by the Author, Çeşme, 5th August, 2009.
41. S. I. Vivanco, *op. cit.*, p. 197. For a discussion on the Baroque style attributed to Niemeyer, see H. Segawa, 'Oscar Niemeyer: A Misbehaved Pupil of Rationalism', *The Journal of Architecture*, vol. 2, no. 4 (1997), pp. 291–312.
42. G. A. Derman, interview by the Author, *op. cit.*
43. I have argued elsewhere that Aşkan's summerhouse, which he built in the beginning of the 1960s, is a good example of this approach: M. Ö. Gürel, 'Asphalt Roads, Summerhouses, and Mid-20th Century Architecture in Izmir, Turkey', Modernization of the Eastern Mediterranean session, 1st International Meeting, European Architectural History Network (EAHN), Guimarães, Portugal, 17–20th June, 2010. The architect's summerhouse arguably represents a number of villas and summerhouses built for the upper-middle and upper classes by Turkish architects in the 1950s and 1960s. Beyond the scope of this

article, this body of work deserves further study for it exemplifies the plurality of modernism—its different interpretations and regionalisation—in Turkey. This pluralism is also addressed by E. Kaçel, 'This is not an American House: Practices and Criticisms of Common Sense Modernism in 1950s Turkey', talk given at the METU's Faculty of Architecture, 14th December, 2009.

44. For this point see also A. Öymen, *Değişim Yılları* ['Years of change'] (DK Doğan Kitap, 2006).
45. Although beyond the scope of this paper, it is important to note that the populist politics of the Democrat Party government and the mechanisation of agriculture through foreign aid resulted in migration from rural areas to cities, rapid and unplanned urbanisation and the rise of the *gecekondu* ('squatter housing') phenomenon that marks Turkish cities.
46. In-depth interviews with architects were held during 2005–2006 as a part of a larger study that I carried out for my dissertation: see M. Ö. Gürel, 'Domestic Space, Modernity, and Identity: The Apartment in Mid-20th Century Turkey', PhD dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (2007).
47. For my development of this argument, see S. Hall, 'New Cultures for Old', in D. Massey and Pat Jess, eds, *A Place in the World?: Places, Cultures and Globalization* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 176–183. See also D. Upton, 'Form and User: Style, Mode, Fashion, and the Artifact', in G. L. Pocius, ed., *Living in a Material World: Canadian and American Approaches to Material Culture* (St. John's, Nfld., Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1991), pp. 156–169.
48. M. Ö. Gürel, 'Consumption of Modern Furniture as a Strategy of Distinction in Turkey', *Journal of Design History*, vol. 22, no.1 (2009), pp. 47–67.
49. H. K. Bhabha, 'Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse', in *The Location of Culture* (London, New York, Routledge, 1994), pp. 85–92.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
51. Directorate of Izmir International Fair and Tourism, Izmir, Turkey to H. Türkmenoğlu, 24th March, 1980 and 16th February, 1983; Saymanlık 15/20-356 and Fen Bürosu 68, respectively (courtesy of C. Türkmenoğlu).
52. K. Melchionne, 'Living in Glass Houses: Domesticity, Interior Decoration, and Environmental Aesthetics', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, vol. 56, no. 2 (2008), pp. 191–200. Reyner Banham was one of the first to criticise Modern architecture in this respect. According to Banham, Modernist masters such as Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe applied technology in a symbolic and formalistic way. They followed the academic tradition in their search for the ultimate perfection. R. Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (New York, Praeger, 1960).
53. For this idea in the context of modern Brazilian architecture, see A. Forty, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
54. See note 47 above.