The Transformation of Seaside Practices

From sea baths to mid-century beaches in Istanbul

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An overview of socio-cultural conventions at seashores, from late Ottoman to Republican times, provides an intriguing reading of social transformation. A critical examination of the environments accommodating conventions and practices helps decipher how spatial design serves to regulate and manipulate social order and construct socio-cultural norms operating in our lives.[1]

Sea baths were early spatial elements accommodating bodily interaction with saltwater at the shores of Istanbul. Recognition of the benefits of seawater and sea air in the nineteenth century paved the way for their emergence. Early sea baths were enclosed wooden structures, built on timber stilts in the sea. They were similar to indoor pools and could be reached from the shore by a wooden bridge, also built on stilts. The baths accommodated gender-segregated bathing practices ensured by regulations and security guards on duty. While popular sea baths in Istanbul remained intact along with city beaches (in some cases, as late as the early 1970s), they were gradually replaced by mixed-gender beaches with facilities starting in the 1920s. Practices at these new beach facilities embodied Republican ideology, and signified secularity, Westernisation and modernisation. These were also spaces of modernity, mediating and internalising new seaside practices, norms

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and values and providing a space for their patrons to live out their modernity. Modern beaches were usually built with *gazinos* (cafés or restaurants with music and entertainment). These functioned as the beaches did, in destabilising the tradition of gender segregation by bringing men and women together.[2] Appearing as typical and lively places along the shores of Istanbul, beaches enriched urban life and contributed to defining socio-cultural norms in the public space.

During the 1950s, Istanbul beaches experienced further modernisation under the Democrat Party (DP) governance (1950–1960). The DP put architecture and urbanism at centre stage of their modernisation policies; prime minister Adnan Menderes took personal interest in urban demolition and renewal projects, including new road systems and public spaces. One of the major seashore development projects during this time was the modernisation of Florya Beach (1956–1959), led by the famous architect Sedad Hakkı Eldem. Another canonical undertaking was Ataköy Beach (1956–1957), developed as part of the Ataköy housing project. As beach culture became an important aspect of social life and leisurely activities during the summer months, the structures and modern aesthetics of these beaches simultaneously represented architectural modernism, political modernisation, and spaces of modernity.

Based on the social history briefly described here, this study traces the transformation and practices of Istanbul's seashores from early sea baths to modern beaches with a focus on a few mid-century beach facilities. While doing so, the study conceptualises the physicality of the sea baths and beaches as a case of the concept of docility, as theorised by Michel Foucault.[3] At the same time, it discusses these facilities as spaces of modernity in which Western concepts and modern practices were mediated;[4] they worked as modern spaces where traditional practices were transformed and new concepts were negotiated.

From early sea baths to Modern beaches and the concept of docility

Sea baths were (the first) spatial interventions at the shore that provided a way of interaction with seawater for a group of urban users in a Muslim-dominant society that was restricted by the gendered use of space.[5] Archival research suggests sea

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[2] See Gürel, Meltem Ö. "Architectural Mimicry, Spaces of Modernity: the Island Casino, Izmir, Turkey", *Journal of Architecture*, vol. 16, no. 2, (2011), 165–190.

[3] Gürel, Meltem Ö. "Bathroom as a Modern Space". *Journal of Architecture*. vol.13, no. 3 (2008), 215–233.; Foucault, Michel. "Docile Bodies", In *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon, 1984), 180.

[4] Gürel. "Bathroom as a Modern Space", 215–233.; Gürel. "Architectural Mimicry, Spaces of Modernity", 165–190.

[5] Detailed accounts of sea baths can be found in documents as well as in the writings of well-known journalists, poets, travelers, novelists, and researchers. For example, see Adil, Fikret. "Deniz Hamamından Plaja" [From sea bath to the beach], *Tan*, 9 August 1941.; Alus, Sermet Muhtar. "Eski Deniz Hamamları" [Sea baths], *İstanbul için Şehrengiz*, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1991), 125–129.; Akçura, Gökhan. *Gramofon Çağı Ivır Zıvır Tarihi - 2* [The Age of The Gramophone: History of Knicknacks 2], (İstanbul: OM Yayınevi, 2002), 223–224.; Ersöz, Cezmi. "İstanbul'un Deniz hamamları" [Istanbul's sea baths], earsiv.sehir.edu.tr.; Es, Hikmet Feridun. "Eski Deniz Hamamları", *Hürriyet Gazetesi*, August 2, 1987.; Koçu, Reşat Ekrem. "Deniz Hamamları" [Sea baths], *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* [Istanbul Encyclopedia], no.8 (İstanbul: Koçu Yayınları, 1966), 4438–41.; Şehsuvaroğlu, Haluk Y. "Yaz Mevsiminde İstanbul", *Cumhuriyet*, August 13, 1963, 2.; Between 2005 and 2010, I conducted 12 informal interviews (in storytelling format) and conversations with users (acquaintances) of late sea baths and/or early beaches in Izmir and Istanbul.; See Gürel. *Seashore Readings*.

baths began in Istanbul as early as the seventeenth century: their first documented mention found so far is the Langa sea bath, in Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*.[6] A document from 1781 mentions a sea bath fountain near Davut Paşa Pier.[7] According to Reşat Ekrem Koçu, Çardak Iskelesi was the first sea bath in 1826–1850, followed by the second one in Salıpazarı, and the third one at the Kumkapusu shore.[8] Still, sea bathing was widely considered disgraceful, immoral, and even unhealthy until the nineteenth century, when the discourse on the benefits of seawater had some impact on socio-cultural norms and beliefs. The debates on the benefits of the sea air and sea bathing begun in eighteenth-century Europe[9] appeared in Ottoman papers.[10] Reflecting such views, sea baths emerged in the nineteenth century for the purposes of bathing and curing illnesses rather than for swimming or engaging in sporting activities. The Ottoman sultan Abdülhamid II (1842–1918) was among those to practice sea bathing as a health benefit after the recommendation of an Italian palace doctor who treated Abdülhamid for his health problems related to an accident he experienced at the age of 12.[11] The discussion on the benefits of seawater brought with it ideas of 'proper' practices and how the sea was to be consumed both for Muslim and non-Muslim citizens of Istanbul.

Public sea baths were quickly built wooden structures, constructed seasonally, and usually dismantled at the end of the summer to be stored and repaired for the next season.[12] In total, 62 sea baths were built on the shores of Istanbul, according to a set of rules (*nizamname*) dating from 1875: 34 of these were for men and 28 were for women.[13] Rules not only regulated the physical qualities of a sea bath, such as size, water depth and safety measures but also its gendered practices. Sea baths were strictly regulated public places, and patrons could not be viewed from the outside. Inside, and especially in women's baths, there were changing rooms

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[6] Evliya Çelebi. *Seyahatname* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006).; Şahin, Kamil. "Deniz Hamamları" [Sea baths], *Vakıflar Dergisi XXIII* (Ankara: Nadir Kitap, 1994), 244.; Evren, Burçak. *İstanbul'un Deniz Hamamları ve Plajları* [Istanbul's sea baths and beaches], (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 2000), 11, 23.; Beyoğlu, Süleyman. "Osmanlı Deniz hamamları" [Ottoman sea baths], *Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 5, (İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2004), 54. B.; Çalış-Kural, Deniz. *Şehrengiz, Urban Rituals and Deviant Sufi Mysticism in Ottoman Istanbul,* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 168.

[7] Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive, Cevdet Belediye, No. 6337, 23 Zilhicce 1197/1781.; See, Beyoğlu, "Osmanlı Deniz hamamları", 55.

[8] Koçu. "Deniz Hamamları", 4439.

[9] Gürel. "Seashore Readings", 29, note 3.; See Buchan, William. *Domestic Medicine: or, A Treatise on the Prevention and Cure of Diseases by Regimen and Simple Medicines* (London: 1798), accessed, November 30, 2010, www.library.uiuc.edu/proxy/go.php.; Corbin, Alain. *The Lure of the Sea: the Discovery of the Seaside in the Western World, 1750–1840* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994).; Russell, Richard. *A Dissertation on the Use of Sea-water in the Diseases of the Glands. Particularly the Scurvy, Jaundice, King's-evil, Leprosy, and the Glandular Consumption* (London, 1753), accessed November 21, 2010, www.library.uiuc.edu/proxy/go.php.; Thyson, W. J.. "Discussion on the Benefits of Sea Bathing", *The British Medical Journal 2*, no. 2748, (1913), 540–542.

[10] For an example of the Ottoman papers see Dr. Andriyadis in *Mürüvet Gazetesi* dating from July 1889. Akçura, 223–224.; Evren, 16–18.; The discussion on the health benefits of sea bathing continued after the foundation of the Republic; see, for example, Koçu, Reşat Ekrem. "Deniz Banyosu", *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* [Istanbul Encyclopedia], no.8, (İstanbul: Koçu Yayınları, 1966), 4412–14.

[11] Osmanoğlu, Ayşe. *Babam Sultan Abdülhamid (Hatıralarım)* [My father, Sultan Abdülhamid], (Ankara: Selçuk Yayınları, 1984), 34–35, 37.

[12] There were also private baths built by seaside houses and embassies since it was forbidden to go into the sea in the open.

[13] Ergin, Osman Nuri. "Umumi Deniz Hamamları Hakkında Nizamname" [Regulations about public sea baths], *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediye*, 16 safer 1292, March 14, 1875, (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1914), vol. 1–9.

on the deck, surrounding a pool in the middle. There were also toilets (that did not empty into the sea) and an area for selling beverages like lemonade; alcohol was strictly prohibited and intoxicated persons were not permitted into the baths.[14] There were dress codes, and bathing cloths or towels (*Peştemal*) were made available.[15] The spatial layout and physical characteristics were meant to prevent any interaction between the inside and outside and between men and women. Hence, sea baths served as spatial instruments disciplining behaviour according to the social order. When built in pairs, they were situated at a safe distance to preclude any noise interaction and attended by guards to prevent any misconduct (Figure 1).[16] Their materiality together with their controlled practices spoke for the social order that regulated daily life. In this respect, as I have suggested elsewhere, "sea baths could be considered *heterotopias*, meaning 'other spaces' theorised by Michel Foucault as 'a sort of place that lies outside all places and yet is actually localisable.'"[17] Existing between real and unreal, everyday landscapes, and their distant other, they exposed "the social order that controlled everyday life".[18]

Figure 1: Separate sea baths for men and women. Unknown photographer, Gökhan Akçura archive.

In the wake of the First World War, when Istanbul was under foreign occupation, the regulatory practices of sea baths were challenged by mixed-gender practices at the Florya beach. Such practices were in direct contrast with the Muslim majority's religious norms and cultural practices of space. The discourse around sea baths simultaneously signified spaces of immorality and modernity to Muslims. Hence, the re-opening of Florya's mixed-gender beach after the occupation, which took place with approval of the city's authorities, was viewed as unsuitable by many.[19] While such discussions affected the reception of sea baths for many, the scientific debates on the benefits of sea bathing on human health, on the other hand, fac-

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[14] ibid., 11th entry.
[15] ibid. Also see Şahin, 247.; Dress codes for men and women were different. Women were expected to cover the entire body.
[16] Koçu. "Deniz Hamamları", 4439.
[17] Gürel. *Seashore Readings*, 30. See Foucault, Michel. "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias", in *Rethinking Architecture*, ed. N. Leach, (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 352.
[18] ibid.
[19] Afif, Yahya. "Muhtelit Deniz Hamamları" [Miscellaneous Sea Baths], *Sebilürreşad,* no. 609, July 24, 1924, 168–169.; See, Şahin, 244.

tored into their popularity for others.[20] Gradually, uses of sea baths transformed into more leisurely activities, including swimming rather than bathing, and attractting younger men and women. Similar to traditional neighbourhood baths, sea baths had been spaces for socialising and gossiping. This function gained new meanings with the additions of *gazinos* next to women's and men's sea baths that catered to both. Some of Istanbul's most popular sea baths were Salıpazarı, Beyazpark, Kumkapı, Samatya, Bakırköy, Fenerbahçe, Moda, Kalamış, Haydarpaşa and Caddebostan.[21]

Starting in the 1920s, mixed-gender beaches with modern facilities multiplied along Istanbul's shoreline. Among others, Bostancılar, Caddebostan, Fenerbahçe, Harem, Moda, Suadiye, and Süreyya were on the Anatolian side; Büyükada Yörükali, Büyükada Değirmen, Büyükada Maden and Kilyos were on the Princes' Islands; Altınkum, Beyaz Park, Küçüksu, and Tarabya Konak were on the Bosphorus and Florya and Ataköy were on the European side. Different from the gendered spaces of sea baths, mixed-gender beach facilities and their practices embodied ideologies and reforms launched by Atatürk following the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923.[22] Embodying the operative concepts of the Republic – health, hygiene, youth, fitness, strength, gender equality, secularity, pro-gress, Westernisation and modernisation – the public space of beaches contributed to positioning the new Turkey in stark contrast to its Ottoman predecessor, which had once been considered the 'sick man' of Europe. In this respect, beaches were both conceived and perceived spaces, where healthy-looking women and men wearing contemporary beach attire (i.e. showing skin) swam, sunbathed, dove, socialised and laughed together.[23] Beaches epitomised the Republican woman as a modern figure who could wander freely, claim space equally to men, and dress as she pleased (i.e. in a Western style).[24] However, in the 1920s, beaches and sea baths were still marginal spaces to the majority. Enjoyed by the Republican elite and the more educated, younger generation of urban dwellers, these spaces were experienced by a fragment of society that considered themselves modern and progressive.

The discourse on seaside practices, from the gender-segregated spaces of enclosed sea baths to the mixed-gender spaces of open beaches, exemplifies the

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[20] See, Koçu. "Deniz Banyosu", 4412–14; Şükrü, Ahmed. *Deniz hamamları, envai, menafii: Denize Kimler Girebilir?* [Sea baths: Who can get to the sea], (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Kütüphane-i Cihan,1906); Ali, Selahattin. *Hamamlar, Deniz Hamamları ve Denizde Banyo: Banyoların Tesirat-ı Şifaiye ve Fevâid-i Sıhhıyyesi ve İstihmamın Suret-i İcrasındaki Şerâit-i Sıhhıye* [Sea baths and bathing in the sea...], (Istanbul: Ayyıldız Matbaası, 1918).; Akçura, 223–224.

[21] For descriptions and accounts of sea baths and early beaches, see Koçu, Reşat Ekrem. "Beyaz Park Gazinosu ve Deniz Banyosu" [Beyaz Park gazino and sea bath], *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi* [Istanbul encyclopedia], no.5, (Istanbul: Koçu Yayınları, 1961), 2623–26.; Koçu, Reşat Ekrem. "Bogazicinde Deniz Hamamlari, Plajlar, Bogazicinde Yuzme…" [Sea baths, beaches, swimming in the Bosphorus…], *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi* [Istanbul encyclopedia], no.5, (Istanbul, 1961), 2882–84.; Alus, Sermet Muhtar. "Bir Varmış Bir Yokmuş…Eski Deniz Hamamları" [Once upon a time sea baths], *Yedigün.* 80, September 19, 1934, 12.; See also Evren. 52–87.

[22] Some of the reforms changing the social, political, cultural, and economic structures were the abolition of the caliphate and Islamic law (*şeriat*) in 1924, the adoption of Western clothing (1925) and the Swiss Civil Code (1926) and the replacement of Ottoman-Arabic script by the Latin alphabet (1927).

[23] My use is with reference to the three layers of social space, representations of space, representational space and spatial practices (or *conceived, perceived, lived spaces*) as conceptualised by Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space,* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1974).

[24] Women's clothing and fashion has played a significant role in framing the contemporary woman in Turkey. See Gürel, Meltem Ö. "The Modern Home, Western Fashion and Feminine Identities in Mid-Twentieth Century Turkey", in *Performance, Fashion and the Modern Interior: from the Victorians to Today,* ed. F. Fisher, T. Keeble, P. Lara-Betancourt and B. Martin, (Oxford: Berg, 2011), 145–158.

concept of docility, as theorised by Foucault; that "which joins the analysable body to the manipulative body. A body is docile that may be subjected, used, transformed, and improved".[25] The materiality of both sea baths and beaches, regulating and controlling bodily practices, reflects social control. Their 'otherness' to each other makes docility more visible.

Beach design of the 1920s and onwards included new elements, such as open docks, terraces and shores for swimming and sunbathing, as well as changing cabins, showers, diving boards, sports equipment, and basketball courts. The beach *gazinos* accommodated a different kind of entertainment, with music, eating, drinking, and even mixed-gender dancing. As noted above, these areas spatialised Republican values, ideals and aspirations. The creation of these built environments by different actors including early Republican architects, planners, builders, owners, politicians and bureaucrats also exemplify the notion of 'biopower', which Foucault calls the disciplinary power that manages our lives.[26] In other words, spatial design works as an apparatus in regulating, managing, and manipulating the masses in powerful ways.[27] The discipline of architecture and the practices of architects (along with other actors of the built environment) then contribute to the discursive formation of a contemporary culture.[28]

While the formation of such a contemporary culture is usually considered a top down process in the context of early Republican politics, its function as a bottom up process is often overlooked. Becoming typical and lively aspects of seashores by the 1950s, beaches with modern facilities attracted citizens from different social strata, enriched social life and redefined socio-cultural norms in the public space. I have argued elsewhere that the space of modern beaches – usually built with *gazinos* – worked like *gazinos* in restructuring gendered uses of public space while producing transformed socio-cultural identities. Cultivating mixed-gender social interaction in the public domain, beaches also served as spatial structures manipulating behavior and destabilising gender segregation while at the same time allowing people to live out their modernity.[29]

Moda Beach, built in 1923, with the Moda Baths right next to it and the upscale Sea Club built in 1935, coexisted in mediating and thus internalising new practices, norms and values.[30] Its many long wooden docks and diving towers signified republican ideals and uses of space; images of young fit women wearing swimsuits and diving off the tower perhaps best captures this. Moda Cove, highly populated by well-off non-Muslim groups, was the site of Istanbul's first rowing competition in 1913,[31] preceding the foundation of the Republic. Moda remained a center of swimming, water sports, and related leisure activities until the end of the 1970s, when the beach's popularity diminished because of urbanisation and pollution. Throughout its lively history, Moda was a place for swimming and water sports and was accessible as the entrance fee was inexpensive. It hosted many beach activities, including water sports competitions and beauty contests, entertaining concepts of youth, health, sanitation, modernisation and a contemporary understanding of beauty. Similar to many other beaches in Istanbul, Moda was also a

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[25] Foucault. "Docile Bodies", 180.
[26] ibid., 179–187.
[27] For this idea in relation to the concept of *biopower*, see Gürel. "Bathroom as a Modern Space", 230.; Gürel. "Seashore Readings", 31.
[28] ibid.
[29] Gürel. "Architectural Mimicry, Spaces of Modernity", 168.
[30] ibid.
[31] Evren, 127.

showcase of fashionable swimsuits, including bikinis.[32] As explained by a swimmer, each dock drew different crowds, such as youth or seniors and professional swimmers or amateurs.[33]

The sea bath, on the other hand, placed marginally to the beach, was preferred by women who liked swimming but wanted to feel and act free from the male gaze. While sea baths may not be considered modern spaces because of their *otherness* to the beach, in fact, they too accommodated transformed practices between the mixed-gender beach and the early Ottoman sea baths – for example, swimming as a leisure practice rather than bathing for curing purposes, and wearing swimsuits rather than clothing that covered the entire body. The upscale Sea Club was established to emphasise the importance of sports and social interaction, and its members included influential people such as Celal Bayar, who became the third president of Turkey in 1950, Fazıl Öziş, Assistant Director of Turkiye Iş Bankası and Arthur Whittall, Director of the British Embassy passport department. It offered live (Western) music and dancing under a dress code; people with unsuitable attire were not allowed in.[34] Moda's beach, bath and club, each catering to different crowds, were highly regulated public spaces reflecting the social power of modernising institutions, as discussed above, while simultaneously serving as a medium through which patrons could perform and express their modernity.[35]

Spatialization of Republican ideals and Modern architecture in the case of the Florya Beach

Perhaps, seaside practices at Florya shores and building of modern beach facilities there to accommodate these practices constitute rich examples of both the concept of docility and the notion of modernity as discussed here. The use of Florya as a beach goes back to White Russians, who escaped the Russian Revolution, and to British soldiers during the occupation years of Istanbul after World War I.[36] Willy Sperco documents shaggy wood changing cabins and a small *gazino* on Florya's vast white-sand shores stretching along the Sea of Marmara.[37] During the 1920s, non-Muslim entrepreneurs managed the beach. As Florya grew in popularity, first Solaryum and later Haylayf beaches, also managed by non-Muslims, were added.[38] However, Florya attained its significance in Turkish history with the building of Atatürk's summer residence (Florya Atatürk Marine Mansion) by architect Seyfi Arkan in 1935. Arkan's modern design of the summer residence, which incidentally recalled the physicality of sea baths, depicted a picture of Republican modernity. Atatürk's swimming, sunbathing and rowing at Florya Beach solidified

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[32] See for example *Resimli Hayat*, 1952–1955; *Hayat*,1956–1978; *Plaj Mecmuası*, 1956.

[33] Evren, 124–127.; Söylemezoğlu, Kemali. *Moda Plajı, İstanbul* (Kemali Söylemezoğlu Kartpostal Arşivi: Ed.Yurt Matbaacılık), www.archives.saltresearch.org/R/-?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=963053&silo_library=GEN01.

[34] Evren, 132.; "Moda Deniz Kulübü", (İstanbul: Moda Deniz Kulübü, 1953) -National Library of Turkey Archive.

[35] Gürel, "Architectural Mimicry, Spaces of Modernity", 167.

[36] Sperco, Willy. *Yüzyılın Başında İstanbul* [Istanbul at the turn of the century], (İstanbul: İstanbul Kütüphanesi, 1989), 79–78; See also Koçu, Reşat Ekrem. "Beyaz Ruslar" [White Russians], *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* [Istanbul encyclopedia], no.5 (Istanbul: Koçu Yayınları, 1961), 2624–26.; Evren, 91–109.; Saba, Ziya Osman. *Değişen İstanbul* [Changing Istanbul], (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınları, 1959).

[37] Sperco, 79–78.

[38] Evren, 100.

such a depiction and held symbolic value beyond simple leisurely and sports activities. A leader looking healthy, wearing a swimsuit and connecting with women, men and children as equals in a very casual public environment contributed to the discursive formation of a contemporary culture.

In 1938, the municipality built a *gazino* with a beach facility designed by architect Rüknettin Güney (under the supervision of Henry Prost) near the summer residence. Güney was the designer of Taksim Municipality Gazinosu (1938–1940), another important example of early Republican *gazinos* cultivating Western aesthetics and practices in restructuring and sustaining women's and men's transforming socio-cultural position in Turkish society.[39] As such, the *gazino*'s building program and spatial design served as an apparatus of social management and manipulation of normative values operating in people's lives. Similar to other buildings of the same genre, Florya Gazinosu accommodated orchestra music and dancing. The concrete structure was composed of open and closed terraces, a bar, service areas, and beach facilities, including showers and cabins at different price ranges. The entrance or street level catered to more formal dining and entertainment, with a central orchestra area and dance floor, while the lower level had a less formal setting interacting with the beach; a practice in line with contemporary conventions.

Florya shores, which could be reached by automobile or train, became more accessible to people after the use of electric trains in the mid-1950s, reducing travel time to 30 minutes from Sirkeci. At this time, the London-Istanbul Motorway, a highway that was planned to join Istanbul to Europe and the Sirkeci-Florya Coastal Road, aimed to ease transportation from Florya to the city. These highways and the plans for the development of Florya shores were part of the DP's modernisation projects that marked the Turkish landscape in the 1950s. The establishment of Turkey's General Directorate of Highways (KGM) with US financial and technical aid in 1950 and the ensuing emphasis on motor transportation led to further development of the seashores.[40] In the case of Florya, an ambitious project was initiated and funded by the Tourism Bank in collaboration with the Istanbul Municipality. The project meant to develop beach areas for the use of Istanbulites as well as national and international tourists. The master plan, designed in 1956 (–1959) by well-known Turkish architect Sedad Hakkı Eldem, involved new beach facilities, hotels and motels with restaurants and *gazinos*, shops, residential components, a cinema, music hall, cafés, public parks, recreational areas, parking lots and camps, which were simpler and less-expensive vacation premises (Figure 2). Most of these buildings were designed by a team of architects led by Eldem and working in collaboration with the architect Orhan Çakmakçıoğlu.[41]

Only some of these expansive designs were realised. The existing concrete building of Florya Gazinosu with its beach facilities was to be renovated because the building's function, in essence, complemented the state's interest in the politics of modernisation and the new modernist vision for the shores. The old facilities and wooden cabins, most in poor condition, were to be cleared and replaced by modern concrete structures. The architects' designs envisioned Florya as a recitation of international post-war modern architecture, strengthening connections with the conceptualisation of 'modern' in the US and Western Europe. The

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[39] Gürel. "Architectural Mimicry, Spaces of Modernity", 172.; Güney, Rükneddin. "Taksim Belediye Gazinosu", *Arkitekt*, no. 7–8/139–140, (1943), 145–150.
[40] Gürel. "Seashore Readings", 37–38.
[41] Eldem, Sedad Hakkı. and Çakmakcıoğlu, Orhan. "Florya ve Kilyos Tesisleri", *Arkitekt*, no. 03/304, (1961), 105–113.

articulate drawings presented architectural forms, aesthetics, and seaside practices that belonged to what was considered a world landscape, reverberating with the pervasive notions of progress and development (Figure 3). As such, the depicted images were representations of space, in Lefebvre's terminology, that neither included regional nor cultural references, nor the plurality of actual practices.[42] These sanitary environments, arguably displaying the power of architectural graphical representation could be located anywhere within that conceptualisation. The long multi-story beach facilities, with changing cabins stretching along the shore next to the Florya Atatürk's summer residence, utilised precast concrete floor slabs and glass vertical surfaces.

Fig. 2–3. Master plan and beach facilities of Florya shores (1956–1959) by Sedad Hakkı Eldem. Rahmi M. Koç Archive © Pera Museum, (catalogue Istanbul's Seaside Leisure *2018).*

Reflecting ubiquitous post-war design precepts, this use of concrete and modernist aesthetics set these buildings apart from Eldem's earlier work, which had sought a national and regional architecture. Perhaps we can read a settled regional reference in the modern design of the Haylayf Beach, which had an outdoor seating platform above the sea on concrete columns, reminiscent of the Florya Summerhouse. The platform was covered with a gridded ceiling supported by four tree-like concrete piers each with four branches.[43] However, in the case of these structures, translation into the local landscape was contemplated through the adaptation of local practices and Republican values; not so much in formal and stylistic concerns as was the case in Eldem's earlier designs.

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[42] Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1974; 1998).

[43] Eldem, Sedad Hakkı. *Sedad Hakkı Eldem: 50 yıllık meslek jübilesi*, (İstanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniv., 1983), 151–164.

Ways of incorporating regional touches appear to be a major preoccupation in the designs of Motel A and B. The austere look of the bare concrete structures and their modernist design vocabulary makes use of traditional elements such as wooden screens and decorative Turkish (*çini*) tiles, similar to Istanbul Hilton Hotel (1955) designed by the American architectural firm SOM, with Eldem as the local collaborator. Their *gazinos*, with open and closed terraces, courtyards, and dance floors, suggest the perseverance of the Republican tradition of elite entertainment while at the same time showing the firmness of ideas around how the beaches to be consumed by a modern society. Perhaps the most intriguing design among the buildings is the camp, with lodging units and a circular *gazino*, both covered with prefabricated shell structures in the form of vaults, reminiscent of waves and most famously seen in Oscar Niemeyer's mid-century architecture (Figure 4). The arrangement of the camping units takes advantage of the topography and opens towards the *gazino* and beach at the centre. The donut-shaped *gazino* features covered terraces for eating around the circumference and an open dance floor with an orchestra stage at the centre. This composition again indicates the importance given to the *gazino* tradition and modes of leisure practices at the shores.

Fig. 4. Florya Camp and Beach Facilities designed in 1956–1959 by Sedad Hakkı Eldem with Orhan Çakmakcıoğlu. Rahmi M. Koç Archive © Pera Museum, (catalogue Istanbul's Seaside Leisure *2018).*

The concrete structures of the Florya shores appear to simultaneously spatialise the continuing republican ideals, the Turkish politics of modernisation and the pervasive worldwide post-war modern architecture. Hence, the design of these buildings exemplify how spatial design served to regulate social order and how their practices contributed to the construction of socio-cultural norms and values in the mid-twentieth century.

1950s politics of modernisation and Ataköy Beach

Ataköy Beach and subsidiary recreational facilities were another colossal example of mid-century modernisation with respect to seaside interventions and modern architecture. These were part of a housing development project that was regulated, funded, built and marketed through the state. Bound by the London-Istanbul motorway on the north and the Sirkeci-Florya drive on the south, and servicing the 50-hectare strip of Ataköy's seashore,[44] the development was a landmark project of the DP's politics of modernisation, parallel to post-war American politics.[45] The DP's ambitious endeavors of urban renewal, which demolished some of the existing urban historical fabric to open up land for wide boulevards can be compared to Robert Moses' well-known interventions in New York City during the 1950s and 1960s.[46] Working with architects, engineers and planners, prime minister Menderes's drive behind reconstruction was to liberate Istanbul "from the 1900s' look".[47] Built as a new suburb at the periphery of the old city, Ataköy reflected Menderes' determination in making the country a 'little America' and his emphasis on road networks and motor transportation. Menderes stated, "In this era of motorisation, [with automobiles] providing speed, convenience, and an inexpensive means of transportation, we will especially prioritise road networks".[48] As a canonical example of modernisation, Ataköy embodied ideas around being modern, connection to the international community, and postwar architectural culture in the 1950s and 1960s.

In 1957, Ataköy's public beach was designed by moving the Sirkeci-Florya Coastal Road 2.5 kilometres back from the shore. The beach facility incorporated changing cabins, showers, toilets, sand and terraces for sun-bathing, parking, a café and typically, a *gazino* with a dance floor (Figure 5). The project was designed by a team of young architects from Ataköy development's architecture office with Ertuğrul Menteşe as project chief.[49] Ataköy beach was considered a symbol of modernity and was often compared to European beaches in terms of its facilities, maintenance and practices. A popular urban beach on a grand scale, it symbolised the modern face of Istanbul, a city that received a mass of immigrants from rural areas due to the DP's above-noted policies, which included mechanising agriculture. The new residents starkly contrasted the Ataköy beach aesthetic; while the immigrants' use of space suggested the ruralisation of the old city, this new leisure space at the then-periphery of the city, spoke for its urban culture. Like many other public spaces of the city, Ataköy beach was managed and regulated to stay as such.

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[44] "Ataköy Sahil Şehri" [Ataköy Seashore City], *Mimarlık*, no. 15, (1965): 16.; See also Menteşe, Ertuğrul. "Ataköy Sitesi Hakkında Rapor" [Report on the Ataköy Settlement], *Arkitekt*, no. 291, (1958), 79–82.

[45] Gürel, Meltem Ö. "Domestic Arrangements: The Maid's Room in the Ataköy Apartment Blocks, Istanbul, Turkey", *Journal of Architectural Education*, vol. 66, no. 1, (2012), 115–126.

[46.] See Berman, Marshall. *All That Is Solid Melts into Air,* (London: Verso, 1983), 288–312.

[47.] From Menderes's press conference in Istanbul on September 23, 1956 published in *Cumhuriyet* and *Hürriyet*, September 24, 1956, *Belediyeler Dergisi*, no.132, (October 1956), 644–645.; Cited in Akpınar, İpek. "Urbanization Represented in the Historical Peninsula: Turkification of Istanbul in the 1950s", In *Mid-Century Modernism in Turkey: Architecture across Cultures in the 1950s and 1960s*, ed. Meltem Ö. Gürel, (New York: Routledge, 2016), 56.

[48] The Program of the First Democrat Party Government on 29 May 1950 in Dağlı, Nuran. and Aktürk, Belma. *Hükümetler ve Programları 1920–1960* [Governments and their programs], vol 1, (Ankara: T.B.M.M. Basımevi, 1988), 161.

[49] Menteşe, Ertuğrul. "Ataköy Plaj Tesisleri", *Arkitekt*, no. 292, (1958), 99–106. The young team consisted of E. Kömürcüoğlu, N. Erem, E. Ersöz, T. Akçura, Ş. Koç, H. Şensoy and M. Giray.

Figure 5: Ataköy Beach Facility, designed in 1957 by a team of young architects from Ataköy development's architecture office: E. Kömürcüoğlu, N. Erem, E. Ersöz, T. Akçura, Ş. Koç, H. Şensoy, and M. Giray, with project chief Ertuğrul Menteşe. Reproduced with permission from SALT Research Poster Archive.

Similar to the Florya case, the Ataköy seashore development included a motel (designed by M. Giray and Y. Tayfun) and two camping facilities (designed by M. Giray and F. Baytop) next to the beach facility.[50] The three blocks of the motel, with its two-storey linear concrete masses, and the car park located in the back appeared to be an adaptation of a typical American motel. The camping facilities, built in 1961 and 1963, respectively, were meant to provide less expensive accommodation choices and their building programs were adopted from European precedents.

Motels and camping structures were new building types in Turkey in the mid-twentieth century, mirroring international norms and the importance given to national and international tourism at the time. There was a deficiency of accommodation facilities and the idea of modernisation encompassed improving leisure spaces and practices. The building programs, the spatial designs, architect-tural forms and the materials used in all of these structures reflected the negotiations of the local building culture with international architectural precepts as much as the power of the modernising institutions.

Conclusion

From the early sea baths to the mid-century beaches, public spaces and their practices on the shores of Istanbul embodied layers of meanings, symbolic values and politics of space. Highly regulated public environments, early sea baths and beaches demonstrated the notion of docility, disciplining and manipulating bodies in managing society. As such, an analysis of their use exposes the social control on the patrons' lives. The physical form, design aesthetics and spatial programs (i.e., the spaces included in the design) of modern beaches from the 1920s through the 1960s marked the spatialisation of prevailing contemporary norms and values as well as of the politics of modernisation.

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[50] Giray, Muhteşem. and Tayfun, Yümnü. "Ataköy Plaj Motelleri ve Mantar Kabinleri", *Arkitekt*, no. 313, (1963), 149–154.

On the one hand, the beaches were instruments of modernisation, envisioning a homogeneous world where the concept of modern meant the same thing to everyone, everywhere and which became an underlying principle of the modernisation theory, deriving the views of development and progress as defined by social scientists and theoreticians in the US during the Cold War era.[51] On the other hand, beaches were agents of modernity. Existing between land and water, the built environment and nature, regulation and liberation as well as being both familiar and new practices; beaches occupied an ambiguous space for a subjective experience. As such, they mediated new encounters and identities in the process of their translation and internalisation.

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[51] Gilman, Nils. "Modernization Theory, the Highest Stage of American Intellectual History", in *Staging Growth,* ed. David C. Engerman, Nils Gilman, Mark H. Haefele and Michael E. Latham, (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 50.; Black, Cyrel E. *The Dynamics of Modernization: A Study in Comparative History,* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966).; Lerner, Daniel. *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East,* (Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1958).; Eisenstadt, S. N. et al. *Post-Traditional Societies* (Cambridge, MA: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1972).; Aiming to export Western conventions, norms and values, modernisation theory was intended for non-Western societies and post-colonial countries in the process of the decolonisation of post-World War II. Often associated with Westernisation, and Americanisation, in particular, specific to this era, the concept of modernisation suggested that economic, industrial, and technological development would incite a cultural transformation. The US utilized this idea to influence underdeveloped countries and form Cold War alliances against the Soviet Union; Harrison, A. D. and Boomgaarden, Gerhard. *The Sociology of Modernization and Development* (New York: Routledge, 1988); Gilman, Nils *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America (New Studies in American Intellectual and Cultural History),* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007); Martinelli, Alberto. *Global Modernization: Rethinking the Project of Modernity*, (London: SAGE publication, 2005).

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