

Architectural History of Mass Tourism in Turkey with the Lens of Mimarlık Journal (1963-1980)*

Göksun AKYÜREK¹

Abstract

Tourism began to grow into a global phenomenon in the post-World War II atmosphere of the 1950s. People in masses began to travel to new places. The tourist, package tour, (salaried) vacation, recreation, sightseeing, hotel chains, resort towns, etc. were all introduced throughout this period. Turkey, like other Mediterranean countries, gradually became a popular tourist destination for those seeking new leisure and travel experiences. This process raised new questions about how to turn the country into an appealing vacation destination, as well as how to profit from this new “industry.”

Mimarlık is the official journal of the Chamber of Architects in Turkey, published since 1963. In line with changing editorial policies over the decades, the journal presents a rich perspective on architectural history and its socio-political context. The lens of *Mimarlık* on tourism uncovers the complex history of large-scale spatial transformations that are not limited to the building scale. Tourism included opportunities for new architectural experiments and more confrontation with the international actors. The journal also provided a critical perspective on issues of public interest, environmental and archaeological heritage. Mainly, this study historicizes Turkey's tourism architecture via the lens of *Mimarlık* from its inception in 1963 until the late 1970s, using historical survey and critical analysis methods. A visual narration is also proposed using the journal's visual content.

Keywords: Mass tourism, Mimarlık Journal, architectural history, shore, hotel

Mimarlık Dergisi'nin Merceğinden Türkiye'de Kitle Turizmi Mimarlığının Tarihi (1963-1980)

Öz

Turizm, 1950'lerin II. Dünya Savaşı sonrası ortamında küresel bir olguya dönüşmüştür. Bu dönemde insanlar kitleler halinde yeni yerlere seyahat etmeye başladılar. Turist, paket tur, (ücretli) izin, rekreasyon, gezi, zincir oteller, tatil köyleri bu dönemde ortaya çıktılar. Türkiye, diğer Akdeniz ülkeleri gibi, yeni eğlence ve seyahat deneyimleri yaşamak isteyenler için yavaş yavaş popüler bir turist hedefi haline gelmiştir. Bu süreç, ülkenin nasıl çekici bir tatil bölgesine dönüştürüleceğinin yanı sıra, bu “sanayi”den nasıl kar edileceği sorularını da gündeme getirmiştir.

Mimarlık, Türkiye Mimarlar Odası'nın resmi dergisi olarak 1963'ten beri yayımlanmaktadır. On yıllar içinde değişen yayın politikalarına paralel olarak dergi, Türkiye'de mimarlığın tarihi ve sosyo-kültürel bağlamı üzerine zengin bir bakış sunar.

¹ Mimarlık Bölümü, Mimarlık ve Tasarım Fakültesi, Bahçeşehir Üniversitesi, İstanbul

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İlgili Yazar/Corresponding author: goksun.akyurek@arc.bau.edu.tr

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Mimarlık'ın turizme tuttuğu mercek, yalnızca bina ölçeğiyle sınırlı kalmayan geniş-ölçekli mekansal dönüşümler hakkında da önemli bilgiler açığa çıkartır. Turizm, aynı zamanda yeni mimari denemelerin ve uluslararası aktörlerle daha fazla karşılaşmanın da alanıdır. Dergi ayrıca kamu yararı, çevresel ve arkeolojik miras konularında da taraf olur ve eleştirel bir bakış sunar. Genel olarak bu çalışma, Türkiye'nin turizm mimarlığını 1963'teki başlangıcından, geç 1970'lere uzanan süreçte, tarihsel araştırma ve eleştirel analiz yöntemlerini kullanarak *Mimarlık*'ın merceğiyle tarihselleştirir. Ayrıca derginin görsel içeriği kullanılarak görsel bir anlatı da oluşturulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kitle turizmi, Mimarlık Dergisi, mimarlık tarihi, kıyı, otel

1. Introduction

The modern tourist differs from the pre-nineteenth-century traveler in that travel is no longer an elite privilege as it once was. Since British entrepreneur Thomas Cook established the first package tours with the advent of railway technology in the mid-nineteenth century, tourism may be one of the oldest cultural industries (Adham, 2008, p. 12). With the advancement of transportation technologies, with cars and aeroplanes, more people in Europe and the United States were mobilized to see new locations. Another feature of the travel industry that had to adjust to the growing demands of the mobilized masses was the hotel. The optimistic Post-War II atmosphere heralded the start of a new era in which more people with increased economic wealth were able to travel to new places for vacation. Thus, the 1960s were called the "Golden Age of Mass Tourism" (Löfgren, 2002, p. 156; Sezgin & Yolal, 2012, p. 73) Package tours, sightseeing, paid vacations, recreation, hotel chains, resort towns, beaches, and many other related concepts were introduced into the shared material culture of modern societies during this period. The creation of new and expanding spatial networks where tourist masses could travel with the expectation of novel experiences and leisure also meant the creation of new cultural and physical landscapes that would alter the existing ones.

This, according to Furlough (1998, p. 249), was also linked to a new understanding of the relationships between leisure, vacation, and politics in modern societies, where paid vacation was regarded as a legal right of citizenship by the late 1930s. Mass tourism responded to this social demand by democratizing travel through its ability to be widely accessible, as well as expressing social and cultural differences (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 46). The association of the need and the right to rest after a long period of work, with travelling and new experiences of new places is a modern phenomenon (Stein, 2012, p. 337). This is a complex process that includes alternative historical and sociological perspectives on the transformation of travel spaces and tourist experiences in later decades. The formation and proliferation of new travel sites and itineraries are frequently linked to the spatial expansion of mass consumerist culture (MacCannell, 1999; Urry, 2002; Franklin, 2003b; Urry & Larsen, 2011). The expectation of new experiences in locations that provide shared standards of comfort and services appears to have resulted in a world of similarities with minor differences in the end. The "tourist gaze," as Urry (2002b) calls it, proposed a new and shared way of seeing and experiencing the world as a socially organized and systematized yet dynamic "reality." Over the long history of mass tourism, this new relationship between the tourist and the spaces of travel has also been a rich field of theoretical discussions on modern society and its sites (Kracauer, 1999; Franklin, 2003).

Part of this rich history is the transformation of the Mediterranean countries into a chain of sunny beaches, classical heritage, and resort towns. The advent of package tourism

in the 1950s changed the course of the Mediterranean World's decline in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the economic and cultural center of power had shifted to further north in Europe and the Atlantic coasts (Löfgren, 2002, p. 156). Beginning on the coasts of Spain, Italy, and France, Mediterranean tourism gradually spread southwest and east, with countries such as Greece, Yugoslavia, Turkey, and Egypt emerging as alternative destinations for the "mass exodus to the south" by the 1960s and 1970s. This resulted in significant changes to the existing socio-spatial settings of these shores, where barren, unused, and depopulated beachfront would be transformed into new centers of economic growth and vibrant social landscapes. (Löfgren, 2002, p. 183). This necessitated the development of standardized tourist infrastructure that was integrated into the mutual economic and cultural system of the mass tourism industry. And this entailed a rather complicated task of creating authentic vacation sites to be branded, marketed, and eventually consumed in global markets of mass tourism.

Based on this background information, the purpose of this research is to return to Turkey's shores and revisit their process of becoming new vacation-scapes of international mass tourism in the 1960s and 1970s, as seen through the lens of the *Mimarlık* journal. *Mimarlık* is the official journal of Turkey's Chamber of Architects, reflecting the institution's political and professional perspectives. It began publishing every two months in 1963, nine years after the Chamber was founded (Cengizkan, 2009, p. 664). According to the Constitution, the Chamber of Architects "works for the public and society" and is "responsible for regulating the architectural profession," and membership in the Chamber was required to practice architecture in Turkey. The journal was distributed free of charge to Chamber members. As long as this policy is followed, the journal continues to have a long and systematic publication life, as well as a large audience. The scope of the journal included the presentation of new projects on various urban and architectural scales, as well as topics related to architectural criticism, education, design history and theory, urbanism, planning, conservation, and restoration. Parallel to the Chamber's social and professional engagement as a public institution, the journal shared news and discussions on the current socio-political context, with a focus on public interest issues. However, the role of *Mimarlık* in not only recording, representing, and reflecting current fields of practice and theory, but also in critical engagement with these fields as an actor, should be highlighted in this regard (Göloğlu, 2013, p. 18). As a result, *Mimarlık's* lens provides a rich perspective on this broad spatial transformation for a critical investigation of the complex architectural history of mass tourism during Turkey's "Mediterraneanization" in the 1960s and 1970s.

2. Tourism and Governance in the 1960s: Institutions and Programs

The same period's official and political programs and actions must also be described briefly. Following the coup d'etat of 1960, Turkey entered a period of planned economic development in the 1960s. The State Planning Organization (DPT), established in 1960, began implementing Five-Year Plans in 1963 following the government's economic, social, and cultural objectives (Zürcher, 2017, p. 302). Tourism was designated as a priority industry for development in these plans, and significant financial investments were made in this field (Bozok & Şahin, 2009, p. 267; Nohutçu, 2002, p. 7). This was also a departure from the more liberal economic policies of the 1950s when both the state and private enterprise were active agents of already established touristic investments. This was a common approach shared by many developing countries, where tourism was seen as a convenient driver of economic prosperity and development, for a relatively low-cost and simple means of securing foreign currency flow and creating new job opportunities (Nohutçu, 2002, p. 1). Furthermore, the construction of the Istanbul Hilton Hotel in 1955, with financial support from the Turkish government, marked the path and process of internationalization towards the US and Western Europe, in parallel with Turkey's accession to NATO and participation in the Korean War. This was an impressive modern building designed by SOM, a leading American architectural firm, in collaboration with Sedad Hakkı Eldem, a leading architect in Turkey at the time, and it became an icon of the so-called International Style era in 1950s Turkey (Kaçel, 2010, p. 11) (Figure 1). Similar hotel buildings with a modern structure formed by the multiplication of the room unit would be constructed in different parts of Istanbul and other Turkish cities, such as Istanbul Çınar Hotel, 1959 (architects Rana Zıpçı, Ahmet Akın and Emin Ertan), Eskişehir Porsuk Hotel, 1956 (architect Vedat Dalokay), İzmir Grand Efes Hotel, 1957 (architects Paul Bonatz and Fatın Uran) and Tarabya Hotel, 1957 (architect Kadri Erdoğan).



Figure 1. Hilton Hotel at the cover page of *Hayat* (37(1959)), the principal popular magazine for spreading consumerist culture in Turkey following the American *Life* magazine.

The Turkish state has been a key player in tourism, not only through financial and legal provisions but also by taking over the construction and management of tourist facilities all over the country through various official agents such as Pension Fund (Emekli Sandığı), Turkish Tourism Bank (Türkiye Turizm Bankası) or Real Estate Credit Bank (Emlak Kredi Bankası) (Göymen, 2000, p. 1027). The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) established a new Tourism Development Fund in 1962 to provide grants and credits for touristic investments. The Ministry of Media and Promotion was renamed the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion in 1963. These new institutions aimed to develop infrastructure and superstructure projects in Anatolia's coastal regions for mass tourism. Thus, tourism plans in the 1950s, characterized by singular/iconic hotel buildings in major cities, had given way to visions in the 1960s, characterized by large-scale investments constituting hotel chains (Ultav & Savaşır, 2015, p. 42). In parallel to these, in 1961 the protection of artefacts and monuments with cultural and historical value was accepted as a constitutional obligation for the state (Ultav & Savaşır, 2015, p. 50). Besides this, the 1961 Constitution recognized the right to expropriate coastal lands for transferring them to investors. Along with these macro-scale strategies, the Aegean and Mediterranean coastal regions were planned to include a new network of resort towns and hotels, vacation villages, and archaeological sites, all of which would be widely available to tourists via the main highway system (Akyürek, 2020, p. 204). Overall, these governmental actions and large-scale investments were undertaken to compete with neighbouring Mediterranean countries.

3. The 1960s in *Mimarlık*: Years of Optimism

When *Mimarlık* entered the field of architectural publication in 1963, *Arkitekt* (1931-80) was the only journal with a long publication life, with only a few other publications of relatively short lifespans. The two periodicals differed in their scope and language. The long-serving chief-editor of *Arkitekt*, Zeki Sayar, explained the journal's moderately sterile and uncritical content as an implicit editorial policy for promoting local architects and their work because Turkish professionals were still in the process of self-establishment (cited in Evirgen, 2018, p. 21). Meanwhile, in response to the government's favouritism of international offices, the projects of foreign practices were not published. *Mimarlık*, the official publication of the Turkish Chamber of Architects, on the other hand, made its policies more explicit, particularly in fields related to the public and/or the profession's interests. *Mimarlık* eventually formed a new discursive field that was visible and accessible to the growing community of Turkish architects in a short period. Being free of commercial constraints also provided the editorial committee with relative independence, and in some cases, they even contradicted the Chamber's policies (Şentek, 2001, p. 24).

Hulusi Güngör was the editor of the first eight issues of *Mimarlık*, which had blank cover pages and nearly twenty pages in total. The magazine also featured an "Interior Tourism" section in which a city from northwestern or southern Turkey, such as Bursa, Edirne, or Antalya, was introduced with brief texts on its historical and/or natural features, a list of must-see sites and monuments, and a single greyscale panoramic photograph of that city. These rather descriptive texts were taken from the Ministry of Press and Tourism's "brochures". The 9th issue, published in 1964, featured a new editor, Erol Kulaksızoğlu, as well as a new thematic layout. According to Kulaksızoğlu (1964, p. 7), this new layout was created for getting more involved with the country's actual social and professional issues and problems. As a result, each issue would focus on a specific topic. In this new format, the interior tourism section was also removed, and the blank cover page was replaced with a new and powerful graphic language (Figure 2).



Figure 2. *Mimarlık*'s cover pages (left, 1(1963); right, 9(1964)).

The opening theme of the magazine in its new format was “Social Housing” (*Mimarlık*, 9(1964)). In 1960s Turkey, rural-to-urban migration due to multiple economic and socio-political reasons was a major force of rapid and unplanned urbanization, causing housing shortages and the formation of new informal settlements in major cities such as Istanbul and Ankara. Meanwhile, the period of Five-Year Development Plans began in 1963 and lasted until 1983. These national plans provided consistent statistical information and projections for the future, as well as hard facts to discuss and rationalize current economic development policies. *Mimarlık* (9(1964)) broadly discussed the issue of social housing in various articles in which the authors demanded more agency for architects in the provision of solutions to this problem, and emphasized the need for Master Plans and macro-scale strategies in urban areas following the zeitgeist of the Planned Development years. Despite the authors' changing perceptions, the 1960s were a period of optimism and hope, based on the positivistic perspectives provided by numbers, graphics, tables, plans and strategies for regional development, and new employment areas cited from these Five-Year Plan reports.

The magazine's socially engaged and renewed perspective continued publication with new themes where professional problems and issues were discussed as part of the country's larger socio-political and economic agenda. The issues of Turkish architects' education and professionalization, their participation in planning processes, and employment in large-scale government projects were prominent. Aside from these, the magazine's contents included occasional examples of best practices from Turkey and abroad, competition announcements, discussions, and descriptions of more focused topics on professional practice. Finally, in 1966, the 34th issue of *Mimarlık* featured tourism as its special theme. The cover page presented a close-up photograph of a bronze sun disc, an antique religious symbol of the Hittites, an ancient Anatolian civilization (Figure 3). The use of this image rather than an architectural setting demonstrates the journal's in-depth view on the subject, in which tourism was seen as more than just a source of new projects and commissions for architects, but also as a cause of more complex dynamics linked to the country space including heritage

practices. This special issue provided a broad perspective over the subject discussing problems as well as solutions and strategies proposed by various authors, including a consultant to the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion (Özaktaş, 1966) and a State Planning Organization (DPT) specialist (Akoğlu, 1966).

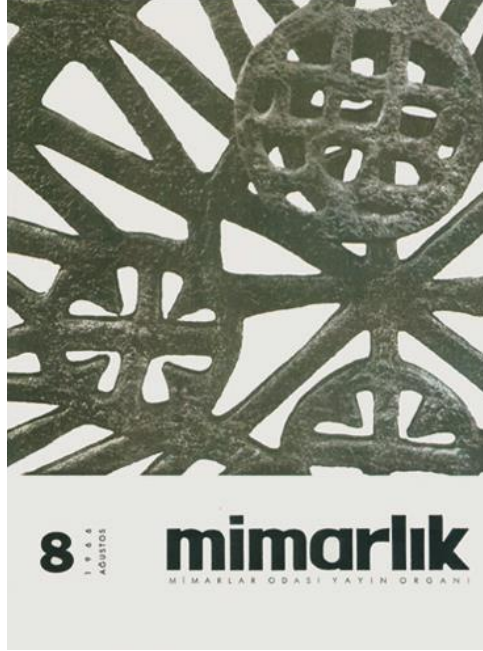
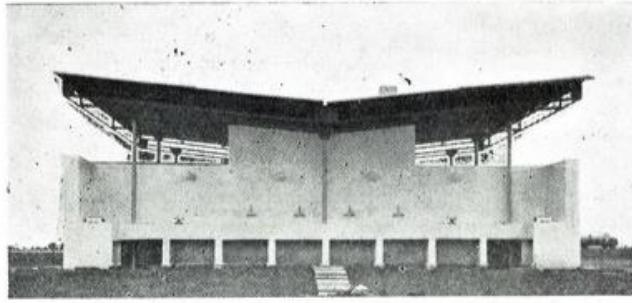
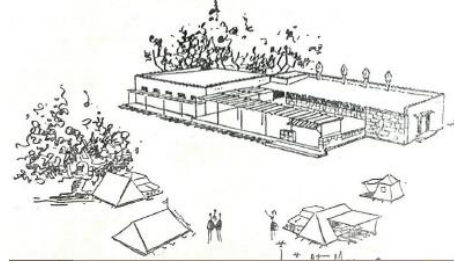


Figure 3. The cover page of *Mimarlık*'s (34 (1966)) special issue on "Tourism".

Adnan Özaktaş (1966, p. 16) (consultant to the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion), explained the government's plans and projections in his article, referring to the Five-Year Plans, and he mentioned problems that necessitated new strategies and solutions. Accordingly, 1965 was Turkey's "golden year" of tourism, with a nearly 80% increase in the number of foreign visitors from 168 thousand to 300 thousand. If possible, Turkey would be hosting more than 4 million tourists in 1972, with a 50% annual increase in foreign visitors and a 10% annual increase in local tourists. The annual income from foreign tourists was also expected to be nearly half a billion dollars in 1972, whereas Spain's income prospect for the same year was 2 billion. As a result, he stated that there had been some success, but the opportunities were even greater. The newly established Tourism Planning Technical Office (Turizm Planlama Teknik Bürosu) under the Ministry of Development and Housing (İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı) began producing master plans in 1:25.000 scale for cities with a high priority for tourism development in 1966 (Akoğlu, 1966, p. 10). As a result, plans for Denizli - Pamukkale, Nevşehir, and Kuşadas - Efes were completed, Bolu - Abant and Ankara were in the works, and regional plans for Antalya and Çukurova were also being scheduled. Currently, the country had a capacity of 20,000 beds available for international tourism, with Istanbul and the Marmara region remaining the most popular tourist destinations due to their ease of transportation and lodging facilities. These facts also hint at the significant spatial transformation that will occur in these targeted areas, where the historically advantageous position of the Marmara region will be altered by the sunny beaches and new tourist attractions of the Mediterranean. In the same issue of *Mimarlık*, several other authors, including Chamber President Nejat Ersin (1966, p. 15), argued for the Chamber's continued involvement in planning processes and criticized the government's deficiencies in strategic planning besides the inclusion of foreign professionals for consultancy or architectural design and construction.



kız kalesi



Bursa-Kumluk ve Kuşadası Mokamp tesislerinde mutfak, çamaşırılık, WC ve dış ünitesi.
Bursa-Kumluk ve Kuşadasında inşa edilen turistlerin günlük ihtiyaçlarını giderdikleri tesis.

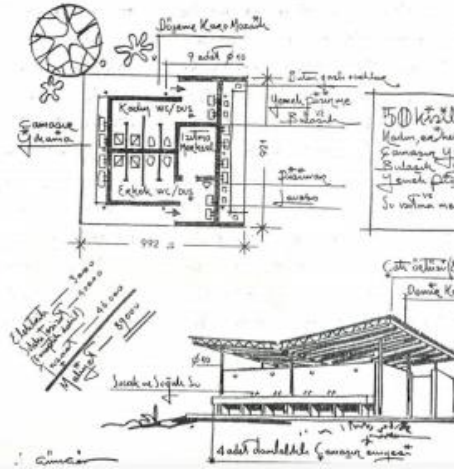


Figure 4. Photos from Mocamp projects of Kabakçioğlu. Upper left column; Korykos ruins and his reference to the arches in the new building of Kızkalesi Mocamp. Upper right column; İnciraltı Mocamp with the campers. Bottom; laundry, shower and WC unit of Bursa, Kumluk Mocamp. (*Mimarlık*, 34(1964): 20)

In addition, the magazine published examples of best practices from both national and international contexts, with varying scales and contents. Nonetheless, these projects were few in number. An intriguing series of projects published in *Mimarlık* over several issues introduced the Mocamp buildings designed by Güngör Kabakçioğlu and commissioned by Kervansaray Mocamp Chains founded by BP Oil Company and unique to Turkey (Kabakçioğlu, 1964b, 1964a, 1966). These were new architectural settings in which new gas stations built on major highways were planned as short-term camping areas with service spaces for their users. The new road program promoted vehicle traffic as well as privately held transportation networks against the railroad system and the policy of publicly owned transportation network (Zürcher, 2017, p. 261) The term "mocamp" was derived from the words motor and camping, and the program promoted vehicle-based mobilization on newly constructed highways connecting cities, particularly in western and central Anatolia. Kabakçioğlu's deftly crafted hand drawings, as well as photos of the finished buildings, demonstrated the flexibility of these facilities' twofold character, one facing the highway as a gas station and the other as a relaxed, natural environment for campers who stay in their tents or caravans (Figure 4). Kızkalesi Mocamp in Silifke was close to a beach, whereas Kartaltepe – Istanbul Mocamp had a

swimming pool on-site. According to Kabakçioğlu's accounts, these were low-cost, quick-build tourism investments designed to ease and facilitate the mobility of national and international tourists in areas known as tourism priority regions. The Kızkalesi Mocamp in Silifke, Mersin, was even located in the protected area of the ancient city of Korykos, and the architect had sought a formal connection in the complex's windows alluding to the arches of the Byzantine church that existed on the site as ruins. As explained in his brief articles (Kabakçioğlu, 1964b, 1964a, 1966), the architect searched for local references in design in all of the Mocamp projects. Surprisingly, these projects were included as one of the few examples of best practices published by the journal, which had a strict exclusivist policy on projects chosen for publication. Another type of seaside development was the summer houses which made seaside tourism for the middle and upper-middle classes more accessible (Gürel, 2015, p. 40). The second example of best practice was a summer housing complex from Kilyos, at the Black Sea coast of Istanbul area, by architects Yılmaz Sanlı, Yılmaz Tuncer, Güner Acar (Anonymous, 1970). Another summer housing complex in Silivri, this time designed by Cengiz Bektaş was published years later (Anonymous, 1973). Yet these rare examples of coastal development with summer-housing complexes were not fully capable of representing the actual transformation taking place at the beachfront areas of the country. This was not a major concern for the journal.

At the end of the 1960s, a specific event, the International Side and Environs Planning Competition organized by the Ministry of Tourism and Information announced in 1968 and completed in July 1969, appears to be pivotal in Turkey's tourism planning history. Side was a small village on the Mediterranean coast within Antalya's provincial borders at the time. Because of its natural topography, which included a harbour, ancient Side was an important trade centre on the eastern edge of antique Pamphilia. Layers of Greek, Roman, and Byzantine history can be found at the well-preserved archaeological site. Side and its surrounding areas included sparsely populated coastal lands, a unique landscape with forests and heritage sites, and ideal conditions for the development of mass tourism. The competition required the transformation of a large area with macro-scale plans for the 14 km long coastline spanning Side, Sorgun and Manavgat, which included holiday resorts grouped into three main parts known as "tourist stations" and had to be open for future growth to comprise 16 thousand beds (Çubuk, Güner, & Gürsel, 1971, p. 31). Ancient Side was also planned to be integrated with the village of Selimiye, to be a protagonist of the regional preservation model in Turkey. These tourist stations would be connected and backed up with the existing villages as well as archaeological heritage sites and natural areas. The state would provide the plan and necessary infrastructure, while private initiatives would develop the facilities with land and credit provisions. According to the competition results, there were 171 entries, with the EPA Group Architects of Mehmet Çubuk, Ersen Gürsel, and Nihat Güner taking first place. This was a huge success for Turkish architects, and it appeared to be a significant step forward for the future development of tourism in Turkey.

4. The 1970s in *Mimarlık*: Years of Disappointment and Resistance

In the 1960s, especially between 1963-69, despite all the conflicts in the political arena, Turkey experienced a period of stability in the economy marked with high economic growth and constant increase in the real income (Zürcher, 2017, p. 288). However, the 1970s started with serious problems. In 1971, another political crisis erupted along with a military memorandum, *muhtıra*, and constitutional amendments. Aside from the international influences of political activism and social concerns, problems of rapid urbanization resulting in informal housing, poor urban infrastructure, unemployment, and high inflation became more visible and effective in the social context. As reflected in the

politically engaged publications of the 1970s, the Chamber and *Mimarlık* were more concerned with these issues. The cover of the first issue of *Mimarlık*, published in 1971, depicted a scene from the 17th General Assembly Meeting of the Chamber, in which members held posters with opposing political statements (Figure 5). According to the newly changed format of the journal's cover page, major social issues were designed as posters with political statements that had straight messages and powerful graphics.

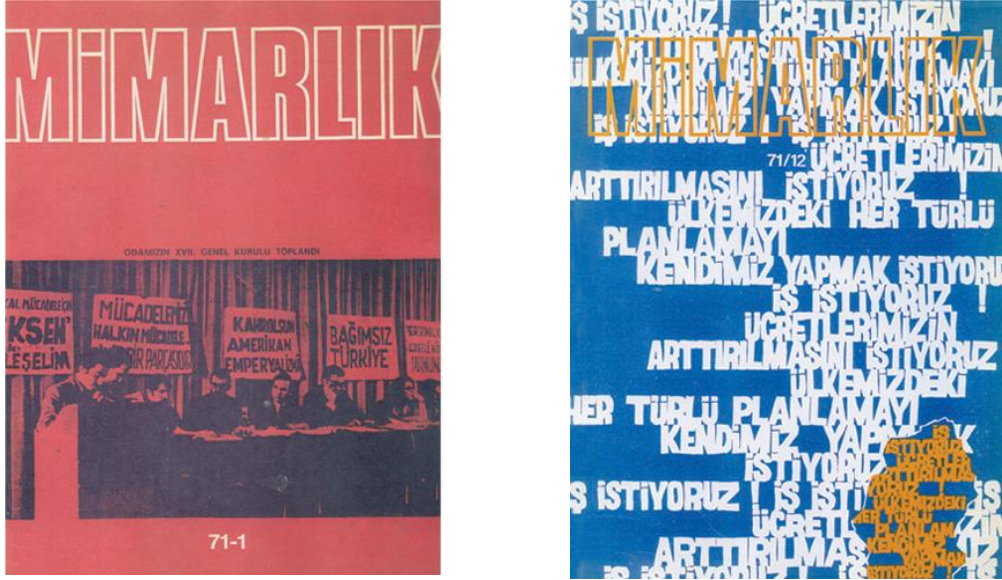


Figure 5. Cover pages designed like posters with direct messages on the current social and political issues. Left, a scene from the Chamber's 17th General Assembly Meeting (*Mimarlık*, 87 (1971): cover). Right, professional claims listed and designed as a poster (*Mimarlık*, 94 (1971): cover).

The 98th issue of *Mimarlık* was published in November 1971, with a cover page featuring the winning scheme of the International Side and Environs Planning Competition, which was finalized two years earlier in July 1969. (Figure 6). The winning project's jury report, plans, and drawings in various scales were published in the issue (Çubuk et al., 1971, pp. 27–34). In October 1971, the winners had newly signed the official contract with the ministry for the implementation of the project after a two-year delay. *Mimarlık's* cover page, in a way, celebrated the news. Ersen Gürsel from EPA also became a member of the editorial board (*Mimarlık*, 1972, p.6).

In line with the tourism planning strategies mentioned above, Adana and İzmir were also subject to new investments and plans in addition to Side and Antalya. Thus, another competition for planning a new tourism-based master plan scheme and architectural units in various scales for the coastal area of an Eastern Mediterranean town, Karataş-Adana was organized in 1972 by Adana Municipality. The prize-winning projects were published in *Mimarlık* with excerpts from the jury report (Anonymous, 1972, pp. 51–56). EPA Group won this competition as well. Then again in 1974 *Mimarlık* published the prize-winning projects of the Pamucak Touristic Environment Planning Competition, organized by İller Bankası (Anonymous, 1974, pp. 21–26). The competition comprised the planning of a wide seashore area with multiple tourist facilities of different scales, including camping, hotels and holiday resorts for a prospective 10 thousand people, to be connected with the archaeological sites of Ephesus and Selçuk. There were 23 entries and the first prize winning team comprised Doruk Pamir, Gürdal Kaleli, Ercüment Gümrük. The projects published in *Mimarlık* also proposed to revive the ancient water canal in various ways for connecting the Aegean Sea with the ancient city of Ephesus.

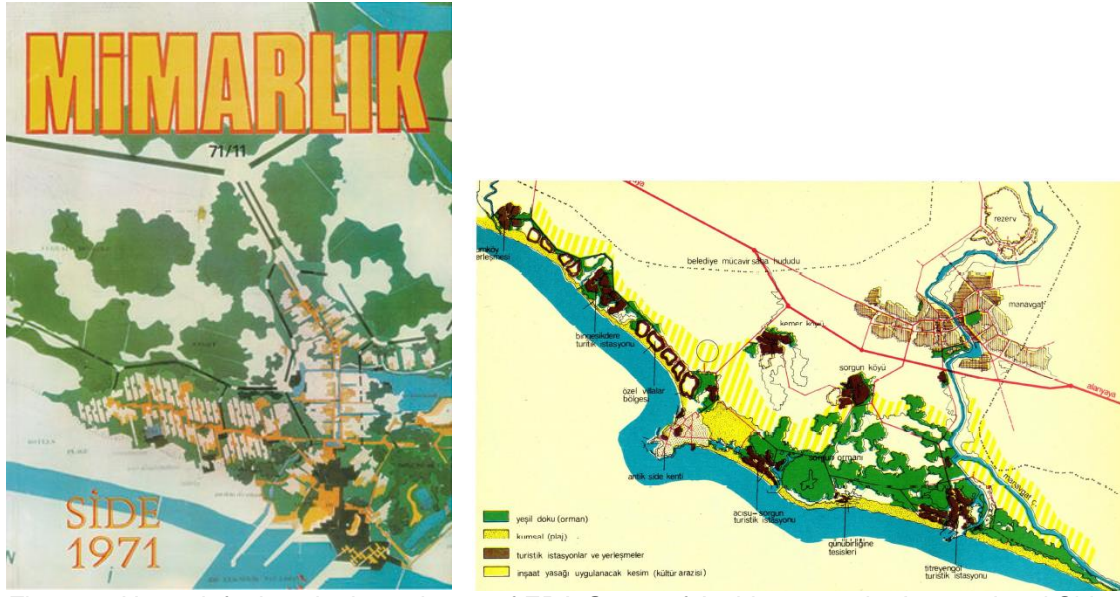


Figure 6. Upper left; the winning scheme of EPA Group of Architects, at the International Side and Environs Planning Competition in 1969 *Mimarlık* (98 (1971): cover). The site plan proposed by EPA Group (*Mimarlık*, 98 (1971): 29).

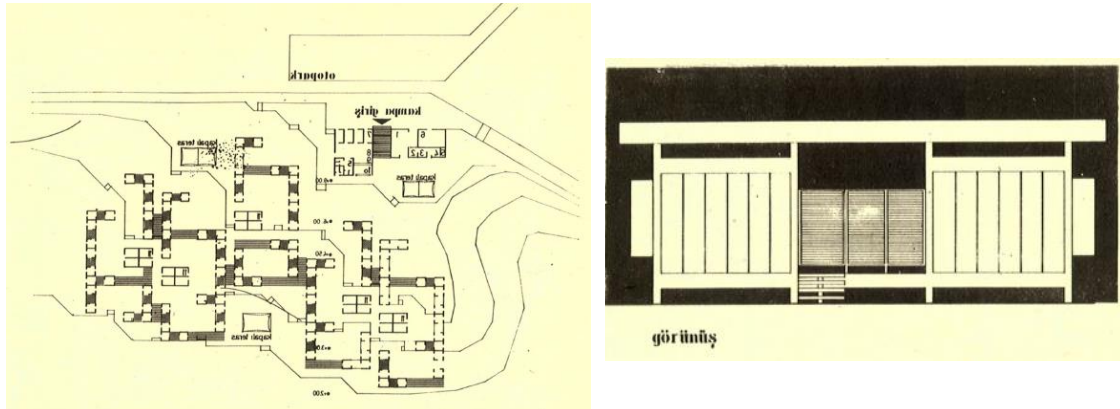


Figure 7. Modular systems proposed for Adana, Karataş Tourism Facilities. Left; site plan, right: elevation of the single unit. Drawings from 3rd prize-winning project (*Mimarlık*, 103(1972): 55)

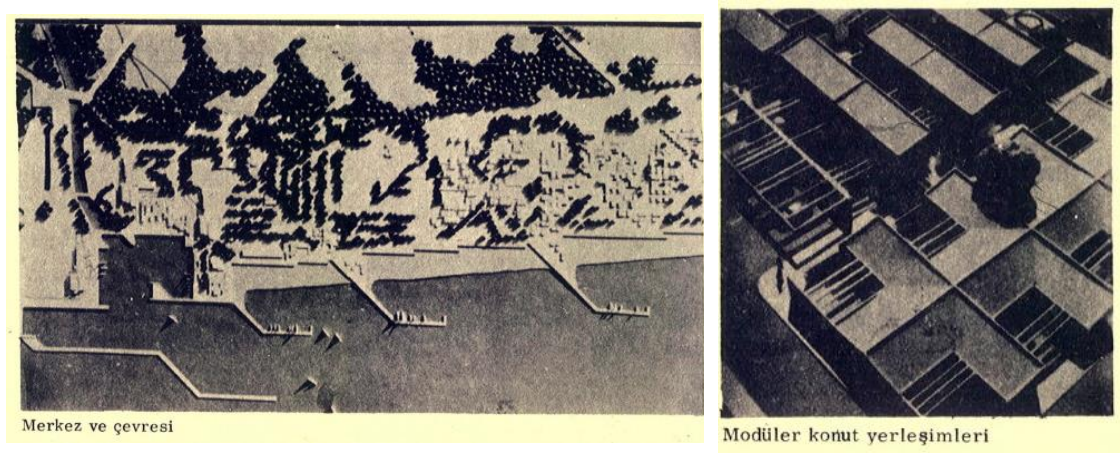


Figure 8. 1st prize-winning project of Pamucak Touristic Environment Planning Competition, by Doruk Pamir, Gürdal Kaleli, Ercüment Gümrük. Left; site model showing the units and the revived ancient canal to Ephesus. Right; modular housing units. (*Mimarlık*, 131(1974): 23).

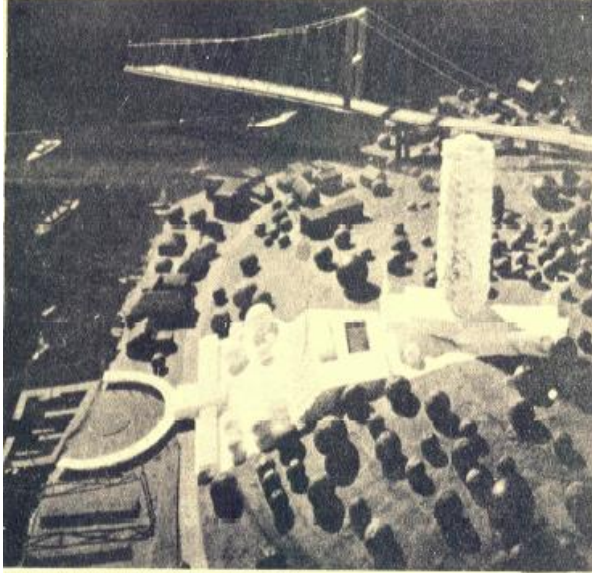
In the years that followed, these projects faced long processes of dispute, tension, re-adjustments, and cutbacks, mirroring the fate of optimistic plans of the 1960s that were barely put into practice in the 1970s (Çubuk, 2013, p. 8). In the case of the Side Plan, the winning scheme could be quite partially implemented because World Bank credits were transferred to other projects, land expropriation rights were lost due to delays, and the initial hopes of creating a model for mass tourism developments in Turkey proved futile in the end. Karataş-Adana and Pamucak projects were also abandoned. In all of these competitions, as seen in the images, the projects provided new architectural typologies of short-term and long-term occupancies with references to concepts of modularity, open-growth and flexibility (Figure 7 and 8). The ownership and use schemes also provided alternatives to private ownership. Therefore the chance to experiment with new modes of architectural form, space and use also vanished.



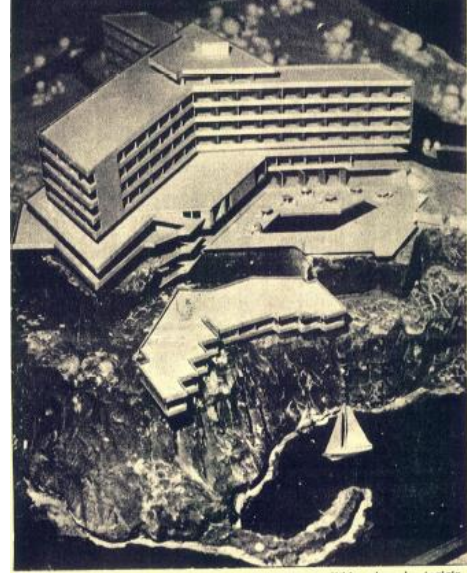
Figure 9. Left, special issue on tourism (*Mimarlık*, 131(1974): cover). Right, special issue on the shores (*Mimarlık*, 147(1976): cover).

Mimarlık published two special issues on tourism and the seashores with a critical lens on the political, economic and spatial transformation being experienced. *Mimarlık* (132(1974)) was titled "What did tourism bring?". The cover page showed an arched structure, an ancient aqueduct or a bridge, with individuals standing on the structure (Figure 9). The photo somehow displayed how the ancient structure became an object of interest, being stepped on and observed. The issue comprised articles from various authors. In general, the previous decade's optimism was replaced with disappointment and resentment on the part of the state, resulting in massive failures in tourism. A comprehensive article by Nazif Ekzen (1974, pp. 3–8) provided a long list of negative impacts of prevalent tourism strategies and practices which were the privatization of coastal lands by land speculators or large hotel chains and their exclusion from public use, the mismanagement of tourism credits and loans, the inclusion of foreign companies as investors of holiday resorts ending up with profit transfer to other countries without contributing to the national economy, "Americanized" tourism strategy imposing singular, isolated, high-rise structures lacking interaction with their local context (Figure 10). Other authors also discussed how state intervention resulted in unfair competition in the

development of tourist facilities, as well as how local architects were excluded from both the planning and building processes. On the other hand, alternative models on tourism, theoretical discussion on the need and right for vacation, concerns on the archaeological heritage were also the topics.



Handels Forum Köln A. G.'nin, İstanbul Kuruçeşme'de yapımını tasarladığı 32 katlı 512 odalı otel... Çağlayan Sarayı için de bir otel projesi hazırlamakta olan şirketin yerli girişimcilerle ortak aradığı bildiriliyor.



Alman işbirliği ile yapımına girilen Antalya Oteli. Genellikle yabancılar tesisin işletmesini üzerine almakta, böylece yabancı sermayeye her yıl milyonlarca liralık kar transferi yapabileceği yeni bir alan açılmış olmaktadır.

Figure 10. Examples of singular hotel buildings from Ekzen's article. Left, an unrealized project for Kuruçeşme, Istanbul. Right, Antalya Hotel. (*Mimarlık*, 131(1974):5-6).

The 147th issue of *Mimarlık* in 1976 had as its main theme the shores, which were also important tourist destinations. In that same issue, various authors discussed the privatization of the coasts, despite their legal public property status, with harsh criticism of state policies. Alternative models for planning the coasts and developing tourism facilities that include people from all socio-economic backgrounds were presented, with a focus on protecting the public's right and interest in coastal planning, as well as the right to rest and vacation for all citizens (Gülöksüz, 1976, pp. 56–57). The cover page's abstract yet powerful graphic design by Uğur Kangal reflected the conflicted nature and complexity of the interests of the public and the private enterprise on the shores (Figure 8).

As a prevailing discourse in *Mimarlık*, the role of foreign architectural and planning offices in wide-scale projects appears to be a critical topic often brought into discussion by various authors (Önal, 1971, pp. 10–16). Hence, the strong reaction and opposition to the government's use of foreign consultants and architectural firms were expressed with the starting of a new campaign in the journal called *Kendi gücümüze dayanalım* (We should lean on our power) (*Mimarlık*, 97(1971)). This was a joint act by various professions' chambers in Turkey. The campaign used a distinct graphic language comprised of handwritten texts, large-scaled arrows, exclamation marks, and newspaper sections to express the architects' resentment, dynamism and anger at "public commissions being handed over to international firms in exchange for high fees". According to the information revealed in this campaign's pages, several foreign offices were commissioned for master plans and building projects in Antalya, Izmir, Istanbul and their production processes mostly lacked public transparency. The architects' unemployment and human capital flight were presented as two major consequences of this policy. With this claim, *Mimarlık* did not publish the projects of big hotel chains or

resort towns in their usual format. Visual documents on these projects were only published after being color filtered and made obscure, along with some official reports and letters for revealing the “conspiracies” of the non-transparent production processes (Figure 11). The campaign revealed the “other side” of tourism development plans and projects, which was mainly criticized for being kept away from the public view and its interests.



Figure 11. Various pages of “We should lean on our power” (*Kendi gücümüze dayanalım*) campaign with information on different holiday resort projects from Kemer, Tekelerktepe and Çeşme (*Mimarlık*, 97(1971); 99(1972); 109(1972)).

According to OECD statistics, Turkey's tourism revenues in 1976 were only 201 million dollars, less than half of the expected amount (Anonymous, 1976, p. 146). Turkey ranked second from the bottom in 1975, with a 4% annual increase in tourism revenues, slightly ahead of Canada (2%), while Greece ranked first with a 43% increase in tourism revenues. This, along with numerous other facts, demonstrated the failure of the initial hopes. The 1970s ended with remarkable disappointment for the Chamber of Architects and many other professional groups in the country. The year 1980 began with more

political upheaval marked with a *coup d'etat* in September 1980 and the adoption of a new constitution. These constitutional and political changes brought more engagement with liberal economy and consumer culture in Turkey throughout the 1980s (Zürcher, 2017, pp. 336–342), which opened up a new process of development in tourism as a realm of new opportunities for different actors involved in the process.

5. Conclusion

Based on a chronologically ordered systematic survey of *Mimarlık* issues dating back to 1963, this study sought to investigate the themes raised by the journal concerning the spatial transformation occurring in the areas targeted by the tourism industry as a result of the dynamics of mass tourism. Tourism was conceived as a great opportunity for national economic development and a source of foreign currency to keep the overall balance of payment in the macro-economy, as recently cited in the Five-Year Development Plans (Nohutçu, 2002, p. 1). The intention was to turn the country's suggested geographic, socio-cultural, and archaeological potentials into a profitable "industry". According to the plans, both foreign and domestic tourists would be mobilized to experience the coasts remade into a travel landscape with adequate infrastructures, similar to its competitors in the Mediterranean, such as Spain or Yugoslavia. The provision of water and shade on the hot and arid Mediterranean shores for accommodating and entertaining the masses seeking leisure and new experiences was no easy task for the country, as demonstrated by the complexity of problems and perspectives on them. *Mimarlık* thus reflected the Chamber of Architects' critical perspective on these plans and developments, which included cautious optimism as well as concerns about the public interest and the professional rights of Turkish architects.

Urry (2002b) coined the term "tourist gaze" to describe the modern phenomenon of consuming spaces that were also gradually made and/or re-made to be consumed by that very gaze of the tourist. Accordingly, through *Mimarlık* journal, it was possible to see the country's transformation, particularly in coastal areas, not only through buildings and projects but also through the actors involved or gradually left out. Aside from the large-scale projects, there was also room for local dynamics, which were implemented on an as-needed basis by a variety of entrepreneurs, small-scale tourism operations, and property speculators. Nonetheless, the articles and information published in *Mimarlık* between 1963 and 1980 primarily presented projects to be negated through a highly critical lens. Thus, *Mimarlık*, the major publication of Turkey's Chamber of Architects, revealed the complexities of tourism in its entangled history throughout the 1960s and 1970s, as a complex space of opportunities and discontent for actors with diverse roles. However, this process, which had a variety of influences on architectural culture and history in modern Turkey, needs to be studied and discussed further for new histories to be revealed.

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