

**READING IZMİR CULTURE PARK THROUGH WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES:
MATINEE PRACTICES IN THE 1970S' CASINO SPACES**

A Ph.D. Dissertation

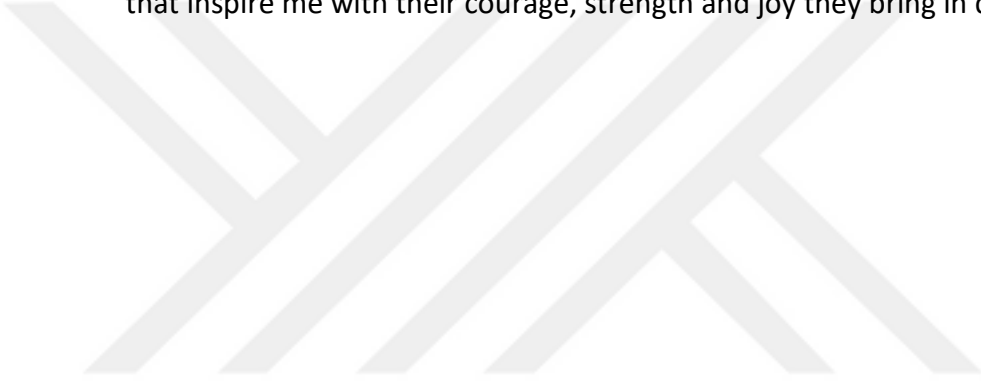
**by
MELTEM ERANIL DEMİRLİ**

**Department of
Interior Architecture and Environmental Design
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University
Ankara
April 2018**

To the women,

whom I have met and I haven't met yet,

that inspire me with their courage, strength and joy they bring in daily life



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**The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University**

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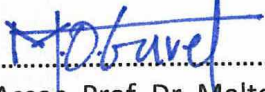
MELTEM ERANIL DEMİRLİ

**In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN INTERIOR ARCHITECTURE AND ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN**

**THE DEPARTMENT OF
INTERIOR ARCHITECTURE AND ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
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April 2018

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Interior Architecture and Environmental Design.



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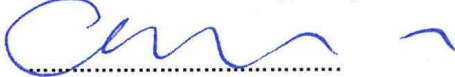
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ABSTRACT

READING IZMIR CULTURE PARK THROUGH WOMEN’S EXPERIENCES: MATINEE PRACTICES IN THE 1970S’ CASINO SPACES

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From its establishment in 1936, Izmir Culture Park (ICP) became a historical marker of Turkish modernity, with its leisure and entertainment spaces celebrating modern values and conditions, while functioning as a medium for adapting them. Casinos, entertainment spaces with live music and food service, were a significant component of the park’s entertainment life from the very beginning. They diverged from their earlier cultural forms and aesthetics during the 1970s in response to the demands in the entertainment sector and the accompanying spatial needs, as well as women’s changing social position in the 1970s. Charting this divergence, and tracing how it came about, this study examines the ways in which ICP’s changing entertainment culture led the way in producing an alternative space -the matinee- for women.

This study builds on existing histories of ICP by investigating and introducing new layers of meaning on women’s spatiality. It contributes to gender studies by analyzing how matinees encouraged women to participate in leisure activities, how women experienced this public space, and how they transformed it through their practices in living out their modernity. Women transformed the abstract space of ICP casinos into lived space. By pushing the 1970s social boundaries in Turkey, women both used and transformed the spaces of ICP as they took the opportunity to enjoy their freedom, albeit within the limited space of the *casino* and the limited time of the *matinee*. This study deeply investigates this socio-spatial transformation, within a tripartite

theoretical structure of memory, gender and Lefebvrian spatial theories, in order to convey '*herstory*'¹.

Keywords: Izmir Culture Park, Matinee, Memory, Social Space, Women.



¹ The term is borrowed from feminist critique of conventional historiography, which is believed to be documented as "his story" (Mills, 1992: 118). This study aims to emphasize the role of women in the production of space while giving importance to convey women's point of view in describing matinee experience.

ÖZET

İZMİR KÜLTÜRPARK'I KADIN DENEYİMLERİ ÜZERİNDEN OKUMAK: 1970'LERİN GAZİNO MEKANLARINDA MATİNE PRATİKLERİ

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1936 yılında kuruluşundan bu yana İzmir Kültürpark, modern değerleri ve koşulları içinde barındıran sosyal tesis ve eğlence mekânlarıyla ve bu koşullara adapte olmayı sağlayan bir araç olarak, Türk modernliğinin tarihsel bir göstergesi haline gelmiştir. Canlı müzik eşliğinde yemekli eğlence hizmeti veren gazinolar, parkın kuruluşundan itibaren parkın önemli bir tamamlayıcı parçası olmuşlar; fakat eğlence sektöründeki değişen taleplere, beraberinde doğan mekânsal ihtiyaçlara ve 1970'lerde kadınların değişen sosyal konumlarına cevap olarak 1970'lerde daha önceki kültürel formlarından ve estetiklerinden farklılaşarak var olmuşlardır. Bu farklılığı değerlendiren, bunun nasıl ortaya çıktığının izini süren bu çalışma, İzmir Kültürpark'ın değişen eğlence kültürünü ve kadınlar için alternatif bir mekân olarak ürettiği matinelere ele almaktadır.

Bu çalışma, kadının mekansallığının anlamsal tabakalarını araştırarak ve tanıtarak, Kültürpark'ın var olan tarihçesi üzerine temellendirilirken, aynı zamanda kadınların sosyal aktivitelerde rol almasını matinelere nasıl teşvik ettiğini, kadınların bu kamusal alanı nasıl deneyimlediklerini ve modernliği sonuna kadar yaşamak için kadınların matinelere nasıl dönüştürdüklerini ele alarak cinsiyet çalışmalarına da katkıda bulunmaktadır. Kadınların İzmir Kültürpark gazinolarını soyut mekândan yaşayan mekâna dönüştürmesinden yola çıkan çalışma, gazinonun kısıtlı mekanında ve matinenin kısıtlı zamanında dahi olsa kadınların İzmir Kültürpark mekanlarını hem kullanıp, hem de dönüştürürken, nasıl özgürlüğün keyfini çıkardıklarını ve Türkiye'de

1970’li yılların toplumsal sınırlarını nasıl zorladıklarını göstermektedir. Çalışma ‘herstory (kadının hikayesi)¹’ kavramını bizlere aktarırken, bu sosyo-mekansal dönüşümü bellek, cinsiyet ve Lefebvre’in mekan teoremleri üzerinden kurguladığı üçlü teorik yapısıyla derinlemesine incelemektedir.

Anahtar sözcükler: Bellek, İzmir Kültürpark, Kadınlar, Matine, Sosyal Mekan.



¹ Terim, “his story (erkeğin öyküsü)” olarak belgelendiğine inanılan geleneksel tarih yazımının feminist eleştirisinden alınmıştır (Mills, 1992: 118). Buna ek olarak; çalışmanın amacı, matine deneyimini tanımlamada kadınların görüşünü aktarmanın önemine değinerek kadınların mekânın üretimindeki rolünü vurgulamaktır.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Starting from its establishment in 1936, Izmir Culture Park (ICP)³ has cultivated social life in terms of leisure practices and entertainment culture for the locals of Izmir as well as visitors from other Turkish cities. Recognizing its significant role in the history of the Republic of Turkey, this study reads the social dimension of the culture park through Lefebvrian socio-spatial analysis.⁴ In doing so, the study puts emphasis on women's experiences in the context of the park's historicity and examines many layers of meaning in women's participation and adaptation of modern lifestyles in public space, by exploring their leisure time activities. The study's main focus is reading women's

³ICP stands for "Izmir Culture Park". Izmir Culture Park will be referred as ICP throughout this study.

⁴ Drawing on the work of various important theoreticians, of which Henri Lefebvre is the leading one, this study tries to clarify the notion of "space", and its social aspect as much as its physical presence in the socio-spatial dialectic. While "space" is conceptualized for having a three-dimensional existence, its mental perception directs us to its socially constructed production. In his form of socio-spatial analysis, Lefebvre categorizes the socio-space into three parts or moments: perceived space, conceived space and lived space.

agency⁵ in transforming public space from a purely physical environment into an inimitable social space.

The associative social ground of a space is created by cultural-historical values and is subsequently formed by individuals. This means that, even if remote from each other or episodic, the social and physical characteristics of a space have always acted as significant indistinguishable segments of a component, as neither can survive without the other. Because any social space is strongly connected to the surrounding culture and time period, it also changes as the community, the context and daily practices evolve. In order to explore space in terms of its carried activities and social bonds, this study takes a critical approach in evaluating the social facilities of 1970s' entertainment spaces, namely casinos,⁶ by revealing how women's practices regenerated these spaces, both physically and socially.

Significantly, this study tries to understand women's experiences in a public space by examining how their practices transform a public space from an intended space into a

⁵ As a basic definition, Ahearn emphasizes the relation of the term 'agency' to the "[...] socio culturally mediated capacity to act" (2001: 112). According to Desjarlais (1997: 204) (as cited in Ahearn, 2001), "[a]gency was not ontologically prior to that context but arose from the social, political, and cultural dynamics of a specific place and time" (2001: 113). Therefore, it affirms the positive sense of agency as a capacity, with respect to activity that generally aroused after particular relations of subordination, to empower and make (Mahmood, 2006: 33-34) any meaning or motivations that individuals bring to their actions (Kaaber, 2005: 14), rather than conceptualizing it as decision making, direct opposition, response or resistance to domination or any other forms of observable action (Kaaber, 2005; Mahmood, 2006; Malmström, 2012). Butler (1990: 147) emphasizes, "construction is not opposed to agency; it is the necessary scene of agency."

⁶ Casino (or *Gazino* in Turkish) is a type of nightclub, which usually operates at night, with meals accompanied by alcoholic beverages. They also give service for day time on Wednesdays and Sundays without non-alcoholic beverages. For both times of the day, musical entertainment is also provided.

lived space. This study, therefore, benefits from Lefebvrian spatial studies that seek ways to redefine restrictive spatial groupings of daily practices and lived memories. The main aim is to analyze ICP within its social pattern, along with its spatial properties, through information acquired from material traces and women users' narrated memories of the 1970s in order to construct hybrid notions of social space, everyday life, entertainment culture, memory and women's practices.

The major reasons for choosing this research topic are the following. Firstly, no study of the park has yet focused on the 1970s, when women's movements were rising internationally, since those movements are reflected in the collective memory⁷ in Turkey. Secondly, current studies mainly focus on the period between the 1920s and the 1950s, which represents the meaning of the culture park from the statements of the authorities and not so much from the users' perspectives and memories. Lastly, there are also historical-based reasons for focusing on the 1970s: this was the time when women's occupancy of urban facilities became more prominent, especially regarding the culture park's public spaces (see Figure 1). There is no coincidence that these were the years when women's movements in global context were leading communal issues. The 1970s' second-wave feminism empowered a radical opposition to domestic ideals (Heynen, 2005; Knaus, 2007; Tekeli, 2010; Diner and Toktaş, 2010). This movement pushed for a key balance between women and men while tolerating

⁷ "Collective memory" was introduced by the sociologist Maurice Halbwachs in the 1950s, in France. Basically, it involves the mental actions of more than one person, usually a society, and analyses how their memories at certain events, dates, or places, can affect their thoughts and feelings.

the necessity of both sexes to be involved with different competences of everyday life (Heynen, 2005). As this motivation reunites radical politics, it conveys a path for reimagining how everyday life may be lived. Different scholars and writers argued the changing position of women in the 1970s' social life; such as Marge Piercy's (1976/2016) *Woman on the Edge of Time*, in which she proposes equal opportunities for the possible futures of the world. Angelika Bammer (1991) in *Partial Visions: Feminism and Utopianism in the 1970s*, also evaluates the 1970s as the years of liberation, change and utopias when the "other" and gender equality were recognized, as the old communal norms replaced by the new norms worldwide. This worldview of gender equality gradually made its presence sensed in Turkey (see Figure 2).



Figure 1. The news report on the left appeared in a newspaper from 1970 announcing the formation of a new music group playing in the casino programs of ICP and emphasized that the members were all women. The heading was “A group of miniskirts are challenging the other orchestras.” The interview on the right concerns a young girl who has started work, for a living, as a photographer in the park. The heading was “I may become the second version of Jacqueline [Kennedy].” Both the images and the reports strongly exemplify the changing representation of women in the 1970s as free and capable of doing anything they choose (Source: APIKAM Archive; *Yeni Asır* Newspaper, 1970-71)



Figure 2. A 1970s' beer advertisement, showing women toasting beer, represented women's freedom to consume it with great joy
(Source: APIKAM Archive; *Yeni Asır* Newspaper, 1970)

The call for equality of all kinds in this period was also encouraged by other political, social and cultural events, both domestically and internationally. Political events during the 1970s in Turkey were tightly connected with the military intervention of May 27 1960, which is considered as an important disjuncture in Turkish political history (Bek, 2007; Zürcher, 2000). The Democrat Party (DP), which came to power in 1950, insisted on implementing its main policy goals. Their strict policies placed sanctions on the public “by being a move away from Atatürk’s reforms” (Yeşilbursa, 2000: 834), and latterly the party was halted by the military intervention in 1960 (Ahmad, 2012: 153; Karpat, 2016; Kongar, 1975: 11-12). More specifically, DP ignored opposition parties, prevented left-wing parties from making public declarations and censored the media.

Meanwhile economic problems caused public protests and disorder within both the community and the military (Tunçay, 2000: 183-187; Ahmad, 2010: 156). Following the military interventions, Turkey experienced greater freedom due to the new liberal constitution. However, this liberalism could not survive in the second half of the decade. Internationally, the USA's invasion of Vietnam in 1968 caused many protests in both America and Europe. Socialist revolutionary worker and student movements in France impacted Turkey, leading to student strikes, walkouts and labor protests (Althusser, 1975: 39-49; Tunçay, 2000: 174-176; Zürcher, 2000: 371-372; Ahmad, 2012: 170-173). These effects led to a strongly divided social structure within which people characterized themselves in extreme terms and lived in accordance with their ideological viewpoints, whether right-wing, left-wing, Islamist or nationalist. At the same time, domestic industrial developments that were helping Turkey overcome its financial crisis brought many citizens from rural areas to the major cities. This domestic migration then expanded into external emigration to various European countries, especially West Germany (Ahmad, 2012: 162; Zürcher, 2000: 391-395). According to Kongar (2002: 592), the appearance of this new urban labor class, suffering from poor economic conditions and struggling to adapt to urban life, led to the evolution of an Arabesk culture. In summary, the bipolarization of the parties in politics had reflections in the community and the economic crisis set the ground for a new group of citizens who migrated to the major cities in Turkey. These urban migrants become the new city dwellers, and gradually appeared in each city's entertainment life. They were added to the middle class users of casinos. It has been suggested that, whether consciously or

not, they motivated the rise of arabesque culture and its influence in casino entertainment style.

Other social developments during the 1970s in Turkey include the spread of television, which affected the overall entertainment culture. Television programs, which were mainly intended to educate the masses through state-controlled monopoly broadcasting (Tanrıöver, 2011: 12), had a great impact on Turkish social life. Many singers and programs on television were censored for their political views (Tunç, [2001] 2015: 171; Bek, 2007). By 1974, 55% of Turkish citizens (in Turkey) watched television; this reached 81.5% by 1977 (Bay, 2007: 44). As television started to fill a gap in the entertainment culture, by the mid-1970s there was a demand for television causing the casino business to make an expansion in order to arise the demand for casinos.

In the 1970s, especially by the second half, casinos become more vital elements of the entertainment culture. The casino culture spread mainly in Turkey's three major cities: Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir. Izmir led this inclination due to the significant national attention it gained from its culture park. Indeed, we can see all these characteristics reflected physically, socially and technologically in the ICP during the 1970s (see Table 1). In parallel to this expanding casino culture, the number of actual casinos in Izmir increased during the 1970s. The identity of ICP transformed in the 1970s; from its exemplary position in teaching modernity to its leading role in the national entertainment sector. The park, which was previously idealized as a public space to

educate its citizens in ways of modern life, showed a tendency to be the entertainment attraction center, which was intensified during the period of the fair.⁶ Beyond exhibiting domestic and foreign goods, the fair facility's entertainment activities took precedence over the culture park's activities (Kayin, 2015: 57; Feyzioğlu, 2011). This sharply changing position of the culture park indicates the shift in the nature of entertainment and people's participation. It is therefore valuable to study this separation of the culture park from the fair facility. However, explaining this disjuncture and its spatially-integrated outcomes is challenging as it creates an urgent need to concentrate the 1970s to studying ICP. This way of looking at ICP can contribute to research into the urban, cultural and historical aspects of Izmir by analyzing previously undocumented information about the culture park, particularly through oral histories.

One of the most significant overlaps between the oral and written histories of ICP is the conception of the park as a historical marker for Turkey's casino culture. The park's long history of casino culture, from its initial establishment onwards, can be divided into separate periods in terms of changes in the user groups and new understandings of the entertainment facilities. In contrast to traditional mainstream readings of the

⁶ ICP was popular with its fair activities, which had been held for a certain time period every year starting on August 1. Since the time period shortened from one month to twenty days, and recently even to ten days, the visitor capacity would reach its maximum level during the fair times. Entertainment spaces, pavilions and fair stands were set up in the ICP and showed foreign and local industrial products as well as introducing the new sectoral innovations to the public. These were much sought after by the visitors. Though the fair activities were moved to another part of the city in 2014, ICP is still recognizable mostly for its periods of hosting the fair and is named after 'Fuar' (trans. as fair) in colloquial expression by the locals.

park's history, this study focuses on the 1970s as one of the most important breaking points in that history. The 1970s period of casino culture differs from previous eras since the nation formation that characterized Turkey's early republican period reflects upon the casino and balls. Drawing on documents and memoirs of living witnesses, the significance of the park's cultural background, and its instinct of possession, is apparent while changing socio-cultural values had specific effects on the ICP's entertainment facilities through its casinos (see Figure 3). In her detailed study of daily life in the 1970s, Ayfer Tunç describes those years as motivated by the vivid life of casinos:

After the casinos ended in the 1980s, the casino life of (the) 1970s was exaggerated and praised. Nevertheless, casinos had lost their credibility and became spaces for the rising new lifestyle, not its musical culture anymore, as Zeki Müren⁷ had brought the notion kitsch onto the stage and gained public acclaim (2001/2015: 171).

⁷ According to Alkar (2012), Zeki Müren drew attention in these casinos as the mainstream cultural symbol of that time, for his melodic capacity as well as for his ensembles and makeup. The life that he lived, which did not comply with general hetero standards, is seen as "self-commitment" for the sake of "affection for nation", in this manner legitimizing his "distinction". Bengi also mentions how Zeki Müren has become an important symbol for much academic research within gender, queer and popular culture studies (2014: 15).

Table 1. Technological, physical and social aspects reflected in ICP regarding significant events during the 1970s

(Source: The table was created using selected information from Feyzioğlu, E. (2006). *Büyük bir halk okulu: İzmir Fuarı*. İZFAŞ Kültür Yayını: İzmir)

Year	Technological A.	Political A.	Physical A.	Social A.	Participant Countries / # of people	Significant Events / Significances		
1970		El Fethi commandos become well-known.		The products (plates) on El Fethi are for sale and popular. People do not only support El Fethi but also want to be the part of history by owning material traces	USA does not participate	The word "production" gains significance in Turkey. The boundaries of fashion is expanded while the spirit of revolutionary youth still continues during 70s.	It is the year of utopias while the "other" is recognized or the gender equality and animals rights are started to be discussed. The second half of the 70s is filled with social disorder and poverty.	
1971	The exhibition of the first escalator. Plus, halflex and vinylx(floor coverings) are great innovations.	Declaration of martial law (sıkıyönetim bildirgesi) for the fair. The second coup appears in Turkey.	"Dünkü İzmir, Bugünkü İzmir, Yarınki İzmir" Museum is removed. The relocation of the fair from the culture park is started to be questioned		37 states, firms (800)		Declaration of martial law. no commercials of the firms in the fair are allowed to be announced. The sound of the audio systems at saz gardens, music halls(casinos) and entertainment areas should be lower. Brochures and paper hand-outs are forbidden. No allowance for traffic of the vehicles inside of the fair. The trade of beer and the consume of it, is prohibited at saz gardens or kiosks.	The fair forestalls the culture park
1972	1.2 million dollars is sustained for technology quota. The first locally produced refrigerator is exhibited (the modern house tool)			The businessmen week is founded in order to promote export and continues the following years.				
1973	The rock taken from the moon by the astronaut Adrian is exhibited in USA Pavilion		The first round cycling stage (döner sahne) of İzmir is built for Zeki Müren in Manolya Garden.					
1974	One of the most visited place is the pavillion of Turkish Air Forces and the exhibited airplane F-84. People do follow the technology or just try to witness the history, read the peace operation memories from its material trace.				31 states, foreign firms (900) national firms (1500)	By the rising cost of oil, there is an economic recession all around the world		USA does not participate (for 6 years) in the fair.
1975					27 states		The number of participant state is getting lower so the period of the fair is decided to be curtailed.	
1976				The fair is evaluated both by its economic (quota matters) and entertainment (the coldwar between the singers) power.				
1977	Closed circuit TV (advertisements about the fair, the news of the children who get lost during day are showed)			The export loses ground for 200 milion dollars	34 states Filistin Kurtuluş Örgütü, Dünya Fuarlar Birliği ve Kalkınma için Bölgesel İşbirliği Teşkilatı are participated.		Turkey has faced with the economic crises from 77 till 79. The meaning and the representation of the fair moves toward its entertainment side by its reduced economic value	
1978				By the starting bookstall, the fair brings the readers and the important writers (nationwide) (23 publishers are participated)	32 states			
1979					26 states	In order to increase the operability of the fair, new solutions are aimed to be found.		

By the beginning of the 1970s, an ongoing socio-economic crisis had damaged the entertainment sector, leaving casinos in Izmir in danger of extinction, with only those in ICP surviving (Dağtaş, 2004: 110). However, the following years saw numbers increase again as casinos were revitalized by the strategic decision of their owners to bring *Yeşilçam*⁸ artists to perform on stage.

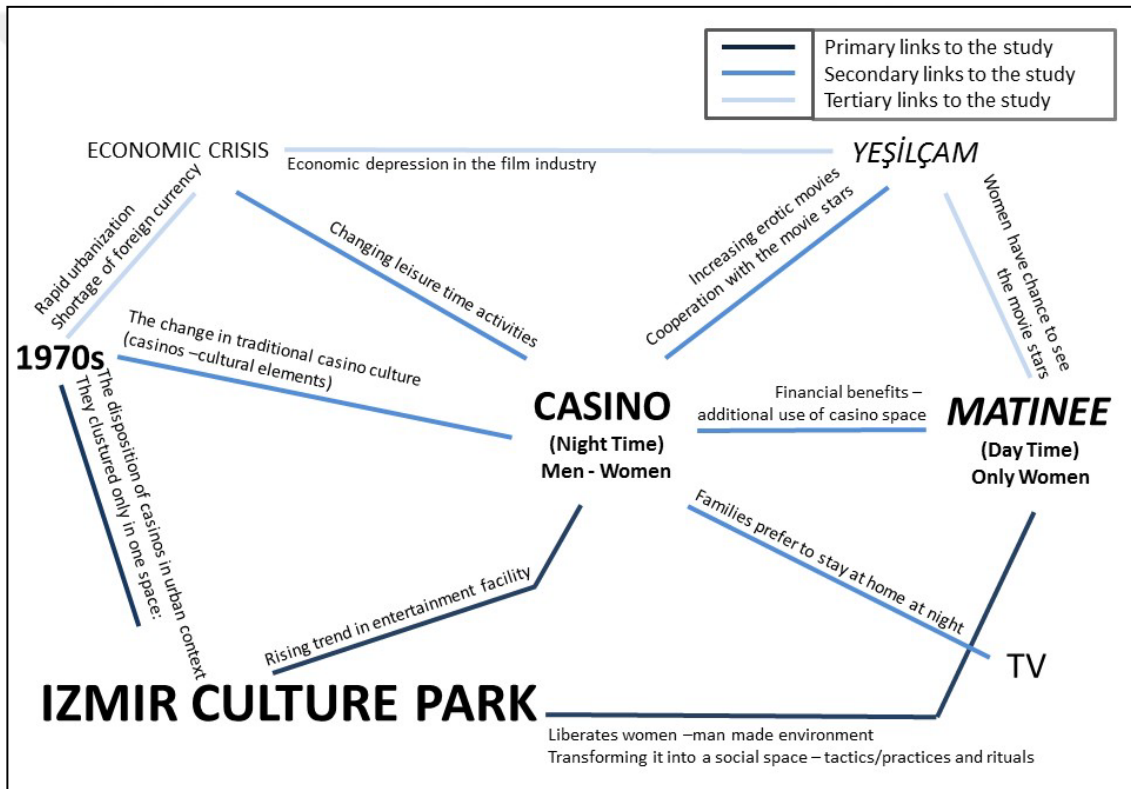


Figure 3. Parameters of ICP's entertainment sector in the 1970s and related sub-topics. The relationships are presented in three layers according to their depth and inclusion with the scope of this study
(Drawn by the author, 2017)

⁸ It is the 1960s Turkish popular cinema.

Another important feature of 1970s' casinos concerns their benefit for city dwellers. Mainly high income earner families from small towns had a chance to visit these spaces to listen to popular artists. In contrast, middle-class individuals who could not afford live entertainment had the option of listening to singers from records or, after the mid-1970s, they might prefer watching them on television. Many others found the casino culture to be gauche, preferring to follow popular culture on television. Ultimately, the growing trend of many Turkish families spending evenings watching television, damaged urban entertainment life.

Although this new form of entertainment for traditional Turkish families was a danger for casino owners, it also encouraged them to restructure by increasing matinees⁹ as a widespread leisure time activity for both families and women during the day. These matinees were scheduled on particular weekdays. Though most of the matinee spaces had poor physical conditions, this study analyses how women transformed them into an articulate social space to experience something new, enabling them to *live out their modernity*¹⁰ and enjoy freedom. How did women transform the physical space into a

⁹ The origin of the term has its roots in French as *matinée*, used as *matine* in Turkish, for day time shows like theater, cinema and concert events (Available at: www.tdk.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_gts&arama=gts&guid=TDK.GTS.57a9b3ea211a73.41408910). It was applied in practice in the 1950s as an entertainment facility only for women in casino spaces that allowed middle-class women to experience the vivid environment of casinos and see their admired artists since they could not afford to attend the evening program (Alkar, 2012).

¹⁰ I find it inspirational to use the phrase 'living out modernity' from the study by Meltem Gürel (2009), *Defining and Living out the Interior: The "Modern" Apartment and the "Urban" Housewife in Turkey during the 1950s and 1960s. Gender, Place & Culture*, 16(6), 703-722.

social space? What were some of their practices to enrich their experience? How do the experiences of women help to create collective memory of ICP?

1.1 Aim of the Study

Since this study approaches ICP from an abstract point of view instead of dealing only with its physical architectural elements, it can provide unique insights for the architectural and historical studies by investigating the social dimension of the space. Izmir Metropolitan Municipality has since developed a new fair area on the city's periphery, away from the original culture park's location (Çetinkaya, 2014). This relocation provides an opportunity to examine how the fair's organization within the boundaries of the culture park has affected occupancy of the culture park and has changed its representation in collective memory, shown within its spatial properties in the hand-drawn graphical representations of memories. For this reason, this study can help reveal a historical era of ICP while assisting other studies to compare the 1970s to other periods regarding the culture park.

By focusing on the 1970s, this study brings a new dimension to the existing literature on ICP since it considers the park's socio-spatial dimension rather than its physical architecture and spaces alone. Within the scope of women's experiences, the study investigates how women as users socially produce lived space over perceived space of

the producer. Additionally, the study opens up a new reading of the park's history by using the oral histories of the park's users who witnessed the 1970s. This use of micro details from oral histories allows this study to reveal new breaking points in the park's historicity. That is, this study provides an alternative account of the park that goes beyond its mainstream history.

In addition, there were no studies giving the architectural description or analyzing interior architectural elements and furniture layout of the 1970s casino spaces. This study contributes to both of the fields of history and theory of architecture by putting forward the schematic drawings, which are produced with the information attained from the oral histories, including their design elements and the human factor in the use and transformation of casino spaces during soiree and matinees.

Apart from the unavoidable significance of the human factor in any space, the study contributes to the social space literature by relating women studies to spatial studies. While there are many studies in literature focusing on women in domestic space, it is essential for gender studies to discuss the presence of women in public spaces. It promises broaden the scope of gender literature and feminism by choosing women as its subject and focusing on their experiences in a public space rather than making connections between women and domestic space. As Heilbrun reminds us, "[w]omen need to learn how publicly to declare their right to public power" (1988: 18). For this reason, this study draws on feminist cultural work that critiques how women transform

public spaces originally produced according to heteropatriarchal understandings so as to create their own social space. In so doing, this study contributes to women's studies attempting to redefine restrictive spatial groupings of gender and identity while helping readers to re-analyze women's identity and the ways they experience their modernity in public spaces.

Overall, the way of looking at ICP adopted in this study opens up new areas of knowledge in many fields, including history and theory of architecture, interior architecture, oral historiography, social studies, cultural studies, and gender studies.

1.2. Theoretical Framework and Structure

This study primarily focuses on viewing ICP through women's practices in order to understand how they bring their identity, culture, habits, morals and rituals into the public space. In doing so, I argue, they inevitably transform this built environment into an unrivaled social space in which they can use, experience, express and liberate themselves. While analyzing the social pattern of the park within its spatial properties, the study is focuses on the triad of women, social space and collective memory.

Each part of the study's tripartite theoretical structure has a different utility. Studying collective memory is of particular significance as it becomes both the tool, by conducting interviews to gather oral histories, and the objective, of understanding

casino space and the experience of it as entertainment in terms of the memory and social space literature. Given this, it is necessary to clarify the relationship between the three theoretical strands in more detail.

Baydar's description of "the materiality of space as an arena of continuous production in relation to sexed bodies and sexualized identities" (2012: 699) reminds us that, in any space, people with different biological sexes are compelled to act, think, behave and feel according to their socially-constructed genders. According to Lips, "gender identity is explored as the individuals' private experience of the self as female or male. Gender role refers to the set of behaviors culturally defined as appropriate for one's sex" (2010: 161). Moreover, she adds each society "makes up its own set of rules to be a woman or a man, and people construct gender through their interactions by behaving in appropriate ways" (2010: 7). Bagheri makes a similar comment: "[I]dentities, including those of gender can be redefined in the space and therefore can change and be changed by social powers and process occurring in the space" (2014: 287). Thus, throughout the production of space, we immediately realize that social powers, their relations, and users' presence (whether materially as a physical body or through imagery) redefine a space, and that the space is produced by and in relation to this behavior (Lips, 2010; Kuhlmann, 2014). As Rendell puts it, "As a material culture, space is not innate and inert, measured geometrically, but an integral and changing part of daily life, intimately bound up in social and personal rituals and activities" (2000: 102). Grosz (2000) draws attention to gender and space by considering the feminist

reoccupation of space as women previously replaced or expelled from those places.

The author states that women should acknowledge as positions of space as their own where they will be able to experiment and produce new possibilities of occupying, residing, or existing to “generate new perspectives, new bodies, new ways of inhabiting” (2000: 221). This study also acknowledges the inevitable close connection between gendered identities and constructed space. That is, women as the social agents of the casino space, shape and reshape it; in so doing producing and reproducing a new convention of social relations within the space while experiencing matinees.

Likewise, while Lefebvre focuses on the three dimensional perception of space, he integrates the social factor, which is straight forwardly identified with the 'individual' in his spatial theory. In a fundamental statement Lefebvre defines “social space as a social product” (1974/1998: 26). By crediting a transformative ability to space, Lefebvre accentuates that social relations characterize space as well as that space itself may have an influential control over social relations. In the meantime, Lefebvre views social space as an organizational pattern within a historically particular dynamic. Whereas gender issues are not his primary focus, this study focuses on women as both social and active agents, who contribute to the production of space while repeatedly appropriating it.

In addition to gender issues, this study also connects memory to Lefebvrian discussion of social space in the tripartite theoretical structure. Nora (1989, 18-19) emphasizes the

concept of *places of memory* (*lieux de memoire*), incorporating three characteristics: material, symbolic, and functional. These characteristics are both natural and artificial, and available both through sensual experience (physical) and linked to abstract elaboration (mental and practical). They evoke multiple senses of the past when used in an alternative historiography, and this conceptualization relates to Lefebvre's three-level production of social space (representation of space, representational space, and lived space). The significance of the user's lived experience in the constructed environment transforms a space from the abstract into one that carries meaning. Memory also represented in the constructed environment, through shared meanings and values for all society and in creating places of memory throughout a city. As Huyssen puts it, "built urban space – replete with monuments and museums, palaces, public spaces, and government buildings – represent[s] the material traces of the historical past in the present" (2003: 1). The material traces exist in dialect and language, found on memorial plaques and structures, intertwined through every city's visual and historical values. These urban places become the memory mediators for the creation of public collective memory. These places include both material characteristics (physical existence) and non-material characteristics (imaginary traces from the past and the meaning attributed to them now) (Huyssen, 2003: 3). Whether place is an ordinary object of daily life or a square, park or monumental building, it has the capacity to become a social space through the memory of its users. Apart from its physical existence, the social layers of the space are built by a collective memory that may produce a sense of belonging and collective identity, or by individual or social

memories that also reveal undocumented uses and experiences in micro-histories inscribed on public spaces.

The theoretical tripartite framework of this study is applied differently to particular chapters. As already outlined, Chapter 1 – “Introduction” presents the reasons and motivations for choosing this research topic and explains its importance for the literature. This introduction chapter has three sub-sections: aim of the study, theoretical framework and structure of the study, as well as sources and methods. It presents the arguments on social parameters of the 1970s and gives background information about this period’s key events in domestic and international arena. It does this by presenting the aims of the study and explaining the importance of the research and its contributions to academic knowledge. The section on the study’s theoretical framework and structure makes clear the tripartite structure based on social space, women and gender literature. Following this, the contents and order of the other chapters are presented. The sources and method section describes the sources used throughout the research, and explains the methodology; how the interviews were conducted and the oral histories collected. Chapter 2 – “Reading ICP as a Production of Social Space” presents the Lefebvrian understanding of social space and reads the history of ICP within this framework. By using micro-details that are discovered through oral history alongside insights from social-space theories, the chapter offers a new historicity for the culture park. While social space is broadly used in order to read the overall spaces of the 1970s’ ICP, it becomes apparent that the casino is significant to its

history. After establishing this situation, Chapter 3 – “Casinos: Creating Spaces of Memory” focuses on casino spaces; first, reading them through their history and second, examining their material formation and architectural properties in the 1970s culture park. Lastly, the 1970s’ casinos’ significance in social context is evaluated through collective memory. Chapter 4 – “Women’s Matinees: Opening up a Space for Women” proceeds to a new level of casino experience in which women’s agency in transforming the space becomes substantial. This chapter draws on gender studies for its main theoretical framework. Subsequently, in Chapter 5 – “Discussion and Conclusion”, the critical discussions and conclusions about the transformation of casino spaces within matinee practices of women, in both physical and social aspects, are presented.

1.3. Sources and Methods

The conceptualization of space as a social phenomenon in which multiple relationships exist between the physical structure created by the professionals and the social relations of the users, is prevalent throughout the study.¹¹ In order to read the layers of

¹¹ The study has evaluated the following major sources regarding users’ practices in social space: Henri Lefebvre (1998). *The Production of Space*, Blackwell, Oxford; Henri Lefebvre (1996). *Writings on Cities*, Blackwell, Oxford; Thomas F. Gieryn (2000). A Space for Place in Sociology, *Annual Review Social*, 26, 463-496; Micheal De Certeau (1988). *Spatial Stories, The Practice of Everyday Life*, University of California Press, Berkeley, CA, USA; Yi-Fu Tuan (1977). *Space and Place*, University of Minnesota Press, Sixth Ed.; Edward Soja (1980). The Socio-Spatial Dialectic, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 70(2), 207-225; Eugene J. McCann (2003). Framing Space and Time in the City: Urban Policy and the Politics of Spatial and Temporal Scale, *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 25(2), 159-178; Margit Mayer (2008). To

the social space of the culture park, information was gathered from a variety of primary and secondary sources. A major aim was to recover social memory through oral histories including interviews with both the producers and users of the spaces of ICP.¹²

Additionally, this study drew on many sources: personal archives, such as photographs of family members spending their leisure time in casino spaces or artists performing on the casino stage; official documents, including site plans from various periods of the culture park and photographs obtained from Izmir Metropolitan Municipality; newspapers, namely *Milliyet* (a national newspaper), *Yeniasır* (a local newspaper); and popular magazines, *Ses* and *Hayat* (published between 1970 and 1979), and contemporary issues of *Kent Konak KNK*. Articles, advertisements and cartoons from these sources were used as valuable information on the socio-cultural background of the community and its representation in public life. Finally, various unpublished dissertations and articles from peer-reviewed journals were examined.¹³

What End Do We Theorize Socio-Spatial Relations?, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 26, 414-419.

¹² Citing Sangster (1998/2003: 87), Corneilse (2009: 54, 58, 59) argues that data gathering is not a passive process of only receiving information from the interviewee. On the contrary, the researcher is responsible for constructing the informant's historical memory since the researcher and informant create the source together. In this study, personal narration is taken as the appropriate methodology for revealing women's stories.

¹³ For collecting information that was not available electronically, I was able to visit university libraries and resource centers in Izmir. These data were important for capturing the socio-cultural background of 1970s' Turkish society and common values in the general public. These sources also helped develop a representation of women and their experiences in the culture park, and a coherent picture of the park's national and institutional context. Various unpublished theses, dissertations, and relevant reports from the municipality were also evaluated.

Because this historically grounded study raises many issues related to the position of collective memory in reading the history of a space, it adopts oral history as the main methodology for investigating social space through the users' practices and experiences¹⁴ (See Appendix A). To do this, three informal group sessions of women's gatherings were conducted, with different numbers of women narrators attending, on different dates in 2014. Each session had between 6 and 10 participants, ranging from 63 to 89 years of age, with memories from the 1970s. During these sessions, they recalled how they experienced public life in that era. Accordingly, these sessions revealed how the shift in entertainment culture played a role in changing their time in public and the meaning of matinees to them. The study, therefore, draws on a feminist understanding to illuminate numerous factors underlying the totality of women's interpretation in transforming a physical space into a social space.

After the group sessions of women, key individuals from both genders, who witnessed or experienced the 1970s in Izmir, were identified. This identified group of 6 men and 4 women, from Izmir and beyond, had visited the casino spaces in ICP and experienced its entertainment culture. Since the interviews were not gender balanced,

¹⁴ Oral history is a branch of studies on memory. It gained significant importance after World War II with the Holocaust history of the Jewish people; especially after the 1960s, oral history was empowered to bear witness to the Holocaust. After the 1990s, social sciences gave more prominence to oral history as an interdisciplinary methodology (Neyzi, 2011: 2-4). Additionally, Danacıoğlu (2009: 140) emphasized the role of oral history in creating a different direction in history rather than a general concept of history. As a deductive approach, it focuses from the wider universe to streets, houses and individual lives. Each space and human being has his/her own history that deserves to be united with the general one. In this sense, oral history is an important method to reach into small lives and reveal the micro-details of history.

concentrating on women casino customers would be insufficient. Rather, this group was selected by using the snowball-sampling method in order “to discover the members of a group of individuals not otherwise easily identified by starting with someone in the know and asking for referrals to other knowledgeable individuals” (Krathwohl, 1998: 173). Starting in 2015, I carried out in-depth interviews to trace interviewees’ individual and social memories built on casino’s social space (see Appendix B). The interviews were tape recorded with the permission of the interviewees and transcribed. While the number of interviews was not predetermined, spaces in the memories and stories began to recur although the interviewees were from various social circles and age groups. The participants were aged between 50 to 86; five frequented the 1970s matinees and the others included a former owner of a popular movie theatre in Izmir, a researcher on Izmir’s urban history, the daughter of the head of the infrastructure and construction committee that established ICP, a former owner of a casino space and an assistant director in the park during the 1970s. In this thesis, their voices are allowed to be mediated by the analysis of the collected information and to speak directly to the reader.

Every interview has its own direction and rhythm with specific questions to ask. It is aimed to explore how women’s backgrounds, daily routines and major events led up to their decisions to pursue their activities in the public spaces of the culture park. To achieve this, and to learn their stories as fully as possible, three categories of open-ended questions were used, women’s practices in leisure time in urban context,

women's practices in the spaces of ICP and women's practices in the park's casino spaces. Thus, the aim was to get the overall narration of how these public spaces were transformed by women's occupancy.

In next step, a second group of interviews were conducted since it became a necessity for more information about the spatial properties of the casino spaces in ICP during the 1970s. For this, I used in-depth interview questions focusing on four different aspects of the casinos (see Appendix C): stage, backstage, tables and seating arrangements and other interior elements such as wall treatments, background curtain material used, location of entrances, lighting elements, and so on. However, for this study, it was not enough to only concentrate on the visitors to these entertainment spaces; rather, it was also crucial to focus on finding other people, other types of users, casino stage performers in both evening programs and women's matinees who occupied backstage, and stage of the ICP casinos. To gather this information, another group of 6 men and 1 woman who used these sub-spaces were identified, two were well-known tabloid journalists working during the 1970s fair times; two were well-known musicians who used to perform in the orchestras of many casino performers; and three were important singers who performed on the casino stages.

The interviews were face-to-face, in-depth, semi-structured, with open-ended questions and took about one hour. I recorded each interview on a digital recorder while also taking notes, as I needed to note any commonalities and differences that

surfaced after the first few interviews. Then the audio files were downloaded onto a computer before writing the post-interview reflections.

The interviewees were asked to describe the spaces they remembered in the culture park. Some made drawings about spaces, social activities and routes they used to take in the culture park; others wrote notes or added symbols. Asking for these hand-drawn graphical representations of memory¹⁵ at the end of each interview gave the interviewees a chance to concentrate more deeply on naming the spaces, identifying their physical characteristics and clarifying their social activities (see Appendix D). The technique of refreshing their memories about particular spaces within ICP enabled a self-validation, by comparing the mentioned spaces of the narrations with drawn spaces of interviewees, which is significant for presenting mental and lived spaces. At the same time, it enabled the study to capture the spatial properties of the culture park, which act as reference points in the interviewees' collective memory.

¹⁵ The hand-made drawings were asked to add to the structure of this study as an innovation in oral history methodology. In fact, it is a similar approach to the *cognitive map* previously used by Bahar Durmaz Drinkwater and Işın Can, called *Kollektif bellek ve kamusal alan: Kültürpark'ın anımsattıkları ve mekânsal dönüşümü* in *İzmir Kültürpark'ın Anımsa(ma)dıkları, Temsiller Mekanlar, Aktörler* (2015), edited by Ahenk Yılmaz, Kivanç Kılınç and Burak Pasin.

CHAPTER 2

READING IZMIR CULTURE PARK AS A SOCIAL SPACE

In order to introduce the conceptualization of space within its significant social setting, this chapter discusses the production of social space. First, it investigates developments in critical thinking on space, before explaining the concept of social space through Lefebvrian spatial theory. Second, it explores the three components in Lefebvre's spatial triad of perceived, conceived and lived space, in relation to the history of ICP. Analyzing ICP spaces in terms of the spatial triad makes it possible to explore an alternative history of the culture park apart from its documented one.

To begin with, it is advantageous to examine the distinctive implications of "space" introduced in literature to explain what it actually means. Seventeenth-century critical thinking produced two completely opposed understandings of space. As Tiwari (2010) explains, the first concentrates on the basic idea of Euclidean space, which considers

space as a mathematical, strictly geometrical concept; while the second conceptualizes it as vector space, an empty container with no boundaries. Because space existed prior to the objects that are situated within it, it has hegemony over objects by containing them.

Although both understandings regard space as a mathematical entity, the Euclidean perspective considers it as a two-dimensional phenomenon, as “an area of land which is not occupied by buildings” (Oxford Dictionary, 2010), whereas the vector approach views space as three-dimensional by defining it as an empty void. It is not conceivable, in either case, to choose whether space truly is a multi-dimensional idea or has a particular relationship with the objects within it. Indisputably, neither of these underdeveloped descriptions of space highlights its social aspect.

A second way of understanding space starts with Rene Descartes, whose conceptualization includes relationships between objects that emerge out of the network of interrelationships among them (Tiwari, 2010). Lefebvre is known as one of the leading theoreticians, following this second approach to space, which highlights its assembly with people and society.¹⁶ In his writings in the 1970s, such as *The Production of Space* and *De l'Etat*, Lefebvre condemns social and political models that define space as a static "container" or "display place" passing on social relations. For

¹⁶ Lefebvre developed his spatialized approach in two books, *The Production of Space* (1974) and *De l'Etat* (1976-1978). Debate was further stimulated by the books' English translation in 1991 (Brenner, 1997).

Lefebvre, space is a significant aspect of social relations under capitalism, which is created in history, and reconfigured and renovated latterly. One of Lefebvre's fundamental concerns is in the manner of looking at the verifiably particular and seriously opposing arrangements of "abstract space" through an investigation of social space under capitalism, and secondly to uncover its part as a socially formed second nature. Lefebvre contends that social space is having place in modern capitalism, characterizing it as "abstract space" that can be viewed as formal, geometric, quantitative and oblivious in regards to subjective contrasts. He evaluates social space as a multilayered, multi-scalar and opposing platform of social relations¹⁷ (Brenner, 1997).

Spatial practices, sensory perceptions and physical representations, in the Lefebvrian appreciation of space, are added into the meaning of space, as opposed to characterizing it as just a physical compartment of spatial practices (Demirtaş, 2009). In this sense, descriptions of space in the writings and the comprehension of space as a social marvel differ fundamentally. While Lefebvre focuses on a three-dimensional

¹⁷ Lefebvre challenges earlier descriptions of "space", however, he draws on different systematic thinking and pre-spatial perceptions. Aside from the past logical and dualist Cartesian spatial thinking, Lefebvre's socio-analytical conception of space began with Heidegger, and, one might say, that the center of his ideology depends on Heidegger's theory. While Elden advocates this position, he tries to define space with the fundamentals of mathematics and dismisses the regular experience of individuals, how they act in space and how the space responds back to them. Lefebvre's second line of thought, centers on Aristotelian criticisms. Lefebvre rejects the Aristotelian description of space for its empiricism, which diminishes the definition to classification. Lastly, Lefebvre's understanding restricts Kantian space, which isolates the domain of awareness from the empirical sphere (Brenner, 1997).

view of space, he additionally incorporates the social factor specifically identified with individuals.

In one of his key explanations, Lefebvre characterizes "social space as a social product" (Lefebvre, 1998: 26). By crediting a transformative ability to space, he not only alludes to the way that social relations characterize space but in addition, that space itself may characterize social relations. At the same time, he views social space as a structural matrix within a historically specific dynamic:

Social space is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products (...) It is the outcome of a sequence and set of operations, and thus cannot be reduced to the rank of simple object (...) Itself the outcome of past actions, social space is what permits fresh actions to occur, while suggesting others and prohibiting yet others (Lefebvre, 1998: 73).

In relation to this argument, this study explores a material product that can be described as the physically existing, built environment of the culture park. Yet it also focuses intensely on relationships carrying meaning in the social context of the period and its reproduction by users' occupancy, practices and acts in space. In this study, I read these physical and social layers of the space through Lefebvre's spatial triad. Through this socio-spatial analysis of the culture park's spatial layers, this study will contribute to general knowledge by reinterpreting the park's existing written history to provide new insights, enabling its meaning and importance for its users to be better understood.

2.1. Reinterpretation of the ICP's History through Lefebvre's Spatial Triad

According to Lefebvrian spatial theory, the social reproduction of any social space involves three different spatial features, which are decoded through his spatial triad: *conceived space* as physical, *perceived space* as mental and *lived space* as social (see Figure 4 and Table 2). Since Lefebvre unequivocally accentuates the effect of capitalism to make a totalizing space that denies any user to show their agency in organization of the space with regards to two other domains, mental and social; he looks for a harmony among each of the three layers. Thus, the three layers of the spatial triad are concentrated together without oppositions or contrasts. Rather, there are imitation, repercussions and echoes (Demirtaş, 2009) through which the three aspects function together to produce any social space. We therefore cannot claim that one component has control over the others as the contrary condition has been endeavored in the conceived space. While the political power and the system deeply influences the conceived space (representations of space), through the actions of authorities or professionals, human agency nevertheless remains embedded in perceived (representational space) and as well in spatial practices (lived space).

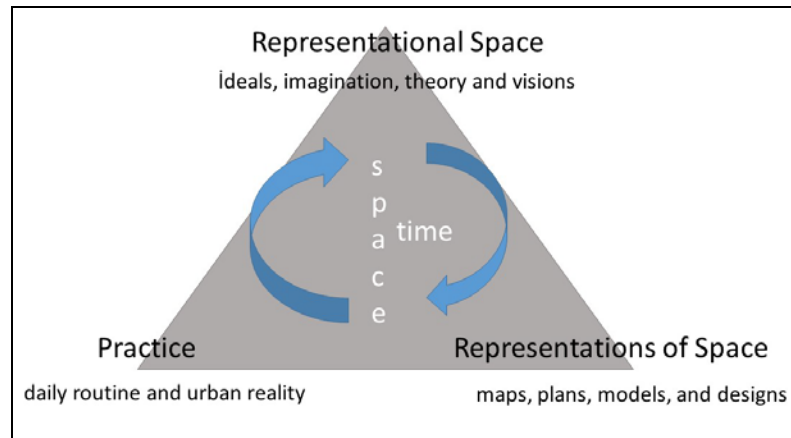


Figure 4. Representation of Lefebvre's spatial triad in graphics. Redrawn by author
(Source: hannahwinkle.com/ccm/Lefebvre.htm)

Table 2. Interpretation of the spatial triad¹⁸

Representations of Space	Representational Space	Spatial Practice
Conceived	Perceived	Lived
Physical	Mental	Social
Knowledge	Ideology	Practice
Symbolic	Imaginary	Real
Logico-Epistemic ¹⁹	Sensory	Spatial practice

Through ICP's historical periods we can capture the shifting hierarchy among these three layers of social space. Current literature divides the park's history into four stages according to its changing hierarchy, leading to the changing identity of the

¹⁸ This chart, which presents the three layers of Lefebvre's spatial triad, was created by Gülsüm Baydar for the course FFD-551 "Spatial Practices", in the Design Studies Graduate Program at Izmir University of Economics during the 2008-2009 spring semester.

¹⁹ The term is used for logic of knowledge and belief. It gives knowledge into the properties of individual knowers, as enhancing our comprehension of the elements of inquiry (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2006).

culture park. At first, during the 1930s through the 1950s, the park showcased the ideals of the Republic in which it was institutionalized. The second stage, from the 1950s to the 1980s, it was a space where these ideals had been overtaken by the entertainment culture. The third stage, from the 1980s to the 2000s, it interlaced its role as a culture park with fair affairs. In the most recent stage, after the fair space moved to another part of Izmir during 2000s (Kayın, 2015), it has provided more space for cultural activities. Feyzioğlu (2006; 2011), who documented the history of the culture park in her two books, *Büyük Bir Halk Okulu: İzmir Fuarı* and *Fuar Bizim Hayatımız*, also uses four time periods to divide the park's history in relation to the changing impact of the culture park's fair facility. These four time periods are: the formation years of 1923-1940, the advancement years of 1950-1960, the mature years of 1970-1980, and the years of change between 1990 and 2010. In contrast to these generic divisions, this study aims to raise awareness about different perspectives in reading the park's history by revealing new microhistories.

By providing an alternative reading of the park's history through Lefebvre's spatial triad, this study aims to discover new ruptures that may have been neglected in earlier historicity. In its deep respect for the historicity of ICP, the study offers a new perspective by analyzing park users' perceptions and experiences of this public space. In order to re-evaluate the park's history, this study rejects a simple linear historical reading of the space in favor of a spatial analysis based on the Lefebvrian spatial triad.

In order to compensate for a lack of information about the 1970s within the park's overall historicity, it is necessary to re-read its historical socio-spatial background from its initial establishment. Hence, one of this study's theoretical foundations is gender studies regarding agency and performance. This approach will enable us to understand how women used the culture park as a public space during the 1970s and identify any changes in its spatial use compared to its early years. Narrowing the focus to the 1970s will also reveal overlaps or disengagements in spatial use in terms of the spatial triad.

2.1.1. Creation of the ICP as a Representation of Early Republican Ideals

The history of ICP begins in 1922, following Izmir's destruction by fire and debt crisis. At the end of the Anatolian war, a fire that began on September 13th, 1922 destroyed three quarters of Ottoman. During the Early Republican period, Izmir struggled to clear the debris, improve its urban fabric, and to fill the gaps in daily urban life caused by the segregation of different ethnic groups inhabiting the city. The large area affected by the fire, including the *Alsancak*, *Basmane* and *Kahramanlar* districts, of 1,750,000 square meters (Sönmezdağ, 1978) meant that new initiatives were critical to aid the city's recovery. As Kırılı describes the situation, "[t]he post-1922 city, an enormous black hole encircled by a thin line of surviving quarters of the city, presented an ideal opportunity for envisioning grandiose urban schemes" (2007: 226). The appearance of an enormous lost space in the center of the city's urban plan made reevaluation of the

space a major issue for the municipality. Despite Turkey's economic weakness at the time, the inhabitants of the city consulted a key figure in contemporary French urbanism, Henri Prost, who recommended two brother designers, Rene and Raymond Danger,²⁰ to the municipality of Izmir for preparing a city plan²¹ (Tanyeli, 1992; Kaftancı, 2000). As much as being physically necessary, the plan was crucial for overcoming the social trauma of the fire by building a modern image out of the ashes (Güner, 2015). Various exhibitions and street fairs were held after this trauma to put on a brave front regarding the sabotage and to demonstrate the new Republic's invincible socio-economic development. It was also seen as a way to prove Izmir's economic power over and independence from Istanbul, the former imperial capital (Karakaya, 2011). These socio-economic activities also laid the groundwork for a bigger project of establishing a culture park where the community would encounter westernized traditions of modernity as well as establish a fair facility²² to exhibit the latest international innovations. The first such exposition was held after the Izmir Economic Congress in 1923 and occupied today's Efes/Swiss Hotel ground. This was followed by the "9 Eylül Sergisi" (September 9th Exhibition) at the "İzmir Sanatlar Mektebi" (Izmir Academy of Arts) in both 1927 and 1928 (Ege Mimarlık, 1991;

²⁰ These urban planners, who also gave academic courses, were known as "Danger Brothers" or "Geometres" (geometricians) as they had developed their own approach to planning. This approach is noticeable in Izmir's master plan in its geometric layout with wide streets and a large park in the center (Tanyeli, 1992; Akyol, 2013; Kayın, 2015).

²¹ Izmir's urban plan was structured in French planning style (Tanyeli, 1992).

²² The first examples of trade fairs appear in eighteenth-century Europe before spreading worldwide during the 1930s. Both state and private sector oriented organizations provided opportunity for countries to promote their industrial products, their arts and their crafts (Zander, 2010: 141).

Sönmezdağ, 1978). Further fair activity was conducted in the post-fire area after its restoration in 1933, and again in 1934 and 1935.

As well as the socio-economic importance of its fair activity, the park also became the leading example of Early Republican architectural efforts in the urban context (see Figure 5). Initially planned in the 1925 master city plan to occupy 60,000 square meters in the center of Izmir, it became clear during construction that a larger space was required so the park eventually covered 360,000 square meters when it opened in 1936 (Seymen, 1992; Tanyeli, 1992). As Kırılı mentions, Turkey's Early Republican period elites chose to look towards Europe's authoritarian states, such as Italy, Germany and the Soviet Union, since they were similarly determined and enthusiastic about shaping the future (2007). Thus, they decided to take Gorky Park²³ (see Figure 6) in Moscow as a model. Like its model, the physical properties and spatial layout formed the core of the ICP project (Tanyeli, 1992). However, Izmir International Fair was a different older concept than the culture park, being mainly a facility for trade fairs, held for limited periods, within the park's boundaries.

²³ Claire Shaw (2011) reports that Gorky Park, described as a Culture and Entertainment Park, was built in Moscow after the Communist Revolution in 1917 as a center to entertain and educate the community according to communal working class norms.



Figure 5. Annotated map showing ICP's central location, the scale of its occupancy of space and its close relationship to other central references in Izmir's urban texture (Source: www.haritalar.web.tr/izmir_haritasi.html)



Figure 6. Photographs showing Gorky Park's spatial codes, which resemble those of ICP (Source: centralpark.kh.ua/istoriya-parka/)

The culture park was created by the municipality and under the direction of multiple people: the prolific mayor, Behçet Uz; the consultant, Suad Yurdkoru; and the consultant's team (Feyzioğlu, 2011). As such, the park's representation accords with a Lefebvrian understanding of space: the conceived space and representations of space that are bound together by the production of space are also identified with signs, codes and frontal relations. The space is a conceptualized space: the space of organizers, urbanists, social planners, and so forth who choose what is lived, seen and imagined inside that appropriate space. It incorporates an arrangement of verbal signs (Lefebvre, 1998). It may also be envisioned as conceived space that contains the imagined representations of space, which is especially vital on the grounds that it rules and encodes what can be seen while smothering the lived space. Above all, the energy of the imagined space originates from its capacity to enable people to both "see" and "not see" the world (Allen, 1999). That is, in deciding on the future of this particular destroyed area of Izmir and how to occupy this space, the municipality along with other producers of the park, applied spatial codes according to how they wanted the users to perceive the new space. These codes, which all served to represent the space, were strategically planned in accordance with the motivations behind establishing ICP (see Figure 7).



Figure 7. As a display of the strength of the new Republican state, the novelty of its new regime and to impress visitors, the authorities located the ornamental pool with its imposing fountain as one of the main axes of the park's entrances. That is, visitors could see the fountain and pool directly from each entrance
(Source: www.kanalben.com/haber/155919/sohretin-yolu-izmir-den-gecerdi.html)

Although the political powers' dominance strongly influences the representations of space (see Figure 8), Lefebvre additionally recognizes that any individual can somehow adjust and utilize such arranged spaces in their own way rather than their early-proposed functions (Demirtaş, 2009). Lefebvre makes clear how theoreticians have insufficiently considered how the actions of the people who use such a space may transform it, and the consequences of this for its social life. As Lefebvre puts it, regarding the representations of space, "[e]ven neo capitalism or 'organized' capitalism, even technocratic planners and programmers, cannot produce a space with a perfectly clear understanding of cause and effect, motive and implication" (Lefebvre, 1998: 37).



Figure 8. A group of government representatives and military officers posing at the construction site of ICP in the mid-1930s
(Source: APIKAM Archive; *IZFAS album*)

According to the authorities' master plan, the physical context of ICP was shaped by the various facilities to serve its users' differing needs. First, there were professionally oriented spaces, open to the public, after entering the park through gates at each compass point²⁴ (Akyol, 2013; Altan, 2015). Beyond that were entertainment and play areas serving all age groups, including swimming pools, sports facilities, a parachute tower²⁵, and an open-air theatre. The plans called for numerous other facilities to be built, including a firefighting center, police stations, small squares with seating

²⁴ The *Lozan* gate leads to the large square where the opening ceremonies were held; the 9 Eylül gate was constructed in 1939 by Ferruh Örel; other gates, *Montrö* and 26 Ağustos, were designed in the modernist architectural style of the time (Altan, 2015).

²⁵ It was an important architectural element of Early Republican ideology, which represents the given importance to sports and health facilities, and shows a leisure activity of a new modern life. The implementation of those towers was to be adapted by the new republican nation and therefore, they were included in culture parks of other Turkish cities.

elements, a restaurant, a larger square for five thousand people, casinos, an amphitheater, a circus, an administrative building, an open-air swimming pool, a children's theatre, child nurseries, tennis courts, and educational museums of Aegean products, health, Atatürk's revolution, and many other topics²⁶ (Akyol, 2013; Drinkwater and Can, 2015) (see Figure 9). However, the producer determined the motivations for the use of spaces, not the user. That is, although the park was undoubtedly designed as a space enabling its users to interact with greenery and enjoy social activities, because these activities were defined by the professionals, the authority or the producers, the voice of the park's users and their agency in producing the space was ignored. In using Moscow's Gorky Park as their model for ICP, the authorities could have proposed some changes in view of differences in the users' cultural backgrounds, daily practices, and distinct collective memories that shape their mental perceptions of the space.

²⁶ In 1938, an artificial lake, a zoo and an amusement park, and in 1956 a marriage agency, were added from the Moscow model (Akyol, 2013). These additional facilities also appear in the individual and social memory of 1970s users.



Figure 9. Map of ICP published in the newspaper with a legend informing its users about the spaces and their locations in advance of their visit to the culture park (Source: APIKAM Archive; *Yeni Asır* Newspaper)

Apart from the conceived space, that is the park's physical environment and spatial properties determined by the authorities, we can focus on two other features of the spatial triad: human agency in perception and experiencing the space. In its early years, the park's social character, identity and meaning for its visitors should be analyzed in terms of its multi-dimensional social structure as a designed propaganda tool (Zander, 2010) of the Early Republican period, a teaching instrument for modernity (Gürel, 2011; Kayın, 2015) and a role model for Anatolia (Demir, 2006). This can be identified through reading the park as a space of complex nonverbal symbols and signs, including symbolisms and codes (Lefebvre, 1998) (see Figure 10).

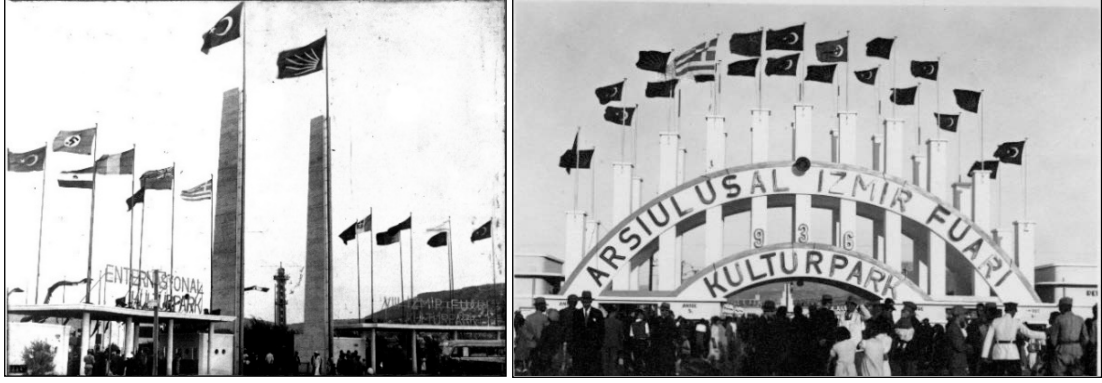


Figure 10. The entrances of the culture park carrying Turkish and foreign flags used as symbols to underline Turkey's importance in the new global conjecture with its new Republican identity (Source: APIKAM Archive; *IZFAS album*)

Turning to the park's users, ICP carries as many significant meanings for them as it did for its producers. The fair's evolution began with the September 9th Exhibition of 1927 and continued to the day when the park opened in 1936, in its current place where latterly the culture park was built on. The park was considered as an enlightened work of the Early Republican era and an important reflection of the city's collective effort in building it up, as well as the productive thoughts and actions of local actors (Karpat, 2009) (see Figure 11).



Figure 11. Photographs showing the construction of ICP, mostly done by the city's citizens. According to the interviewees, many master builders worked without payment to construct its surrounding walls, which were demolished in 1991²⁷ (Source: APIKAM Archive; *IZFAS album*)

The park space was perceived as a national unity project to recover from the difficult period following Izmir's conflagration in 1922. In acknowledgement of the harm that the fire caused, Izmir was selected by republican authorities, to be a model "to shape the dough of Anatolia" (Karakaya, 2012: 319) (quotation marks in original), to fairly distribute development around the country, and to improve the city's economic condition in line with the reintegration, reestablishment and groundbreaking government policies between 1923 and 1929 (Karakaya, 2012).

In order to signal the coming of good days to Turkish citizens after the Ottoman period, the park's considerable value was framed through being a public space, as part of a project to modernize the community in the Early Republican period. As Karakaya notes, one of the ideals of the young Republic was to develop Anatolian cities

²⁷ During the term of Mayor Yüksel Çakmur (1942-), Izmir Municipality held a national competition to improve the culture park area, which had fallen into decay, by hosting an expanded entertainment sector. However, this downgraded the fair activities and lost the original vision of the park (Karpaz, 2009).

economically and socially (2012), with Ankara and Izmir chosen as the leading cities for its implementation (2011).

Gürel (2011) describes the park's program as a "conceptualized social structure that connected localities to the process of modernization and westernization in 1930s' Turkey". Similarly, Kırılı (2007: 230) notes that "[m]odern, national, urban public spaces like the *Kültürpark* (...) were seen as necessary components for the creation of modern habits and new sociabilites in Turkish citizens, and more significantly for exhibiting the new citizenship" (see Figure 12). In terms of belonging to the modern world, such habits set a good example for reproducing daily reality. As Lefebvre states, the social space combines production and reproduction, and guarantees endurance and some level of attachment. Every society discovers its own spatial practice inside its spaces, building up a close link within perceived space, between daily reality and urban reality. Incomprehensibly, this also splits up the places it links together (Lefebvre, 1998). That is, it is the space of representation and resistance against it, while its physical presence is solemnly subject to its conceived space (Allen, 1999). Hence, although a public space like ICP is designed to contribute to the urban reality through new facilities for public entertainment and education, its users create another type of reality through using these spaces and integrating them into their daily practices, or adapting their practices to these spaces.



Figure 12. Photograph showing a new modern form of citizenship whereby men and women can socialize together
(Source: Serçe, E., Yetkin, S., and Yılmaz, F. (2004). Chapter 6: From trade fair to international exposition, *The City which Rose from the Ashes*, published by Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, 201.)

Comparing ICP to other similar parks of the Early Republican period shows that creating a large green urban place, educating the public to be modern and adapting them to westernized leisure activities were key goals (Seymen, 1992; Demir, 2006). Gürel claims that as well as adapting citizens to new modern activities, the spatial organization and central location of the culture park was also intended to cultivate practices of organized daily life, and promote social interactions among different

socioeconomic groups. It was intended to suit evolving leisure practices of Republican citizens who distinguished themselves from the practices of the traditional Ottoman culture while also particularly signifying aspirations to belong to the wider world (2011). This strategy was implemented by bringing women and men into the same public place while making them acknowledge each other through using common spaces. However, after initially serving this aim of modernization and westernization, the park's uses later transformed its identity and altered its initial definition as a place of educating masses. Therefore, the park reproduced itself by responding to rising demands of users in terms of leisure practices. As a result, entertainment spaces increased and their character transformed.

2.1.2. Transformation of Entertainment Culture in the 1970s

The significant role of the culture park in the daily life of its women users is noticeable since they reevaluate these spaces in their narrations. They convert the culture park into a social space in which they not only eat, drink and spend their leisure time, but also gather, talk, share problems, consult each other and search for solutions. In short, they create their own lived space where they can share and socialize.

The hand-drawn graphical representations of the women interviewees show that these practices and memories cluster in particular spaces. Women who use to

entertain themselves in the culture park during 1970s give similar answers and emphasize various commonly used spaces, which opens up an alternative reading of the culture park's plan: lake and the swans, cascading pool, Lozan Gate, marriage office, parachute tower, open-air theatre, rose garden and zoo (see Figure 13). They frequently mention such spaces, either by words or drawing images, while narrating their meaningful memoirs.

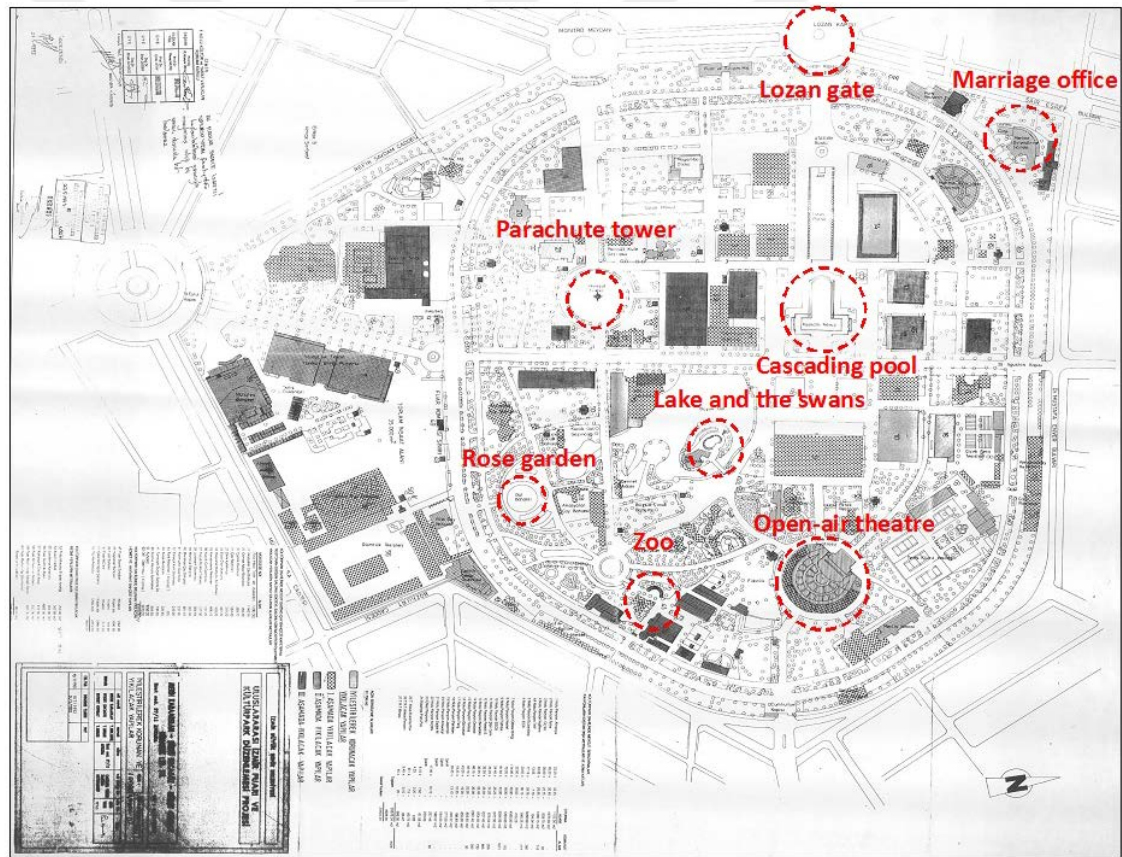
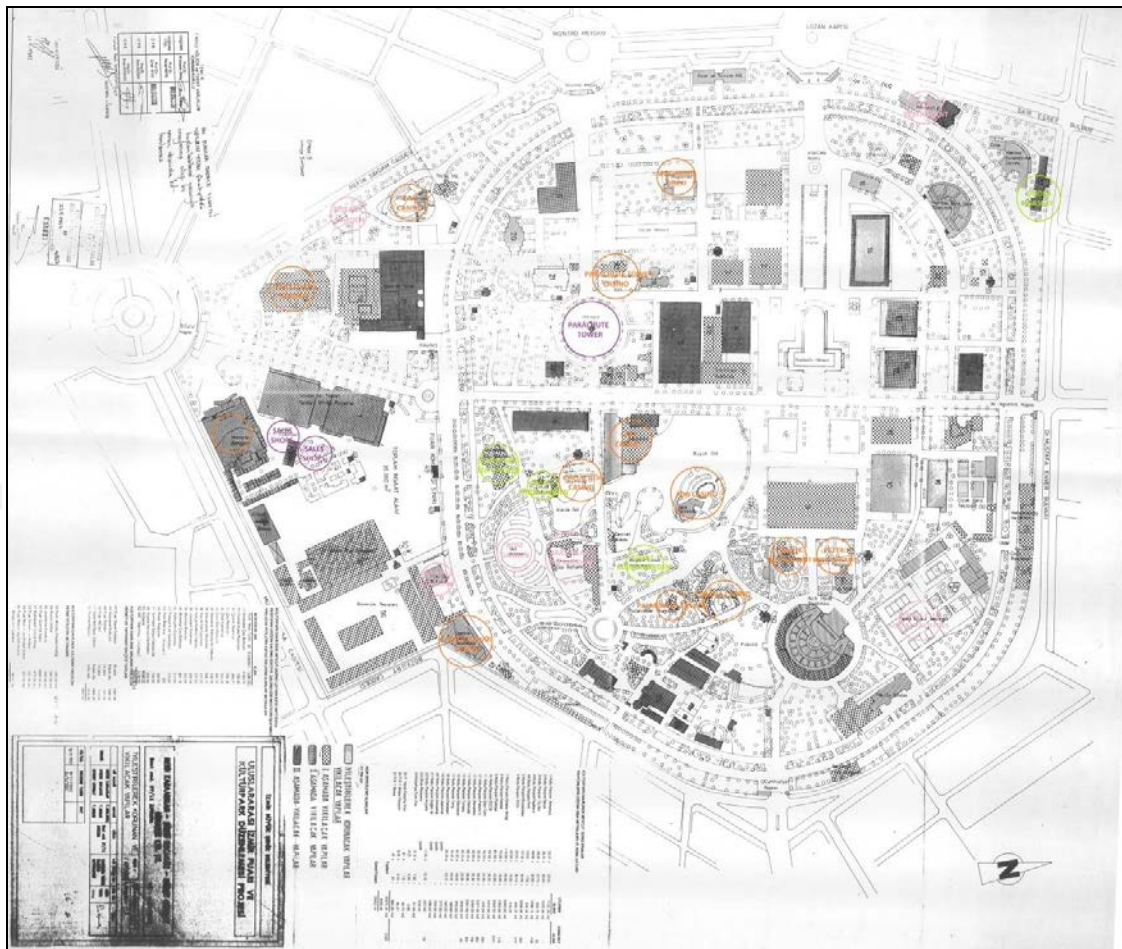


Figure 13. The distribution of mental spaces in the 1970s plan of ICP, mainly stressed in the hand-drawn graphical representations of memory of each oral history interviewee (Drawn by the author, 2017)

By means of spatial practices, women express their use of these spaces according to their different needs and social status. From the oral histories taken from three informal group sessions (each one of them included between 6 and 10 women participants), it is possible to distinguish various spaces according to the user groups of the women: mothers, customers, daytime actors or nighttime actors (see Figure 14 and 15). Women point out their leisure activities in detail by using the graphical representations of the memories method and list the following activities: participating in the ceremonies at the wedding hall; walking around the park with their children; bringing the children to the plays at the theatre, to the zoo or to the amusement park; looking around the sales booths; shopping; gathering together with their friends (of the same-sex) and socializing in tea gardens (see Figure 16); entertaining themselves with live music in the casinos during the day; and participating in the casinos' evening programs, accompanied by their male family members (see Figure 17). Examining the hand drawn graphical representations of memories helps to mark which spaces of the culture park are visited during the day and night, and also explains for what purposes they are visited. One of the fundamental outcomes of these analyses shows us that the casino spaces are the most frequently visited spaces of the culture park (including both daytime and night time use), occupying a higher amount of square meters compared to any other social activity group (see Figure 15).



	Spaces used by women (during the day and at night)
	Spaces used by women (only during the day)
	Spaces used by women as consumers
	Spaces used by women as mothers with their children

Figure 15. Distribution of lived spaces on the 1970s plan of ICP that were frequently stressed in the hand-drawn graphical representations of memory of each oral history interviewee (Drawn by the author, 2017)



Figure 16. Photographs representing moments in the lives and practices of women in the spaces of the culture park. We can see women spending time in the Rose Garden (top-left); women as consumers (top-right); women enjoying the lake and the swans (bottom-left); or women meeting around the pool (bottom-right) (Source: APIKAM Archive; IZFAS album)

Having analyzed in detail the spatial practices of women within the culture park, we also need to consider how women remember these practices and spaces, and perceive these spaces. The mental phase of the spatial triad, the representational space, creates a mental perception of space through the historical context or recollections of that proper space (Lefebvre, 1998). In this case, when the two layers of the triad, conceived and perceived spaces, are compared, Lefebvre contends that conceived space cannot be hold subordinate to a rationale because of the absence of consistency in mental relations. However, the people of perceived spaces do not need to be consistent as

they have their origins in history which shape their perceptions and imageries. These spaces may be linked to personal childhood recollections, imaginings, or uterine visual imageries and symbols, which Lefebvre believes are still bright and vibrant (Lefebvre, 1998). Undoubtedly, therefore, designers of space should take into consideration the human factor. In assigning any design task for a proper space, they should not ignore the socio-cultural or historical actualities of that specific area, the recollections of people, and most importantly, their sensations belong to the mental state of that space.

In their hand-drawn graphical representations of memory, many participants included the lines of palm trees that structure a direction from the entrance to the center of the culture park (see Figure 17). They also mentioned how these trees lined up in a faultless perspective and green vista with spring blossoms that bring tranquility while symbolizing an idealized world in the everyday urban fabric. The zoo area also provided a very different experience for family groups as visitors could see a variety of animals in the open that approached with joy and excitement. The frequently mentioned distorting mirrors of the amusement park delighted its visitors by making them scream with laughter. Such emotional accumulations easily fracture from the participants' memories to surface in present-day graphical representations of memory.



Figure 17. The line of palm trees with families walking down the aisle or enjoying their shade
(Source: APIKAM Archive; *IZFAS album*)

The findings of the participants' graphical representations of memory reveal how interviewees convey their memories through specific significant symbols, such as the parachute tower, pond, palm trees, rides of the amusement park (ghost trains and Ferris wheel) (see Figure 18), or swans drifting on the artificial lake. They also use spaces for symbols, like the pavilions, tea or beer gardens, open-air theatre and casinos (see Figure 19). These drawings support their narrations by making it easier for them to remember.



Figure 18. A ride from the amusement park of ICP, namely Luna Park, frequently drawn in the women's graphical representations of memory
(Source: Esenkan Personal Archive)

In addition to the material sources of memory, which could be either material or sensible, some interviewees used their graphical representations to recall hearing the sounds of peacocks, seeing paddle boats on the lake or tasting the first sip of beer or *şıra*.²⁸

²⁸ A local grape juice drink.



Figure 19. Graphical representation of memories, showing many of the 1970s' entertainment facilities used by women: Ferris wheel of Luna Park, artificial lake with swans, open-air theatre, parachute tower, pond and trees (see also Appendix D)

The interviewees' narrations capture the strong emotional bonds between the space and the self that are reflected unconditionally in the representational space. For instance, the park's sculptures are still vivid memories. "The lifelike sculpture of the naked woman always got great attention from both men and women. It was a custom to visit the sculpture and sit on her lap for anyone visiting the culture park" (N.T., personal interview, 2017)²⁹ (see Figure 20). Another frequently mentioned sculpture is the one that used to stand in front of the zoo. This sculpture of horses (see Figure 21)

²⁹ Coded as personal interview 8, N.T. (1950-), (frequent of the 1970s matinees) was interviewed by the writer on January 16th, 2017. The interview was recorded.

has a historical connotation to the culture park's early years while evoking the feelings or bad memories of those who suffered after the fire in Izmir. The sculpture expresses the horses' miserable fate of dying suddenly from carrying too much while clearing debris from the fire. Dağtaş, who discusses the secret history of the sculpture in detail, reports that, although it had been predicted that the debris would take 40 years to clear, it was accomplished in just 23 months. However, 68 horses died after the cleanup from work done carrying debris during this period (2004: 63). The sculpture still stands in front of the zoo's entrance, although the zoo no longer exists.



Figure 20. Photograph serving as a material trace of memory that shows two children playing with the sculpture of a naked woman
(Source: Esenkan Personal Archive)



Figure 21. Sculpture of horses with the epitaph “For the memory of the horses that labored in the construction of the culture park”
(Source: APIKAM Archive; *IZFAS album* and Esenkan Personal Archive)

The participation of women in the public spaces of ICP and the strong emotional bonds are clear in oral histories, it is beneficial to understand how they used these spaces and still keep them in their memoirs. Using another way to look at it we can ask the following: What were their practices and experiences over these spaces? What was the significance of these spaces for them? In both the narrations and the hand-drawn graphical representations of memories from the interviews, the names of the casino spaces and the experiences in these entertainment spaces are conveyed very frequently. They occupy a great part in each narration. Therefore, before taking a closer look at these casino spaces in the next chapter, it is important to understand the significance of these spaces for the park and their influence in the evolving entertainment life in ICP.

Between the 1950s and 1980s, according to Kayin (2015), Republican ideals were overtaken by the entertainment culture. In the context of modernization, the park's meaning and representation shifted significantly towards entertainment (Feyzioğlu, 2006), especially during the 1970s when casinos became important features (see Figure 22). Thus, the main argument regarding this period concerns how the park's users perceived it, both overall and in relation to its casino spaces, and how they used and experienced the space in terms of lived space. Given the wide scope of this topic, and because the study primarily draws on women's experiences, it is first important to provide a more detailed account of women's perceptions of the culture park.



Figure 22. Newspaper announcements of casino programs that promote the new entertainment focused character of ICP through titles such as “Not only a Fair but an Art Festival”, “Have a good time” and “We Will Have More Fun than in Previous Years” (Source: APIKAM Archive; *Yeni Asır* Newspaper, September 1, 1974)

Between its early years and the 1970s, the shift in the park's physical and social environment in relation to the entertainment services, is visible. The casino culture that had already appeared in Turkey starting in the nineteenth century, was reflected more than ever in the culture park arena by the 1970s. In terms of the conceived space of professionals, more spaces were provided for the entertainment sector. Feyzioğlu reports that the number of casinos increased in that period. The names of the existing and new casinos were: Akasyalar Tea Garden, Küçük Göl Casino, Cennet Bahçesi Casino, Ada Casino, Göl Casino, Menekşe Tea Garden, Villa Tea Garden, Paraşüt Kule Casino, Atış Poligonu Casino, Kübana, Mogambo, Sarmaşık, Kervansaray, Çamlık Senar, Open-air Theatre³⁰, Manolya Public Garden, Ekici Över Casino, Lunapark Casino, and Zoo Tea Garden (2011). Since these spaces were originally created to encourage women and men to socialize together, they were designed for both genders to use. They were patronized mostly in the evenings (see Figure 23). As one of the interviewees, (N.G., personal interview, 2015)³¹, described the following:

The casino was in the shape of a half circle. When you enter the space, you step on a platform and then you need to go down three steps, and you meet another platform and another three steps (...) There were tables on those platforms and columns which were covered with mirrors in order to enable the visitors to see all the interior and the other customers.

³⁰ The first open-air public theatre space in Turkey was opened in ICP during the 1930s, winning recognition as an important entertainment facility (Örel and Çeçen, 1939).

³¹ Coded as personal interview 4, N.G. (1929-) (daughter of Mustafa Saim Evren was the chief of İzmir's infrastructure and construction committee and participant in establishing ICP) was interviewed by the writer on March 21st, 2015. The interview was recorded.

While describing the conceived space, N.G.'s narration provides clues about perceived space as a user of such social spaces when she mentions how it was important to participate and socialize in the night programs:

Island casino was different from the others by its location, successful service and important visitors (...) On the other hand, Mogambo and Kübana were other leading casinos, which welcomed decent visitors, where myself and my husband used to wear our best clothes like many other casino customers did.



Figure 23. Photographs are taken in Villa and Ekici Över Tea Gardens, showing a normal evening with women and men socializing together. Note, even young women are able to occupy a table and spend time together in public (Source: Esenkan Personal Archive)

In terms of social practices, the everyday practices of women are crucial, as they need to proclaim their existence by being more active during the daytime in these public spaces. This is demonstrated by the socialization in tea gardens and casinos during the day. N.G. (personal interview, 2015) remembers those days: “We used to visit the rose garden and have a cup of tea there and those roses were beautiful. Not only at the fair times but also anytime we had the nice weather, we used to go to the culture park.”

Apart from the tea gardens, women started to come together frequently and establish a private matinee activity in which they danced and communicated with each other, thereby transforming this physical space into a social space. Regarding the conceived space, these casinos spaces and tea gardens, which were also used for daytime matinee programs, were poorly decorated. The furniture layout was only created with wooden seating elements, as the owner did not maintain a well-kept physical space. Instead, women molded the space within mental boundaries and social activities, thereby producing a public space of their own. The feelings that a space evokes in its users, and the ways that they perceive this space in terms of wearing their best outfits and presenting themselves in the best manner, arise not just from its physical qualities but also from its representational meaning (see Figure 24).



Figure 24. Men and women socializing together in late 1960s casinos in ICP
(Source: APIKAM Archive; *unknown family album*)

As much as perceptions of the casino space, spatial practices play a foremost role in the contribution of human agency in producing the social space. Through a variety of different practices, the space is produced, reproduced and appropriated repeatedly. Soja describes it as “the space which the imagination (...) seeks to change and appropriate” (as cited in Allen, 1999: 260). All participants in oral histories mention the vivid social life through which the culture park contributed to the users’ practices, especially during fair times. S.M. (personal interview, 2015)³² gives details about the busy schedule of the casino programs as:

Although the culture park was mainly produced as an exhibition area in which provincial authorities, chambers of commerce and industries, exhibited their own locally produced products, the entertainment reached its peak in the 70s because it introduced open-air theatres and also the casino culture in many of its spaces, such as Senar Tea Garden, Mehtap Family Garden, Manolya Garden, Ekici Över and Lunapark Garden. Families were visiting these spaces whether they served meals or not (...) people enjoyed the long nights. For instance, Cem Karaca used to start his performance at 02.00 a.m. and the night shows ended at 04.00 in the morning.

³² Coded as personal interview 6, S.M. (1950-) (an assistant director in the park during the 1970s) was interviewed by the writer on March 27st, 2015. The interview was recorded.

S.M. (personal interview, 2015) adds further details about the customer profile of the ICP entertainment spaces while describing their daily routine before and after the evening programs:

The majority of users were from the Aegean region. After gathering the harvest, these people sold their products to '*Tariş*' and got their payment for their agricultural products. For sure, they kept some of their money for the fair time. They came to Izmir and settled into the hotels around *Basmane* district. They went swimming at *Klizman* in the daytime, they went back to their hotels to refresh themselves and put on their favorite clothes. Then later they visited the culture park and its tea gardens. (...) In those tea gardens, men smoked water pipes while the whole family had tea and the children spent their time in the amusement park. Sometimes they even brought their food from outside, but mostly prepared their food on grills, which can be related to the women's chores. Then they decided on their evening programs for which they preferred to see a variety of different artists each night.

K.A. (personal interview, 2015)³³ provides another description of the 1970s while having a similar perception about the position of ICP in vivid urban life:

Since the hotels became full of visitors to the culture park during the fair time, there was no place to sleep in the houses. All visitors came from neighboring provinces and stayed with their relatives or friends living in Izmir. Popular artists of those years from Istanbul performed in the culture park and we had matinees. While matinees took place during day, we had soirees in the evenings. The social life in Izmir became so vivid for the whole month.

Dağtaş also contributes to the urban collective memory by emphasizing the full hotels and the deep interest in the park's fair facilities:

It was hard to find any vacancies in any hotels in the city during the 1960s and 1970s. The families living in Izmir especially made arrangements for their acquaintances coming to visit the park in order to give them a place to sleep or prepare food. Thus, soon after the fair time ended and the guests had left the

³³ Coded as personal interview 3, K.A. (1951-), (owner of movie theatre called '*Şan Sineması*' in Izmir during the 1970s) was interviewed by the writer on March 25th, 2015. The interview was recorded.

city and gone back to their homes, homeowners started to complain to others how they had become tired from entertaining their guests (2004: XI).

Apart from offering a space to bring together citizens of different socio-economic groups to socialize and partake in leisure time activities, ICP affected international relations through its economic activities. As Polat (2008) reports, the fair helped develop international relations and created commercial links. Within this business environment, tradesmen had opportunities to make contact and to see each other's goods. The fair also enabled Turkish goods and products to be exhibited, revealing previously unknown characteristics of the country's wares to foreign markets looking for these resources.

These socio-economic activities also formed a continuum with the entertainment and trading sectors expanding. During the 1970s, while producers and users engaged in many trading activities, other social activities focused on the displaying of global improvements, such as the public exhibition of a rock from the moon and the first displaying of TV (Feyzioğlu, 2011). In the oral histories, K.A. (personal interview, 2015) mentions his first experiences of various commercial goods: "We watched the World Cup of 1966 on a TV broadcast in the German pavilion. As well, until those years, we had never seen soda or beer in Turkey. That was only the first time I tested them in the culture park." Moreover, S.M. (personal interview, 2015) emphasized how improvements appeared in ICP:

We had a TV broadcast of the fair in 1972. The broadcast was on-air and recorded from the terrace of the TRT building in the culture park, and visitors

had [a]chance to watch it in many places that were sponsored by international firms, such as Grundig, etc., or in tea gardens. We used to watch the world cup and the Olympic competitions in the culture park. We used to sit in the simple wooden chairs, grab a hotdog and a *şıra* [and] drink from the '*Tariş*' stand.

Thus, through the display of these improvements, we can see the potential of a space to create new types of social relations, daily activities and rituals.

Nationally, the 1970s and 1980s were characterized by the emergence of TV broadcasts as an alternative entertainment means, leading people to spend less time outside the home in the evenings (Demir, 2006). At that time, a general economic crisis, Turkey's chaotic environment, financial strains from making movies in color and audiences beginning to prefer to stay at home more, caused the Turkish film industry to experience a serious crisis (Çetin, 2014: 290). While these influences can all be related to the increasing socially-gendered daytime activities in ICP, the oral history narratives suggest the opposite through the women's memories of the park's use by women. S.M. (personal interview, 2015), for example, describes as a regular ritual that women from Izmir's well-known families used to get together in the culture park during the daytime:

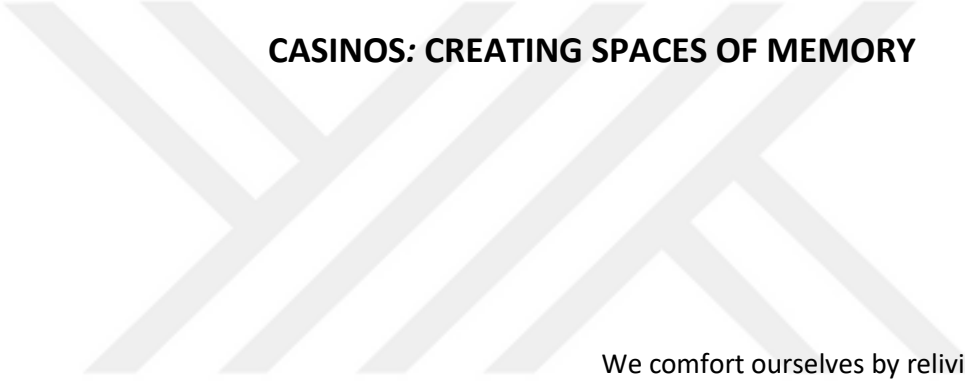
During winter, women visited the restaurants of the culture parks during nice weather. Some of these restaurants were Park Restaurant, Shooting Range Restaurant and Court Restaurant, in which these women planned their social activities. For instance, associations like the Turkish Women's Union, or charities, arranged their organization in tea gardens. While they brought their homemade snacks, they ordered tea to drink from the enterprise. During those times, they had plenty of good time[s] as they chatted and talked about anything, even about politics. They also sometimes brought visitors, important female figures or politicians, to give a talk to the community of women.

We can conclude that the park served more as a representational space when, in the effort to erase the debris from Izmir's 1922 fire, the Moscow Park was used as a model to showcase Republican ideals through the construction of a new physical environment. However, the park's identity later shifted as the content of representational space was more represented by the rising entertainment culture after the 1950s. Though this continued until the 1980s, it is possible to consider Turkey's entertainment culture of the 1950s, 1970s and 1980s as a distinct period because of its particular social and spatial conditions. In particular, the 1970s was a prominent period when more space of ICP was given over to casinos, which increased their matinee entertainment. This increasing use of casino and matinee spaces provided an opportunity to explore the expansion of women's sociality in public spaces during this period.

This chapter discussed the social dimension of the casino spaces of ICP through the social and individual memories of women who used the park during the 1970s. Oral histories and graphical representations done by women show us the transformation of their practices and experiences in these entertainment spaces during the years of the 1970s. The following chapter further analyzes these spaces and women's occupancy of them, to enrich the study in terms of use and meaning of these casino spaces, especially for women.

CHAPTER 3

CASINOS: CREATING SPACES OF MEMORY



We comfort ourselves by reliving memories of protection. Something closed must retain our memories, while leaving them their original value as images ... [B]y recalling these memories, we add to our store of dreams; we are never real historians, but always near poets, and our emotion is perhaps nothing but an expression of a poetry that was lost.

(Gaston Bachelard, The Poetics of Space, Beacon Press, 1994, p.6)

Starting from the early years of ICP, the space is remembered with its commercial and cultural facilities, befitting its position at the center of Izmir's cultural life and social network. By hosting these facilities, the character of this public space has held a place in the memory of the city's citizens. Accordingly, this study focuses on reading

this cultural space in the 1970s, drawing on the memories of users to understand how changing socio-cultural circumstances affected the entertainment facilities within the park and how entertainment culture was transformed. Deciphering memories with women's changing social status in mind introduces another reading to the current studies of the park, as well as Turkey's modernization at large.

In interviewing users from the 1970s, this study respects the individuality of each memory which contribute to sustain a collective memory. ICP thus works as a continuity factor in collective memory of previous periods and events that contribute to building up a collective identity. Since it is a difficult task to uncover a nation's collective memory by collecting individual narrations or oral histories, Barash claims that collectivities never "remember" alone themselves, while members of community may share memories and transfer these memories through word, image and gesture. In this vein, it is challenging to prove what memory recalls in immediate personal experience: people, things, events and situations in the public domain, though they actually have presence in a direct encounter within the narrations (2012). Hence, this study is important as a demonstration of how to gather individual memories from narrations and cluster them according to the study's focus. The foundation of memory in this study is built on enriching collective memory that creates a path towards understanding the park's socio-spatial relations through the entertainment culture of the 1970s.

The many interviewees and users of the 1970s strongly show how important it is to study this subject since they saw ICP as an irreplaceable part of urban entertainment and leisure time activities at a time when there were no other alternatives to the growing casino trend.

It was a space, which was occupied by both the intellectuals and the public. You cannot separate the two from each other. At that time, there was no chance of attending daily summer attractions; there was either no chance of jumping into the car and going to *Çeşme*.³⁴ Therefore, transportation and entertainment was limited and the culture park meant the entertainment life of the whole city. Especially, between August 20 and September 20, during the fair time, there were significant spaces for shopping, life and culture, entertainment, music and so on. They could not sustain them (C.T.³⁵, personal interview, 2015).

Bilen not only, displays the park as the center of leading social activities in the 1970s Izmir urban life, but also informs us about the dates and content of the fair facility of ICP:

[t]he pavilions of many countries were opened and participated in the fair organization. Furthermore, if you asked me what about the socio-cultural side of the fair, I could tell you that there were twenty casinos that cannot be taken lightly for their entertainment venues. I say this very comfortably that twenty thousand people were entertained in those casinos while at least two or three theatres played each evening during the fair period (Bilen, reported in Göçmenoğlu, 2014).³⁶

In order to understand the socio-spatial properties of the 1970s' casino spaces in ICP, we first should develop a dialogue between these casino spaces and other historically

³⁴ It is a summer town with beaches, summerhouses, and hotels 70km to the west of the city (Ünal and Williams, 1999: 2).

³⁵ Coded as Personal Interview 1, C.T. (1951-), (running a casino business called '*Ada Gazinosu*' in ICP through the 1970s) was interviewed by the writer on May 5th, 2015. The interview was recorded.

³⁶ Tayfur Göçmenoğlu is a well-known reporter and witness of Izmir nightlife and entertainment culture in the 1970s. Therefore, his statements, reported by Selcan Bilen on June 1st, 2014, are very helpful for projecting the socio-cultural background.

important casino and casino-like entertainment models nationwide. This will enable us to read how the casino concept was created in Turkey, how it developed and how its significance was transformed by altering spatial facilities and other emerging conditions in Turkey's urban entertainment culture.

3.1. Historical Development of the Casino from the Eighteenth Century to the 1970s

This section will briefly explore the history of casino culture and its evolution through the 1970s. However, first it would be beneficial to analyze what casino means and what kind of a spatial organization it involves. Casino (or *Gazino* in Turkish), is a type of nightclub originally found in *Tanzimat*³⁷ reform era, in nineteenth-century Istanbul (Koçu, 1972: 6042). At that time, Istanbul, as the Ottoman capital, had some of the most famous casinos. The casino's physical space shapes the type of entertainment, such as *pavyon*, *taverna* or *saz* (Beken, 2003). It is a restaurant, which operates at night serving meals accompanied by alcoholic beverages. Musical entertainment is also provided. The *pavyon* is an alternative to casino entertainment that offers cheaper entertainment and caters just to men (Tekelioğlu, 1996). Stokes categorizes the variety of casino spaces according to their service charges: "Casino is a kind of club, where one can drink, eat and watch some kind of stage show as they vary from

³⁷ It is the name of the modernization period which started in the Ottoman Empire in 1839 when Gülhane Hatt-i Sharif (*Tanzimat Fermanı*) was read.

the cheap and respectable family casino [*aile gazinosu*] to upmarket casinos, such as ‘*Büyük Maksim*’ [the Grand Maxim] in Istanbul” (Strokes, 1994, p.23) (see Figure 25).



Figure 25. Photograph taken at the end of the 1950s, showing the facade of the Grand Maxim in Istanbul, one of Turkey’s most famous casinos
(Source: Radikal Newspaper, available at: www.radikal.com.tr/radikalist/eglence-dunyasinin-efsanesi-maksim-gazinosu-1221712/)

The casinos in Istanbul appeared in late *Tanzimat* era and the Arkadi Casino in Galata, whose owner was an ex-chief policeman called Arap Enver, was one of the most popular one. In those times, people were offended by Muslim performers taking the stage, Akripas and Misak were the pioneer non-Muslim performers (Göçmenoğlu, 2008). During the occupation of Istanbul from 1918 to 1923, Alkazar American Casino became popular for its pantomime, dance, canto music³⁸ and comedy shows. Beyaz Park Casino (1926) opened in Büyükdere (Koçu, 1961: 2623) and then Çubuklu Casino started in 1926 (Kalkan, 2007). Maksim Casino, another important casino space of the

³⁸ Canto, translated as *Kanto* in Turkish, refers to the vocal and *makam* aesthetic of Turkish art music, which combines Western and Eastern instruments (Stokes, 2012).

era, was established by an American called Frederick Bruce Thomas in 1921.³⁹ It offered a large space for hosting hundreds of customers, with a small stage and a dance floor. White columns at the entrance, a bar and a view of the Bosphorus were other details contributing to its spatial aesthetic. Stella was other featured casino, which became popular for its jazz orchestra and opportunity for dancing the Charleston, foxtrot and shimmy (Gülcan, 2014) (see Figure 26).



Figure 26. A scene from Maksim Casino from the early 1920s, with customers entertaining themselves at ballroom dancing
(Source: Radikal Newspaper, available at: www.radikal.com.tr/radikalist/eglence-dunyasinin-efsanesi-maksim-gazinosu-1221712/)

The sources (Dağtaş, 20004; Göçmenoğlu, 2008) focusing on entertainment culture in Izmir, stressing further to the eighteenth century over other eras with the sparking public entertainment life. In the late 1800s, Ottoman traditional music was in decline and performances shifted to Turkish-owned urban coffeehouses (kahvehane) as they

³⁹ Maxim only survived five years under the control of Thomas because of his debts, and stayed closed until the 1960s. It was reopened in 1961 by Fahrettin Aslan and his partner Emin Yeyman. In the mid-1960s, its name changed to Grand Maxim because of its success in the market (Gülcan, 2014).

latterly adopted European-style Greek-owned casino type entertainment. “The genre flourished as the basis of a new song cycle that eventually eclipsed the earlier courtly suite, or *fasıl*” (Buchanan, 2007: 8). Other participants of the casino entertainment industry, including professional female oriental dancers, were supported financially by non-Muslim citizens. Dağtaş (2004) reports that the first casino in Izmir was Frenk Casino (built in 1785), which should be considered as more of a social club for the city’s ruling class and European traders, and charged a subscription for membership. Foreign visiting guests were taken to the casino, which provided many card games, chess sets, newspapers and journals to occupy the visitors. Since only male visitors were permitted to enter, a strict dress code allowed only to put on suits. Apart from its function, the casino space was also used for consuls to meet and as a cultural center where concerts, amateur shows and commencement ceremonies took place (Dağtaş, 2004: 12-15).

Like Dağtaş, Göçmenoğlu emphasizes the role of non-Muslim citizens living in Izmir, in its public entertainment culture. He also offers a different classification as the entertainment spaces shifted according to the dominance of each community over periods of the city’s entertainment life. For instance, during the nineteenth-century, Levantines (French-Italian), who mostly occupied hotel salons, enjoyed listening to orchestras and musicians from Europe (Göçmenoğlu, 2008). As Muslims and non-Muslims preferred not to entertain themselves together, the Levantine entertainment style remained separate. Some of Izmir’s major hotels of this era were

Kramer Hotel, Huck Hotel and Hotel Deux Auguste. Following their occupancy of Izmir, Greeks became visible in the city so new entertainment spaces appeared, called *tavernas*, which played music all night (Göçmenoğlu, 2008: 5). After Turks conquered the city, Izmir became popular for new entertainment styles of vaudeville, traditional improvised theatres and cabarets. Later, the first casino space adopting Muslim rules, Ismet Casino, which placed in Bahribaba Park, was established for entertaining Turkish customers. It had its most popular years between the 1930s and 1960s (Dağtaş, 2004: 25). It was followed by many other casinos during the early Republican period, such as Kafe Korso (established in late 1920s), Türkocağı Aile Çay Bahçesi, Sibel, Gaskonyalı Toma, Kadifekale (Göçmenoğlu, 2008: 4-8), Şentürk, Panayir, Yeni Taflan , Deniz, Şehir and many others in the culture park arena, like Fuar, Ada and Göl casinos (Dağtaş, 2004: 35-71). Among all the listed casinos, Şehir Casino (1932-1953) had a more privileged place in the memoirs, as it was the most prevalent family casino in that era by the elites (see Figure 27). The space was also accompanied by a kindergarten for children. According to Hüseyin Türkmenoğlu, the son of the owner of the casino Murat Türkmenoğlu, all the new novelties and modernization in entertainment was first appeared in that space, like bringing the jazz band (first in Izmir) or serving lobster and upper segment seafood (as cited in Dağtaş, 2004: 34-39).



Figure 27. General view of Şehir Casino in early 1940s
(Source: *Kent Konak KNK Magazine*, 2015)

In the early Republican period, in the 1930s, casinos adopted a standard form that provided an identity that differed from the earlier versions by having some similarities with today's few remaining casinos; bringing women and men socializing together (Mater, 2003; Beken, 2003). Facilities like ballrooms and casinos became crucial for capturing the splendor and significance of the newly established Republic's status. Its founder, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, was frequently seen enjoying these spaces in İzmir and elsewhere, with his guests, men and women together, participating in ballroom dancing (Dağtaş, 2004: XII). The greater frequency of mixed gender leisure activities, such as the casinos, ballroom dances and garden parties, helped to encourage a mixed use of space and social contact between men and women (see Figure 28). For example, Taksim Municipality Casino (1939) in Istanbul

and Çubuk Dam Casino (early 1930s) in Ankara, were important social structures of 1930s ideology in teaching modernization to the public (Güney, 1943: 145-150; Gürel, 2011: 168). Furthermore, in Izmir, the culture park and its casino spaces, like Fuar , Ada and Göl casinos, provided an environment for normalizing Western cultural forms and behavior (Gürel, 2011).



Figure 28. Photograph taken in Maksim Casino during the late 1950s, showing men and women sharing a common position in urban social life
(Source: <http://buyukkeyif.com/gunun-bilgisi-maksim-gazinosu/4949>)

In order to evaluate the advancing casino culture, we will scrutinize one major casino business, which rank foremost among its competitors. During the 1950s and 1960s, Kazablanka (established in Istanbul in 1945) was one of the more famous casinos, though it only survived until 1968. Kazablanka adopted many innovations, such as employing 150 waiters all at once, serving a fixed menu, placing advertisements in

the newspaper about the performers in its program and placing uniformed musicians on stage behind the singer Zeki Müren⁴⁰ (see Figure 29) (Kalkan, 2007).



Figure 29. Famous casino performer Zeki Müren posing with his orchestra, all in uniforms (Source: *İşte Benim Zeki Müren* (2014), Ed. by Derya Bengi, Yapı Kredi Publishes, Istanbul)

A key development in casino culture, led by Kazablanka, occurred during this period; that of introducing an extra daytime program for women (Kalkan, 2007) (See Figure 30). Stokes considers this women-only matinee program as a new type of consumerism, in that women and rural-urban migrants had generated a significant new market so musical practices changed accordingly. “Sentimental crooners such as Zeki Müren cultivated large female audiences in matinee performances and dominated *gazino*-based musical culture (...) A lively and eclectic ‘cosmopolitanism from below’ took shape in *gazin*os during these years, shaped by singers, professional dancers, instrumentalists, and mass media entrepreneurs” (Stokes, 2010) (as cited in

⁴⁰ He is one of the most famous casino singers in Turkey.

Stokes, 2012: 100). Such musical preferences with dances thrilled the audience. They were accepted as the important places for the training of modernization in Turkish culture, which was preserved by the elites for long the Early Republican Era. These casinos re-emphasize national identity by implementing character of ‘down-home,’ in a more socially familiar manner (Stokes, 2010) (as cited in Stokes, 2012: 100) [quotation marks in original]. Within the attempt of introducing the entertainment style of the elites to the public, popularizing it in one sense, the casinos of the 1950s-60s became more accessible spaces for varying social strata.



Figure 30. Daytime matinee in Kazablanka casino, *Sevim Çağlayan* (famous singer) is on stage, taken in 1964

(Source: www.oguztopoglu.com/2015_06_27_archive.html)

After the 1960s, according to Tanrıöver (2002: 111), Turkish society, which had become dull and lifeless after the problematic years following the military coup, re-emerged in the color and gleam of stage lights, spectacular costumes and glitter (as cited in Alkar, 2012: 442). Tepebaşı Casino in Istanbul was significant in this regard

since its shows and visual preferences are firmly established by its owner Muhiddin Öztuna⁴¹ (Beken, 2003; Ünlü, 2001). Tepebaşı, along with popular sea-view casinos like Tarlabası, Fener and Yenikapi, gave customers the opportunity to enjoy the sea air while listening to performances that they would otherwise only have heard on the radio. Even during the hot summers, owners laid out the gardens for their customers (Mater, 2003). There are many other ICP casinos in the 1970s in Izmir, like Ada, Göl, Fuar⁴², Akasyalar, Manolya, Luna Park, Ekici Över, etc, that reflected the changing values in the community (Dağtaş, 2004: 110-116). Different than the establishment of the 1930s casinos, are the social constructs of new modern life. The 1970s casinos are distinguished by being characterized by the popular culture.

Apart from being physical entities in a spatial context, casinos have always functioned as a cultural parameter of Turkish society, reflecting the popular music of the people while pioneering Turkish commercial aesthetics. The casinos of the 1970s were quite efficient in rendering new desires of the community, with popular culture and arabesque.⁴³ Beken (2003) argues that the historical background of Turkish music has

⁴¹ He organized a series of shows that were not subordinate to the revues in Paris. In fact, he made a difference by staging a new type of revue that combined *Alafranga* melodies from the West and the *Alaturca* songs that casino visitors were used to hearing on the radio. Safiye Ayla, an important performer in casino culture, had a significant impact on this composite structured revue show, called *Alabanda* (Ünlü, 2001). The revue played for 99 nights in Tepebaşı casino. It included a group of ballet dancers, figurants, dancers from Anatolia to present folk dances, twenty actors/actresses and an orchestra of more than fifty performers (Kapyali, 2014).

⁴² It is a distinguished entertainment space for the citizens, which brought revues, operettas and other internationally oriented shows. It was built in 1936, and renovated in 1938 (Tansu, 1937: 325-329; 1938: 243-252).

⁴³ The popularity of *Arabesk* culture first emerged at the end of 1960 in the music industry. The interests of rural migrants living in urban squatter settlements were captured in this music, which is a hybrid genre including Turkish classical and folk elements, and a combination of the Western and

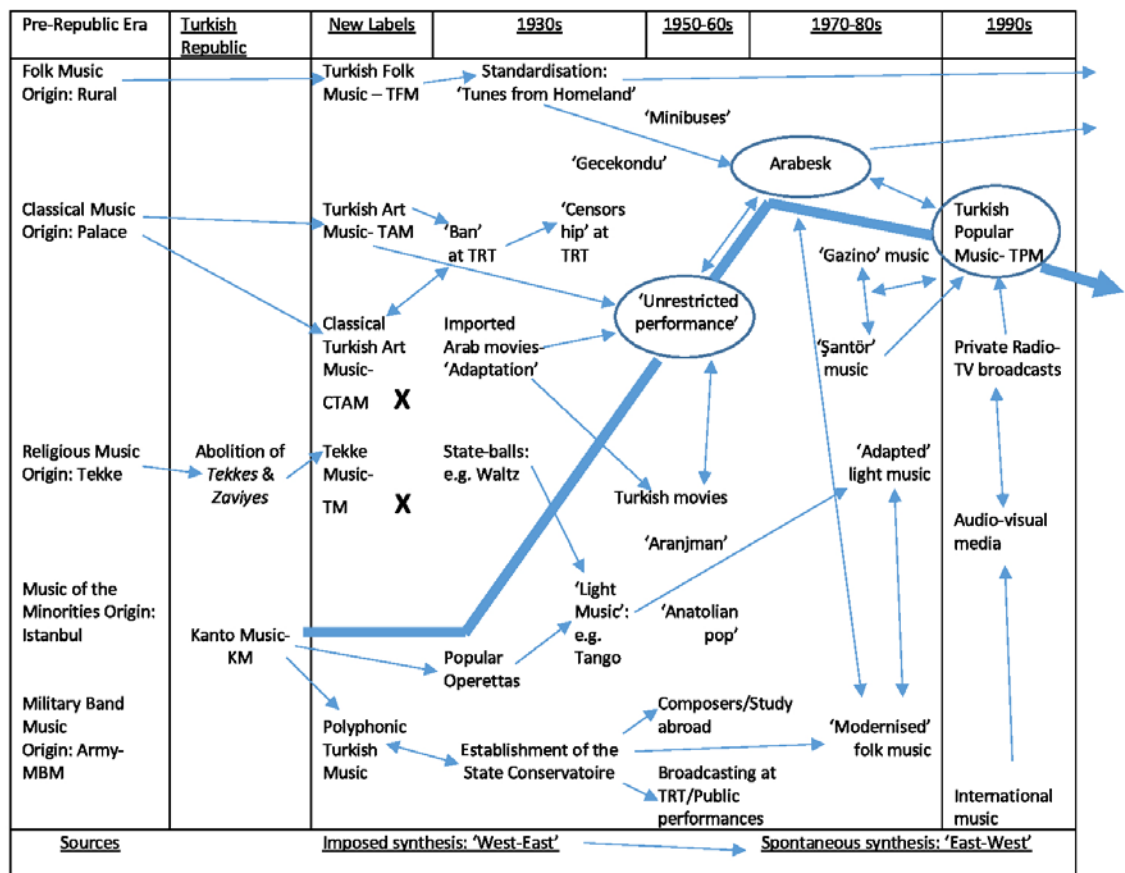
three roots: *Alaturka*, *Alafranga* and *Arabesk*. Casino spaces evoked feelings through the characteristics of their programs. Prior to the 1970s, they used to present both Turkish and international music. However, Demir (2006) notes how the featured entertainment and the tastes of middle-class customers changed during those years.

Tekelioğlu suggests that Turkish music evolved as it coincided with the Republican reformist attitude to adopt Western modernization. This led to the notion of a West-East fusion in culture, with policies and institutions formed in terms of this fusion. The West was taken as a model since it was considered as the domain of modernity, while its supposed value was raised against an 'East', which ranked with backwardness itself (1996: 195). Erol emphasizes the various forms of symbolic violence of state regulation on Turkish citizens. In this sense, Kemalist reforms constructed divisions between the susceptible and the reasoning, and between the inner self and the outer representation, between popular cultural practices and high culture. After a period, Turkish citizens attained the institutions, principles, cultures, characteristics and identities from which they had been cogently detached while new inclinations developed to deconstruct symbolic hierarchies, with *Arabesk* emerging as a product of the socio-cultural and musical conjecture (Erol, 2012).

Egyptian music. The use of the term *Arabesk* in music, more recently evolved to describe the entire migrant culture living in Turkey's cities (Özbek, 1997; Soydan, 2015; Kirik, 2014). In studies of its social significance, Arabesk is viewed as the outcome of a transitional period: "an alien and malformed element marginal to society that is supposed to fade away as industrialization and urbanization proceed" (Özbek, 1997: 211).

Rather than analyzing of all the steps in the transformation of Turkish music history (see Table 3), it is beneficial to concentrate on just two periods, the 1950s-60s and the 1970s-80s, to capture the effect of the *Arabesk* on casino entertainment culture. In the first period, the state's Turkish Institution of Radio and Television (TRT) (starting broadcasting by May 1st, 1964), played a major role in forging the West-East synthesis all over the nation and in constructing modern polyphonic Turkish art music. While monophonic folk songs were played by special sections in the conservatories, TRT set up a specific radio station (TRT 3), committed to propagating polyphonic classical music, Western pop and jazz music. However, despite all the state's efforts and cultural policies regarding music, ordinary people were unable to familiarize themselves with polyphonic Western music or contemporary Turkish composers (Tekelioğlu, 1996).

Table 3. Diagram showing the historical structure of the 'Spontaneous Synthesis' in Turkish music (Drawn by the author, 2017) (Source: Orhan Tekelioglu, 1996: 216)



Folk songs are seen as originating from the cultural identity of students in Turkey's 1968 movement, who were mostly attached to left-wing parties and against the imperialism of the West. That is, folk songs became popular in relation to student movements, migration and world musical trends (Gedik, 2011), becoming more a tool to represent social change in community through rural-urban migration and life in the squatter towns (named as *gecekondu* in Turkish). The trend later shifted in the 1970s and 1980s culture, to an East-West synthesis that took *Alaturca* rhythms as its main source while integrating *Alafranga* motifs. This duality best reflected *Arabsesk*

culture by showing how the cities' newcomers from rural areas, who had only recently been peasants, were struggling to adapt to urban social life. During the 1970s, casinos often presented *Alaturca* and *Alafranga* programs eclectically mixed together.⁴⁴ The long list of casinos that prioritized daring stage shows and the public's intense interest in the performers, showed how the casino culture was a mediator of popular culture⁴⁵ as it always reflected "the taste[s] of paying customers" (cited in Beken, 2003) (see Figure 31 (a), (b)).

Thus, the casino was a significant component for many domains, both historically and culturally, as *Arabesk* music culture was replaced with elitist modern entertainment styles in the casino programs during the 1970s. As Beken (2003) points out, whereas in the early years casino customers were Turkish intellectuals and non-Muslims of Istanbul's Beyoğlu district, Muslim statesmen were added to the group of Turkish intellectuals to be patrons of casino after the foundation of the Turkish Republic. This was also the case in Izmir and the other metropolitan cities.

⁴⁴ Demir (2006) underlines the period starting from the 1950s as a time when modernization became more self-modernization, as the numbers of middle class dealing in trade started to increase and become more apparent in daily life. In parallel, local cultural patterns interpenetrated Western popular culture and a new modernization model was established in which entertainment facilities played a significant role. Kayin emphasizes the interesting fact that the eclectic entertainment style of the culture park was mostly caused by the contrasting paradigms of Turkey's problematic socio-economic conditions, including long queues, the black market, power blackouts, student movements, and providing an arena for international competition between participating countries and a place for showing their strong economies (2015: 57). The contrasting duality between national realities and the dominant international powers was reflected in the eclectic style.

⁴⁵ According to Barbaros and Zürcher (2014), as the number of ghettos increased, apart from the physical issues needing to be resolved, social and communal patterns were changed. The inherent consequences of popular culture were reflected in many fields, such as music, movies, education and architecture.



Figure 31 (a). Poster announcing the variety of shows scheduled at Göl Casino
 (b). Announcement showing the eclectic approach of entertainment involving both Turkish and foreign performers
 (Source: Yeni Asır Newspaper, August 28, 1974 (a), September 2, 1972 (b))

During the 1970s, as a result of rapid urbanization and accompanying demographic changes, city newcomers from rural areas began to take seats in casinos, with their demands dominating. Tekelioğlu (1996) notes how *Arabesk* emerged unexpectedly out of popular music that went beyond its status.

[It] is the music of the city's outsiders - its pariah and migrant communities living lives of social imbalance on the fringes of the city (...) It is, for musicians and producers, a language designed for the communication of emotion (*duygu*). In the opinion of its critics, on the other hand, it is about emotion out of control, 'uncovered' or 'revealed'. From the elitist perspective of art music, in which emotion and structure should exist in a certain balance, *arabesk* is unbridled emotion (Stokes, 1994: 26).

The changing tastes and preferences of the new casino customers directly affected the casino space itself. Accordingly, this period represents a breaking point in the history of casino culture due to the casinos' changing customer profile.

3.2. Spatial Characteristics of 1970s' Casinos

During the 1970s and 1980s, the culture park became part of the city's entertainment and casino culture (Kayin, 2015; Drinkwater and Can, 2015).⁴⁶ Until the end of the 1970s, the growing number of casino spaces were confined within the boundaries of the culture park (Albay, 2011) (see Figure 32) whilst many other establishments located in *Kordonboyu* and *Karataş-Güzelyali* were eliminated (Dağtaş, 2004: 110). Somehow, an erosion in the number of casino spaces in urban fabric is evident, while they grew in number and were occupied with great interest in ICP; specifically for the international fair between August 20th and September 20th.

Inside the park's boundaries, the built environment changed due the demand. In addition to the existing casinos or tea gardens, other buildings were turned into casinos in order to respond to the demand. In his study of these transformed spaces, Altun highlights how the Benelux pavilion was changed into a casino and the Italian pavilion was turned into a music hall (2013: 173-174).

⁴⁶ By the 2000s, many casinos, restaurants, pavilions and other spaces strongly identified with the culture park were demolished so the practices of the users automatically shifted. As noted in the interviews, the park has lost its attractiveness and the attention of Izmir's citizens (Drinkwater and Can, 2015: 328).

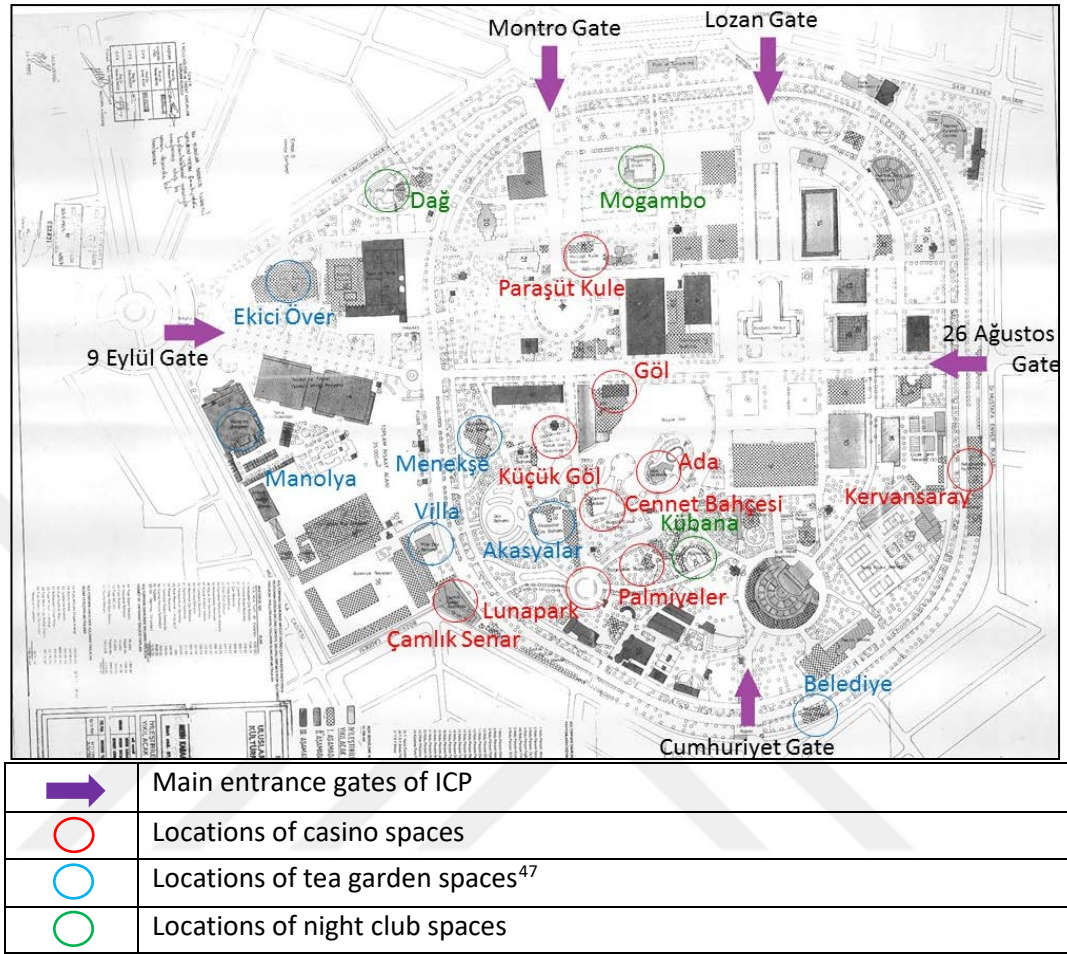


Figure 32. Map showing the locations of casino spaces and other entertainment spaces in 1970s' ICP (Drawn by the author, 2017)

After reading the spatial layout of casinos over the culture park site, the interior elements of these entertainment spaces, like the tables, seats, stage and backstage, will be put forward in the following part.

Regarding the spatial elements of the casino spaces, the space was mostly occupied by the use of tables and chairs. Nevertheless, even a few in ICP, some casinos did not

⁴⁷ Tea gardens are also described as places like cafes today. The entire family preferred to spend time together chatting and drinking from a samovar in the open air (Ademoğlu, 2011) (as cited in Atanur, 2015).

have tables. For the ones with tables, the casino table provides a private space for its occupants. In general, tables were occupied by more than one person at a time who, while watching the performances, interacted with each other. The oral histories also underline this interaction:

Nevertheless, it was not a custom to talk and interact with the other people from other tables. Specifically, the audience used to give reactions to the performers on the stage by accompanying them in the songs, clapping, yelling comments, and waving hands (K.A., personal interview, 2015) (see Figure 33).

Another interviewee who performed at the 1970s casino programs, recalls that the audience had no hesitation in showing its feelings about the performance on stage and showing its reaction afterwards, using various gestures and facial expressions overloaded with paralinguistic elements.

If the audience is not happy with the performance on the stage, they also lash out by grabbing any porcelain plate from the table in front, and throwing it at the stage (N.E.⁴⁸, personal interview, 2017).

The interviewee adds that, apart from these negative reactions, the audience sometimes pushed moral limits to express their support of the performer. One performance some women removed their husbands' jackets and threw them on the stage and she realized it was in support:

After a few minutes, the floor was covered by hundreds of men's jackets. At first, I could not understand the situation. But afterwards, when I heard women screaming and insisting that I step on those jackets, I finally understood that they were honored and flattered as I walked through the stage hall and somehow touched their property (N.E., personal interview, 2017).

⁴⁸ Coded as Personal Interview 17, N.E. (1943-), (she performed on the casino stages during the 1970s) was interviewed by the writer on January 9th, 2017. The interview was recorded.

At this time, women were able to bend over the tables, which acted as physical barriers, to reach the performer and create an individual connection by throwing their personal belongings on the stage.



Figure 33. Scenes from a casino program in 1975, showing interaction between performer and audience, or performer and orchestra
(Source: National Library in Izmir; Hayat Journal)

Tables had another function apart from providing a place to eat and drink in that customers could interact with each other at their table and the performers on the stage, actively expressing their likes or dislikes through verbal comments, gestures or other body language. However, they mostly preferred to ignore customers at the other tables in the casino space, being separate elements in the show, unless their

responses to the performances inspired each other. Another distinctive means of interaction was the tradition of song requests. According to N.E. (personal interview, 2017), some audience members would use their napkins to write down any song they wanted to hear from the performer, such as “Dear Madam or Sir, I would highly appreciate if you could sing this song for me.” The customer would then stand up, button up his jacket and either politely go up to the stage or ask a waiter to hand the request to the performer.

The stage was also the main reference point for positioning and allocating tables since every customer had to be able to see the stage and enjoy the night’s performance. Even so, people at their table would orient themselves to get a better view of the stage. Some of the examples included turning their chairs towards the stage rather than their tables (see Figure 34).



Figure 34. General views of furniture arrangements in a casino space with both men and women present and entertaining themselves together
(Source: Nurettin Eser Archive, nurettineser.com/fotografarsivi5.php)

Perhaps because they allowed greater interaction with the performers and a closer view, the front tables were more expensive and in demand. The tables were positioned by the casino's professional staff, according to the decisions of the casino owner. As Beken (2003) pointed out, although a casino owner might hire professionals to design the interior space, his or her personal taste determined the final outcome. N.G. recalls that only regular or very important customers could reserve such tables:

The first row of tables were generally reserved for military officials, politicians or businessmen. Other customers could not make any reservations, although the early comers could pick any table other than those ones (personal interview, 2015).

The stage can be described as a podium, elevated above ground level. There were no stairs on the audience's side but four or five steps would reach the podium from the backstage. Yet this could be changed, portable stairs could be place at the front of the podium if the performer wanted closer contact with the audience. "However it was a very rare occasion since mingling with a crowd of 5,000 people would be terrifying for many performers" (N.E., personal interview, 2017).

The stage was usually carpeted. Red was a common color for the carpet, but green or grey was also used. This color preference seems to be significant, as a red carpet is traditionally used to demarcate the path taken by important people, such as state officials with high ranks, on formal and ceremonial occasions. "A similar respect was paid to the performers as the casino program had become a high-status, unmissable

event” (N.E., personal interview, 2017). The back of the stage had black or dark red, thick cotton velvet curtains, sometimes with decorated star-shaped figures that changed depending on the performer. It was not possible to display any other types of background in 1970s’ ICP casinos, which were open spaces. According to N.E., B.D.⁴⁹ and H.T.,⁵⁰ the casinos did not vary the background settings since the casino owners were more concerned about profitability or attracting popular performers to perform (personal interviews, 2017). Additionally, dark curtains were necessary to prevent any daylight entering through the backstage windows while making the performers easily visible, even from far away, as spot lights highlighted their movements and the glittering decoration of their costumes.

⁴⁹ Coded as Personal Interview 16, B.D. (1946-), (he performed on the casino stages of the 1970s) was interviewed by the writer on February 6th, 2017. The interview was recorded.

⁵⁰ Coded as Personal Interview 13, H. T. (1945-), (well-known musician who used to play in the orchestras of many casino performers) was interviewed by the writer on February 13th, 2017. The interview was recorded.

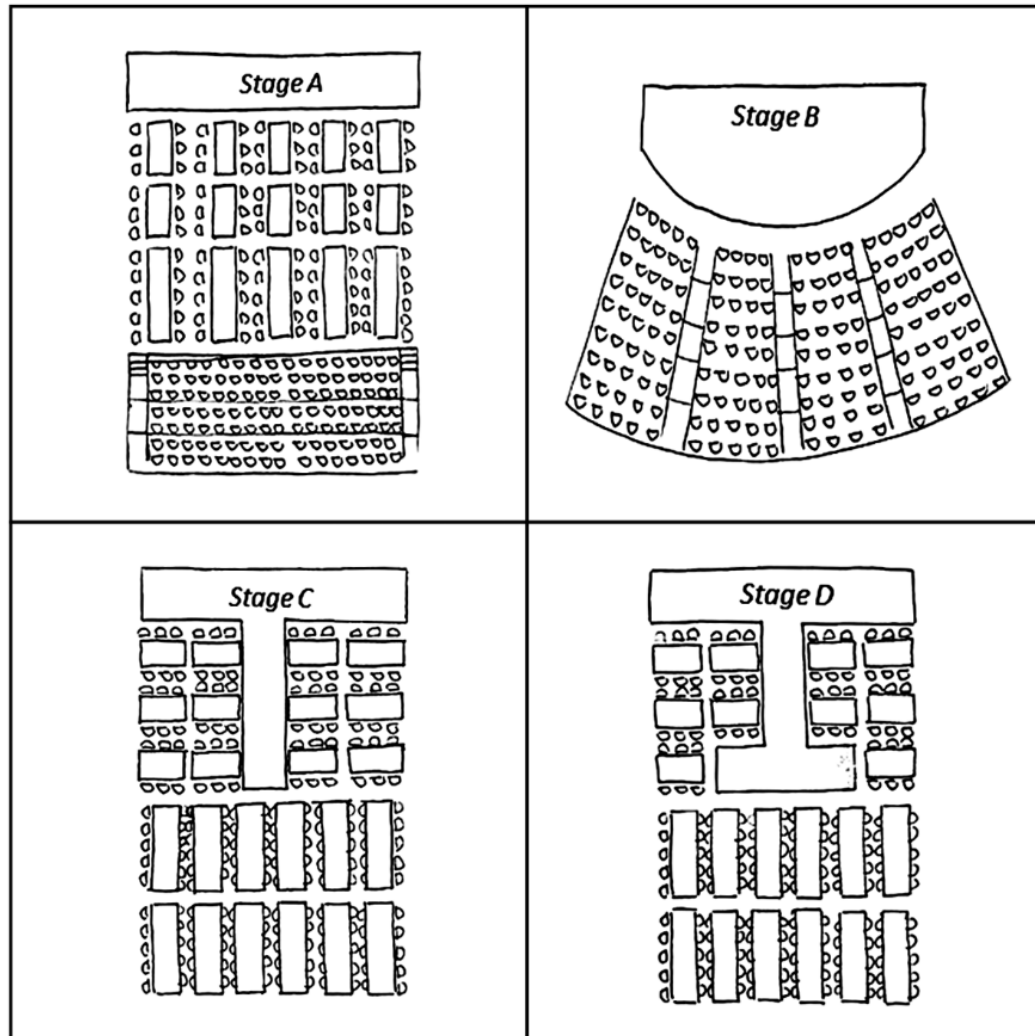


Figure 35. Schematic drawings of four casino stage designs (with circulation axes, furniture layout and seating arrangements) prepared in accordance with the interviewees' both spatial descriptions on ICP casinos' interior layout in the interviews and drawings in the graphical representation of memories. The later longitudinal stage design (Stage D) was also adopted for matinees without any table units (Drawn by the author, 2017).

There were different forms of stage designs in ICP. The casinos' initial forms tended to be a straight or semi-circular platform lengthened across the space (see Stages A and B in Figure 35). However, this platform created some difficulties for the performers because it limited connection with the audience and sometimes forced the performers to turn their back to sections of the audience, which is traditionally

considered inappropriate⁵¹ (T.G., personal interview, 2017). Consequently, other types of stages appeared. As a response to this problem, a platform was added extending the stage towards the audience. This layout was sometimes extended with an extra T-shaped section (See Stages C and D in Figure 35). The latter design had two advantages: it allowed more tables to be near the stage, and also increased the performer's ability to approach and interact with the customers (see Figure 36).

However, G.M.⁵², a well-known musician, pointed out performing with an orchestra in this layout was also problematic: "The maestro in the orchestra, who was usually the violinist, used to follow the performer on the stage in order to help the singer to keep in time. On the T-shaped stages, it was harder for the performer to keep in time with the orchestra because of the distance" (personal interview, 2017). Similarly, E.T.⁵³, another singer who performed in ICP casinos, highlights the long distances he used to walk as a singer on T-shaped stages. He notes that the orchestra automatically used to slow down the rhythm to avoid any misunderstandings between the orchestra and the performer (personal interview, 2017).

⁵¹ Coded as Personal Interview 11, T.G. (1943-), (well-known tabloid journalist of the 1970s) was interviewed by the writer on January 30th, 2017. The interview was recorded.

⁵² Coded as Personal Interview 14, G.M. (1951-), (used to perform in the orchestras of many casino performers) was interviewed by the writer on January 9th, 2017. The interview was recorded.

⁵³ Coded as Personal Interview 16, E.T. (1952-), (singer performed on the casino stages of the 1970s) was interviewed by the writer on February 6th, 2017. The interview was recorded.



Figure 36. Two photographs from different casino spaces in the 1960s, showing the extended stage design used by Zeki Müren and showing details of the seating arrangements near the stage

(Source: *İşte Benim Zeki Müren* (2014), Ed. by Derya Bengi, Yapı Kredi Publishes, Istanbul)

Another person who had to follow the performer across the stage was the cable holder, helping the performer be able to move around while holding the microphone. Wireless microphones did not yet exist so performers had to use ones with cables (D12 type and later Shure) or boom microphones (H.T.; E.T., personal interviews, 2017) (see Figure 37). These wires were so long that the performers were mostly unable to control them. According to N.E.:

Only Behiye (Aksoy) was good at using the microphone, manipulating the cable as if she was using a whip. Sometimes she was dancing with it. It was an important instrument for her show (personal interview, 2017).

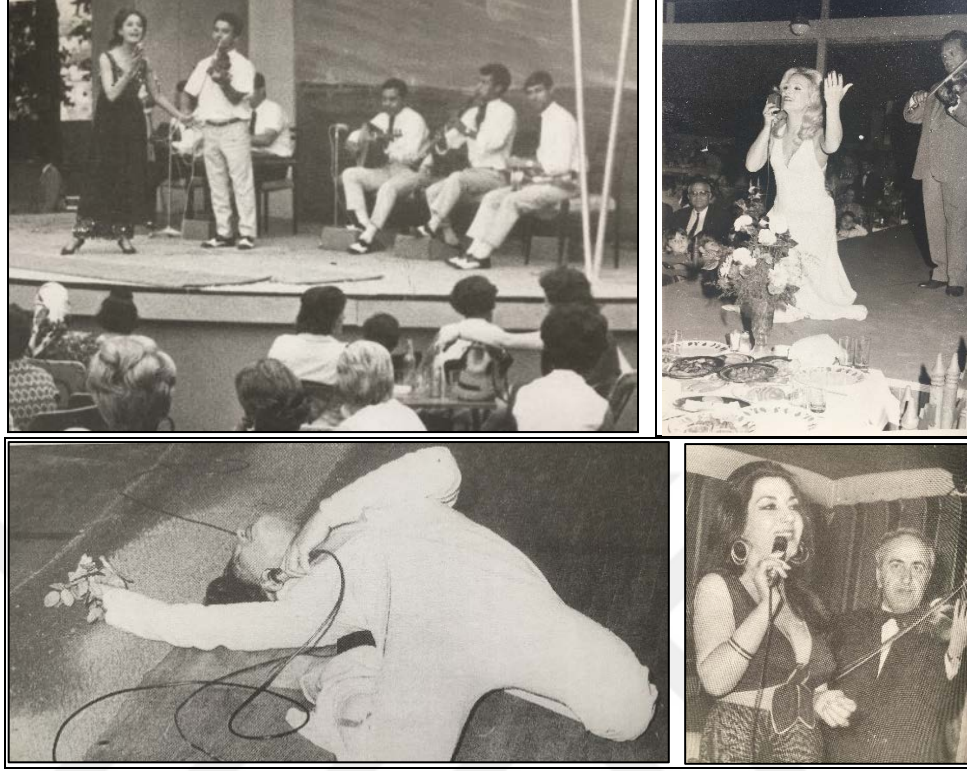


Figure 37. Casino performances showing the microphone cables
 (Source: Tayfur Göçmenoğlu (2008), *O Yıldızlar Hiç Sönmesin*, p.419, 236, 364 and Nalan Erdem personal archive)

Apart from the stage and the audience seating area, another important component of the casino space was the backstage (*kulis*) where the performers got ready before their performances (see Figure 38). This backstage area had various functions. There were many private rooms with mirrors, lockers, tables and chairs for the musicians and singers, where they would get dressed, tune their instruments and warm up. The musicians gathered in these spaces to practice their music or have discussions on performances (Beken, 2003). According to the oral histories, the backstage had a separate guarded entrance from the main casino entrance for the visitors to provide security for the performers. In ICP casinos, the backstage was located on the ground level with 6 to 8 small rooms, aligned in a row along a corridor. There was usually

only one lead singer in each performance program and a separate room was reserved for them. The room was well-furnished and larger than the others, and usually included a dressing table, mirror, small carpet, chairs, ventilator, hangers and sometimes an inflatable bed (T.G.; H.T., personal interviews, 2017). The other performers had to take turns to get ready in the remaining rooms. “During the fair times, usually at least 20 performers took to the stage, and each of them went to their backstage room to change their costumes two or three times during their performances” (N.E., personal interview, 2017). When these rooms were particularly busy, the male musicians in the orchestras used the corridor. In this case, rather than serving as a transitional space, the corridor spontaneously became a multi-purpose space for the musicians to gather together, sit, drink tea, practice, and communicate or give interviews to journalists.



Figure 38. Scenes photographed backstage by journalists as performers prepared for their performances

(Source: *İşte Benim Zeki Müren* (2014), Ed. by Derya Bengi, Yapı Kredi Publishes, Istanbul); Tayfur Göçmenoğlu (2008), *O Yıldızlar Hiç Sönmesin*, p.435)

In short, the backstage spatial organization included a separate entrance door, private rooms open to a semi-public corridor that ended at the stairs for mounting the stage (see Figure 39). The users of this space needed to make various changes to

the physical characteristics of the space for adjusting the space to their practices and routines. One of the most frequently mentioned examples of those practices was hanging the repertoire list of the star performer to the wall of the backstage or the stage background curtain. Its primary purpose was to ensure that other performers knew which songs to avoid singing in order not to clash with the lead singer (L.B.⁵⁴; H.T.; B.D.; E.T., personal interviews, 2017).

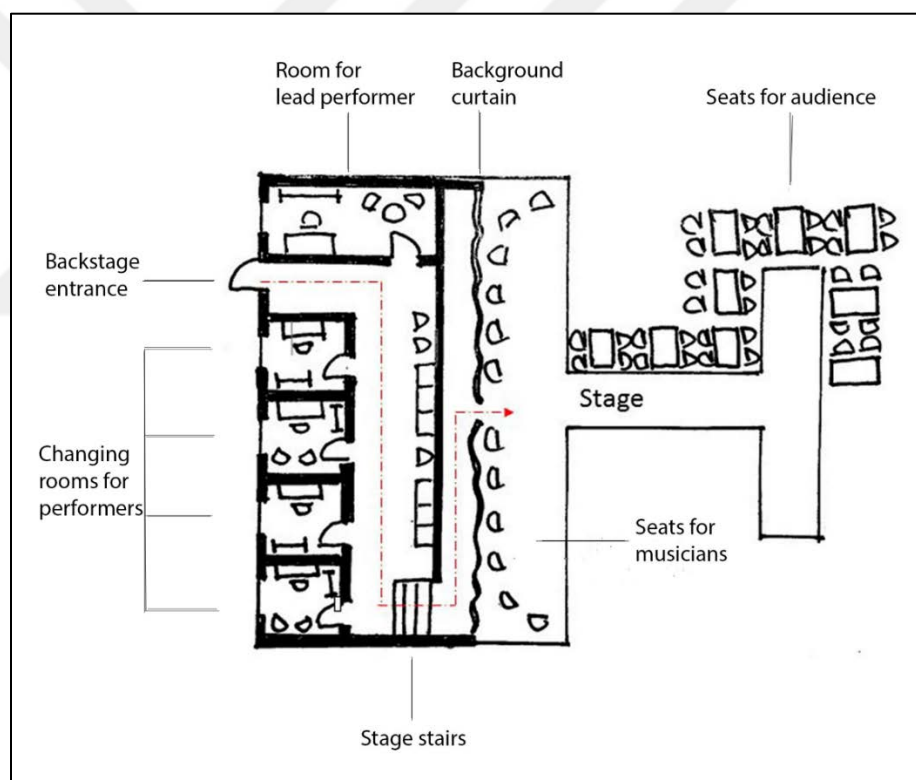


Figure 39. Schematic drawing of the casino backstage space, including circulation route (shown in red dashed line), semi-public corridor with movable seating elements, private rooms with furniture layout, longitudinal stage and audience seating arrangement, based on interviewees' spatial descriptions (Drawn by the author, 2017)

⁵⁴ Coded as Personal Interview 12, L.B. (1944-), (well-known tabloid journalist of the 1970s) was interviewed by the writer on January 30th, 2017. The interview was recorded.

Many admirers would send flowers to the performers, who set aside them in the backstage rooms. However, as N.E. recalls, “many performers considered these beautifully arranged flowers as symbols of their success and popularity, and they liked to show them off on the stage,” (personal interview, 2017). Before the performer appeared on stage, the flowers were placed in the background with the orchestra, which then started to play surrounded by this grand display. The audience was also a spectator in this pre-performance as they started to get more excited by the music and overwhelmed by the amount of flowers (see Figure 40). The lead performer would then step onto the stage, holding the microphone and singing while greeting the audience. After the first song, s/he would make a short speech expressing his/her feelings at seeing such a crowd while thanking the audience for the flowers (Gülcan, 2014). “It was a custom to note the names of the flower senders while in the backstage and read them on the stage. This honored both the performer and the admirer. It was a win-win situation” (G.M., personal interview, 2017). Zeki Müren explained that he would learn who had come to the casino for that night’s performance from the manager and whether any important people were there. A performer would get the list of the customers who had sent flowers or were seated in the front row so that s/he could compliment and thank them for the flowers in his/her performance (Gür, 1996: 51).



Figure 40. Scenes showing casino stages with flowers sent for the performer (Source: Tayfur Göçmenoğlu (2008), *O Yıldızlar Hiç Sönmesin*, p.841 and Nalan Erdem personal archive)

Apart from the visual, the performers' backstage rituals strategically activated other senses. These rituals were made to maintain the audience's enthusiasm. In addition to their sense of expectation at seeing the flowers and orchestra arriving on stage, the audience was also captivated by the fragrances coming from backstage. As N.E. recalls, she used to put on perfume each time she went on stage in the casino. However, the routine did not only involve spraying perfume on her dress; she also altered the physical conditions by putting half a bottle of her perfume in the ventilator fan she borrowed from her backstage room. She then placed the fan on the stage stairs and rotated it across the stage and the audience. N.E. remembers her deep pleasure when women in the audience noticed the perfume and later asked her for its name (personal interview, 2017).

As well as the perfume fragrance wafting into the hall from backstage, another scent could be used before the program started as some performers adopted specific rituals before going on stage. For instance, Zeki Müren used to release incense across the whole stage in a special ceremony in accordance with his beliefs (T.G., personal interview, 2017). While saying a prayer, he would make circles around his head with the incense holder and jump over it (B.D., personal interview, 2017). N.E. also mentions certain spiritual or superstitious activities that occurred backstage. For example, while waiting in line to go on stage, many performers would pray or knock on the wood of the backstage stairs to bring them luck (personal interview, 2017).

So far, we are informed about the tables and their interaction with the stage; a variety of stage designs and their different levels of contact with the audience, and the performers; the backstage with the hierarchical order of its interior spaces and its rituals. The overall casino space, with its physical components and furniture, is first produced by the preference of the casino owner, and second reproduced by its users. This study not only analyzes these physical components, but also by investigates the reproduction, change, and transformation of these components in accordance with the needs and practices of their users.

3.3. Significance of the Casino

One of the main motivations to study individual recollections of the culture park concerns the corruption of the continuity of collective memory. In the 1970s the entertainment aspect of the park, as well as the fair activities, had become more intricate and often take precedence over the culture park itself.⁵⁵ The entertainment culture reached a wider audience and took on a new form in the casino spaces where local and modernized styles interacted to meet the entertainment demands of the time. As Alkar noted, “Viewers have had the chance to get close to the performers who they admired or could only see or hear on TV or radio”, in the space of the casinos (2012: 439) (see Figure 41). It is, therefore, interesting to read how men and women experience the physical space of casinos as they created a new social dimension for women to represent themselves in public space and live their modernity. This study analyzes how each different narration complements the integrity of collective memory as they create concentric circles of entertainment culture. With each narration, we have a better understanding on modern practices of ICP’s casino users and the produced social identity of them.

⁵⁵ As the culture park develops its collective identity in parallel with the fair activities, we can highlight the common memory that surrounds the fair memories. According to Kayin, this multi-layered memory includes international, national and local focuses (2015: 38).



Figure 41. Women singers performing on stage together with male members of their orchestras for a mixed gender audience
(Source: Göçmenoğlu Personal Archive)

In the study of memory and its production of social identity, an important contributor is Nora (1996), who offers a rethinking of certain key ideas in Maurice Halbwach's earlier theory of collective memory, in which memory is not a purely subjective matter but constructed within a social framework. As Nora puts it, "the act of remembering is always related to the repository of images and ideals that constitute the social relations of which we partake. Places of memory are therefore determined by the mix of individuals that constitute the social group to which they relate" (1996: 11). Halbwachs (1980) claims that collective memory is challenged with a group encircled by space and time while the totality of past occasions can be put into a single record only by unraveling it from the memory of the various groups. In this sense, collective memory is based on socially informative accumulation rather than written information on history, as it is much more pragmatic, observed, oral, experienced or shared.

Since ICP's casino users shape their own memories through certain occasions, places or structures, the aggregation of these memories, whether they vary from or resemble each other, creates the communal background of that society. In the case of ICP, all of the material traces, symbols or oral histories join each other in the same conjecture to generate a new identity while constructing a collective memory of the users through places of memory, or *lieux de memoire* (the places of memory).

Hebbert (2004) analyzes how public spaces take place as *lieux de memoire* in urban context and how they interact with collective memory. He finds that there are two ways streets, can be a spot of collective memory. Firstly, they can operate as an external memory through the built environment around them: the structures, monuments, symbols and their syntax. Secondly, they accommodate communal daily life experiences and actions in the public sphere, providing a juncture for public debates or social events. Even streets can be read as two dimensional or linear surfaces in intricate urban fabric, they convey very important physical, mental and social signs for urban collective memory. Similar to those urban streets, any linear representation may bring information that supports the social aspect, the experience of the space. Sak (2012) argues that like historical information or photographs, plans and maps are thought to give supporting encounters of places although they are linear representations (see Figure 42).



Figure 42. Linear representation of ICP's layout, showing entrance gates, activity spaces and casino spaces to orient the user during the fair of 1979, titled as "Site Plan of the Fair" (Source: APIKAM Archive; *Yeni Asır* Newspaper)

As the personal recollections were restructured by each narration at present, the feelings about the culture park, the sensations it arouses, its physical descriptions, its representations, and the experiences of its users in social life were emerging mentally. However, as a researcher, there is a need of seeing the latter as some linear representations or signs rather than relying on the power of the imagery. For this reason, apart from recording narrations and gathering oral histories, women interviewees were asked to draw or represent their memories through symbols. Through the use of the graphical representations of memory method, the women interviewees of the informal group sessions, think more deeply to reveal symbols or spaces buried in obscure corners of their memories (see Figure 43).

Interviewees who contributed to the study by drawing their mental maps, did not only draw the physical properties of the culture park, implying some spaces with their specific locations, but also they were putting the ones that are much brighter in their recollections, or as we may call remarkable, since those spaces were buried with their personal experiences, feelings and senses. In light of the noticeable sensory impressions discussed so far, we should also examine their impact on memory.

According to Hayden (1995), place has the same effect on all ways of knowing as sight, sound, smell, touch and taste, which makes it an influential source of memory. Therefore, the study argues that place should be positioned at the heart of urban history rather than marginalized, to make clear the link between the built and natural environment. Then those implemented casino spaces in graphical representations, labeled with a few signs and written names, are important findings of this method. They showed that the casino spaces are substantial parts of women's recollections of ICP.

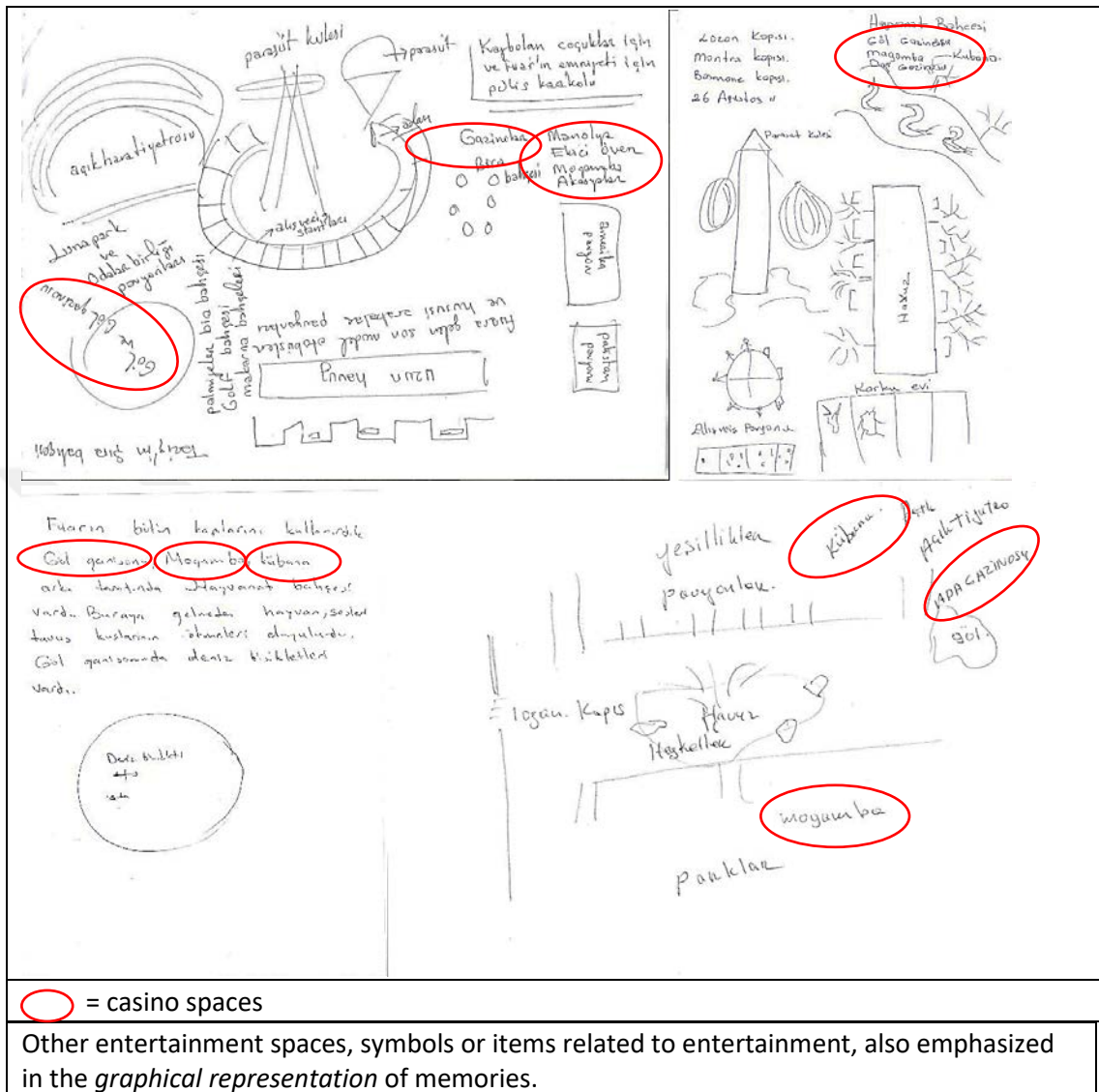


Figure 43. Graphical representation of memories extracted from our interviewees (see Appendix D)

The reasons why ICP's casino spaces are so remarkable and live on in the memories of the interviewees can be easily related to their personal experiences based on the five senses. In the narrations we witness arousal of the senses, sometimes even multiple ones together, while an interviewee is relating details about a particular experiences that had occurred. For instance, the height of the stage from the floor separates the audience from the performer while the stage's horizontal arrangement

brings the performer close to them at a reasonable distance. This illusion of being close, yet unable to reach the performer, can be related to both the senses of sight and touch. Other senses, like smell together with sight, or with touch, can also be included in this analysis by following traces of memory:

As a family, we used to watch the local singers. We were following them in each matinee they take to the stage. One of those singers was İsmet Nedim, and I could never forget his light green suit and his rose shirt [...] I clearly remember the evening dresses of one of the performers of those times, Sevim Devran. I would help her to put on her dresses backstage (...) Most of the performers were spraying perfumes all over their stage costumes. While walking past the stage, you could easily catch the smell of it and ultimately you perceive the performer as beautiful, clean, elegant and untouchable (C.S.⁵⁶, personal interview, 2015).

It was too hot during summer time in İzmir and unfortunately there were no air conditioners in those years. We only had ventilating fans to cool the air backstage. Before taking the stage, I used to put some perfume in the fan and face it towards the audience. Therefore, the audience could recognize my scent before I stepped onto the stage and they had already started to get excited. I also used to pour almost a whole bottle of a perfume on myself, especially on the hem of my dress, in order to make the audience smell it as I walked on the stage (N.E., personal interview, 2015).

In his book describing his memories of casino nights in the culture park, *İzmir Gazinoları: 1800lerden 1970lere* (trans. as *Casinos of İzmir: from the 1800s to the 1970s*), Dağtaş frequently stresses his senses, in singing,

⁵⁶ Coded as personal interview 2, C.S. (1950-), (frequenter of the 1970s matinees) was interviewed by the writer on May 8th, 2015. The interview was recorded.

hearing applause and whistling, the speech of the performer on stage and the remarkable joy of hearing the performer's voice:

Only a few customers had entered the casino before *Zeki Bey*⁵⁷ came on stage. After the introduction of the orchestra, '*Paşa*' started to sing backstage and then came forwards in a burst of applause and whistling. After his first song, he greeted the audience with love and called them 'canlarım benim', 'aziz dinleyenlerim', 'beni sizler yarattınız' [quotation marks in original] (trans. as 'my dears', 'my beloved listeners', 'listeners you made me'). Therefore, he was able to capture the love and attention of the customers, male or female, of all ages. I was enjoying my solitude as I was standing somewhere in charge between the entrance gates and the ticket counter, and persistently listening to his magical voice. [...] Besides, I still indulge in remembering those days (Dağtaş, 2004: xi).

Though those experiences had been kept secure in memory by the senses they carry with them, *lieux de memoire* help these remembering to be carried out to present. , As discussed throughout this entire study, architecture and memory are intimately related concepts. Still, Kusno claims that they need each other even as they are inadequate for each other: "[a] building can trigger memory and political action, but it cannot be relied upon to deliver an intended consciousness. It can never adequately represent memory, yet it can initiate something beyond the memory itself" (2010: 10). Therefore, we can discuss whether architecture or space can be a mediator to evoke memories since they carry not just remembered memories but also forgotten ones within themselves. Thus, the 1970s' casino spaces become the tool for forgetting the old entertainment traditions while bringing out the memory of

⁵⁷ The narrator refers to Zeki Müren.

their own presence through the activating mental condition of remembering at the present time.

In his book *Matter and Memory* (2004), Bergson recognizes two unique types of memory. From one viewpoint are recollections concerning habitude, replaying and rehashing past activities, not entirely presenting the inscribed within the body, and filling an utilitarian need. Habitual recitation tends toward the past although it is used for the purpose of present action. This type of memory is automatic and regular, and comparable to practical knowledge or habit. Pure memory, registers the past as image recognition, regarding to the past, perceived in that capacity. It is of a pondering and on a very basic level profound, kind, and free; thus Bergson considers it as true memory. It includes dated information that cannot be reconstructed. Pure memory grants the affirmation that the lesson learned in the past cannot be rehashed, and is not internal to the body.

We can consider the narrations as examples of pure memory that expose the popular culture and entertainment of the 1970s. These narrations show that acknowledgment is a learned fact, it is not purely gained through the body's sensory system. Regarding this point, one of the interviewees, a casino owner, highlights the casinos' intense social life as a learned fact by detailing every ritualistic detail in time and a specific schedule:

The public that could not find the opportunity to watch on TV, had the opportunity to see popular performers in casinos. Although music programs

were filled with people who were not real musicians, the public did not see them on television. And in these capacious spaces, the arrangement of chairs, like in cinemas, left the first row to protocol as the program lasted from evening to morning (see Figure 44). These intense programs, including at least 8-10 supporting less-famous singers, also presented very famous ones. It started around 8 pm and lasted till 1 or 1.30 am. As the performer was leaving the stage after the last orders, the customers were taking the bus. After midnight, it was fun to go nightclubs like Mogambo, Golf Casino, or Kübana. Many performers, like Ajda Pekkan, also appeared on stage in these clubs after finishing their casino programs. These issues are not separable from each other (C.T., personal interview, 2015).

From this informative narration, describing dense casino programs and rituals of entertainment life, we understand that all pure memory is still alive in the present by the acknowledged, mentioned names and spaces. Clearly, we see that in the analysis of memory, memory cannot be constructed independently of its environment and culture.

Huyssen (2003) notes that the definition of memory starts sliding into cultural, sociological or scientific fields. Likewise, Gutches and Indeck (2009) consider the influence of culture on memory in terms of neural factors in that each culture has a different effect on memory. In this sense, it is possible to see culture as a focal point that channels the processing of the environment into memory. Funkenstein (1989) claims that culture and memory are closely connected: “no memory can be disconnected from society, from language, from symbolic system” since symbolic systems and language are the products of culture. He offers an in-depth description of memory as a system of clear signs, symbols and practices (museums, texts, customs, manners, etc.).



Figure 44. Images showing how casino nights developed a more active social life as actors and actresses transferred from *Yeşilçam*, the Turkish film industry, to the culture park due to high demand

(Source: APIKAM Archive; *Yeni Asır* Newspaper)

According to Assman (1995), the specific character that a person derives from belonging to a distinct society results from socialization and customs. Through this process, each individual composes a memory that is socially mediated. Assman stresses that living communication is crystallized in the forms of objectified culture (whether in texts, images, rites, buildings, monuments, cities or even landscapes) and he also addresses the importance of mnemonic energy – pointing not only to works of high art but also to posters, costumes and customs, which are gradually parts of the concept of culture. He also describes particular characteristics of cultural memory: including its concentration on identity, its capacity to reconstruct, its formation, its organization, its obligation and its reflexivity. As noted earlier, the

customs of a regular casino program and its entertainment culture, open a path for us to better understand the surrounding social conditions. We also seize its value in cultural memory by its objectified images, such as the performers' costumes of the casino programs, which shows us the cultural memory upon its material world.

Those materials can vary in many dimensions, even they show themselves as written or visual representations in reports of the newspapers. The press releases of the star performers or the complete casino programs, should not only be read in the context of simple material, but also for what they mean in public view. Often the announcements in tabloids that focused on the famous casino performers or newspaper reports that focused on contracts signed between performers and casino owners, became major events for the public. It was exiting for the public to figure out which performers would join the fair (Kayin, 2015) (see Figure 45). With help from the archival resources, we can seize the dynamics of the newspaper reports. For example, the great attention given to the arrival of Zeki Müren in Izmir or details of his stage costumes, helps us to reconstruct cultural memory (see Figure 46).



Figure 45. Newspaper reports from 1972 and 1974, announcing that Zeki Müren will perform the casinos as part of ICP's entertainment program. They also show his idiosyncratic costumes that carry a significant mnemonic energy in the collective memory of the public (Source: APIKAM Archive; *Yeni Asır* Newspaper and available at: www.kanalben.com/haber/155919/sohretin-yolu-izmirden-gecerdi.html)



Figure 46. Images demonstrating how the arrival of performers, announced through the newspapers in order to develop additional enthusiasm for their upcoming casino performances, resonated with the public (Source: Göçmenoğlu Personal Archive)

Like Assman, Confino (1997) consistently points out the role of culture in collective memory. While he considers the notion of representation as a transparent medium of a historical mentality that includes social and political events, he claims that memory is the result of the association between a distinct representation of the past and the wide range of symbolic representation of that culture.

Like any material reality, objectified memory can give clues about the socio-cultural background of the period and society it belongs to. We should not underestimate its symbolic power, appearing in representation. Similar to this understanding, objects existing physically (constant material realities) are always carrying (inconstant-symbolic-mental) subheadings and are interpreted in varying perceptions. Freud (cited in Huyssen, 2003: 7) assumes that, although the same space cannot possibly have two altered contents, urban imaginary may place different things in one place: like the combination of memories of what was there before and imagined alternatives of what there could be. He points out present space converges in the imaginary with traces of the past, deletions, misfortunes and heterotopias. In this sense, the notion of place exists in two ways, in the material and non-material. Though the material form represents the present, non-materiality (symbolic-mental) is embodied by the meanings attributed to it, which appears as the combination of the past and present.

Memory can be found in many dimensions and forms, for example, in the content of objects, since objects are regarded as the elements of the concept of place. Thus, for Spelman (2008), objects are like landing stages that memories reach for, a guiding structure through which the past is recalled: "Things put the past in place; they are the primary sources of its concrete emplacement in memory" (1987: 206). Davidson describes it "[a]s object survivors, things act as witnesses to inaccessible times and places, things are hoarded to safeguard memory in moments of exile, and things are imperative to producing memorable places and places that remember" (2009: 336).

In the casino culture of entertainment, we find some examples of Davidson's "object survivors". In order to carry the romanticism of the casino experience, customers used to have their pictures taken. These photos automatically become memory mediators for remembering the casino experience. Beken mentions how, in the casino culture, a picture taken as a souvenir of the experience is also accepted as proof of having been there and becomes much more significant if taken with the performers during the performance (2003). Thus, the casino was not only a background for these pictures but acquired much more meaning for both the casino customers and the spectator of the picture. As those pictures are the witness of that very special, out of every day, worth remembering experience, they become the produced memorable place of casino culture. Those pictures, as traces of the casino experience, were kept frozen by passing time and in doing so create prosthetic memories for other people.

Landsberg introduces the idea of prosthetic memories: “the memories of others’ experiences that are adopted and experienced through the body” (1997: 66).

Davidson (2009) claims that a house is remembered in a similar way to the body. For instance, memories of a house may appear through the signatures of “Marissa lived here, 1985” or stored within layer upon layer of wallpaper. As a second body, a house is a space practiced within each of its smallest particle. Prosthetic memories may also occur in the everyday rather than signifying specific, mostly traumatic, events such as holocaust memories. Through the architecture of a house or its objects, memories signify ordinary life. Thus it would be inappropriate to read memory and place without stressing ordinary life: “A house incorporates material witness of the past in the intimacy of present everydayness, allowing prosthetic memories to penetrate the fabric of what makes a home” (Davidson, 2009: 335). Additionally, prosthetic memories are “constructed through the everyday movement of people, things, and ideas. Home cannot literally or materially be frozen, but is a result of the dynamism of everyday life” (Davidson, 2009: 339). Pallasmaa suggests that “[o]ur imagination fills the compartments of the places, rooms and buildings with memories, and turns them into our own personal territories” (1991: 47). As one of the major examples of place, home carries individual memories that are directly related to personal memories.

Unlike a home, a casino is not a private space but still carries very strong personal memories because the users felt desire to visit the ICP’s casinos every year. They

were looking forward to visiting casinos, especially during the fair season in summer, to see the popular singers from Istanbul. Visiting the culture park during the fair with the whole family was a huge and repetitive event, which latterly becomes a prosthetic memory. Other than that, they were might not leaving signature “Marissa lived here, 1985” on the walls of casinos however they used to write text on random snaps of their families at casinos. We can understand the effort to keep the memory alive by leaving a personal print of writing on the picture, rather than keeping it materially frozen. Through the additional informative text, the spectator can probably remember not only that frozen moment in the picture but the whole night’s experience and the emotions of having high status in that casino space (see Figure 47). As Beken emphasizes, this exotic space not only carries the audience away from their daily occupations to another domain of nostalgic existence but also raises them to a higher status (2003).

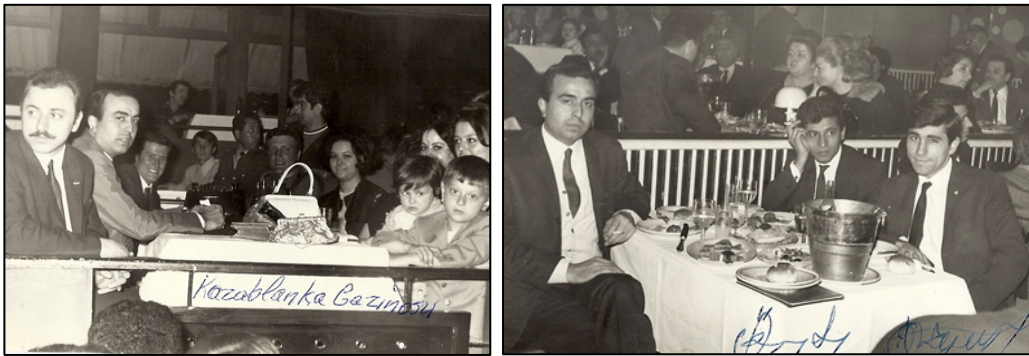


Figure 47. Annotated pictures taken in casino spaces to remember good times with family members and friends
(Source: Ibrahim Çetinkaya Personal Archive, Available at: www.ibrahimcetinkaya.com/)

In short, whether a notion of place concerns a private individual zone (such as the home), a person's everyday objects or individual memories, the notion can also exist in public spaces. Each individual may also produce his/her own place by having personal memories in any public space. As an example of a larger scale of personal memory, public spaces become the memory mediators for creating collective public memory. These spaces include both material (physical existence) and non-material (imaginary traces from the past and the meanings currently attributed to them) characteristics. Whether it is an ordinary object of daily life, or a square, park or monumental building, it is sufficient to create a sense of belonging and collective identity.

Similarly, as memory flows through the life of a human so do places. The history bonds with collective memory - collective to its place - is that it encourages us to comprehend the criticalness of the place, and its uniqueness. Populations need to produce a sense of belonging and aggregate personality. This sense of belonging can be created in the public space through a shared public life, city and architecture. Thus, space encourages association at different rates. Public space gives a system to the development of collective memory, reflects class contrasts and clashes (among societies), and gives a setting to public occasions, regardless of whether it is a part of institutional culture or of a more subversive nature (Boyer, 1994/1996: 111). With its public space, a city is an agora, a forum, an organizational place, a place for creativity; a city is an engine for social change and a place where memories gather. Collective

memory and the city can be captured in the phrase: “What happens in cities, happens in nations” (Boyer, 1994/1996: 58).

In the sense of creating a new collective identity, which is experienced through cultural transformation and its representation in memories, ICP offers a distinctive paradigm. As Gürel (2011) notes, in the case of Island Casino of the 1950s, it is not just a physical structure that develops or impacts social standards, but also conducts Western means of life through practices of its entertainment and architectural concept. It is likewise a medium through which individuals can experience and express their modernity. Subsequently, the space is conceptualized as a physical domain that concerns the realization and the variation of individual, social and collective recollections.

Counterintuitively, the customs and character of the casino culture changes from its beginnings to the 1970s. Some interpret this change unfavorably. For example, Dağtaş (2004) interprets the change as the erosion of the cultural values due to the changing socio-cultural conditions of the period. Nuri Yalçuk, who was a well-known casino owner in the culture park, compares the 1950s-60s casinos to the 1970s with a nostalgic view and looks down at the latter:

[t]here were many nice casino spaces in the old times whether in Ankara, Istanbul or Izmir. You were used to go[ing] to those spaces and when you once walked in, you even hesitated to walk fast. Women from high society, furs, jewelry, and men with tie or bowtie. You would not speak out loud (see Figure 48) (as quoted in Dağtaş, 2004: 115).

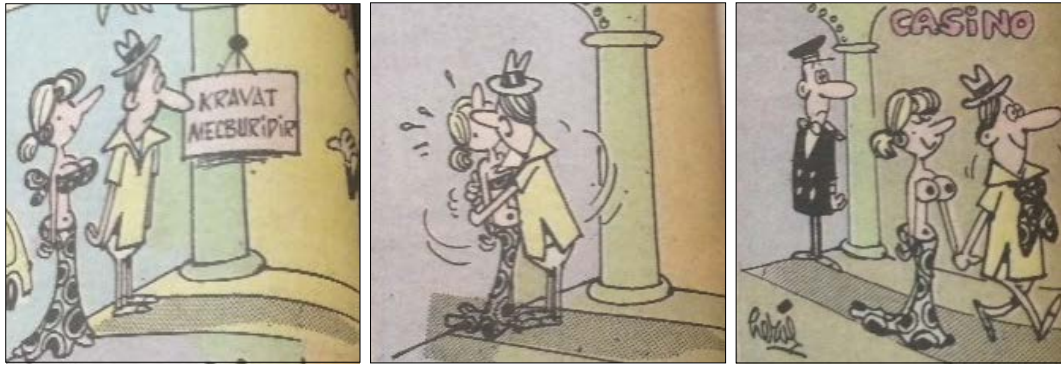


Figure 48. Cartoon published in 1970's newspapers, emphasizing the importance of the dress code ('A tie is obligatory') while commenting on the changing behaviors of casino customers

(Source: APIKAM Archive; *Yeni Asır* Newspaper)

The changing casino culture can be connected to the changing demographic parameters of the 1970s era. The population of Izmir was changed, by the new locals of the city: the permanent immigrant rural class. Joining the old locals of Izmir, the new locals have started to frequent the casino spaces of ICP, which increased to 15 casinos during the 1970s (Albay, 2011). These spaces became meeting spaces for women and men from different classes rather than hosting only the high-class, well-dressed men and women that were strongly motivated for civic roles in the earlier periods. New music genres were added to casino programs (of which some may be called eclectic) to reflect the changing casino users and popular culture of the era.

In conclusion, the multiple layers of memory concerning the culture park space emerge through the historical journey of the park's changing identities. This began with its ideological conception as one of the most important models for Early Republican modernity, aiming to teach women and men modern civic roles, and

expanded, becoming prominent by accumulating entertainment spaces due to the evolving casino culture. Within the changing entertainment style and new modern life, individualism, gender equality, freedom for youth, dance culture, and class-mixed entertainment were introduced concepts of the 1970s casinos. Latter existing boundaries of normative gender roles were challenged by these introduced concepts. It is thus possible to see how the casino spaces became a culturally and ideologically charged text.



CHAPTER 4

MATINEES: OPENING UP A SPACE FOR WOMEN

As Turkey faced the outbreak of economic crises of the early 1970s, casino users were affected as much as other people from all over the country. As a consequence of the decrease in user numbers in Izmir casinos, casino culture began to decline during the mid-1970s and new solutions were needed. While many families preferred to stay at home for economic reasons, many others did so voluntarily as they could not resist the powerful impact of a new form of entertainment, the television (TV). TV brought the outside world visually into the domestic space (Gürel, 2016: 466). As it spread nationwide, watching TV became the contemporary trend rather than going out in the evenings; people preferred staying home or going to relatives or friends' houses to watch TV together (see Figure 49). C.S.Ü, writer and researcher on local history of Izmir, suggested: "since people are conformist in their very nature, they preferred to stay at home.

While resting on the armchair and having a cup of tea, they could watch all the singers in their comfort zone” (personal interview, 2017).⁵⁸



Figure 49. Newspaper photograph of a home interior with family members gathered to watch TV. Described in the headline as “New toy for Istanbul residents: welcome television!”

(Source: National Library in Izmir; *Hayat* Journal, 1971)

In order to understand the impact of TV on social life and the entertainment culture, we should consider what observations are drawn from the narrations concerning the changes in urban daily life as a result of the emergence of TV in the domestic space. As C.T. (2015) points out, in the pre-TV period to a great extent urban women had a vivid social life and social practices that were not restricted to the domestic/private space. They enjoyed the outdoors and open spaces like gardens or neighborhood streets.

⁵⁸ Coded as Personal Interview 10, C.S.Ü. (1951-), (researcher on Izmir’s urban history) was interviewed by the writer on January 20th, 2017. The interview was recorded.

Women were more social as they lived the street life until television appeared. They used to sit together, chat and eat sunflower seeds outside their houses. Also, beer was served in the coffeehouses, and men and women sat together in those spaces drinking beer. For the time being, Izmir could be appreciated as a complete Mediterranean city, and its citizens were very civilized due to male-female relationships (C.T., personal interview, 2015).

In her book, Tunç describes how in those years TV had a great impact on social life:

Through the spread of television in homes, the rhythm of social life changed, and old habits were abandoned. During the summer time, the ones who may eat ice cream in tea gardens became rare, while family visits in the long winter evenings ended, playing cards with neighbors was forgotten, and movie theatres closed. The slow but rich life of individuals was completely changed by the black and white images of the television (Tunç 2001/2015: 103) (See Figure 50 and 51).



Figure 50. Advertisement illustrating the introduction and rapid growth of TV usage in homes, with the family presented as a middle class 1970s' Turkish family. The father states: "I am the first one who has brought a television in the neighborhood, and anyone who watches it, wants to buy one"

(Source: *İşte Benim Zeki Müren* (2014), Ed. by Derya Bengi, Yapı Kredi Publishes, İstanbul)



Figure 51. Various newspaper reports and advertisements about TV that also reveal how its usage spread from domestic spaces to public spaces like ICP
(Source: APIKAM Archive; *Yeni Asır* Newspaper)

Tanrıöver (2011: 13) proposes a new term called “tele-visits” (*tele-sefirlik*) in her discussion of the significant impact of family visits to relatives who owned a television during the 1970s. She also highlights the community’s preference for socializing in these domestic environments rather than entertaining themselves in public spaces.

These two major events, the emergence of TV sets in the domestic space and declining economic conditions, had a great impact on the casino business.

Accordingly, casino owners were forced to find new ways to bring people to the casino spaces.

The casino establishments' approach meant an opportunity for *Yeşilçam* actors who were affected by the movie industry's crisis in the 1970s. Nuri Yalçuk, a proponent of this model of transferring actors from movies to the stage, recalls: "I started to place the actors and actresses onto the stage, one by one, during the fair periods. I am the one who brought many actress[es] onto the stage (...) In the 1970s, there were 27 of actors and actresses performing in the casinos at once (...) Ajda Pekkan and Emel Sayın were ahead in the overall record sale" (as quoted in Dağtaş, 2004: 113) (see Figure 53). İzzet Günay, a *Yeşilçam* actor who debuted in casinos, explained *Yeşilçam*'s invasion of the casino programs as follows:

Though I had been frequently asked to take [the] stage since 1968, I had postponed the offers in order not to harm my career as an actor until 1973, '74 and '75. (...) I signed for 7 years (...) and now if you ask me whether it was corruption or not, we were actually running away from the corruption of *Yeşilçam* pornographic movies. We were not occupying the stage for a long time. The public should be able to see the performers, familiar from *Yeşilçam*, up close and fulfil their longing. We were there for them. They were touching the legends (as quoted in Dağtaş, 2004: 118).



Figure 53. Emel Sayın, a *Yeşilçam* actress who performed in casino programs and was a pace setter for other women through her position in modernity (Source: hayat.sozcu.com.tr/iki-yildizdan-gazino-nostaljisi-71126/)

The presence of *Yeşilçam* artists in casino shows increased the demand for casinos during the 1970s. As Kayın suggests, since performing actors and actresses were catching the attention of casino patrons, it was inevitable that cultural activities based on the socio-economic ideals of the early Republican period for educating the masses were losing their influence during this period; the international liberal popular entertainment forms were expanding and consolidating in the urban space (2015: 56).

Adopting a tighter but deeper focus, we should return to Izmir's nightlife around the 1970s. This can be divided into two periods. The first runs from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, while the second begins with the spread of TV in the second half of the 1970s to the end of 1970s. From the first to the second period, ownership had already begun to change in the sector, along with changes to the structure of entertainment life. More people were becoming bound to their houses and this slowly pulled them away from the life of public entertainment. The second period also needs to be divided within the context of ICP and others. The entertainment facilities in the culture park were mostly open-air structures. Nightclubs, like Mogambo or Kübana, accommodated foreign shows, like revues. Alternatively, there were tea gardens, such as Akasyalar, Ekici Över, Çamlık Senar, Lunapark and Manolya, where matinees took place for women and evenings programs (also called *suares*) for everyone. The growing number of urban immigrants to Izmir by the 1970s also played a role in the way that both newcomers and the middle class used these entertainment facilities. This new mixed group in Izmir's urban social life, from

the bourgeoisie to the middle class, needed new forms of entertainment, they needed to be more suitable economically and they needed to be in accordance with home TV nights.

The numbers of matinees increased as a result of the casino owners' economic concerns. The casino owners and performers agreed to host two daytime programs per week, free of charge. Women (mostly housewives) were the target audience of these new programs of the casino businesses. Thus, these casino spaces played a role in urban life as they were occupied on both Wednesday (for female patrons) (Kayin, 2015: 56) and Sunday (for a middle class, mixed-gendered audience). This rising interest in casino entertainment by women, through the matinees, should not only be interpreted from the side of the casino businesses but it also needs to be elaborated on by understanding other motivations.

Although the written history of matinee entertainment in Turkey is unclear, matinee spaces for women emerge mainly in casino spaces. Discussion on the origins of the women-only matinee concept can be related to two different factors. The first concerns the matinees on Turkish literature and poetry recitation. According to Tamer (2001), in the 1950s, matinees were widespread and considered essential public events held in school halls, tea gardens, community centers, and theatres. Poets received particular attention from the public and the intense interest of the audience was described to be like a wild beast in the circus. The second factor concerns the strong connection to the

changing casino culture. This important adjustment of casino culture in Turkey, began in the 1950s in the tea gardens of ICP for women to spend their leisure time watching stage performances (Dağtaş, 2004: 90; Alkar, 2012) (Although not yet certain, some sources refer to Necdet Yazar⁶⁰, as the founder of the women's matinees) (see Figure 54). In these tea gardens, entrance fees were quite cheap. Along with the tickets women patrons could rent a cushion for 1 or 1,5 liras, or bring their own from home. Some patrons even brought their own tea from home to enjoy.



Figure 54. Collage of posters depicting matinee programs announcing upcoming performances
(Source: APIKAM Archive; *Yeni Asır* Newspaper)

⁶⁰ Necdet Yazar (1922- 2008) was a well-known casino business manager, who ran many casinos in both Ankara and Izmir, such as Göl Casino in Izmir Culture Park throughout the 1970s (Dağtaş 2004).

As the matinee scene developed with more shows, it contributed to the casino tradition by providing a space both for women who could experience entertainment during the day on Wednesdays and the new middle class who could only afford to watch popular performers during the cheaper Sunday shows (as cited in Dağtaş, 2004: 90). Yazar explains: “I started to practice the model when I was in Ankara; then I brought it to Izmir. Due to this renovated entertainment model, people were glad to visit the casinos as affordable, and it still continues” (Dağtaş, 2004: 90).

Going to casinos was a special event for a middle class family as it entailed sacrificing a significant portion of the family’s regular monthly income. However, going to the inexpensive matinee was the only time that middle class women could encounter the casino experience (Beken, 2003). Certainly, its affordability made the program more attractive for women. “For women, it was worth paying a little more to see and listen to the singers live, rather than maybe paying less but watching them on screen in the movie theatre” (Bimen, personal interview, 2017). “Even the great appeared in the matinees; it cost only a third of the regular evening casino price” (C.S.⁶¹, personal interview, 2015).

While this economic benefit motivated casino owners to take advantage of the revival of casino culture and adapt it to daytime entertainment activities with

⁶¹ Personal Interview 2, C.S. (1948-) (a frequenter of women’s matinees in ICP from a very young age), interviewed by the writer on May 8th, 2015. The interview was recorded.

affordable prices, other motivations to open such a public space should not be underestimated. That is, we should not consider the historicity of matinee culture in isolation. In order to hear the other voices, that is women's voices, we need to understand the agency of women in public life and their representation in the social context of 1970s' Turkey.

4.1. Women's Status in 1970s' Turkey

In order to understand the position of women during this period, it is necessary to look at a brief history of women's movements. The women's movement in Turkey is rooted in the Ottoman period. In the early twentieth-century, women activists gained certain fundamental rights countering polygamy and repudiation (Knaus, 2007: 6; Merçil & Senemoğlu, 2014). Although the history of the women's movement is quite old, their actions gained political significance in the twentieth-century through national involvement of the Balkan Wars and the First World War (Tekeli, 2010). Following fifty years of activism by Ottoman women (Tekeli, 2010: 119-120), they achieved new rights and official consideration of their status through adoption of the Civil Law of the Republic in 1926; they acquired voting rights in 1930 and eligibility in 1934 (Tokgöz, 1994: 99; Tekeli, 2010: 120). During the early Republican period, women were active in claiming their rights, rather than constructing an argument to rise against men. Consequently, their claims went unheard due to patriarchal domination and remained framed within official ideology (Merçil & Senemoğlu, 2014: 17).

Additionally, the Turkish Woman's Union (TWU), which represented women's new status, was shut down by government because it was assumed that it completed its mission of giving women their rights and therefore, there was no longer any need for such an institution. It was not until 1975 that another women's organization concerning gender equality emerged in Turkey (Tekeli, 2010: 120). The discourse changed slightly during the 1970s under the umbrella of feminist and leftist movements (Merçil & Senemoğlu, 2014: 17, 23). It is no coincidence that international women's movements were also launched in this period (Knaus, 2007: 2). At this time, women were not truly acting as feminists as they were concerned only with the difficult conditions of working women (Tekeli, 2010: 120). The 1970s had a highly politicized character with its left-wing/right-wing dichotomy and labor movements (Bek, 2007: 31). Within this dichotomy, the image of the 'women electors' had emerged in terms of notions of being a wife, a mother and a working woman (Tokgöz, 1994). By the 1970s, women's representation in society had changed. Previously, they had been "the Anatolian women, who shared the life of their husband" (Merçil & Senemoğlu, 2014: 18) and were supporters of nationalist ideology. Now, because they were working women, occupying public space and working outside the home alongside men, they were fighting for the same rights as men. These political feminist movements led to a modification of the state during the following period in terms of the patriarchal relations in left-wing movements.

In light of this socio-political background of 1970s Turkey, we can read the needs and demands of the women's interviews within this specific context After

stressing that matinees for women were taking greater public attention than before because of women's strong demand, an ex-casino owner offered his memories regarding women's presence in the city:

Since its establishment Izmir has always been a city, which challenged the hegemony of power holders. This is the city of the Levantines, and women have freedom deep in their souls. Especially, in the 1970s, women were able to live freely and as they no longer secluded themselves at home, the matinee spaces became necessary. Women were going out, dancing, and even drinking alcohol (C.T., personal interview, 2015).

Similarly, a woman who was young and working in Izmir in the 1970s noted how freely women experienced urban life in the city:

I used to go back home around nine o'clock in the evening. Sometimes we felt like having an ice cream and I could go out to buy it without any hesitation about going out alone by myself. No one was criticizing or messing around. Those were the years of maximum freedom ever. No one even made any comments about your revealing dress. I even wore those kinds of clothes while working as a banker. Women preferred to wear backless dresses, sleeveless tops or miniskirts. Women took care about putting on make-up, doing their hair or wearing a smart dress for going to the matinees, and could go around the culture park without any drawbacks (C.S., personal interview, 2015).

Such accounts present how the women's movements and cultural accumulation of fifty years of Republican regime influenced Izmir.

There used to be concerts playing in the cinemas between the 70s and 80s. Some musicians went on stage and sang before the movie starts or during the break. You could also bring your food from home and have dinner at the tables in the space. The orchestra played the popular hits and the youth of Izmir, boys and girls, danced together on the dance floor at the entrance. If the seat in front of you was empty, you could put your feet up on the free seat while sitting and watching the movie, and eat sunflower seeds (C.S., 2015).

As this account shows, apart from being a tool to promote the international trends through its films, cinemas had, like casinos, become part of entertainment

life by providing a space for citizens to participate in mix-gender leisure practices and be part of the social life.

These new patterns of entertainment and social life occurred across various spaces of the city. Apart from the demand on casinos, especially during the fair period, there were other entertainment spaces like movie theatres, seaside tea gardens, and discos for people to patronize.

There was no such thing as sitting at home in the evenings. For instance, we had our own boat to sail in *Karşıyaka*. While my father used to go fishing in the boat in the afternoons, my mother always prepared something to eat for dinner. And after we had brought our dinners to a tea garden at the waterfront, we moved to the cinema. The singers first performed at these movie theatres and then continued their program in the casinos. As the final step, we all moved onto the discos (C.S., 2015).

These spaces helped create an urban identity while serving as spaces of contemporary city life. They all provided a space for women in public and encouraged them to create social relations with others.

Furthermore, women's engagement in an individualized process of self-construction, with focus on body health and beauty, increased during these years. This meant that women's consumption was no longer centred on family and class (Özyeğin, 2002) as its gender identity is described in a new form which directs women to concern themselves and their appearance in public, rather than focusing only on their family and house chores as prescribed by normative gender roles. In terms of considering gender as a social construction, which is implied in social institutions, everyday life, politics and representations, it emerges in cultural signs and visual codes like TV, cinema, and advertisement (Sönmez, 2013). Parallel to that, a growing emphasis on cosmetics, reinforced by

a proliferation of magazines and advertising, had a significant part in changing the cultural constitution of female identity (Özyeğin, 2002) (see Figure 55). The proliferation of new women-centered spaces, such as private gyms, diet centers or women's matinees indicate a new typology of women as more 'individualized', set apart from other family members. As Ozyegin (2002: 56) emphasizes, due to urban migration, domestic workers could save other women from physical labor, creating new cultural practices of femininity that distinguished "traditional" women (domestic workers) and "modern" women. The investment of middle class women in modern feminine identities strongly affected their daily relationships, leading to class-based femininities and the transformation of peasant women into "working-class" women (quotation marks in original).





Figure 55. Newspaper clippings and advertisements from the early 1970s, foreshadowing a new era for women to break previous limits as they become agents in the public realm
(Source: APIKAM Archive; *Yeni Asır* Newspaper, and National Library in Izmir; *Hayat* Journal)

According to Abadan-Ünat, Turkey's changing social structure impacted women's status. She briefly encapsulates those years in her edited book, the changing mixed economy after the transition to a multi-party system in 1946, and the growing size of Turkey's new middle class. Private enterprise was highly motivated in this period, new technologies were introduced and the mechanization of agriculture was followed by internal migration, urbanization

and industrialization, while excess labour⁶² was exported in significant amounts to Europe (1981). Abadan-Ünat argues that womanhood in Turkey was strongly affected by these deep-rooted changes and emerging patterns. During the 1950s, due to significant migration from Turkey's rural areas to urban squatter settlements, rural women also needed to work; initially rural women worked as maids in private homes (Abadan-Ünat, 1981; Özyeğin, 2002; Kaya, 2009). From the 1960s onwards, employment opportunities for women expanded, for example, light manufacturing. By working outside the home and contributing to the family income, they earned greater status and respect (Kaya, 2009: 212). Comparing the rate of wage-earning working class women in the 1970s to previous periods (see Table 4), shows the growing numbers of the female working class in employment. Women tended to work in the service industry rather than the industrial sector. For example, there were 12,716 female civil servants in 1938 but 123,812 in 1970 (Abadan-Ünat, 1981: 24). The number of working women increased slowly until 1975, after which it increased more rapidly. Figures show that there were 5,261,709 economically active women in 1955, 5,812,545 in 1970 and 7,647,265 in 1985 (Berber & Eser, 2008: 3).

⁶² In general terms, industrialization accelerated between 1960 and 1980, while the political and economic changes caused internal and external migration to increase (Kütük, 2016: 1606).

Table 4. Percentages of female wage earners by year and region⁶³
(Redrawn by the author, 2018) (Source: Nermin Abadan-Unat, 1981, p.24)

<i>Years</i>	<i>Central Anatolia</i>	<i>Black Sea</i>	<i>Aegean and Marmara</i>	<i>Mediterranean</i>	<i>Eastern Anatolia</i>	<i>Three Big Provinces</i>
1955	1.2	1.2	4.7	4.4	2.0	18.9
1960	4.6	1.4	5.8	3.8	1.4	25.0
1970	6.0	5.3	11.0	10.7	4.0	40.8

Despite a continued social trend to position them as just good wives and mothers, women started to develop opportunities to represent their self-identity, self-expression and freedom. This led to a class-oriented conclusion regarding middle class and working class urban women in that, while working was an economic necessity for working class migrant women, it was actually more a socially enhancing means for middle class women to participate in public life.

4.2. Women's Practices in Matinees

Since gender is socially constructed, any gender, including women, is an outcome of a situation rather than a biological fact as Beauvoir says: "one is not born, but, rather, *becomes* a woman" (1946/1973: 301). In any space, people of different sexes are compelled to act, think, behave, and feel according to their socially constructed gender roles (Butler, 1990). Gender roles are culturally-defined

⁶³ Three big (major) provinces in Turkey are Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir.

normative ways of behavior appropriate to a person's sex formed through interactions in ways regarded as socially appropriate. Gender identity is a performative consummation compelled by constituting repetition of acts in time (Butler, 1988) and "material space is continuously produced in relation to gendered identities" (Baydar, 2012: 699), so its uses are inevitably informed by these identities and by social roles.

As women became more active and developed sub-identities in the public domain, apart from being only a good mother and wife, they started to represent themselves as freestanding figures or agents in public spaces. Considering these changes in the status of women in public domain and their already existing socio-cultural background, they reproduced their gender identities in ICP's casinos within their practices. In the words of Heynen (2013), with the emancipation of women in the 1970s (by second wave feminism), a critical architectural discourse, questioning traditions and conventions, had emerged. In its theoretical discussion, architectural hierarchies of space and the construction of gender identities become the central topics. In this case, three paradigms of the discussions are the following; equality thinking, difference thinking and constructionist thinking. Since equality thinking has roots in liberal feminism, the separation of private and public spaces is shaped by the discriminating practices, which support imbalance in power that causes the interests of women to be disregarded. In the entertainment culture of the 1970s, there is a similar imbalance in power as casino space as a public space does not permit any woman to participate and entertain themselves without being accompanied by

men. On the other hand, these casino spaces turn into new spaces during matinees that fit into difference and constructionist thinking. Heynen (2013: 34-35) mentions that difference thinking supports the very idea that women are equal to but fundamentally different from men, and that women should affirm their individuality and develop practices different than the practices of men. In constructionist thinking paradigm, architecture is not accepted as a neutral background as it works as a cultural apparatus that shows gender differentiations. While it places an emphasis on genealogy and the structure of meaning, it implies the formulation of 'counter-strategies' (quotation marks in original) (Heynen, 2013: 35). Therefore, the counter strategies of women in casino space definitely appear in matinees, as their practices transform the built environment of the authority and reproduces meaning in social context.

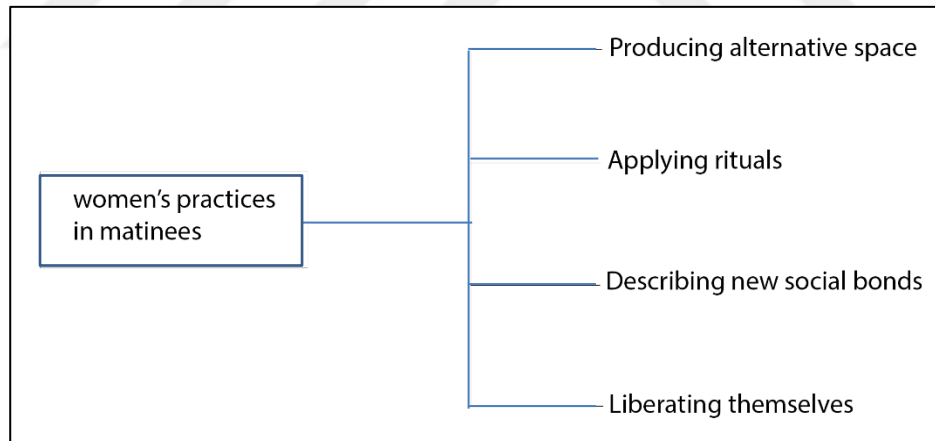


Figure 56. The diagram carries information, gained through the oral histories and enriched by gender literature, flows in the same order in text (Drawn by the author, 2017)

Following this chapter, the four practices that are grouped below will be explained in detail (see Figure 56).

By changing the everyday rhythms of urban life, the spread of TV also had certain effects on public life (Mater, 2003), which endangered women's visibility by confining them more tightly to their domestic, private environments. Though casinos were popular public spaces at the time, they allowed women to take part in social life only with the accompaniment of men. However, as TV viewing increased, the use of this space declined. In this changing entertainment culture of the 1970s, those people who could afford a TV, or knew someone else with a TV set in their home, preferred to stay in during the evenings instead of participating in public life. This also confined women to the private, domestic space whether intentionally or not. While some women could not afford to go to casinos or could not participate in public life without a male family member because they were single or a widow, other women who desired to participate in public life had created their own space, the *matinee* (see Figure 57).

The women of the 1970s challenged this public/private dichotomy. Abbas and Heur (2014) consider different levels of the publicness of spaces, where the casino is a public space (similar to spaces like restaurants and cafes) and the home environment of women, with or without a TV, belongs to private space. What about the *matinee*? This alternative space, neither totally public nor private, gives women an alternative of appearing in a space voluntarily. In this space, women develop social bonds with female relatives, neighbours and friends, while the space provides a place for social functions such as weddings, graduations or religious classes (Abbas & Heur, 2014: 1219-1220). Because casino spaces are highly socially produced spaces involving both genders, the

spread of TV technology made many users prefer to stay at home in the evenings. During this spatial development, matinees appear as a way station for women agents in a public space that creates an alternative space for them to socialize.

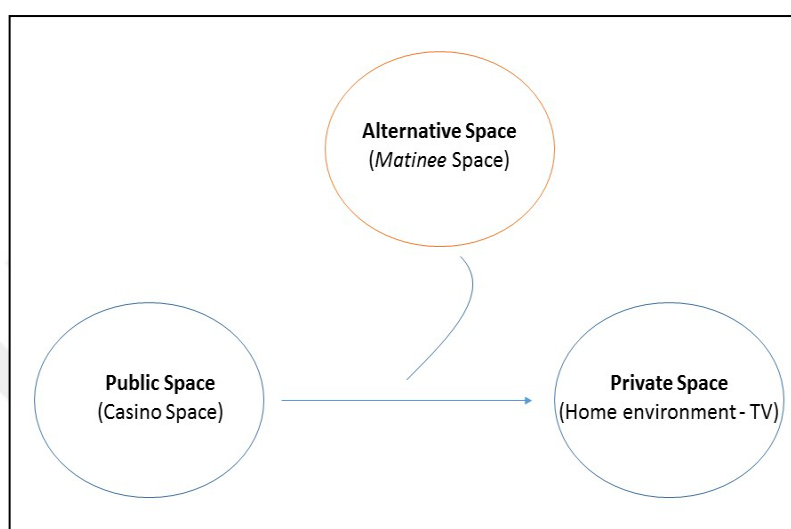


Figure 57. Diagram showing the transition of entertainment spaces in the 1970s (Drawn by the author, 2017)

Given that current debates in radical feminist theory⁶⁴ question whether these women-only, alternative spaces encourage women's empowerment or strengthen the subjection of women in social structure, this study investigates how matinee spaces operate in prioritizing women's needs.

⁶⁴ Rachel Newcomb, *Women of Fes: Ambiguities of Urban Life in Morocco*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), Diane Singerman, *Avenues of Participation: Family, Politics, and Networks in Urban Quarters of Cairo*. (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1996), and Farha Ghannam, *Remaking the Modern: Space, Relocation and the Politics of Identity in a Global Cairo*. (Berkeley and California: University of California Press, 2002) explore daily lives of the lower-middle class and the adaptation of certain modern practices, taking into account such factors as gender, religion, and class. In terms of spatial practices, we see that women are more restricted than men in public space in Muslim regions. Regarding such research, this study complements the above-noted by reflecting how certain public spaces are hidden/restricted/forbidden for women and shows the power of women's presence and agency in re-creating a social space and building a new terminology in reading a public space.

This alternative space, which may have emerged due to the tendency for women to group together and avoid men, could represent a rational reaction to male-dominated power relations in social structure. However, it also gives women a chance to meet others in a different way, outside of the everyday social context.

The oral histories reveal a ritual of practices for a single matinee day. According to an ex-casino owner, these rituals, which were adopted by nearly a thousand matinee patrons, including women and children, occupy the whole matinee day; starting in the women's domestic space and ending in the public space of the casino. It was customary to wake up early on matinee day and line up at the casino entrance to get a front-row seat, with those arriving between 08.30-09.00 a.m. getting the first seats. In some cases, many women would come to ICP to queue around 05.00 a.m., bringing their samovars with them and even eating their breakfast inside the casino before the matinee started (G.M., personal interview, 2017). Once the program started in the noon, many ate snacks, such as sunflower seeds. These demands created important sales opportunities like selling cushions, sunflower seeds and "Cincibir" soda.⁶⁵

The intense social life and use of the place throughout the day, mainly by women, can be obtained from oral histories:

Though Wednesday was the general day for matinees, some occurred also at noon on Friday and Saturday. Generally, the mid and high class of the society did not participate in the matinee. It started around at 13.30 or

⁶⁵ This Turkish soda brand was well known in Turkey's Aegean region during the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. It was consumed mostly in summer cinemas (Durbaş, 2004).

14.00 and ended in the afternoon. What happened in our family was that after the women relatives came together to go to the matinee, the youngsters of the family who were studying in high school or university came to join them in the afternoon, and the family did not return home before midnight because the males of the family would join them for the evening program. There were many families following a similar approach and for that reason they recognized each other (Ö.G.⁶⁶, personal interview, 2015).

Another narrative helps us understand the order of operations on matinee day and how this was vital for women users:

It used to happen on Wednesdays. On Wednesday mornings while I was leaving for school, my mother and the others were preparing to leave for the matinee. After school, I stopped by my home to change my clothes and went to the matinee and joined them. After the matinee, we did not leave but waited for the males of the family to join us, and we continued to entertain ourselves in the casinos in the evening programs. I also remember that when I had exams in my senior year, I used to stay at night in my relative's house after the evening program in the casino, and woke up early the next day to go home to put on my uniform and leave for school afterwards to get to the exam (C.S., personal interview, 2015).

Attending the matinee was popular with the women's children during the 1970s, as can be seen from this detail from one narration:

My cousin grew up on top of the tables in matinees since he was a 5 or 6-month-old baby. When he was 4 years old, he would draw a man with his eyes closed to represent a local blind singer who performed on stage in the matinees (C.S., personal interview, 2015).

Since entertainment in the matinee was perceived as a significant event, as a part of the ritual women prepared carefully, with their children, wearing new clothes every time they went.

Women of those years wore what was the contemporary character of the day, which was modern, without scarfs. The housewives wearing their

⁶⁶ Coded as personal Interview 5, Ö.G. (1963-) (used to visit the women's matinees in ICP with his mother and other female members of his family as a small child), interviewed by the writer on May 14th, 2015. The interview was recorded

nicest clothes attended the matinees on Wednesdays while working women preferred to see the matinee programs on Sundays (S.M., personal interview, 2015).

Women not only prepared themselves at home on the day of the matinee but also organized the casino space itself. Mostly they applied tactics to counter the strategies of the authorities from a need of adapting the spatial properties to their social necessities. Casino owners/managers set rules for stage design and furniture layout. However, women seemed to care little about these rules, and often were able to reshape and transform the space. From the interviews, we learn that some of the spaces had the seating arrangements with rows of wooden chairs in different colors (see Figure 58). In such seating, chairs were wired together for the purpose of easy maintenance: it was possible to turn them over together on the ground to clean the floor. In addition, by placing the seats very close together, the casino owners could squeeze more seats, which meant extra profit for the operation (Erdem; Ünbay, personal interviews, 2017). This tight seating arrangement did not usually include any tables and women often brought their own cushions, food and snacks from home in order to make this cramped environment more comfortable and pleasant.



Figure 58. Photograph of a tea garden showing rows of wooden chairs also used in the women's matinees

(Source: *Kent Konak KNK* (2016), summer (28), ed. by Ayşe Teoman, p.42)

Women developed strategies to cope with various conditions of spaces. If there were no tables, they created their own solutions (See Figure 57). Sometimes they brought food in nylon bags and placed them under their feet. Other times, they spared a chair to place their food and plates on, thereby transforming it functionally from a chair to a table. The women enriched the physically poor and inadequate conditions of the conceived space with their tactics, which were driven by their needs. Women also used the corridor for extra seating or dancing with many also dancing on top of the chairs.

The tables were packed together to meet the demand. They were set according to the number of family members. Some family members preferred to go earlier to grab a place even before the performers came on stage. The belly dancers were dancing not only on stage but also all around the tables, and women would attach money to the dancers' dresses. Even if there was not enough space, you could ask a dancer to dance on top of your own table. Sometimes, the performer could come beside you and hold the microphone up to the women as the audience sang along. Women also used to dance with the performer on stage or all together in the audience space between the tables and seats" (C.S., personal interview, 2015) (See Figure 59).

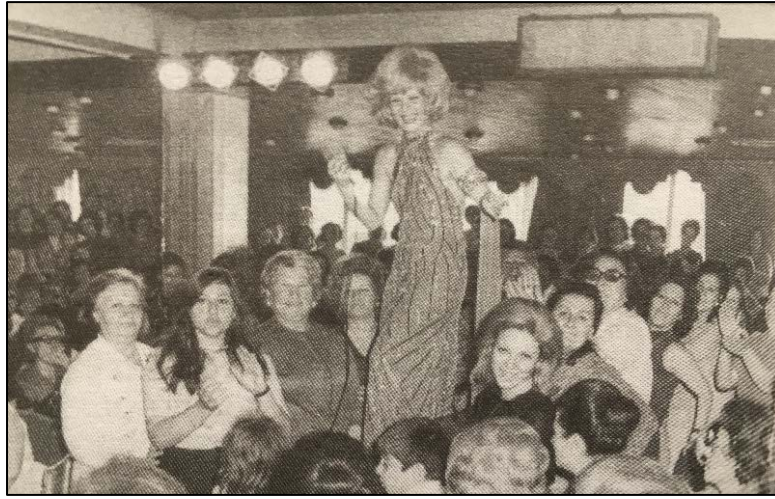


Figure 59. Scene from a women's matinee showing how the performer sometimes left the stage and continued to perform on tables or chairs among the women audience (Source: Tayfur Göçmenoğlu (2008), *O Yıldızlar Hiç Sönmesin*, p.18)

Such an analysis of women patrons' tactics in reconstructing space in ways not intended by the creators of the space show "how gender relations are constituted and experienced and how we think or, equally important, do not think about them" (Flax, 1987: 622). The close connection between normative gendered roles, lived experiences, and constructed space is significant in exploring how women in the ICP's matinee space became active agents, shaping and reshaping it. Depicted in Figure 60 are women patrons' practices of seat usage. The women are shown in a figurative way and grouped in three categories in relation to their socially constructed gender identities and practices (See Figure 60).

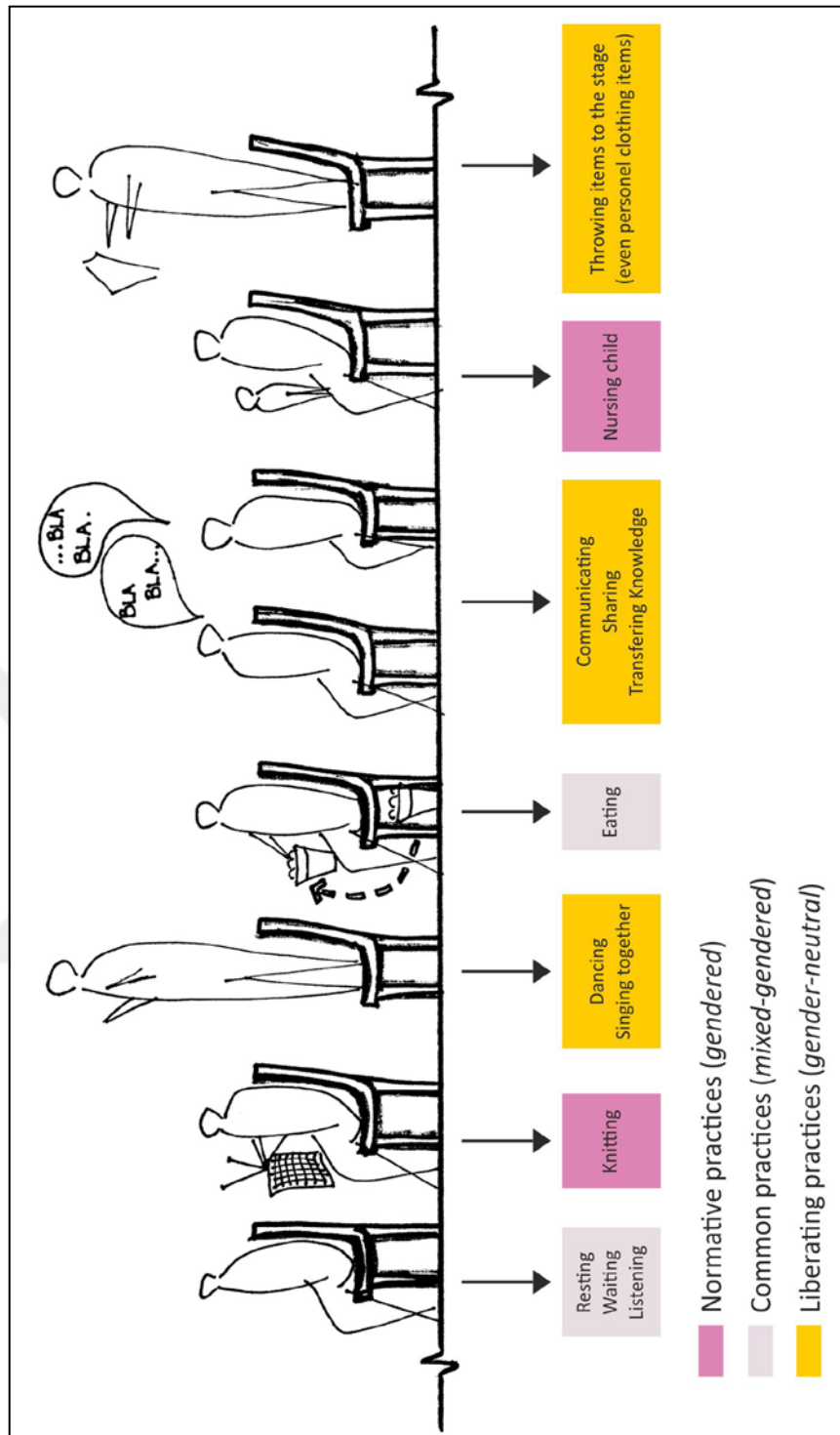
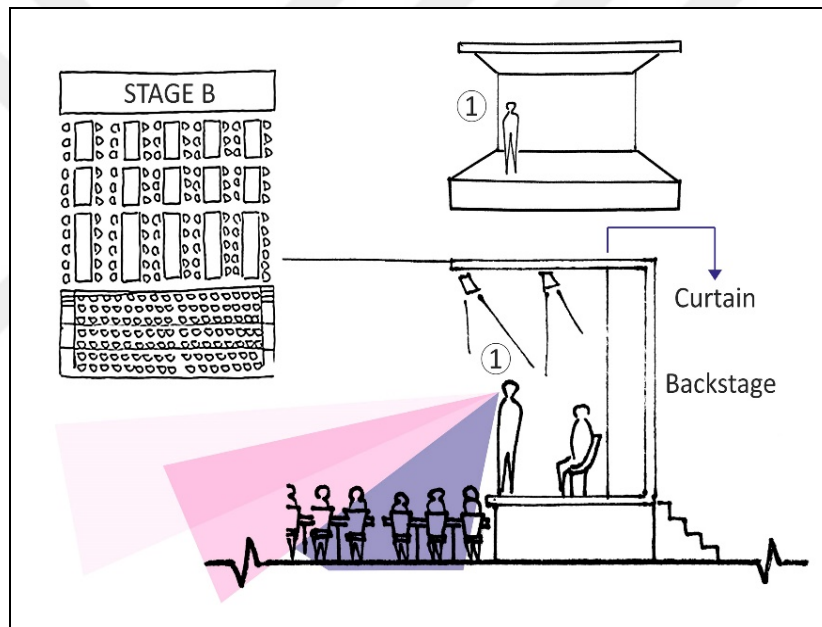
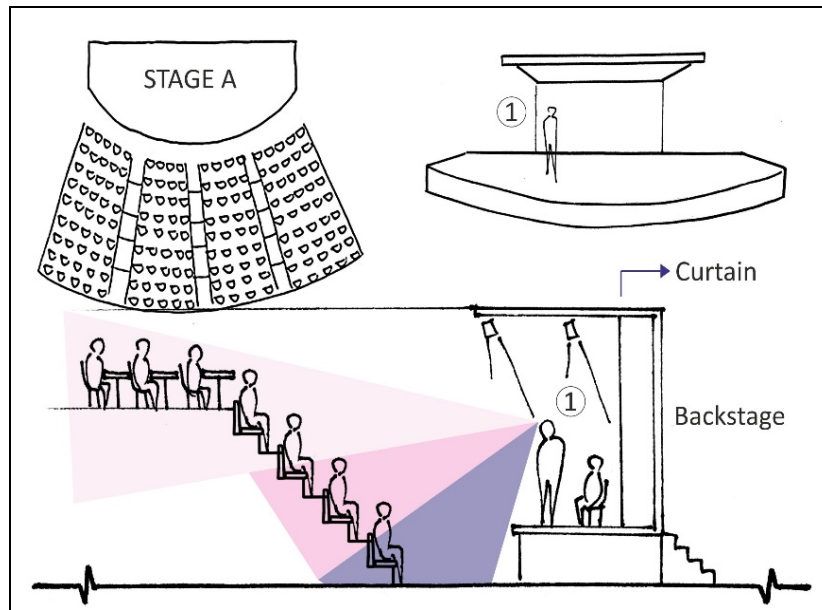


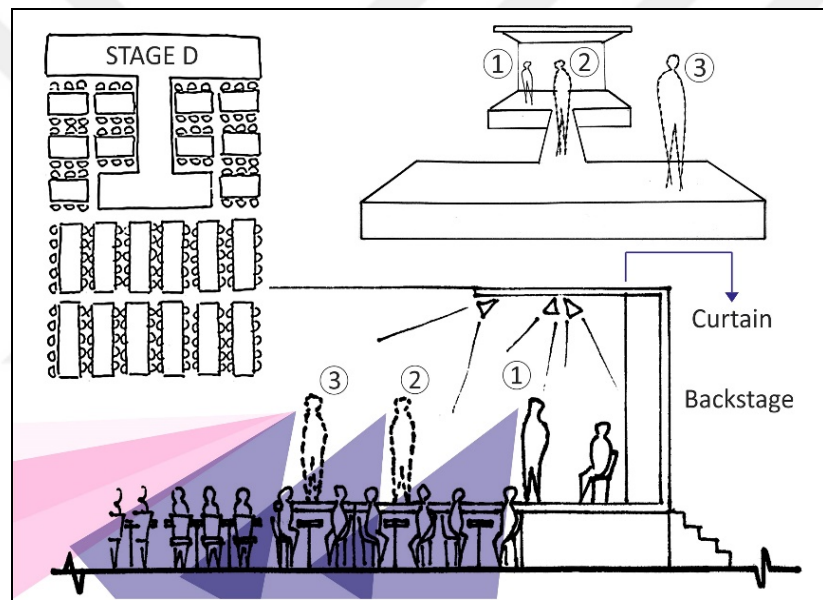
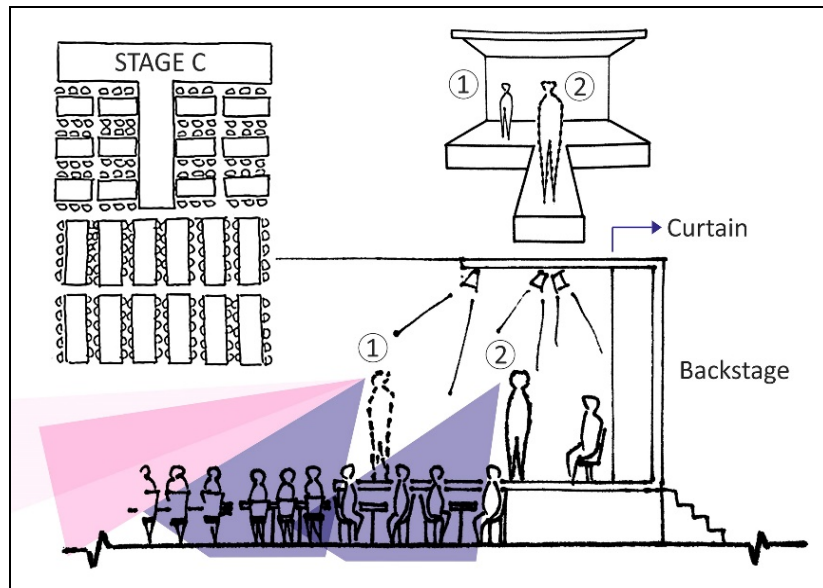
Figure 60. The conceptual drawing of seats, varied in their uses. They are mainly categorized in three groups, prepared in accordance with constructed gender roles (terminology, in *italics*, is adapted by the author) (Drawn by the author, 2018).

As casino spaces turned into matinee spaces, women transformed the stage area, designed for the performer's use, into something else. In general, the stage

was reserved for the performer and the orchestra. Set above the floor level, it placed both a physical and metaphorical distance between the performer and the audience. This arrangement prevented the women from crossing the border and getting close to the performer. The performer was able participate with the audience from a safe distance and height. This strategically designed stage, metaphorically, emphasized the status of the performer and triggered admiration for him/her. As N.E., a local singer who performed on stage in the 1970s' ICP casinos and matinees puts it: "the height of the stage gave the audience the perception that the performer is an unreachable" (personal interview, 2017).

According to a Lefebvrian triadic understanding of social space, the physical environment of the matinee space, with the stage and the seating units (with/out tables) designed by the creators of the space, refers to the conceived space. It brings different levels of intimacy between the audience and the performer. The differing characteristic of the conceived space, with varying positions for the performer on stage and established distance between the performer and the female audience, creates a certain background for possible links, relations, and experiences both in the perceived and lived spaces (See Figure 61).





- ① Position enables minimum distance from the curtain
- ② Position enables mediate distance from the curtain
- ③ Position enables maximum distance from the curtain

- Intense interaction with audience
- Intermediate interaction with audience
- Least interaction with audience

Figure 61. The schematic drawing of four types of stages; shown together with perspective and section drawings. Stages with their differing seating layout, enabling the performer to get close to audience in various levels and offering a changing level of intimacy (Drawn by the author, 2018).

Correspondingly, the feelings, admirations, sensations and memories of the audience occupy the perceived space, while women's experiences occupy the

lived space. According to Allen (1999), lived space is produced from conceived space as it reacts to the homogenizing impacts of conceived space, although it cannot be present without the other two layers of social space. A social space is the spot where power is operationalized as production, segregation and reproduction. Within this perspective, the conceived space focuses on putting a distance or hierarchical order between the performer and the women, whereas the perceived space raises admiration towards the performer performing on stage. Although the stage is put under the surveillance of the creators of space through its design strategies, it allows alternative practices through the women's practices (or tactics) which enable the perceived and lived space to be richer with the intense interaction between the performer and the audience; new relations are always produced between them (see Figure 62). These practices and relations were described in the oral histories:

There were women dancing yet the aesthetics of the place was never poor. In the 1970s, women were never dancing so wildly, never looking cheap; rather, they mostly preferred only listening to the performer, clapping in time to accompany the singer. Through the end of 1970s the general approach of the audience changed with dancing wildly, more stepping onto the stage or jumping on the singer. The singer had a large orchestra behind him/herself on the stage, which was shaped like a half circle with a corridor extending through the audience. That stage shape was the invention of *Zeki Müren*. It helped the performer to mingle freely with the crowd (see Figure 58), and the audience had the chance to write down which song they wanted the singer to sing on a piece of tissue and pass it to the singer while walking down the stage (N.G., personal interview 2015).



Figure 62. Scenes from a 1970s matinee showing the extended stage design used to create greater intimacy between the performer and the women audience
 [(Source: yavuzhakantok2.wordpress.com/2012/01/16/gazino-show-devam-ediyor/ (on left), *İşte Benim Zeki Müren* (2014), Ed. by Derya Bengi, Yapı Kredi Publishes, Istanbul (on right)]

Performance on the stage was not the only activity. Women patrons stood on the chairs and even jumped on stage to sing and dance with the performer. Their practices eliminated the physical limitations of the space, transgressing borders: physically, by the height of the stage from ground level; or socially, by the hierarchy between the performer and the audience. Women were dancing and moving all over the space. In the atmosphere of the matinee, women could not be kept to their chairs. They challenged the conceived space of the creators of the space by physically obviating the boundaries and expanding the stage. In one sense, the lived space had triumph over the conceived one through the tactics, performances and practices of women. In other words, the perceived layer of the triadic reading of this casino space was changed through the tactics of women patrons in the matinee. Women became inseparable from the show. They are on the same level (both physically and imagery) with the performer and could be in contact very easily. The performer was not an unreachable icon anymore. S/he was someone they had already known, like a member of their family or an acquaintance.

As the interviews showed, the women were conscious about the built environment. However, they appeared to care more about the structure of social relations. For them, whether the seats were fixed in a row, the space was too packed or they had to sit on uncomfortable wooden chairs for a minimum of 4-5 hours, was not the most important concern. (They did not seem to care about this as a designer might have).

Women adapted the physical environment according to their diverse needs and wants. As indicated by Brenner, Lefebvre considers space as a mesh of social activity, all at once as a presupposition, medium and outcome of the social relations in capitalism, while neglecting the conceptualization of social space as a single item, a void or a compartment (1997: 140). Similarly, he describes: space “as a (social) product” ([1974] 1991, 26) (parenthesis in original), “is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products” (73) but rather it “embraces a multitude of intersections (...) [and] incorporates social actions” (33). As an example of social links, we can see the many ways whereby interactions were established in matinees between the performer and the women or among the women patrons themselves:

There were many performers coming to Izmir and women were making their own schedule for seeing a different performer at each week’s matinee. Whether they attended the program alone or in a group, you could have a chance to chat with the performer. The performer coming for a week to perform a program in Izmir could talk to you and sing together with you, even pose in the photograph for you. There were even some women asking the performer to visit their homes (...) Once, we were in a *matinee*, my mother liked very much the dress of the local singer on stage. While she was asking around who could sew the dress, someone from the next table told us that she was her tailor. After a while they had a conversation, my mother got the tailor’s phone number and address and

later, she prepared another dress for my mother (C.S., personal interview, 2015).

While the interviewee was citing one of her recollections regarding the conversation between her mother and the tailor, we understand that women connected during matinees. There were many women regularly attending the matinees, so it was no surprise that they became familiar to each other and developed relationships. They shared with each other the food they brought from home. Thus, they met, interacted, communicated, and exchanged what they brought from their social backgrounds to these spaces. During the small breaks between the performances, some women adopted ways of passing time. Women might have knitted and others chatted while waiting for the upcoming performance. N.E. claims that she even saw women applying epilating wax to each other's legs (personal interview, 2017). During those years, one particular knitting pattern was so popular among the women that it was named after the famous singer Zeki Müren's eyelashes. From the narrations, we understand women shared patterns, food recipes and tips about personal as well as domestic care. According to N.T., ex-matinee frequenter, the best part of the matinees was for women to "show off their handcrafts and skills" to others (personal interview, 2017). If someone liked a woman's dress, she could ask the other woman to get her the same one and would receive it the next week, same time and place in the following matinee.

Women's interactions and communication as described through the memories of the users show how women attributed additional meaning to the space by

turning an abstract space or empty void into a vivid, living space that enabled them to occupy public space.

Additionally, and maybe most importantly, apart from creating an environment for women's practices, matinees had a specific role in supporting what is not attributed to women but what is challengeable in their daily lives. That is, the culture park's matinees provided a critical space for women to let go and feel free. Women, who were mostly assigned to domestic life in the confinement of the house, found an opportunity to wriggle themselves out of their daily life routines and became part of a variegated social environment.

There were some frequenters constantly going to the same casino spaces. After you recognize the similar faces, the friendships sometimes built upon them while the children were playing together. For that reason, it was a great chance for women to socialize. The ones going to matinees had a chance to recharge themselves, dance, break the monotony of the daily life" (S.M., personal interview, 2015).

Other narrations highlight the meaning of matinees for women in the 1970s:

"The 3 hours women spend in the matinee were the most valuable minutes in the world for them" (E.T., personal interview, 2017). "It was the only place where we have relief and get away from our troubles" (N.O.⁶⁷, personal interview, 2017). "It was a chance for women to meet and share love in many respects. You could come across a relative that you had not seen for a while. Actually, it was

⁶⁷ Coded as personal Interview 7, N.O. (1955-) (frequenter of the 1970s matinees), interviewed by the writer on January 16th, 2017. The interview was recorded.

one of the main motivations for going to the matinee” (R.S.⁶⁸, personal interview, 2017).

It was most liberating for women in the women-only spaces as men were not allowed to enter as customers. Daphne Spain (1992) criticizes spatial hierarchies that are elements of stratification systems that also shape difference between men and women. Accordingly, within matinees, this segregation works positively for women to gain power and feel free. Some interviewees shared their memories of preferring matinee programs in the culture park to avoid the male gaze in public. L.B., a tabloid journalist in the 1970s, reports that women frequently cheered for the belly dancer on the matinee stage to undress herself during performances; which some of them did (personal interview, 2017) (see Figure 63). Sometimes, women secretly went to matinees, not telling the men of the family about going. In such cases, the matinee experience provided the women an opportunity to liberate themselves from the control of men.

Some women went to matinees without their husbands noticing since some men got angry at their wives. Therefore, even though they were housewives, they paid from their own pockets, from their own savings of home expenses (N.G., personal interview 2015).

⁶⁸ Coded as personal Interview 9, R.S. (1947-) (frequenter of the 1970s matinees), interviewed by the writer on January 16th, 2017. The interview was recorded.

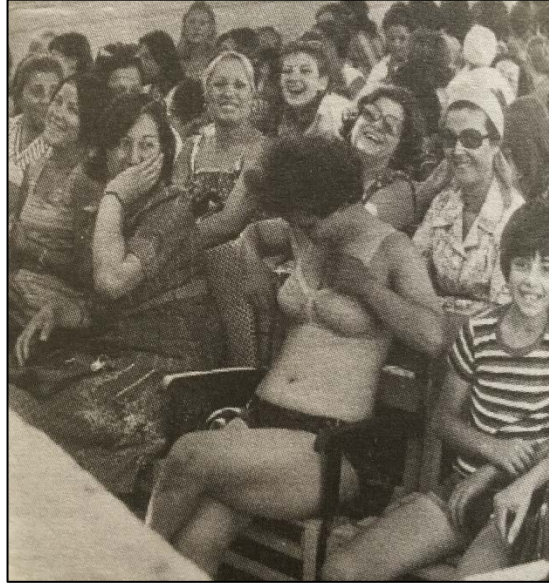


Figure 63. Photograph taken by journalist Göçmenoğlu capturing an exciting moment at a matinee as women challenged communal norms
(Source: Tayfur Göçmenoğlu (2008), *O Yıldızlar Hiç Sönmesin*, p.18)

Many women wanted to get close to male singers by dancing with them, they would feed them homemade snacks or throw flowers at the stage, to get their attention (see Figure 64). E.T., a singer, recalls being the focus of this intense interest during matinees as follows:

I used to buy a new white tuxedo each time I went on the matinee stage because, every time, women were all up on me and they were tearing apart my clothes or leaving red marks of their lipstick all over me (personal interview, 2017).

We can also understand the level of intimacy from one matinee goer:

Suddenly you realize there is a young woman on stage, holding him with her arms and mopping his brow while the other one is stroking his cheeks. At his next step, a new, braver one hugs and kisses this 'holy baby' as if the whole audience of thousands of women are kissing the same cheek, touching the same skin and sensing the same tenderness (Yeşim, 1964).

In doing this, women were able to counter the design strategy of the casinos.

Even though the stage was planned as separate from the audience's seating

area, patrons formed their own connection to the stage metaphorically, by either throwing themselves or their belongings onto the stage. As an interviewee stated: “[women] use to throw many things onto the stage in order show their admiration: flowers, notes and sometimes even their bras” (E.T., personal interview, 2017).





Figure 64. Women happily dancing with a matinee performer on the extended stage
(Source: *İşte Benim Zeki Müren* (2014), Ed. by Derya Bengi, Yapı Kredi Publishes, Istanbul and Tayfur Göçmenoğlu (2008), *O Yıldızlar Hiç Sönmesin*, p.457)

Clearly, women had a chance to live out their liberation, maybe not declaring it in words but showing it in their actions and practices (see Figure 65). While

experiencing something outside their daily routines, they used the furniture or the space's physical elements. According to the oral histories, some women even consumed alcohol or smoked even though these were drastic public actions for women from conservative circles at that time in Turkey.

I saw that some women poured alcohol into their beverage, lemonade or orange juice, secretly under their seats and tables in matinees. Even though they were fewer, some businesses also served alcoholic drinks. It was a big event for Turkey in those times (Ö.G., personal interview, 2015).

My mother used to carry a bottle with alcohol in case we went on to the next entertainment venue with a fixed menu (C.S., personal interview, 2015).



Figure 65. Newspaper reports showing how women were inspired by the bold public actions of important performers, Zeki Müren's appearance in miniskirts (left) (Source: Apikam Archive; *Yeni Asır Journal*).

Subsequently, women (and transgendered people) were feeling free in their choice of clothing as well as being liberated to dance wildly, be in close contact with the male singers and consume alcohol. Above all, the most liberating was having a retreat from their daily routines and prescribed gender roles. Different from the everyday boundaries, they could alter social and moral norms by

shifting practices of communicating, eating, drinking, dancing, dressing up, building friendships, and sharing.

Although matinees in the 1970s gave women an alternative space to enjoy their freedom, reached historically large audiences, and brought together women from different socio-economic backgrounds, the casino restaurants only managed to survive until the 1980s (see Figure 66). The worsening economy and rapid urbanization nationwide, led the user profile of the casino spaces to change and new strategies for occupying the space were needed:

By the end of the 1970s, the fair's impact was less each year and eligible performers started not to show up any more. For example, I watched Zeki Müren and Ajda Pekkan for the first time in ICP. Besides this, the increase in costs caused a decline in that women who had been going to matinees every week started to attend the program only once a month.⁶⁹ The economic conditions of recent years could not provide the chance to visit the culture park more. For those who had poor conditions, other chairs were aligned in a row in casino spaces. Also, those who could not afford to go to the casinos could also have a chance to hear the performers while standing outside in the park. Plus, while standing under the trees of the Culture Park and listening to the performer's voice, s/he might see the performer entering the space at the backstage door of the casino space. When the matinees were over in Izmir, the casino evening programs were also ended (C.S., personal interview, 2015).

⁶⁹ During the 1960s, any regular family could find an opportunity to visit a casino with the whole family at least twice a month (Gülcan, 2014).



Figure 66. A scene from the mid-1970s showing how other alternative public spaces were produced to meet the demands of women for matinees, such as swimming pools or movie theatres

(Source: *Milliyet* 13.04.1980, p1 and 23.07.1978, p.7 and Apikam Archive; *Yeni Asır* Journal)

Already, by the end of the 1970s, terrorist attacks', urban violence and conflicts among democratic left and far-right parties were increasing. Casino patrons were getting older and the next generation did not share the same interest in casino culture. In addition, TV played a major role. As people started to watch singers on TV, they did not feel the urge to see those singers in entertainment spaces. By the 1980s the majority of singers started to give concerts in movie theatres. Therefore, entertainment in casinos, including matinees, lost their appeal. As one interviewee confesses:

There are still matinees for women today; yet they are not like the old ones. For instance, I may go to any of them today just to see the performer him/herself. Since you know about even the private lives of the performer, it has no charm whereas the performer used to have his/her aura carried onto the stage" (C.S., personal interview, 2015).

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This historically grounded study focused on the production of the spaces of ICP in Turkey. A theoretical framework on social space, women's studies and collective memory was used to read the entertainment spaces, namely casinos, to understand how women transform the space to meet their social needs while living out their modernity. In particular, the notion of space was evaluated for its socially produced characteristics by analyzing the social, mental and physical properties of the space and their correlations with each other.

During the research phase of this study, many limitations, particularly the lack of proper documentation of Izmir in the municipality's archives, became evident. In the archives of Municipality and APIKAM, all sources, including photographs from family archives and newspaper reports, were stored without specifying their dates or using another cataloging system. This made it challenging to find out which sources were

from the 1970s. Moreover, studies about ICP focus mainly on its two periods; the rise of the idea of its establishment during the early years of the Republic, starting in the 1920s and finalized in the 1936 and its 1950s-60s period, stressing the architectural building typologies of the culture park. Nevertheless, apart from some biographies and memorial books, prior academic studies do not provide any information about the user practices, performances, or experiences by means of socio-spatial theories; or any documentation describing its users' perspectives or reflections regarding the mental imagery this public space held for them.

Despite these challenges, there were many reasons for focusing on this particular period. First, it was aimed to uncover the hidden, forgotten or unknown narrations of the culture park that have not been presented in existing literature. Therefore, it became essential for the focus of this study to find alternate sources through micro histories about the park, narrations about how it was occupied by its users and how it was perceived by contemporary witnesses. As predicted, these previously unknown micro-histories revealed new information about other ruptures in the park's history, apart from its well-documented written history. Thus, this study exposes micro-histories and new breaking points in the mainstream history of the ICP. It built on the official history of the park while challenging the current periodization and brought a new dimension to the park's chronological history.

Second, there was a gap in the current literature of the culture park's entertainment culture. Oral histories exposed the important features of ICP for its users: casino entertainment and especially, matinee practices, which became more popular in the 1960s and reached its peak in the 1970s. In light of these findings, this study was motivated compensating for the lack of written documentation regarding the history of casinos and matinees in the entertainment culture of ICP. Thus, it became necessary to conduct interviews with various user groups of ICP's casinos to collect descriptions of the spatial organization of these spaces. As there were no previously printed interior plans of entertainment spaces for ICP, this study contributed to spatial studies by producing schematic drawings. The drawings explain the casino and matinee spaces, including the backstage, seating arrangements, alternated stage designs. Nevertheless, because of the limitations of the study and lack of written information, many interior features are left to be explored. Some of these interior features of the casino and matinee spaces, like materials, textures, background details, lighting and even stage costumes of the performers could be examined in the further studies.

As well as developing a critical approach in reading ICP's spatial organization and contributing to its history of architecture, this study is significant for gender studies. In order to read the space's evolving historical pattern, this study found it crucial to focus on the unnamed patrons of ICP and aimed to understand the way they used the space. Deliberately, I evaluated events within the wider context using a different perspective –

women's side. This study also drew apart from the mainstream spatial categorization of the culture park by putting the lens on gender issues in the reading of its spaces.

All through the 1970s, Turkey's entertainment culture transformed itself to meet the entertainment demands of the new era in casino spaces. "Viewers had the chance to get into close relationship with the performers that they admired or that they were used to seeing/hearing on radio or television at these mixed gender entertainment venues, or at day time matinees where only women attended" (Alkar, 2012: 439).

These expansions in entertainment, made it interesting to read how men and women experienced the casino space physically while introducing a new social dimension for women to represent themselves in the urban public space and live their modernity. It was also valuable to analyze how each narration ensured the integrity of a collective memory that created concentric circles around the entertainment culture. As these narrations concentrated on the practices of women, they expressed the reproduction of social identity by the women in the culture park. As Arendt states public space represents the 'world, itself' where everything appears visible and audible to everyone who appears before the community (1958: 52). Leading to it becoming essential to acknowledge the presence of women in public space and life.

This study raises concerns related to women's spatiality, the politics of space and collective memory. Although the 1970s frequently seems to be a period of eclecticism and kitsch, this study studied those years in terms of the novelties and opportunities

that it provided. By putting the spotlight on the social production of space and women's role in this production, this study exposed how women's experiences interact with feeling free or liberated within these built spaces during this production. No matter who they were, whether middle class housewives or working class women, they could experience their own rituals and tactics thereby adding new layers of meaning to ICP's historicity in terms of women's spatiality. By problematizing the disconnect in the collective memory of Turkey's entertainment culture, the study showed that, within ICP's historicity, the 1970s represented a breaking point when casino culture became freer and more accessible to different social strata while offering women an opportunity to escape their domestic environment. It redefined the concept of gender and performance as a "constituted social temporality" (Butler, 1990), and allowed women to experience an alternative public space – a safe zone – in which to live out their modernity. Thus, this public space, matinee, became an alternative space in which women could break out of their everyday routines of their domestic spaces and be empowered to participate in public life. It should be noted this was not the main motivation behind the space's formation. Rather, economic concerns and actors escaping the Turkish film industry in *Yeşilçam* motivated casino owners to introduce extra daytime programs. These gave women, who supposedly belonged to the domestic environment, a chance to see those artists that did not appear on TV or movie theatres, and experience the public space.

Matinees supported an environment for women to experience what they could not see or experience in their everyday lives. It presented experiences that were outside their routines and gave them a space to liberate themselves. For this reason, memories of matinees occupy a distinctive place in their memories, which centered this study on the experience of women. Provided through interviews, narrations of many women users of the park, park authorities, singers and musicians who performed during the 1970s, emphasized the excitement and joy that matinees brought to their lives and how it took women out of their daily routines while also creating a new routine within itself.

The famous singers who performed for the matinees in the casino spaces also described the entertainment style as having a carnival mood. In this alternative social space, women were not subjected to the observation and surveillance of others.

Matinees served also as transitional spaces for the process of women taking their place in public life without being guided, escorted or controlled by men. Within the practice of the matinee, women had a chance to forget compelling everyday life responsibilities as they distanced themselves from the constraints of imposed moral values, family and social relationships to produce new possibilities through their own way of experiencing the matinee space. Within the matinees' limited spatial and temporal existence, women pushed back the built environment's constraints and moved beyond everyday life boundaries through their shifting practices of communicating, eating, drinking, dancing, dressing up, building friendships, and sharing. Women, as the agents of the transformation of the space and the production of a social space of their own, not only

liberated themselves from the ideal of the conventional wife, mother, or daughter by reforming their fantasies, but also altered several indicators of social and moral norms. In particular, even queer artists crossing gender role boundaries, like Zeki Müren with his outlandish costumes and behavior, were accepted and generally approved by these women. All participants, patrons as well as the performers, found a temporary retreat from social constraints and gendered power relations.

ICP offered a fascinating case study for understanding how socio-culturally motivated practices and leisure activities of women, can shape physical existence. It displayed how physical space and social life mutually transform each other. The occupancy and experience of women patrons in ICP's spaces made it possible to read women's agency in a public space through heteropatriarchal understandings.

Ultimately, reading ICP through the occupancy of its spaces and the experiences of its patrons, gives us a new way of thinking about the park's present-day position. While this study supports the intensive past use of the culture park as an entertainment space and as a lively atmosphere that was enriched by the experiences of its users, it also creates an immediate connection with the current use of the park occupying by the new migrant class mainly coming from Syria and bringing meaning for its users after the separation of fair activities from the park in 2014. At this point, since the people of Izmir connect the culture park together with fair activities, as demonstrated by still naming it as "fuar" (translation: fair). This provokes many questions, such as: "What are

the consequences from the separation of the fair activities from ICP? Is the space left over the fair facilities are now occupied by the new migrants? Is this affecting the use of the park by other citizens? Is ICP still an entertainment space for all? How have the leisure activities of contemporary citizens been changed? Is ICP capable of providing spaces for these changing leisure activities?" With these questions in mind, this study may inspire further emigrant or social studies which may explore the problems of ICP's current position as a public space and questions its position in contemporary urban life.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

The methodology used in taking oral histories, focusing on the practices of women in ICP casinos and ICP's other public spaces during the 1970s (Source: Prepared by the author).

GROUP-SESSIONS						
1st STEP IN ORAL HISTORIES	# of Sessions	# of Participants	Type of Sessions	Age Range	Date	<u>AWARENESS:</u> on women experiencing public life in the 1970s and the shift in entertainment culture (playing a role in changing their publicness)
	1	10	informal women gatherings	63-82	2014	
	2	8				
	3	6				
IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS						
2nd STEP IN ORAL HISTORIES - (first group of interviews)	Coded as	Name-Surname	Position in the 1970s	Age	Recorded date	<u>UNDERSTANDING:</u> on women's backgrounds, daily routines and important life events led up to their decisions to pursue their activities in the public spaces of ICP
	Interview 1	C. T.	former owner of a casino space	67	May 6th, 2015	
	Interview 2	C. S.	frequenter of matinees in ICP	70	May 8 th , 2015	
	Interview 3	K. A.	former owner of a popular movie-theatre	67	March 25th, 2015	
	Interview 4	N. G.	daughter of the head of the infrastructure and construction committee that established Izmir Culture Park	89	March 21st, 2015	
	Interview 5	Ö. G.	frequenter of matinees in ICP	55	May 14 th , 2015	
	Interview 6	S. M.	assistant director in ICP during the 1970s	68	March 27 th , 2015	
	Interview 7	N. O.	frequenters of matinees in ICP	63	January 16 th , 2017	
	Interview 8	N. T.		68	January 16th, 2017	
	Interview 9	R. S.		71	January 16 th , 2017	

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS						
3rd STEP IN ORAL HISTORIES - (second group of interviews)	Coded as	Name-Surname	Position in the 1970s	Age	Recorded date	<u>BETTER UNDERSTANDING:</u> on women's position in public life, their practices in ICP casino spaces + spatial properties of ICP casino spaces in the 1970s.
	Interview 10	C. S. Ü.	a researcher on Izmir's urban history	67	January 20th, 2017	
	Interview 11	T. G.	tabloid journalists working during the 1970s fair times	75	January 30 th , 2017	
	Interview 12	L. B.		74	January 30 th , 2017	
	Interview 13	H. T.	musicians who used to perform in the orchestras of many casino artists	73	February 13 th , 2017	
	Interview 14	G. M.		67	January 9th, 2017	
	Interview 15	E. T.	important artists performed on the ICP casino stages	66	February 6th, 2017	
	Interview 16	B. D.		72	February 6th, 2017	
	Interview 17	N. E.		75	January 9th, 2017	

APPENDIX B

Oral History Interview Questions for Women Users of Izmir Culture Park during the 1970s

Q1. What kind of places did you visit in Izmir Culture Park?

Q2. Did you intend a particular place-orientated visit or cruise around each time you visited the culture park?

Q3. At what times did you frequently visit the culture park during the year?

Q4. How did you spend your leisure time during the weekdays/weekends?

Q5. Did you do any sports in the culture park?

Q6. What did you learn from the culture park?

Q7. What was tempting about being entertained in the matinees without men present?

Q8. Were the women attending the matinees working class women or housewives?

Q9. Which of the casinos was different from the others? Why?

Q10. How were the children kept occupied while their mothers attended the matinee? Were they left in another space in the culture park?

Q11. How would you describe the culture park and the matinees in physical and social terms?

Q12. What kind of feelings does the culture park of the 1970s arouse in you?

Q13. Did you ever go to the Youth Park in Ankara during those years? Did you notice any differences between the two culture parks?

Q14. What kind of transportation did you use to go to the culture park?

Q15. Did you feel any political tension in the culture park? If so, in which spaces and at which times of day? Were there any spaces that made you feel insecure?

Q16. Did you witness any political actions/meetings/boycotts happening in the park? Were there any female participants in those activities?

Q17. Which profiles did you recognize of people visiting the culture park? Did you notice any migrants using the space? How did these people spend their leisure time, and in which spaces?

Q18. Did you notice any dissonance between the city's locals and immigrants in the ways they occupied the spaces in the culture park?

Q19. Do you have any photographs, stamps, postcards or any item reflecting the culture park in the 1970s?

Q20. Did TV broadcasts change the frequency or length of your visits to the culture park?

Q21. Which spaces/objects/entities can be considered as symbols of the culture park?

Q22. Was there any specific published newspaper of the culture park in those years?

Q23. Can you draw a mental map that reflects your cognitive interaction with the spaces of the culture park?

APPENDIX C

Additional Interview Questions for Understanding Physical Properties, Spatial Organizations and Spatial Practices of Izmir Culture Park Casinos

Questions are grouped in four categories: stage, backstage, table and seating, and other interior elements.

A- Stage

- A1. What kinds of stages do you remember existing in Izmir Culture Park casinos?
- A2. Did any particular type of the stage have any positive or negative effect on your performance?
- A3. Was any type of stage more preferred than others?
- A4. What were the stage backgrounds like?
- A5. Do you remember any details about the stage lighting?
- A6. Do you remember any highlights that occurred during your stage performance(s)?
- A7. Were there any stairs for climbing up to the stage from the audience side?
- A8. Was there any difference between your performances during the women's matinees and the evening programs?

B- Backstage

- B1. Can you describe the spatial organization of the backstage areas of Izmir Culture Park casinos?
- B2. How did you enter the backstage? Did you use the front entrance or was there any other additional entrance for performers and artists?
- B3. How many rooms did the backstage include?
- B4. Were there any windows in the rooms?
- B5. How was the sound permeability of the backstage?

B6. How long did the performers use the backstage rooms during each performance?

B7. What kinds of activities took place in that space?

B8. Did performers follow any rituals before they went on stage?

B9. Did anyone else use the backstage space other than the performers?

B10. Was the audience allowed backstage? Why/Why not?

B11. What kinds of furniture were used in the backstage rooms?

C- Tables and Seating Arrangement

C1. Can you give any information about the organization of the tables in relation to the stage?

C2. How many people occupied a table?

C3. Was there any physical or social interaction between the tables and the stage?

C4. Do you remember any box seating arrangements at the Izmir Culture Park casinos?

C5. What advantages did casino visitors in the first seats have?

C6. Did the performers pay attention to establishing a dialogue with the tables in the back rows?

C7. Did the performers stay on the stage during their whole performance or sometimes go into the audience?

C8. Who used to have the first row in the seating arrangement in general?

C9. What kind of seating element was preferred in casino spaces? Can you describe this in material terms?

C10. Can give any information about table settings and decorations?

C11. Was it a custom to use tableware? What about in the women's matinees?

C12. Were there any flowers, candles or other decorations on the table?

C13. Were there any differences in the seating arrangement for women's matinees and the evening programs?

D- Other Interior Elements

D1. Do you remember any casino being significantly different in its interior design from the others in Izmir Culture Park? Please describe these elements.

D2. Did you notice any spatial differences between the tea gardens and casinos?

D3. Were all casinos in Izmir Culture Park open spaces?

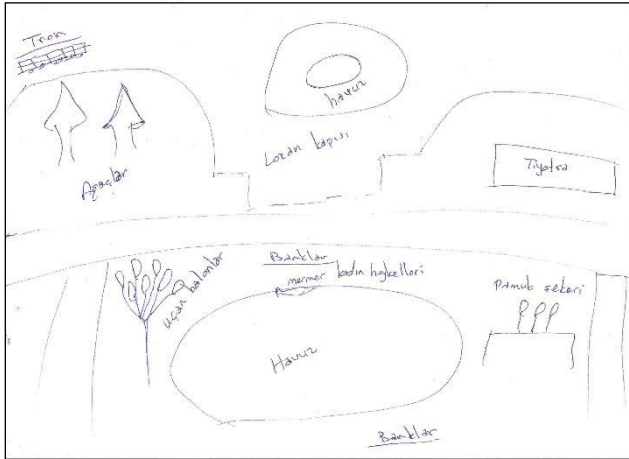
D4. Was there any wall treatment belonging to a casino?

D5. Were there any openings in the facades of the casino spaces, like windows, balconies, etc.?

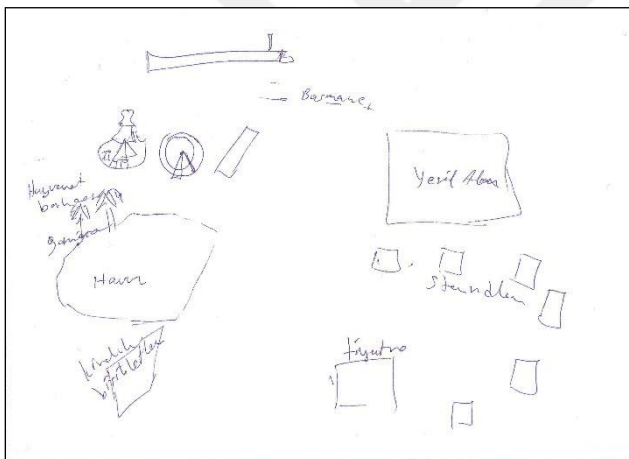
D6. How would you describe the lighting elements and overall atmosphere in the casino space?

D7. Where did visitors enter the space? Was there only one entrance?

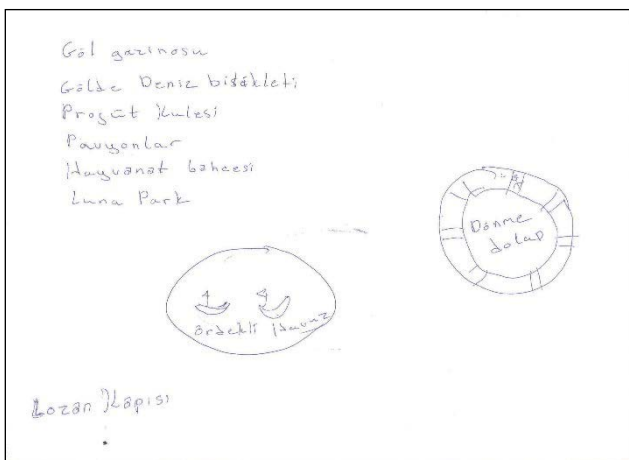
The Hand-Drawn Graphical Representations of Memory of Oral History Done by Interviewees



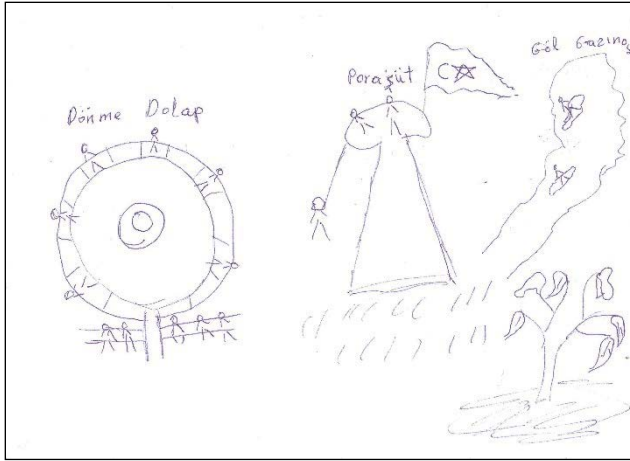
Interviewee: D.Ü. (1969-)



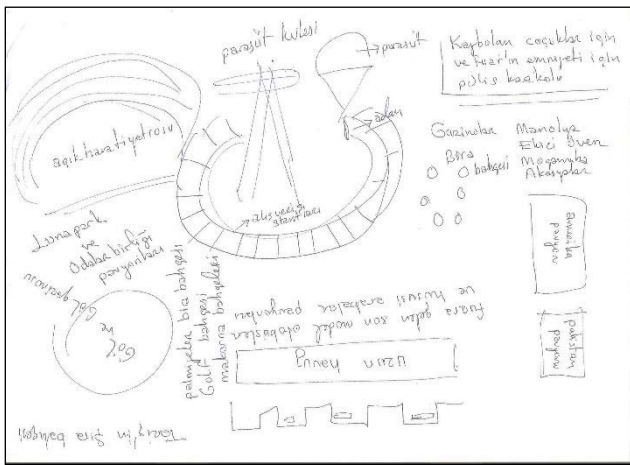
Interviewee: G.Ş. (1951-)



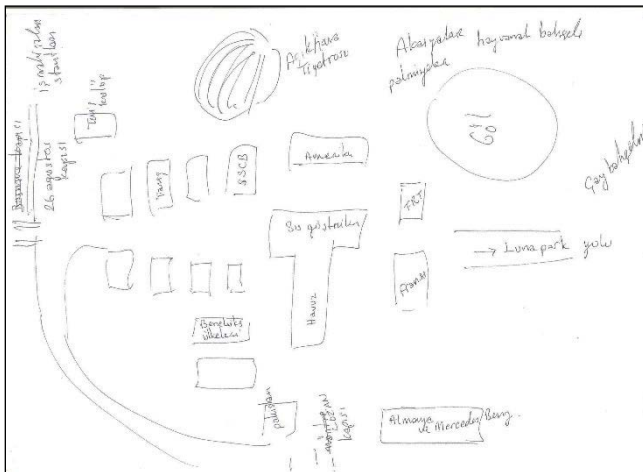
Interviewee: H.S. (1951-)



Interviewee: M.Ö. (1942-)



Interviewee: R.D. (1954-)

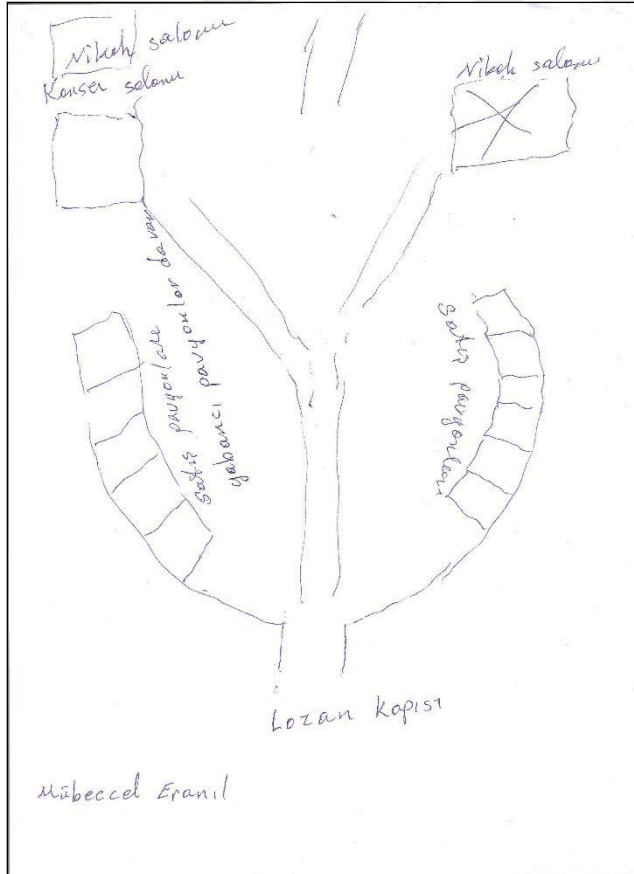


Interviewee: R.D. (1954-)

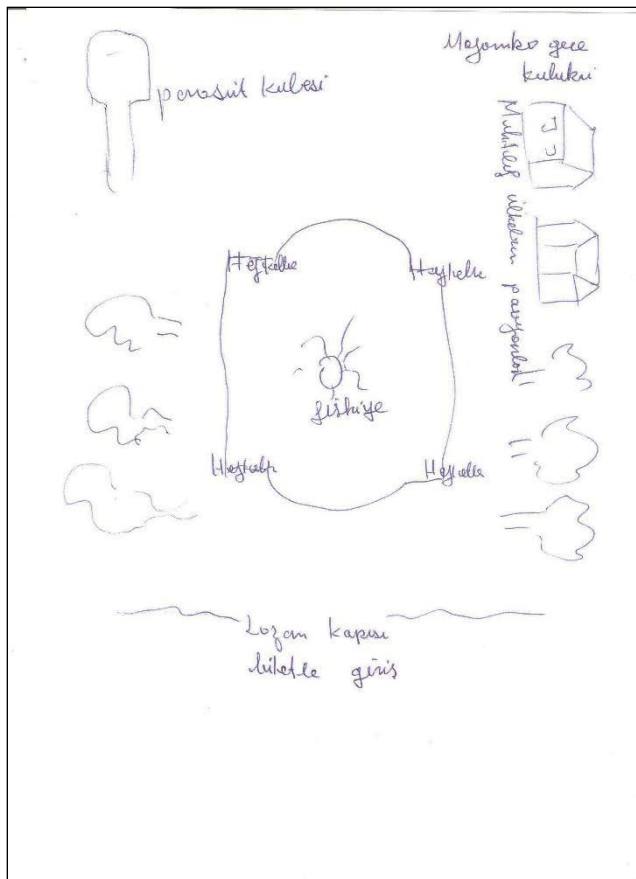
Fuara Lozan Kapısından
 girip, çocuk tiyatrolarına
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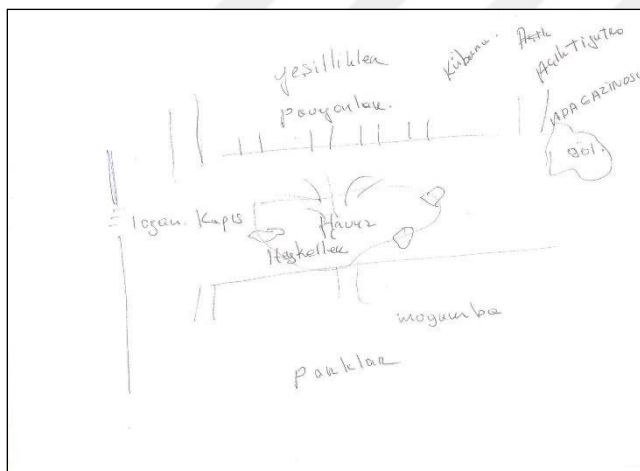
Interviewee: A.S. (1938-)



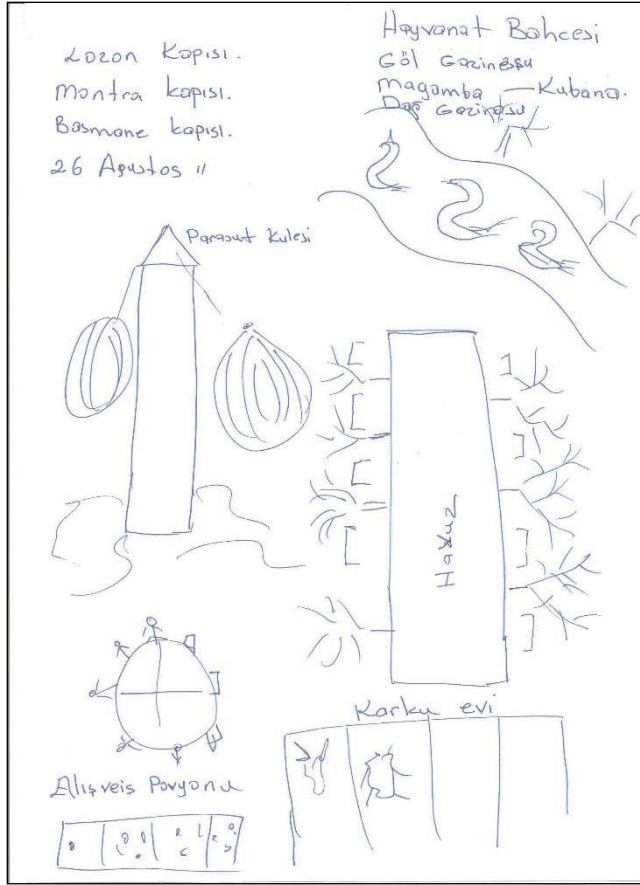
Interviewee: M. E. (1930-)



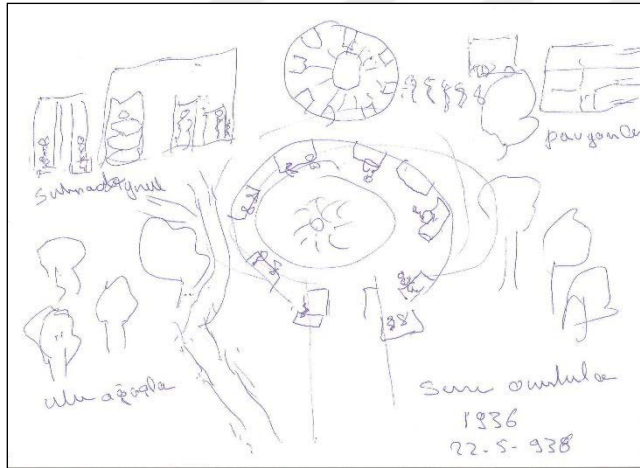
Interviewee: S. A. (1944-)



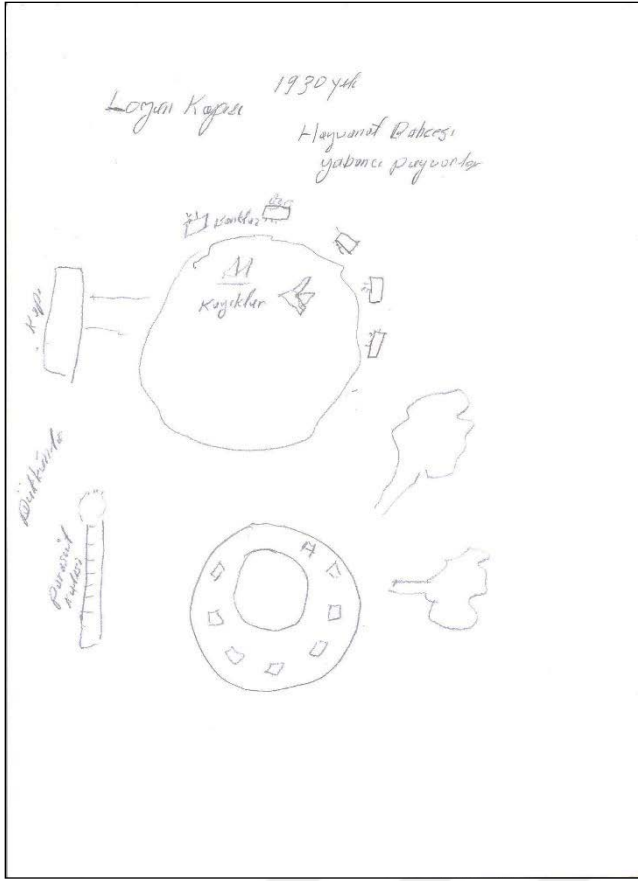
Interviewee: S.T. (1946-)



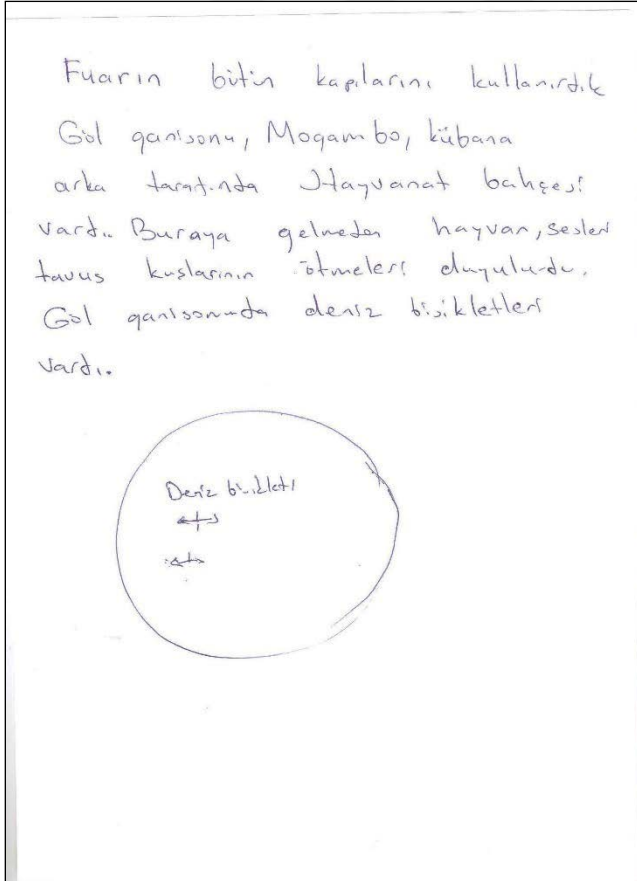
Interviewee: S.D. (1958-)



Interviewee: S.O. (1936-)



Interviewee: S.D. (1930-)



Interviewee: S.V. (1958-)