

# Americanization and Anxiety: Istanbul Hilton Hotel by SOM and Eldem

ESRA AKCAN

Columbia University

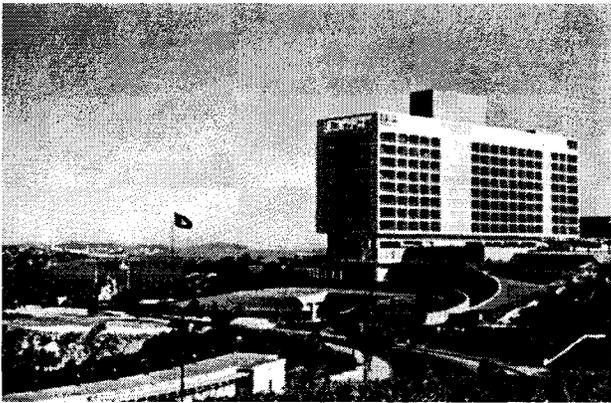


Fig. 1: Istanbul Hilton Hotel, SOM and Eldem, Photo: Ezra Stoller

*"High above the minarets of the Ottoman Empire, modern Turkey builds a symbol of progress, a focus for entertaining, and a magnet for the tourist trade."<sup>1</sup>*

*To many Turks, who long ago discarded the fez and the veil in favor of Western ways, the new Istanbul Hilton symbolizes something else: the hope that Turkey, once called the 'sick man of Europe,' will become a healthy, wealthy and much-visited member of the international family."<sup>2</sup>*

These were two of the enthusiastic accolades that the Istanbul Hilton Hotel (1952-55), received in the various established international architectural magazines of the time.<sup>3</sup> Designed by the architectural firm Skidmore, Owings and Merrill (SOM) with the collaboration of Sedat Eldem, the building was celebrated both as an example of United States' role in the internationalization of architecture and Turkey's willingness for Westernization. Managed and largely funded by Turkish Republic's Pension Funds, assisted by the American Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), this "American-aided project in the East"<sup>4</sup> was the fourth in the Hilton chain hotels outside the United States, it was the first major commission of SOM in the Middle East and it symbolized a door to the 'West' for Turkey. In other words, the hotel seemed to be a perfect investment for all sides.

As Annabel Wharton has argued, it was the Cold War political context that had been the main motivation behind the decisions to build Hilton Hotels all around the world. These "little America's" would accomplish what war machines and satellites could not, in fighting against Communism and bringing the allies closer to each other. Conrad Hilton built his hotels in places that were perceived to be under the biggest threat of Communism, believing that he thus contributed to America's

struggle.<sup>5</sup> As far as the Turkish side is concerned, getting aid from the Marshall Plan and admittance to NATO can be listed as the country's political steps to integrate in the new strategic and economic structure of the 'West' in the 1950's.

It was the charming site that helped the choice of Istanbul as the location of a Hilton. From "high above" a prestigious hill overlooking the Bosphorus, the silhouette of old Istanbul was turned into a picture to be contemplated by tourists from their rooms furnished with 'American' comfort standards and popular culture products. In doing so, the hotel replaced part of the design of a public park. Representatives from Hilton had visited London, Rome and Athens as alternative sites, and they chose Istanbul due to "the enthusiastic cooperation of the Turkish government" and "the choicest possible site."<sup>6</sup> The decision of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs to supply this public park for a private hotel and to give its official support to the Hilton organization for the sake of international attention must have helped the choice of Istanbul.

Apart from its place in the Cold War world politics, the design process of Istanbul Hilton Hotel and the building itself are suggestive to discuss an example of collaboration between a Turkish architect and an American firm. While this project was a life-time opportunity for Sedat Eldem to participate in an internationally acclaimed project; it was also a test-case for the SOM office to prove its merit given the lack of a developed building technology in the area. In a profession like architecture, where architects are increasingly working globally without much theoretical sophistication and historical knowledge about 'non-Western' countries, cross-cultural case studies as the Istanbul Hilton Hotel are even more urgent to analyze. I will discuss the building in relation to issues concerning the spread of the International Style, Americanization and the anxieties this has produced in the discipline of architecture. First I will contextualize the building both in the Turkish and American architectural culture of the 1950's, then I will focus on the building itself to make two basic points, namely one about its design process, the other about its design.

## THE 'WEST' AND 'US': SHIFTING MODELS AND TWO FORMS OF AMERICANISM

In his book *Scenes of the World to Come*, Jean-Louis Cohen makes two important distinctions between Americanism and Orientalism as well as between the former and Americanization. For the European case, Cohen argues, Orientalism produced representations and attitudes "concerning a civilization deemed 'inferior'", whereas Americanism generated practices "rooted in an insidious sense of backwardness vis-à-vis the New World."<sup>7</sup> Thus, while Orientalism constructs a perceived superiority, Americanism in Europe is motivated by a perceived inferiority (in the sense of backwardness). Cohen reviews the various changing 'images' of America seen through the European eye, starting

from 1893 Chicago World's Fair and ending at what he calls Americanization. Americanism alludes to widely different "individual and collective attitudes and representations" about America, whereas Americanization is the "actual transformation of European (or other) societies in the American image."<sup>8</sup> Following Cohen we might argue that Americanism provided motivation for creativity, source of inspiration for many European architects of the Modern Movements; whereas Americanization implies a more or less homogenous image of not only America but also the Americanized world. Americanization may have never been an accomplished fact, but it has been an increasing threat of standardization, homogenization and disappearance of cultural difference that has also produced an anxiety and its counter-resistance. In taking the Istanbul Hilton Hotel as a case study, we are talking about areas that were historically deemed to be the 'inferior Oriental.' Our story begins at the moment Cohen's ends – namely the period when Americanization starts to take command in the 1950's, which blurs Cohen's distinction between Americanism and Americanization itself.

Historians often trace the beginnings of "Westernization"<sup>9</sup> of Turkey to the Tanzimat Period of the late Ottoman Empire. Yet, the geographical connotations of what 'West' means hardly stayed the same over the years. The historical context of the Istanbul Hilton Hotel represents a certain shifting moment in this process, at least in the case of architecture. Just as the French influence of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century was replaced by the German presence in the 1930's, the main though not exclusive locus of inspiration in architecture gradually shifted to the United States in the 1950's. As the reflection and result of this process, Istanbul Hilton Hotel became the icon and initiator of the International Style *a la USA*,<sup>10</sup> and what might be called Americanization as an alternative model for modernization.<sup>11</sup>

On the level of architecture and popular culture, an overview of the contemporary architectural journal *Arkitekt* and advertisements for the building industry would demonstrate that the impact of Americanism produced two separate but not contradictory faces in Turkey. Though the architecture in the United States in the 1950's did have much more complex layers in reality,<sup>12</sup> the *image* of 'America' (Americanism) seen by the Turkish eye can be described with a similar schism identified by Joan Ockman between SOM's Lever House and Levittown.<sup>13</sup> 'Productivist' visions of office blocks *a la* International Style set against the 'consumerist' visions of housing and suburban living. In Turkey too, the image of 'America' as the symbol of technical progress and efficiency on the one hand, wealth and 'good-life' on the other simultaneously existed in architectural representations.

The 1950's was an era of immigration to cities, rapid urbanization and housing shortages in Turkey.<sup>14</sup> One can observe that the government and professional journals started to rely on American experts for solutions to housing problems, rather than German ones as in the 1930's. Various articles supplied by USIS (American News Service in Istanbul) to the journals, informative essays on F.L. Wright, Richard Neutra, or anonymous housing settlements in the USA,<sup>15</sup> an essay by Jane Jacobs on poor neighborhoods in New York<sup>16</sup> and anonymous articles on new efficient constructional methods in the States are just a few examples.<sup>17</sup> During this period the Turkish government invited experts such as SOM itself and Richard Wagner to Turkey from United States to prepare extensive reports on housing problems and propose solutions for workers' housing.<sup>18</sup>



Figure 2: Advertisement for heating devices with "original American carburetor"



Figure 3: Advertisement for private house with a garden



Figure 4: Istanbul Hilton Hotel featured in advertisement for insulation

Simultaneously, one can notice that American trademarks and life style started being promoted in the advertisements for housing amenities. "American type" Venetian window blinds, strong building sheets, heating devices with "original American carburetor," shining floor tiles . . . . Banking establishments that developed housing projects and offered credit for Turkish families also promised one or two-story single-family houses in their advertisements. With their double pitched roof, isolated mass in a private garden, bay windows and adjacent garages, these houses looked like nothing but the American suburban houses. For instance, unlike the Kemalist propaganda photographs of the 1930's, where women were portrayed in modern institutional buildings, the architectural adds of the 1950's illustrated women treated as 'respectable' consumers at home.<sup>19</sup> In these adds, we see images of seductive women looking happily out of the window and who sit comfortably with their husbands in front of the view of their private garden while their two children and dog play in the living room. Though owning a single-family house with such a big garden was hardly ever a fact for Turkish families, such adds promised to supply the 'American dream' with the purchase of the product. It would seem that the winds of future started to blow from across the ocean, and that American modernism influenced the new desires, ego-ideals of the middle and upper class families in Turkey.

Apart from the single-family detached houses, drawings of International Style office blocks were also used in the advertisements for the building industry. The Istanbul Hilton Hotel was the first and most prestigious building referred to for this purpose. The building became the symbol of technical perfection, precision and progress, that is to say, the second formal expression of Americanism in Turkey in the 1950's. It is not an overstatement to claim that the building was thrown into the Turkish professional scene as a newborn famous star. The 1940's in Turkey was a period when the so-called 'nationalist architectural style' inspired from contemporary developments in Fascist Germany and Italy had taken command. However, a sudden shift in style initiated by the SOM and Eldem building took place in the early 1950's, and the reign of International Style *a la Hilton* lasted for a decade.<sup>20</sup>

### INTERNATIONAL STYLE A LA 'AMERIKA'

At this moment, it is useful to leave the Turkish scene momentarily and situate the Istanbul Hilton Hotel within the context of the architectural culture in the States and SOM's professional career. The shift in the implications of the term 'West' in Turkey from Europe to United States paralleled to a similar transformation in these places themselves. A comparison between the two exhibitions on International Style organized by Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson for the New York Museum of Modern Art best exemplifies this change. While the "International Style" exhibition of 1932 was designed to popularize European modern movements in the American scene,<sup>21</sup> the "Built in the USA" exhibition of 1952 displayed to the world that the torch of International Style was now carried in the United States.<sup>22</sup> SOM together with Mies, Harrison, Abramovitz and F.L. Wright came out of the latter exhibition as the heroes practicing in this country. In a monograph, Hitchcock himself introduced SOM as the firm who successfully improved modernism in the United States<sup>23</sup> and created the landmarks of the International Style, most notably the tall curtain walled office building.

Turing back to the International Style Exhibition in 1932, I would like to direct the reader's attention to a dilemma between two forces pulling the strings of the International Style in opposite directions – a dilemma that will have a certain explanatory power for the Istanbul Hilton itself:

*"In opposition to those who claim that a new style of architecture is impossible or undesirable, it is necessary to stress the coherence of the results obtained within the range of possibilities thus far explored."*

*"This new style is not international in the sense that the production of one country is just like that of another."<sup>24</sup>*

On the one hand, Hitchcock and Johnson, as the curators of the first International Style exhibition, needed to prove that *an* internationally tenable *style* had already been accomplished by "successfully carried out parallel experiments . . . throughout the world."<sup>25</sup> Alfred Barr, the director of the museum, claimed the motivation behind the exhibition as the "obvious" fact "that the style had been born and needed a name."<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, the curators were also anxious about possible accusations against the International Style on the basis of its monotony, dogmatism or pre-definition. To protect the style from such charges, the curators were careful to mention that the International Style did not mean global homogeneity. However, these two aspirations, namely, the ambitious desire to define the principles of a coherent international style on the one hand, and the anxiety to open place for regional differences on the other remained as an unresolved tension.

By 1952, (the date of both Istanbul Hilton Hotel and the "Built in the USA" Exhibition) movements such as "New Monumentality" initiated by Sigfried Giedion, Jose Luis Sert and Fernand Leger, or the "New Humanism" of the Bay Region Style promoted by Lewis Mumford had already put the International Style under suspicion. For instance, the Museum of Modern Art organized a symposium entitled "What is happening to Modern Architecture" in 1948.<sup>27</sup> The symposium was motivated by Lewis Mumford's article attacking the International Style for glorifying "the mechanical and impersonal and aesthetically puritanic" as opposed to the expression of "native and human form of modernism" as in the Bay Region Style.<sup>28</sup> In the symposium where influential architects and curators of the period reconsidered the meaning and scope of the International Style,<sup>29</sup> the discussions usually revolved around the idea of style, and Mumford's critique of what I would like to call the *perceived gap of the International Style in fulfilling 'non-material' needs* (a similar concern with that of Giedion in the New Monumentality debate). Another hesitation that brought various critics of the International Style closer in 1948 was the anxiety about the globalization of International Style, in the sense of the spread of the *same* throughout the whole world - a similar type of anxiety that I tried to excavate from Hitchcock and Johnson's text of 1932. In this post-war climate of the United States, Henry-Russell Hitchcock himself reconsidered the 1932 MoMA exhibition with slightly apologetic terms twenty years later. Yet he still argued that they had never meant to characterize the International Style with dogmatic, closed and definitive formal rules.<sup>30</sup> This anxiety would become paradigmatic not only in the States, but also in countries which were threatened by the tedious and unfit character of an exported style. This anxiety is relevant for our discussion since, as far as SOM is concerned, the Istanbul Hilton Hotel was also a product of these *unresolved discussions in the United States*.

### ANXIETY AND THE GREAT DIVIDE

After these brief contextualizations about Turkey and United States, we may turn our attention to the Istanbul Hilton Hotel and its cross-national design process. Gordon Bunshaft as the leading architect of the building from the SOM office was much more familiar with the problems of Turkey than usual expectations. A year before the decision to build a Hilton in Istanbul, he with Schmauder and David Hughes from the SOM office were invited to Turkey by the government to analyze housing problems and recommend solutions. They examined the problems of not only housing, but also town planning and building construction for two months in Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir and approximately 30 Anatolian towns, and they eventually submitted their 112 page report of recommendations to the Turkish government in December 1951.<sup>31</sup> The design and engineering plans of the Hilton Hotel, on the other

hand, were done in New York in the SOM office led by Gordon Bunshaft where Eldem also spent many months. Working drawings were pursued in Istanbul in Eldem's office with the presence of two SOM employees.

However, the design process was hardly a dialogue, despite the intentions on both sides. The aesthetic preferences of the two designers can hardly be considered similar. For instance, the judgments of SOM members on the traditional houses in Turkey notified in their report for the Turkish government in 1951 must have been hard to take for Eldem. According to the SOM members, the wooden, rubble or mud-brick construction techniques of "rural houses" all over Anatolia represented "almost the very minimum of shelter;"<sup>32</sup> their "living conditions characterized by overcrowding [i.e. a large paternal family living in one house] and lack of furniture and elementary sanitary facilities... fell far below the minimums required for healthful housing."<sup>33</sup> These "unhealthy", "sub-standard"<sup>34</sup> houses however were part of Eldem's so beloved sources of inspirations during his life-time project searching for modernizing the Turkish domestic vernacular, both before and after his collaboration with the SOM office.

As Carol Krinsky has reported, Bunshaft described Eldem as "an elegant French prince [who] behaved with assurance suggestive of distinguished ancestry."<sup>35</sup> However, Bunshaft completely misunderstood Eldem's polite "yes yes" remarks as approvals, though they were meant to be "I see" hesitations over the design decisions. Eventually Eldem questioned why they still designed the building in the "Bunshaft way". Bunshaft later said "that was unfortunate for [Eldem], but I am glad it ended up that way or we would still be designing the building."<sup>36</sup>

In their report prepared for the Turkish government in 1951, SOM members had already recommended these principles for the 'improvement' of the design of public buildings in Turkey. Criticizing the dominant 'nationalist style' in the Turkish scene before their arrival that was influenced by the German and Italian neo-classicism of the 1940's, SOM representatives wrote:

*"...economy and flexibility should be the keynote. The impressiveness and dignity normally sought for in public building design can be obtained without elaborate and pretentious structures. Simple buildings of good proportion in keeping with the architectural tradition of the country do not necessarily require expensive structural techniques, excessive cubage or many of the traditional trappings associated with public building design of the past century."<sup>39</sup>*

As a matter of fact, Eldem himself was one of the key figures of the Turkish architectural scene in the 1940's that SOM members implicitly criticized. And approximately 20 years later, this time Eldem would criticize the impact of the Hilton Hotel on Turkish architecture in derogatory terms himself. According to him, the popularity of the International Style *a la* Hilton in Turkey produced buildings that

*"resembled boxes, drawers or radios.... Anatolian towns with no defense power were now "colonized" by these glass or tin cans, after the cubic buildings... After ten years, it became apparent that these buildings aged ugly... This architecture that alienated itself from regional (neighborhood) scale, climate and material, that dared to enter the nature and the rots of the street as a shiny equipment or machine would sooner or later loose this freshness and brightness. And indeed this was what happened."<sup>40</sup>*

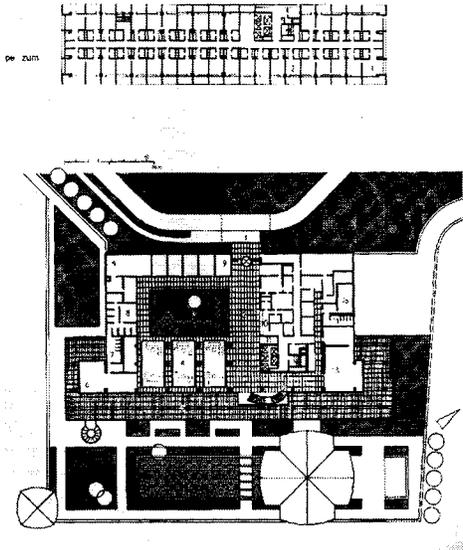


Figure 5: Istanbul Hilton Hotel, Entrance and typical floor plans

And indeed, with the command of Bunshaft, the Istanbul Hilton followed almost all the principles of the International Style formulated by Hitchcock and Johnson, such as the "conception of architecture as volume rather than mass"<sup>37</sup> and "regularity rather than axial symmetry."<sup>38</sup> Expandable structures made possible by regularity (rather than axial symmetry), flat roofs, large windows and *pilotis* were elements of "aesthetic significance" for the new conception, according to its curators and/or creators. As an interpretation of *pilotis* in Istanbul Hilton for instance, the designers reserved the entrance floor for a lobby allowing visual, though not physical, continuity through the site overlooking the Bosphorus (just as in the Lever house where SOM voided the first floors to reserve room for an urban space).

In sum, the designers had different attitudes, and the design process as well as most of the principles were overwhelmed by Bunshaft's 'American way'. Yet there were nevertheless several attempts to render the building more cross-cultural, though sometimes in immature ways as I shall argue. The *anxiety* caused by importing materials and a pre-determined form of expression from United States to Turkey seems to have motivated the consideration of at least some local conditions. Re-interpreting the principles of the International Style in relation to climate control and tectonic expression of locally available materials became another guiding concern. For instance, while SOM used steel frames and curtain walls in the United States, the Hilton Hotel was constructed from reinforced concrete due to unavailability of steel in Turkey. This was more than a minor difference in material however. In their report for the Turkish government in 1951, SOM members had already underlined the necessary principles for the improvement of construction industry in Turkey for many times. According to them, reinforced concrete was the "greatest innovation in Turkish building methods,"<sup>41</sup> and Istanbul Hilton was thus a missionary attempt to actualize the firm's own recommendations a year before, in developing reinforced concrete construction industries and supplementary materials, in improving worker's skills and reducing costs. The reinforced concrete beams of the building were oversized due to economizing on steel and earthquake conditioning.<sup>42</sup> Size of these beams was reduced at the last bay probably for a more elegant tectonic expression of the grid frame on the façade. The cantilevered balconies that made this diminution possible also protect the interior from southeastern and northwestern sun, raising the performance of the building in relation to climatic control.

Yet this was not all. The Istanbul Hilton was meant to be both a "symbol of progress" and a "magnet of tourist trade."<sup>43</sup> These two intentions however, do not motivate the same architectural expressions in places that are attractive touristically due to their perceived exotic character. The relation between tourism and commercialization of the 'historical heritage' of a region is more than obvious in contemporary tourism

complexes.<sup>43</sup> One can trace a similar strategy already in the Istanbul Hilton Hotel. An analysis of the reviews for the hotel in the international magazines of the time would reveal that the writers praised the building for its double-identity:

*"The slick efficiency of the hotel-room shaft is manifest... There is perhaps a gayer or more gracious note in the gradual movement outward of the lower floors, and there are motifs of definitely Turkish origin, these being suitable for tourist and diplomat alike. The picturesque quality of Turkish artistry will find its place in the interiors, even though the tourists have to take cabs to see the minarets."*<sup>44</sup>

On the one hand, the reviewers considered 'Western' comfort standards and technology as prestigious cards, such as "the slick efficiency of the hotel-room shaft", the existence of a private bath in each room, New York designed kitchen, English furniture, aluminum-framed glass doors, refrigerated garbage and hygienic service areas. On the other hand, "the oriental atmosphere" introduced to the interior with the 'Karagöz bar', 'Turkish motifs', Kütahya tiles and Konya carpets – supervised by the interior designer Davis Allen – also seduced the writers: The 'Tulip room' with "all the rich trappings of an Arabian Nights harem;" the patio with Skidmore's idea of "lead-roofed domes reminiscent of older Turkish courtyards" or "cupolas crowned with pinnacles";<sup>45</sup> the entrance canopy attached to the main block as a pretty metonymic image of a flying carpet, supposedly "inspired by a gate of the Old Seraglio" – which was designed by Eldem and characterized by Bonatz as an "extremely cheerful invention"; the dining hall attached to the rear side of the main block, reminiscent of a 'Sadirvan'...

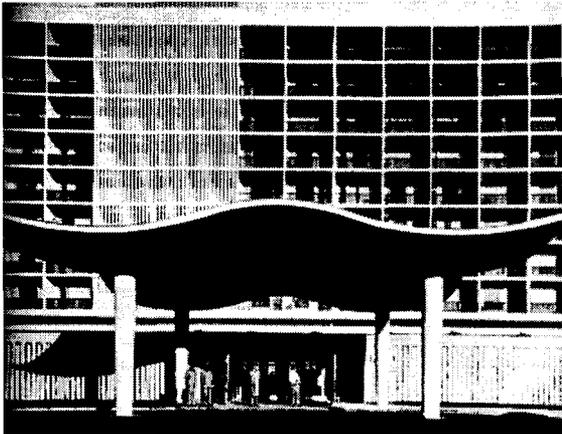


Figure 6: Istanbul Hilton Hotel, 'Flying Carpet' canopy



Figure 7: Istanbul Hilton Hotel, Dining hall



Figure 8: Istanbul Hilton Hotel, Tulip Room

The simultaneous promotion and anxiety of Americanization as well as the consumerist attitude of tourism in the Cold War climate came together to encourage the use of Orientalist pastiches in the Istanbul Hilton Hotel. The designers of the Hilton Hotel must have thought they had found a perfect source to fill in the gap critics such as Mumford perceived in the International Style, without abandoning it. The 'Oriental culture' supplied what the 'civilized Occident' lacked: The 'mechanical', 'rational', 'progressive', 'serious' Occidental International Style would be balanced by the 'spiritual', 'pleasurable', 'exotic', 'irrational', 'cheerful' Oriental cultural heritage. The critics approved the building because it brought together implications of both Americanization and Orientalism. However, this attitude continued an ages-old unfruitful divide and supplied it with a new architectural representation. Here architectural design was separated into two categories. The "slick efficiency" of 'American' construction was now accompanied by "Turkish artistry." The *tectonic* in contrast to the *decorative*, the *functional* as distinct from the *entertaining*, the *progressive* as opposed to the *traditional* were reserved for the 'Western' set off against the 'Eastern.'

To conclude briefly, an anxiety (similar to that Cohen talks about for the post-war Europe) of being swallowed up by another culture has always accompanied the very process of the so-called "Westernization" and we may add Americanization in Turkey. In the United States itself, a similar hesitation about the spread of the International Style as a pre-defined monotonous form of expression was apparent in the post-war climate, at least in architecture. Though the anxiety of Americanization is justified, its historical consequences are equally questionable. In the case of the Istanbul Hilton, the will for Westernization on the one hand, and the anxiety produced by this very same process on the other is further accompanied with the forces of tourist trade. The result is the divide between the tectonic expression of the main International Style block and the decorative architecture attached to it. On the ideological level, this divide promotes Orientalism in the 'Orient' and hardly questions the *status quo* perceptions or stereotypical territories of being 'Western' and 'Eastern.' The appropriation of the principles of the International Style in relation to climate control and locally available materials was a fruitful step for the cross-cultural intentions of the project. However, this barely realized intention was suppressed with the divide keeping the distance between 'us' and 'them', 'West' and 'East' that was still perceived to be necessary. The understandable anxiety of Americanization thus produced another equally questionable stance.

The experience of the design process in the Hilton Hotel also raises discussions on various contemporary issues. For instance, a similar divide that I tried to excavate in the Istanbul Hilton still seems to persist in SOM's practice, as well as many other corporate firms working globally. High-tech skyscrapers with 'Arabic' ceiling motifs, local decorative

elements attached to standardized details, 'skyscraper pagodas' seem to have served the firm as a formula in many instances of their global practice. Perhaps the economic forces of corporate architecture that require a certain level of standardization of details, of solutions or building types hardly allows the necessary amount of flexibility for designing in relation to different geographies, which in turn stimulates the apologetic additions of 'cultural heritage'. On the level of cross-cultural design process on the other hand, it still remains for us to discuss whether our globalized world has brought any improved sensitivity to designing in distant lands, working with colleagues of different backgrounds, or being open to geographical challenges.

## NOTES

<sup>14</sup>Hilton's Newest Hotel," *Architectural Forum*, Dec. 1955, p.121.

<sup>24</sup>Hilton's Newest Hotel", *Architectural Forum*, Dec. 1955, p121.

<sup>34</sup>Hilton's Newest Hotel," *Architectural Forum*, Dec. 1955, pp.120-127.

"Tourist Hotel for Istanbul, Turkey," *Architectural Record*, January 1953, pp.103-115.

"Hotel in Istanbul," *Architectural Review*, Nov. 1955, pp.240-246.

"Turistik Otel Hilton," *Arkitekt*, 1952, pp.56-63.

"Istanbul Hilton," *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui*, September 1955, pp.64-65.

"Hilton Hotel, Istanbul," *Baumeister*, Aug. 1956, pp.535-551, 568-569.

"Hilton Hotel Istanbul," *Bauen + Wohnen*, April 1958, pp.118-119.

<sup>44</sup>Tourist Hotel for Istanbul, Turkey", *Architectural Record*, January 1953, p. 103.

<sup>5</sup>Annabel Wharton, "Travel and the Cold War: Hilton International Hotels and American Architecture Abroad," Paper presented at 54<sup>th</sup> SAH Annual Meeting, Toronto, Ontario, April 18-22, 2001.

<sup>6</sup>ibid.,p. 107.

<sup>7</sup>Jean-Louis Cohen, *Scenes of the World to Come*, Paris: Flammarion, Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1995, p.14.

<sup>8</sup>ibid., p.15

<sup>9</sup>The term Westernization has been a popular term both in everyday and scholarly language in Turkey to explain the Western influence after Tanzimat.

<sup>10</sup>Many historians have mentioned the change the Hilton Hotel brought to the Turkish architectural scene. For general informations on the architecture in the 1950's in Turkey, see:

Mete Tapan, "International Style. Liberalism in Architecture," ed. Renata Holod, Ahmet Evin, *Modern Turkish Architecture*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984.

Afife Batur, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türk Mimarlığı," (Turkish Architecture of the Republican Period) *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: İletisim Yayınları, 1984.

Enis Kortan, *Türkiye'de Mimarlık Hareketleri Eleştirisi*, Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Bölümü Yayınları, 1974.

<sup>11</sup>Here, I interpret Americanization as one of the moments in a much longer paradigm of Occidentalism (changing perceptions about the geographical locus, definition and representations of the 'West') and "Westernization" in Turkey. The emphasis on documents demonstrating the American influence in this paper is not meant to claim that the United States entirely replaced Europe as the model for modernization. Rather the United States seems to have become an alternative model circumstantially, at least in the discipline of architecture. At many times, the word 'West' connoted both, without differentiating the two, or specifying the locus of the model of modernization. However, when we as scholars trace this specification ourselves, we are faced with an increased influence of the United States in Turkey starting roughly from the 1950's.

<sup>12</sup>The 1950's in the United States itself is a complex period where the market-oriented but designer-built houses of "good-life-modernism" existed simultaneously with the anonymous suburban houses that are usually considered aesthetically more conservative

– at least by their façades. I have not found any document to suggest that these two trends were differentiated in Turkey or that one was preferred over the other. In any event, though the Turkish families did not ever live in suburban houses *a la USA*, Americanism continued to shape the comfort standards and dreams of bourgeois Turkish families. Yet, a detailed discussion of the influence of United States in the housing projects in Turkey is a theme of another paper. (I use the term "good life modernism" in the same sense as Mark Jarzombek, "Good Life Modernism" and Beyond. The American House in the 1950's and 60's: A Commentary," *The Cornell Journal of Architecture*, Vol.4, Fall 1990, pp.77-93.)

see also -Gwendolyn Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873-1913*. Chicago: 1980.

<sup>13</sup>Joan Ockman, "Mirror Images: Technology, Consumption, and the Representation of Gender in American Architecture since World War II," Diana Agrest, Patricia Conway, Leslie Kanes Weisman (ed), *The Sex of Architecture*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996, p. 191.

<sup>14</sup>For basic information on housing solutions to this shortage see: Yildiz Sey, "To house the New Citizen," ed. Renata Holod, Ahmet Evin, *Modern Turkish Architecture*,..

<sup>15</sup>"Morris Magazaları F.L. Wright," (Morris Shops), *Arkitekt*, 1951/11-12, pp.212-4.

Fuat Sevket Vanli, "Frank Lloyd Wright," *Arkitekt*, 1951/9-10, pp.194-200.

Faruk Sirmali, "San Francisco Bay ve F.L. Wright tarafından teklif edilen köprüye dair," (San Francisco Bay and the Bridge Suggested by F.L. Wright), *Arkitekt*, 1953/9-12, pp.183-185.

"F.L. Wright'in İlk Gökdeleni," (First Skyscraper by F.L. Wright), *Arkitekt*, 1957/3, pp.117-9.

Richard Neutra, "Mimari Mekan ve Zaman," (Architectural Time and Space), *Arkitekt*, 1955/3, pp.121-2.

<sup>16</sup>Jane Jacobs, "Fakir Mahallelerin Ortadan Kaldırılması", *Arkitekt*, 1952/1-2, pp.39-41.

<sup>17</sup>See for instance: "İnsaatte Yeni Usul," (New Techniques in Construction) *Arkitekt*, 1951/11-12, pp.220-22.

"Ucuz Meskenler (Sikago)," (Affordable Houses – Chicago) *Arkitekt*, 1954/1-2, pp.33-34.

"Amerika Birlesik Devletlerinde Fabrika Mamulü Hazir Evler," (Factory Made Houses in USA) *Arkitekt*, 1950/3-4, pp.71-74.

"Bir Amerikan Mutfaginın Tertibatı," (Organization of an American kitchen) *Arkitekt*, 1950/7-10, pp.158-62

Bülend Yüngül, "Amerika Birlesik Devletlerinde Nasıl İkamet Ediliyor?" (How do Americans Live?) *Arkitekt*, 1950/11-12, pp. 181-182.

<sup>184</sup>Mimar Richard Wagner'in Türkiye'deki Çalışmaları," (Richard Wagner's Work in Turkey), *Arkitekt*, 284, 1956/2, pp.76-92,94.

<sup>19</sup>for a discussion on the place of women in Kemalist publicity and propaganda, see my paper: "La Turquie Kemaliste: State, Architecture, Publicity/Propaganda, presented for 1999 MESA Annual Meeting, Washington.

<sup>20</sup>For an overview of 1950's in English see: Mete Tapan, "International Style: Liberalism in Architecture," ed. Renata Holod, Ahmet Evin, *Modern Turkish Architecture*,..

<sup>21</sup>In the section on modern masters, the exhibition included five American architects (F.L.Wright, Hood, Howe & Lescaze, Bowman Brothers and Neutra replacing Geddes) as opposed to four European ones (Le Corbusier, Mies, Oud and Gropius). Though this may sound as a counter-argument to the European presence, the curators were quite explicit in their intention to make the American public familiar with the European modern movement. The number of buildings from Europe was further augmented in the second section that demonstrated the spread of the style in different countries.

Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Philip Johnson, *The International Style*, NY, London: W.W. Norton Company, 1932, reprinted: 1995.

Also see: Terence Riley, *The International Style: Exhibition 15 and The Museum of Modern Art*, New York: Rizzoli, Columbia Books of Architecture, 1992.

<sup>22</sup>Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Arthur Drexler (ed.), *Built in USA: Post-war Architecture*, The Museum of Modern Art, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1952.

<sup>23</sup>The firm was one of the best to prove a "consistent... standard of modern design" in the 1933 Chicago Exposition; the New York Museum of Modern Art had already organized an SOM Exhibition in 1950. SOM, for Hitchcock, had modernized New York's skyline with the Chase Manhattan Bank. The Lever House on the other hand, was the first example and symbol of the tall curtain walled office building that Hitchcock considered as "a new period of skyscraper design, not only for New York but throughout the Western world:"

Henry-Russell Hitchcock, "Introduction," *Architecture of Skidmore, Owings and Merrill, 1950-1962*. New York, Washington: Frederick A. Praeger Pub., 1963, p.7-13.

<sup>24</sup>Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, *The International Style*, NY, London: W.W. Norton Company, 1932, reprinted: 1995, p. 36-37.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p.36.

<sup>26</sup>Alfred Barr in "What is Happening to Modern Architecture" Symposium, printed in *The Museum of Modern Art Bulletin*, Spring 1948, Vol.15, No.3, p.6

<sup>27</sup>"What is Happening to Modern Architecture" Symposium, ...p.2-21

<sup>28</sup>The article was written in the October 11, 1947 issue of the *New Yorker*. It was reprinted in the *Museum of Modern Art Bulletin* where a summary of the speaker's lectures were published.

Lewis Mumford, "Skyline" originally published in *New Yorker*, October 11, 1947.

Reprinted in *The Museum of Modern Art Bulletin*, Spring 1948... p.2.

<sup>29</sup>The speakers were: Alfred H. Barr, Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Walter Gropius, George Nelson, Ralph T. Walker, Christopher Tunnard, Frederick Gutheim, Marcel Breuer, Peter Blake, Gerhard Kallmann, Talbot Hamlin, and Lewis Mumford.

<sup>30</sup>Henry-Russell Hitchcock "The International Style Twenty Years After," *The International Style*, NY, London: W.W. Norton Company, written in 1951, reprinted: 1995, p. 241-261.

<sup>31</sup>Skidmore Owings and Merrill, *Construction, Town Planning and Housing in Turkey*, Report prepared in the SOM office for the Turkish Minister of Public Works, December 1951, New York.

<sup>32</sup>Skidmore Owings and Merrill, *Construction, Town Planning and Housing in Turkey*,... p. 20.

<sup>33</sup>ibid., p.65.

<sup>34</sup>ibid., p, 74.

<sup>35</sup>Carol Herselle Krinsky, *Gordon Bunshaft of Skidmore, Owings and Merrill*, The Architectural History Foundation, New York, Cambridge, London: MIT Press, 1988, p. 53.

<sup>36</sup>ibid.,

<sup>37</sup>Hitchcock and Johnson, *The International Style*... p.56.

<sup>38</sup>ibid., p. 36

<sup>39</sup>Skidmore Owings and Merrill, *Construction, Town Planning and Housing in Turkey*... p. 107.

<sup>40</sup>Sedat Eldem, "50 Yillik Cumhuriyet Mimarligi," *Akademi* 8, July 1974, p.11.

<sup>41</sup>They recommended that "a thorough and continuing study of technical advances in this field and a program to increase the scope and variety of reinforced concrete techniques" was essential. Skidmore Owings and Merrill, *Construction, Town Planning and Housing in Turkey*... p. 22,24.

<sup>42</sup>"Hotel in Istanbul", *Architectural Review*, Nov. 1955, pp.243.

"Tourist Hotel for Istanbul, Turkey", *Architectural Record*, January 1953, p107,

<sup>43</sup>For a discussion of examples in Turkey, see my paper: "Promoting Orientalism in the Orient. Contemporary Tourism (Entertainment) in Turkey," Noon Lecture, April 17, 1997, Columbia University, New York.

<sup>44</sup>"Tourist Hotel for Istanbul, Turkey", *Architectural Record*, January 1953, p104.

To give another example: "The canopy over the entrance on the northwest side, inspired by a gate of the Old Seraglio, characterizes the chief decorative motif of the hotel; cupolas crowned with pinnacles are incorporated in the lobby and shop ceilings. The south wall of the lobby is constructed of turquoise Kütahya tiles decorated with traditional Turkish motifs. The lobby furniture is all contemporary in style in contrast to that of the adjoining 'Tulip room', where wooden grilles, silk draperies, low couches and old and modern painted furniture are combined to create an oriental atmosphere....A covered way leads to the 'Sadirvan' (fountain) supper room, with a large cupola ceiling and a sprung floor. The small 'Karagöz' bar, between the two last-mentioned rooms, is decorated with karagöz (puppet theater) figures....All guest rooms have a bath and shower and a private balcony. Access to the balcony is through an aluminum-framed glass door... All the bedroom furniture, except the chairs, has been supplied to Hilton designs by an English firm... [C]arpetting were hand-woven at Konya, a leading modern Turkish carpet center. The kitchen and bar areas were designed in New York...The garbage is also refrigerated" —"Hotel in Istanbul", *Architectural Review*, Nov. 1955, pp.240-46.

<sup>45</sup>All information about materials and comments on several parts of the hotel are taken from: "Hilton's Newest Hotel", *Architectural Forum*, Dec. 1955, quotation from p.123.