AN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE MOVIE THEATERS IN ANKARA

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE

SEPTEMBER 2019

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

AN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE MOVIE THEATERS IN ANKARA

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September 2019, 190 pages

The purpose of this work is to study the movie theater as a product of the architectural culture of the 20th century and to develop a comprehensive discourse which allows for an understanding and discussion of such spaces, their social and spatial conditions and meanings in different times and places. Starting from the very experience of the spectator, touching the topics of the historical and architectural formation of the space of public exhibition and the practice of moviegoing, finally a conversation between modernity, cinema and architecture is established in relation to the movie theater, looking specifically at three distinct periods of movie theater construction in the city of Ankara. The 'space as a stage' is introduced as a theoretical comprehensive approach which allows us to recognize the inherent agencies of the movie theater: the owner/manager, governance, the architect, architecture itself, the cinema industry, and the audience. By adopting this perspective, this case study undertakes the task of understanding how those elements intersected, gelled and mutated in the local case of Ankara.

Keywords: Movie Theaters, Architectural History, Ankara, Modernity

ÖZ

BİR MİMARLIK TARİHİ OKUMASI: ANKARA'DAKİ SİNEMALAR

KAYMAZ, Elif

Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Tarihi Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Pelin Yoncacı Arslan

Eylül 2019, 190 sayfa

Bu çalışmanın amacı, sinema yapılarını 20. yüzyılın mimari kültürünün bir ürünü olarak incelemek ve bu mekânların sosyal ve mekânsal koşullarını ve anlamlarını, çeşitli zaman ve coğrafyalarda algılamayı ve tartışmayı mümkün kılan kapsamlı bir söylem geliştirmektir. İzleyici deneyiminden başlayarak, kamusal gösterim mekânının tarihsel ve mimari oluşumunun konularına değinip, sinemaya gitme pratikleri irdelenerek, nihayet, sinema mekânı ile ilgili olarak modernite, sinema ve mimarlık arasında bir diyalog kurulmaktadır. Ankara'nın sinema yapılarının üç temel dönemi de bu diyalog öncülüğünde işlenmektedir. Kapsamlı bir mimari yaklaşım olarak 'sahne olarak mekân' düşüncesinin uygulanması ile sinema mekânına içkin aktörlerin belirlenmesi mümkün olmuştur: mülk sahibi, yerel / merkezi yönetim, mimar, mimari, sinema endüstrisi ve izleyici. Bu perspektif kullanılarak, bu aktörlerin, ilişkilerinin ve kentsel süreçlerin nasıl çakıştığı, birleştiği ve değiştiği Ankara sinemaları örneğinde incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sinema Yapıları, Mimarlık Tarihi, Ankara, Modernite

To Lumière Brothers,

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my advisor Assist. Prof. Dr. Pelin Yoncacı Arslan. Thanks to her support, guidance and patience, I was able to see this thesis through the end. I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Hilde Heynen for her guidance as a supervisor during my stay in KU Leuven, as she greatly contributed to the bases and maturing of my research.

I would like to express my profound appreciation to Prof. Dr. Ahmet Gürata who believed in me and my project and supported me in every step along the way. I wish to thank the jury members, Prof. Dr. Elvan Altan and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Özgür Yaren for their insightful contributions.

I owe special thanks to my mother, my father and my sister for bearing with me throughout the whole process and for the continued encouragement.

I should address my heartfelt gratitude to my friends Onur, Bilge, Arturo and Jan who have always been there for lightening the pressure I've felt over time.

Finally, I would like to thank my dear friend and colleague Xavier Gaillard for his immeasurable support and tolerance, for his linguistic guidance and for his fulfilling companionship.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Such a bustle and a hurry,
O'er the 'living picture' craze
Rivals rushing full of worry
In these advertising days (...)
But it's a wonder really
How the constant flood of life
O'er the screen keeps moving freely (...)
With the countless varied scenes beside.
'tis far from perfect in its movements
'tis very hard upon the eyes;
The jolty wobble no improvements,
Smooth running films a surprise.
Still successful beyond reason,
Spite of all its erring ways,
Holding first place in season
Is the 'Living Picture' craze[1]

1.1. Background

We know that movie theaters have been scattered around cities and towns for more than a century. The Nickelodeon, opened on Smithfield Street in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on June 19, 1905, has been registered as the first movie theater to hold public screenings of pictures. However, even before the term "movie theater" was used to address the place purposefully designed to exhibit films; film exhibitions were held in bars, pubs, theaters, multi-functional halls, and even public baths. Therefore, the early movie theatre was the product of a long standing tradition of architectural design for theaters where the main hall was dominated by seats facing the stage. A movie theater, in its basic definition, is "a place where people go to watch films for entertainment"[2]. While the place sets the basic motivation for its users as entertainment; the main medium of this entertainment is

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[1] British Journal of Photography, 4 December 1896

[2] Collins English Dictionary

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cinema. The functional aspect, an art form, is put in service; the public aspect creates a common place where people share an experience and the profit-oriented management "where the process begun by production is completed by consumption" (Herzog, 1981) of a movie theater. Both aspects create a network of affects for the architectural design and later appropriations. Therefore, the movie theater holds a wide array of relations, from its establishment to its management, up until its transformation and/or demolition, as in many cases presented in this thesis.

1.2. The Aim of the Study & the Organization of Chapters

The primary aim of this thesis is to study the "movie theater" as a product of the architectural culture of the 20th century and to develop a comprehensive discourse which allows for an understanding and discussion of such spaces, their social and spatial conditions and meanings in different times and places. In order to do that, the thesis articulates an answer to the question of what are the proper contexts for movie theater history that give us the most complex and thorough view of how architecture operates. Based on the very definition of "movie theater", cinema as both an art form and an industry in relation to audience, and more individually in relation to the spectator and his/her experience in the movie theater, constitutes the first context. The birth of the cinematograph, and later the public exhibition and the practice of going to movies, especially in metropolitan areas, all coincide with thoughts pertaining to "modernity". Thus, the second context is developed through establishing a relationship between modernity, cinema and the movie theater. The inclusion of a discussion of modernity protects us from false generalizations about movie theaters; mainly about the distinctions and comparisons between urban/rural, west/east and different time periods. These discussions are very much embedded in architectural history writing and the perception of time and space. Postcolonial approaches which, as previously stated by Crysler, "particularize universal narratives and globalize narrowly parochial ones" (Crysler, 2012) are adapted to develop a main argument which will allow the construction of a framework. As

these contexts are constructed and fed by each other, we arrive at an architecture where all of above is covered and contained.

The movie theater is a place where social and spatial constellations interact with each other in an ever-changing fashion. Therefore, the approach towards architecture is in need for a complex revisiting. Hilde Heynen (2013) suggested an alternative scholarly paradigm "architecture as stage". Eliminating the restrictions brought about by the concepts of "architecture as receptor" and "architecture as instrument", the "conceiving of spatial arrangements as the *stage* on which social life unfolds, the impact of social forces on architectural and urban patterns is recognized (because the stage is seen as the result of social forces) while at the same time spatial patterns are seen as modifying and structuring social phenomena." (Heynen, 2013). Thus, from the beginning of the emergence of the mere thought of undertaking an architectural project, through its building process, later its use and management, the agencies involved in the process establish a network of relationships where the role of each of the agency transforms, displaces, outgrows, and disappears with the passing of time. Therefore, this irregular dynamism of agencies has to be taken into consideration with dealing with the movie theater, an architectural habitat which differs in every example.

Consequently, these three contexts (cinema, modernity and architecture) allow us to set a frame in which to study movie theaters by tracing the changes in time and space alongside the recognition of its particularities. By adopting this frame of thought, the study draws a conclusion for the first part of the thesis and analyses movie theater as an architectural space and decodes its inherent agencies; owner/manager, legal power, architect, architecture, cinema industry, and audience.

The third chapter of the thesis is devoted to movie theaters in Ankara. A retrospective architectural study is conducted based on the discussion which took place in the first part. Ankara, after having a relatively small town, was declared as the capital city of the Turkish Republic on October 13th, 1923. The ideals of

modern Turkey were invented and inserted in Ankara, a city eager to boast its urban plans, architecture and complementary public functions. Film exhibition as a part of social life and as a leisure activity was warmly welcomed by the people of Ankara in the beginning of 1920, which witnessed their first screenings at Karacabey Hamam and Millet Bahçesi. In later periods, purpose-built movie theaters, open air theaters and other multi-functional halls had been built all over the city. This study focuses exclusively on the purpose-built movie theaters of Ankara by compiling available information and mapping them.

In this chapter, a periodization of movie theaters in Ankara, from the early 20th century until 1980s is formulated. The changing roles of the agencies, their interplay, the urban, political and economic development processes of Ankara, the locations of movie theaters, the architectural trends of the era are the main determinants to specify the periods. Each period is examined by focusing on specific movie theaters which are considered to be exemplary for the period, comparable with other theaters in term of the roles of the agencies involved, significant in their architectural value while marking a beginning or an ending for the history of the movie theaters in Ankara.

The movie theaters of the first period (1929-1945) are analyzed in line with the radical modernity brought and implemented by the state and its organs into the urban environment and daily lives of the people of Ankara. Yeni Sinema with its particular movie-going practices and architectural organization as a reflection of the social and spatial characteristics of the city and Halkevi Sineması built and managed by the state as a part of the bigger cultural center are studied in detail in terms of their architectural features and the roles of the agencies involved.

The second period covers the movie theaters built following the Second-World-War until the 1960s. The expansion of building activities and flourishing social and cultural life coincides with the increase in the numbers of movie theaters as well not only in the city center but also in the districts. On the other hand, cinema

continued to be perceived as an art form eventually valuable for cultural development of the society not only by the elites of the modernist state but also by the individuals who shouldered the ethical responsibility towards the Turkish society whether they are architects, business owners or filmmakers. Büyük Sinema, the movie theater which is under the focus for the period, was a fruit of the similar circumstances of late 1940s. Kazım Güven, the visionary entrepreneur, and Abidin Mortaş, the modernist architect partnered in building Büyük Sinema in this period for the first time. While the collaboration continued with Nur Sineması ve Oteli, a decade of movie-going in Ankara is discussed in this part of the chapter based on the roles of agencies involved.

While the penetration of cinema into the everyday lives of the people and into the urban environment, following the 1960s, a dramatic increase, which continued until the early 1980s, in the numbers of movie theaters in Ankara started. Coinciding with developments Kat Mülkiyeti Kanunu and Uybadin Yücel Planı, in the growing city of Ankara, new sub-centers, new residential areas and new ways of building practices were established. The urban development was motivated by the economic gains of the entrepreneur/contractor to the maximum degrees. In line with these developments, the focus was given into the Başkent Apartmanı & Kavaklıdere Sineması; a residential building with a movie theater and stores in an emerging sub-center Tunalı Hilmi Street. The owner and contractor Ayhan Nergiz hired the architect Nejat Tekelioğlu for the architectural design of the building block. The type of the building not only became an epitome of the populist modernity of the period, but also became a proto-type for Nergiz' two other construction and for the Tunalı Hilmi Street. To the extent that, the street would be refereed as "cinema heaven" in 1970s.

The last chapter, starts with an overview of the last three decades of the movie theaters in Ankara. While the dramatic change is reflected both in locations and building types, the conclusion insists on advocating that the study of the movie theater as a universal building type in the history of architecture is doomed to

overlook the spatial specifics embedded in its local conditions and cultural meanings. However, constructing a discourse which recognizes various agencies, their involvement, their reflective roles, and their interdependent network allows for the discovery of the richness of the architectural realm of movie theaters.

1.3. Definitions of Terms

There is a need to provide clearance for the terms which are repeatedly used in this study and/or may be subject to distinct meanings in different cultures. The following pages will explain some of the concepts which are crucial to gain a better understanding of the topic.

Starting with the spatial and architectural elements, in this study the term 'movie theater' refers to a place composed of defined entrances and exits, a ticket office, a lounge (regardless of its size), and (at least) one hall with a screen and seats. Either it has been purposefully built from scratch as a "movie theater" or the interior design has been transformed and arranged accordingly. The main service this space provides is the exhibition of films in exchange for an economic fee. Even though the same architectural and functional elements (and sometimes even more) may be fulfilled, the term used for these buildings or places presents cultural nuances: movie house, movie palace, cinema hall (in Indian English), picture house, the pictures, film house, film theater, cinema. Spelling difference between US and UK occurs with theater and theatre. Even though in US "movie theater" is the official term, British spelling is still widely used when naming movie theaters. In UK, 'cinema', other than its original meaning ("movies, or the art or business of making movies"[3]), also refers to movie theater spatially. In Turkish, *sinema,* similar to the British use of the word refers both to the art form and the place. When it comes to the naming of movie theaters in Turkey, if the chosen word as the name is an

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[3] Cambridge Dictionary

adjective, *sinema* is attached to it; for example, *Büyük Sinema.* If the word is a noun, then the name becomes a noun-phrase; *Ses Sineması.*

Screening room/hall can be identified with a screen and seats as a part of a multifunctional complex; a house, a cultural center, schools, campuses, museums etc. This case, since the service provided may not be necessarily motivated by economic gain per se, should be discussed in different terms. However, the architectural decision to install a screening hall at any given time or place may be observed in relation to the developments of movie theaters, cinema or TV.

Since the term "movie theater" suggests wide array of places, and therefore experiences, it can be associated with an audience. On the other hand, the term "movie hall", as the place inside the movie theater where the seats and the screen situated, is the site of spectatorship.

Three other concepts are spectator, viewer and audience. The author of the book *Spectatorship: Power of Looking on*, Michele Aaron (2007) traces "a history of spectatorship studies" while drawing attention to the various and often competing accounts of the description of spectatorship. The discussions are held around the questions of what happens to the individual in cinema, what are the aspects that allow for an engagement and what elucidates the interpretation of the individual for a film. Aaron (2007) sees spectatorship as a site of conflict between methodologies:

> The battle between, say, the unconscious processes of psycho-analysis, or the social processes of cultural studies, to best explain the spectator's experience. What remains central is the question of the spectator's agency: the individual's own role and activity in participating in the pleasures of text, in determining the meaning of a film and, even, the meaningfulness of cinema. (Aaron, 2007, p. 1)

Aaron continues by pointing out a major distinction which gives us a better understanding of the three concepts;

Seeing spectatorship as a site of conflict is hardly new. Fundamental to an understanding of what a spectator is, is to note what it is not – that is, that a spectator is not a viewer. The viewer, according to cultural studies, is the live breathing, actual audience member, coming from a specific socio-historical context. This viewer exists in sharp contrast to the spectator as 'subject', a product of the ideological machinations of cinema, of 1970's classical model of spectatorship. One could argue that bridging the seeming chasm between spectator and the viewer represents the terrain of spectatorship studies. (Aaron, 2007, p. 1)

While the notion of "spectator" is defined based on the individual's psychological and intellectual relationship with the textual aspect of the film which is being screened, the term "viewer" conveys a more social relationship: the experience alongside fellow viewers; while cinema both as an art and an industry 'happens' to carry social and cultural connotations.

"Audience" (taking into consideration the fact that this term is used for different types of media) is defined by the theoreticians as a construct by rhetoric in order to create and manage the masses (Ong, 1975). However, this concept has been revised by such film scholars, who recognize the effect of audience in content and the diversity of audiences regardless of their size in numbers and their preferences in media. Resorting to cognitive theories, Bordwell and Thompson (2012) presented a more active picture of the audience. They claimed a position for the audience in which the involvement of such audience in producing meaning, following and articulating on the narrative, bringing pieces of edited scenes and forming a plot with theories and claims. The key point in their analysis was that if the audience is able to do so it is thanks to the formal features related to the construction of the film and the meaning which is produced. Therefore this view is not on the cultural and social side of the spectrum but rather on the formalist side whereas film's specificity is the focus. In this thesis, "cinema audience" is utilized to signify the people who, considered as a group and coming from a defined socio-economic background, watch (or have the potential, interest and intention to watch) a film together or separately in a movie theater and harbor the capability to generate meanings,

practices and uses by establishing a relationship with films, with each other and with the given time and space.

"Moviegoing" and "moviegoer" are two related concepts generally used in the field of audience studies and film studies, referring to the activity of going to movie theaters to watch films on a regular basis, as a habit. The concept has been used often in "new cinema histories" studies especially for a given time and space, in order to include all kinds of places of film exhibition. Consequently, moviegoer is an individual who has the habit of going to movies as a routine practice.

1.4. Limitations, Delimitations and Assumptions

The main limitation of this study concerns the restricted coverage, in different cultures, related to the architectural character and fashion of places of film exhibition. This is mainly because the birth of cinema (and its rapid embracement by society through film exhibition sessions as leisure time activity, technological and artistic developments) first took place in North America, the UK, France and Germany and subsequently spread from these regions. Therefore, discussions about the early years of cinema and film exhibition discussions are mostly based on a western discourse. However, throughout the thesis (and since the case study focuses on Turkey) the adaptation, perception and implementation of western-based theories and observations are clinically studied bearing in mind socio-economic and political differences/particularities.

The study's architectural focus is strictly limited to "movie theaters" for several reasons. First of all, the 'movie theater' is the first step towards a fully established film exhibition institution which bears a clear goal for its economic motivation, together with the function of the place. Although in time, these definitions have been blurred or have outgrown themselves, they are still structurally eligible to base further intellectual interpretations and spatial modifications. The second reason is the lack of comprehensive studies on the topic, especially on moviegoing places in Turkey. The lack of balance in gathered information especially about movie

theaters in Ankara reflects itself while giving context about the period. However, this also proves that with a rich set of information it is possible to narrate a better understanding of the period, the architecture and practices. Thus, this project, an architectural history of 'movie theater', is as a first stage to a more inclusive study which would also include more ambiguous forms and places of film exhibition, such as the early examples of bars, schools, bathhouses, hotels, open air cinemas, traveling cinemas, and so on.

1.5. Literature Review & Commentary

When architecture historian Spiro Kostof (1985) wrote that architecture was the "material theater of human activity", and that "its truth is in its use", he concluded his argument by stating that architectural history writing basically consists on writing a coherent narrative about that material theater and its use. In this way, this approach towards the history of architecture and urban landscape - in other words, the particular spatial organization – sees them as central to the organization of social life. In the early pages of *The Place of the Audience* (Faire, Jancovich, & Stubbings, 2003), it is noted that "history does not take place in space but social life is organized spatially, and spatial relations are therefore both open to, and a necessary element in, politics in the broadest sense of the word." Based on these two vivid explanations, a movie theater is to be studied alongside its use; and movie theaters as architectural products–i.e. in a neighborhood in a particular time period- which regulate social organization.

The show starts on the side walk (1996) an architectural history book about architect Charles Lee's[4] designs and buildings written by Maggie Valentine, provides a framework for the contradiction resulting from the 'insane' amount of movie theaters in the world and how little amount of research have been done about them

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[4] S. Charles Lee (1899-1990) is still recognized as one of the most prolific and distinguished motion picture theater designers on the West Coast especially in Art Deco period. He contributed to the designs of more than 400 theaters overall.

comparatively. She writes (1996) that "most historians and critics have overlooked the significant contribution of the theatre environment in social, film and architectural history." While film historians were too busy with the content of the films, architectural historians "have either benignly ignored and critically dismissed the architectural style of the movie theatre as mere folly or have described it as a variant or derivative of legitimate or live theater and European opera-house architecture" (Valentine, 1996). However; the generic movie theater established and matured its form within a dialogue resulting from the experience of watching a film and in line with technological developments in the industry.

In the contemporary world, the economic and social reality of the cinema industry and the role of mass entertainment in urban life do not exclusively depend on the movie theater. However; this has been the case only in the last three decades. In her article, which starts with a quote attributed to Le Corbusier (an architect who both made a film[5] and built a movie theater[6]): "Architecture and film are the only two arts of our time" - Bruno (2002) brings together architecture and cinema – and correspondingly, the movie theater – to argue that they practically shaped each other interactively:

> Cinema, the art of projection, emerged from the visual culture of modernity as a medium of luminous transport. The invention of the light space of film was a transformative moment in the cultural panorama of modern life. A new geography of visuality was being produced as film was born, and architecture was at the center of this transformation. (Bruno, 2002)

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[5] *L'architecture d'aujourd'hui* (Architecture Today) (1931) Directed by Pierre Chenal in collaboration with Le Corbusier. The film consists of four parts with various examples of how architects employ concrete and create living places. However, the center piece of the film is Le Corbusier and his architecture in which they show us how to live a modern life in balance with nature and technology.

[6] Neelam Theatre built in late 1950s in Chandigarh, Le Corbusier's utopian modern city. Another attempt left unfinished at the rooftop of Marseille apartment block and remained only as a concrete screen.

In another field of academia, that of film studies and history, Sumiko Higashi unleashed a new and lively discussion with a paper titled "In Focus: Film History, or a Baedeker Guide to the Historical Turn" (2004) Higashi calls for an awareness regarding the increasing number of researches about exhibition, distribution and perception of audience which do not implement an empirical research but a historicist one. Richard Maltby (2007), based on his previous research and interest in the field, finally named the new trend 'Cinema History' as separate from 'Film History'. He defines his distinction as follows: the latter deals with an "aesthetic history of textual relations" while the former focuses on cinema as "social history of a cultural institution" (2007). Those efforts concerned not so much with the textual features of films but rather on the context that their exhibition creates with the involvement of an audience, reception, spectatorship, exhibition service, place, or distribution - basically a 'social experience of cinema' (like Higashi remarked) – require mainly empirical research and data. Therefore, Richard Maltby, with his definition, emphasizes the interdisciplinary nature of the field and encourages the inputs of scholars coming from the fields of urbanism, architecture, sociology, demography, ethnography etc. The book *Cinema, Audiences and Modernity: New Perspectives on European Cinema History* (2012), edited by Maltby with the collaboration of two other film scholars who are also leading figures in the field of New Cinema Histories Daniël Biltereyst and Philippe Meers, is an inclusive collection of articles from various fields.

In an era when academics and critics have been predicting the end of theatrical exhibition since the early 1960s, through innovations related to the distribution and exhibition of films, cinema has lost its audience in great deal of numbers, mainly with the increase in accessibility and affordability of TVs. The impact of the decrease in theater audiences[7] can be observed in the spatial organization of cities,

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[7] The numbers from a research in North america shows; In 1930, more than 65% of the population went to the movies weekly. In 2014, The graph shows a steady percentage below 10% of the U.S. population that averaged going to the movies weekly since around 1964. Source: http://www.businessinsider.com/movie-attendance-over-the-years-2015-1

the closure of cinemas, converted exhibition halls, a decrease in central trade function, the downturn in the side-business of cinema etc. In short, urban centers suffer this loss much more than rural settlements. The interdependence between cinema and urban modernity has been discussed widely and intensely by scholars[8], firstly because, the invention of the cinematograph took place in 1890 - an era of modernization accompanied by urbanization and fastened industrialization. Thus, the interference of two aspects in time and space (beginning of 20th century and the urban sphere) laid the groundwork for the emergence of movie theatres, the activity of movie going and the establishment of a movie industry.

Both from the field of architecture and cinema contributions in relation to modernity have been a vast interest to this study. From the field of architecture; Hilde Heynen contributed with her book *Architecture and modernity: a critique* (1999) bridges the gap between architecture and social sciences in relation to theories of modernity while giving clear explanations of the terms and concepts have been used in the discussions. Esra Akcan (Translation Theory and The Intertwined Histories of Building For Self-Governance, 2018), bringing the translation theory into the discussion of modernity architecture allows for a more comprehensive analysis especially in the cases of non-western contexts.

From the field of film studies, Tom Gunning (1999), recently retired film scholar who has over hundred publications, presents a modernity theory where he discusses the history of the early cinema and modernity are intertwined histories and both are driven by the notion of the culture of shocks. Thus, by introducing the concept "cinema of attractions", he claims that the early cinema both the films and the practice of moviegoing are the reflections of modernity. Along with Gunning, scholars like Charney & Schwartz (1995), Friedberg (1993), Rabinovitz (1998), Singer (2001) contributed to the discussion of cinema and modernity. Miriam

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[8] Discussed by Charney & Schwartz 1995, Friedberg 1993, Gunning 2000, Hansen 1994, Rabinovitz 1998, Singer 2001, etc.

Hansen (2012), a well-respected film scholar, focused on the topic of cinema as an experience and gave a critique by turning to Frankfurt School while describing cinema as a public sphere generated by the conditions of modernity.

Studies in the field of architecture about 'movie theaters' vary from being exclusively about movie theaters in a given time and space (including architectural details, the architect's vision, a comparison with other movie theater buildings etc.) to more contemporary examples of cinema-based architectural projects (compilations intended to inspire architects and designers). While the first examples generally start with a short history of cinema and movie theaters without proposing a theoretical discourse as in Gregory A. Waller's *Moviegoing in America : a sourcebook in the history of film exhibition* (2002); Jesse Jones' *The Southern Movie Palace - Rise, Fall and Resurrection* (2003); Richard Gray's*Cinemas   In Britain : A History Of Cinema Architecture* (2011), the second kind of examples focus on technological advancements by placing cinema in a global context: Charlotte Herzog's "The Movie Palace and the Theatrical Sources of Its Architectural Style" (1981); Ina Rae Hark's *Exhibition, the film reader* (2002); Chris van Uffelen's *Cinema Buildings* (2006).

Researches about Turkey's moviegoing places in the field of architecture, history of architecture or film and cinema studies have notably mushroomed during the last decade. In the case of İstanbul, Mustafa Gökmen (1991) was the first to take on the task of compiling the movie theaters of Istanbul (their locations and owners) based on the procurement of building plans. The book, which does not provide any particular narrative about the cultural and social conditions of these theaters, functions more as an inventory for future studies on that city's movie theaters. In 1999 Burçak Evren published the book *Eski Istanbul Sinemaları Düş Şatoları*, writing the stories of some movie palaces as a memoir. In the last decade two books based on highly detailed archival sources have been published: they deal with the early years of moviegoing and exhibitions. The first one is *Paris'ten Pera'ya Sinema ve Rum Sinemacılar* (2014) by Sula Bozis and Yorgo Bozis; the second is

Sinemanın İstanbul'da İlk Yılları – Modernlik ve Seyir Maceraları (2017), written by the leading figure of "new cinema histories" in Turkey, film scholar Nezih Erdoğan. Ali Özuyar, film historian, also published series of books[9] about the early moviegoing in Ottoman and Republican Period in Turkey and selection of literature on cinema in Ottoman magazines.

The academic literature about moviegoing and movie places in Ankara, on the other hand, is not as abundant. In 2013, Dr. Felekoğlu, in his PhD dissertation "The Position Of The Cinema In The Development Of Public Sphere; In The Case Of Ankara", which provides basic historical information about movie theaters in Ankara, argues for the importance of movie theaters in the establishment of urban public sphere by considering cinemas as a mass communication tool which affects the public space – an effect which spreads riding on the process of modernization. He also analyses cinema as a form of spatialization brought about by emotions, information and ideology, and thanks to its nature, which is based on distribution, production, etc. Therefore, the decision of what is to be seen or not seen is a direct consequence of the public sphere. Another conclusion he arrived at in his dissertation is the creation of the abstract and material publicness of cinema through architecture, which eventually contributes to the creation of public sphere.

Gülseren Mungan Yavuztürk, an independent researcher, contributed to the literature with three interrelated articles[10] about movie theaters in Ankara. She provide materials from her personal archives: cinema magazines, tickets and leaflets; as well as a diary of a famous writer (Nurullah Ataç) and his moviegoing routine in Ankara. Turan Tanyer (Sinemalarımız, 2017), another independent researcher and writer specialized in the urban history of Ankara, constructed a

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[9] Özuyar, A., *Sessiz Dönem Türk Sinema Tarihi / 1895-1922* (2017); *Hariciye Koridorlarında Sinema* (2019)

[10] Yavuztürk, G. "Ankara'da bir Büyük Sinema Vardı" (2009); "Ankara'da Yayımlanmış Sinema Dergilerinin Kısa Tarihçesi" (2013); "Ataç'ın Ankara'daki Sinema Günleri", (2016)

rather complete story of movie theaters in Ankara within the city's context of cultural social life. Vakur Kayador (1999), a scholar in the field of communication sciences, published an article Ankara's movie theaters. Similarly, an oral history book has been published tackling the memoirs of Behiç Köksal, a cinema projectionist who worked in the most prestigious cinemas of Ankara starting from the late 1930s. Even though these sources do not provide detailed information about neither architectural nor building processes, their importance relies on the fact that they are filled with anecdotes, personal observations and public opinions regarding those theaters. *Sinemada Son Adam: Makinist Ramazan Çetin: Ankara Sinemaları Tarihi* was published in 2008 based on the memoirs of another projectionist of Ankara.

Umut Şumnu, an interior architecture scholar, published an article based on the findings of the project "Sivil Mimari Bellek" on two building blocks with cinemas (which happens to be the case study of this thesis as well; Talip and Başkent Apartment Blocks) by drawing attention to the aesthetics and design of the building alongside the image of modernity represented by the buildings. The research project "Ankara'da İz Bırakan Mimarlar" had a dossier on Vedat Dolakay and Nejat Tekelioğlu following a panel in 2017 where their collaboration and individual work had been analyzed together with the socio-economic conditions of the time.

Over the years the long-lasting architecture magazine of Turkey, *Arkitekt*, published articles about plans, regulations, foreign cases, competition calls, and opinion pieces dealing with movie theaters. These articles provide a great deal of insights about various approaches towards movie theaters in different periods, while positioning the architectural practice of movie theaters within the market conditions and trends in design. For example, in *Arkitekt*, Mimar Hakkı's "Sinema Binaları" (Cinema Building) was published in 1931 to give and compare examples from Europe's cinema buildings since in Turkey the number of movie theaters was increasing. The articles about movie theaters, especially in 1930s, provide two main sets of information. The first set dealt with the opinion and information delivery,

the second set consisted of various movie theater projects both in Turkey and in Europe.

Movie theaters which have been closed down, demolished or transformed for different purposes have also been immensely romanticized as nostalgic places by then-audiences, a point addressed by researchers as thy adopt oral history techniques. Annette Kuhn (2002), a scholar whose interest lies particularly in the memory aspect of audience studies, although pointing out the value of individual stories also warns researchers of exaggerating nostalgia, including the interviewees' unleashing of heartfelt emotions towards past. For this study, no official interviews[11] were conducted with then-audiences for any of the movie theaters mentioned in this thesis, since it mostly sits outside the scope of the research. However, the results of oral history studies in the field of architectural history in Ankara was used as a source. The most useful source for developing this study is the PhD dissertation of Çılga Resuloğlu; "The Tunali Hilmi Avenue, 1950s-1980s: The Formation of a Public Place in Ankara" in which the interviews with residents of Tunalı Hilmi Avenue focus on the everyday places and practices in the given time period covered by this thesis.

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[11] Even though, an official interview was not conducted, A meeting was held with Ayhan Nergiz (the owner of the two movie theaters of the case study) and Zafer Göker (the manager of the movie theaters) in a social-context about their building activities and cinema management.

CHAPTER 2

THE MOVIE THEATER

> *Ne içindeyim zamanın, Ne de büsbütün dışında;*
> *Yekpare geniş bir anın, Parçalanmış akışında[12],*
> *Bir garip rüya rengiyle, Uyumuş gibi her şekil,*
> *Rüzgârda uçan tüy bile, Benim kadar hafif değil.*
>
> *Başım sukutu öğüten, Uçsuz, bucaksız değirmen;*
> *İçim muradıma ermiş, Abasız postsuz bir derviş;*
> *Koku bende bir sarmaşık, Olmuş dünya sezmekteyim,*
> *Mavi, masmavi bir ışık, Ortasında yüzmekteyim*
>
> Ahmet Hamdi Tanpinar (2002)

2.1. A Cinematic Situation

In this part of the chapter, the "cinematic situation" will be decoded: the architectural condition of the movie theater, regardless of the presence of audience watching a movie; the condition of spectator whose motivation; experience and presence in the movie theater; and finally the meaning created by the user; the architecture and the liminal experience. Overall, the aim of this part of the chapter is to answer the question: what happens in movie theater and who/what does it?

Roland Barthes (1989), in his mostly personal essay, "Leaving the Movie Theater" , describes the conditions taking place between the end of the film and exiting the movie theater as a spectator. The nine paragraph essay features a condensed interpretation of the experience of being in a movie theater, while referring to some

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[12] Nezih Erdoğan (2017) reads Ahmet Hamdi's poem as a description of a spectator in the movie theater. The subject of the modernity who is in a "single, wide moment's fragmented flow (…) swimming in the middle of a blue light" (yekpare geniş bir anın parçalanmış akışında … Mavi, masmavi bir ışık, Ortasında yüzmekteyim) is resting his or her body in the movie theater, in the middle of moving images and sounds flowing through their time.

vital questions in film theory. Roland Barthes (1989) equates leaving the movie theater to "coming out of hypnosis". "A cinema situation" is a pre-hypnotic one in which "the darkness of the theater precedes and leads him (the spectator) from street to street, from poster to poster, finally burying himself in a dim, anonymous, indifferent cube where that festival of affects as a film will be presented." (Barthes, 1989, p 346).

Roland Barthes places the spectator's embarking on his/her journey towards the "cinema situation" in the streets – when the idea of going to a movie theater pops up in the spectator's mind. When he/she heads towards to the movie theater and therefore arrives at the streets in the vicinity of the movie theater, his/her surroundings also become a part of that experience. Therefore, the location of the movie theater matters. Along the way ("way" understood in both spatial and philosophical terms) the spectator stumbles on various images, posters of the movie he/she is about to see (maybe they appeared weeks ago on a magazine, or maybe right outside of the movie theater.), leaflets advertising the movie theater, tickets specifying the starting times, and so on. These visual mediums that lead the spectator to the movie theater are the part of the service which movie theaters and/or cinema industry produce besides the movies themselves.

In Roland Barthes' description (1989) it is "the darkness of the theater" –and not the movie- the thing that seduces the spectator; moreover, after all those streets and posters he/she has surpassed, "finally" and voluntarily the spectator buries him/herself in "a dim, anonymous, indifferent cube" which is the hall where film (a "festival of effects") will be exhibited. While "the darkness" inside makes the movie theater "anonymous and indifferent" for the spectator whose sole aim is to be in that "cube", it is fair to ask the following questions: With or without darkness, how can the movie theater be defined architecturally? How "indifferent" is that "cube" to the city outside (if it is at all indifferent), to the movie on the screen, to the spectator in his/her seat and to itself? Is there any way we can identify ourselves with the "anonymity" of a movie hall? Does that anonymity belong to us as

spectators, and not to the architectural unit holding the ties of different human and non-human agencies? What makes the definition of "cinematic situation" by Roland Barthes relatable and common for all moviegoers, while cities, buildings, halls are architecturally and socially completely unique?

Architecture and cinema meet at the movie theater with the purpose of hosting an audience. Spectators bring the city and its affects along with them into the movie theater. Bruno, in her book *Atlas of Emotions: Journeys in Art, Architecture, and Film* (2002), raises similar thoughts on the issue;

> The story, set in the space of a movie theater, begins with architecture. We embark on an urban tour with a visit to the interior of a movie house. Initially empty, still, and frozen, the theater slowly becomes energized, "animated" by the film-work just as it is activated by the people who come to inhabit it. The chairs begin to move as music fills the movie house and sets it in motion, and as the spectators of the city-film move into the theater space. The city's rhythm is constructed out of the architectural space of a movie theater. (Bruno, 2002, p. 23)

The relational conditions are generated by the architecture, the cinema, the city and the audience in the theater space. The rhythm of the city is found in the beam of light projected on the screen. Therefore the "dim, anonymous, indifferent cube" of Barthes or "empty, still, frozen" theater of Bruno come alive with the audiences who carry the city on their shoulders and into architecture. The layers of relationships established in the movie theater, according to these two writers, are based on architecture and cinema and on how the audience perceives what's on the screen in relation to these two factors.

On a different standing point, we find Pritzker Prize-winning architect Jean Nouvel expressing his thoughts about what links architecture to cinema and vice versa. In addition to that he also connects the architect and the filmmaker as competent pairs of knowledge of "transversality and exteriority". Bruno (2002) starts her commentary on the issue by quoting (rather translating) Nouvel;

to experience a sensation—to be moved—to be conscious and be as perverse in traversing the emotion as in analyzing it—recalling it—fabricating a strategy to simulate and amplify it in order to offer it to others and enable them to experience the emotion—for the pleasure of shared pleasures. (…) Architecture exists, like cinema, in the dimension of time and movement. One conceives and reads a building in terms of sequences. To erect a building is to predict and seek effects of contrasts and linkage through which one passes. ... In the continuous shot/sequence that a building is, the architect works with cuts and edits, framings and openings ... screens, planes legible from obligatory points of passage. [13] (Bruno, 2002, p. 69)

What Nouvel provides as a different layer of discourse on the space of the movie theater reorients the discourse towards the supply side of the "cinematic situation." While Bruno and Barthes speculate on the reception side - an already built (purpose-built) architecture, a form of already produced moving images and an audience ready to observe and consume what's on the screen - Nouvel takes one step back and looks at the production processes of architect and filmmaker and espouses them in their motivation regarding their final product. The will to generate pleasure, emotion, movement in a shared space (as an experience of the user) is eventually materialized in the architecture (of the movie theater) as well as in film by its creators - the architect and the filmmaker. In the movie theater space, the observer of the "continuous shot/sequence" of architecture also becomes the spectator of moving images on the screen.

Going back to Roland Barthes, it is in his description of "a cinematic situation" (where the spectator is driven by darkness) where he finds the "very fascination of film". The fascination lies in the idleness and inoccupation of the bodies in dark theater –the site of availability. He writes (1989),

In this urban dark that the body's freedom is generated; this invisible work of possible affects emerges from a veritable cinematographic cocoon; the movie spectator could easily appropriate the silkworm's motto: *Inclusum labor llustrat*; it

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[13] Bruno cites to Jean Nouvel, "Les cincastes? Sur dcs choses ccrtaincs ils m'ont ouvert les yvux," in Cites-Cines, Paris: Editions Ramsay, 1987 (exhibition catalogue), her translation.

is because I am enclosed that I work and glow with all my desire. (Barthes, 1989, p. 346)

The spectator, by limiting his physiologic activity and becoming one with his or her seat and the surrounding architecture, opens up for what's on the screen - the beam of light and shadows enabling the film. Therefore, fascination, enchantment, fantasy, disengagement with the reality all occur within the movie theater. When Barthes wrote his essay (in the mid-70s), cinema was by far a substantial part of everyday life, besides being an industry and a common habit. Therefore, "the very fascination of film" was not to be found in the 'very' technology of cinema but rather in the surrounding conditions.[14] Nevertheless, the account given by Maxim Gorky about his first experience in a movie theater suggests similarities even more than half a century before Barthes'. In 1896 the influential Russian writer described his first experience with movie theaters as such;

> Last night, I was in the kingdom of shadows. If only you knew how strange it is to be there. … it is not life but it's shadow, it is not motion but its soundless spectre. Here I shall try to explain myself, lest I be suspected of madness or indulgence symbolism. … The extraordinary impression is so unique and complex that I doubt my ability to describe it with all its nuances. (Popple & Kember, 2004, p. 3)

An experience so complex even leaves Maxim Gorky hesitant, doubting on his ability to put what he went through into words. The fascination of Gorky's cinematic experience lies beneath the interplay of darkness, light and shadows. The illusion of motion and the sheer spectre awakens in him the dilemma of "hope and pessimism (with which we still regard the developing mass media in contemporary society" and a "disenchantment with certain aspects of modernity)" (Popple & Kember, 2004, p. 3). Meanwhile, referring to a movie theater as a "kingdom of shadows", reveals the importance of architecture's role in the experience. The "kingdom" holds every aspect of the experience together and is ruled by shadows.

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[14] Barth compares watching a movie on TV at home and watching it in cinema. At home, spectator cannot detach herself from the surrounding, therefore, the receptiveness level is quite low, thus the fascination.

Architecture, the structural procurement of the function, while once regarded as a 'kingdom' in the early years of cinema, eventually lost its 'holy' and 'royal' status (as the invention and the experience became more mature and common in time) to more modest monikers: first to palace, then to arena, then to house etc.

As Gorky mentions in his text, the spectator's dilemma lies on the fact that film creates a tension in spectator's mind between the reality and the imagined; similarly also blurs the boundaries between a realistic execution and fictional medium. As the site of spectatorship, the movie theater enables cinema –the visual medium of representing / manipulating / fictionalizing reality- to present a realm of imaginary also distressing attractions. Film had the skill to show the incredible and the unlikely. Therefore, the screen and the hall became the site for the representation of the fantastic and unusual.

The recognition of spectatorship in regards to the experience of film excludes the assumption that the 'apparatus' of film is constituted solely by the machinery or technological tools such as camera/projector. Aaron (2007), in her book (where she theorizes the spectatorship and the conditions of cinematic experience), conceptualizes the triangulation of projector, spectator and screen. She addresses the complexity of the experience by suggesting that "it is the interplay of these three: of the technical (projection), the physical (seated spectator in darkened auditorium) and the psychic (the psychological effects of this configuration and of the film viewed)" (Aaron, 2007, p. 9).

Even though her point of view is more defined than that of Bruno and Barthes, Aaron is willing to welcome the integration of the city's rhythm, the architectural operations and the creators of films and architecture by adding "the psychological effects of this configuration". Spectatorship is understood on the basis of "psychological effects": the recognition of the individual who is the sole object of the fascination generated by the darkness, the duality of reality and fiction and the disconcerting attractions. However, as Aaron stated,

Recognition always, ultimately, grounded in misrecognition. It is a process of ideology that represents, an approximation, a generalization, a vagueness received as accuracy. It represents, as Althusser so famously put it, individuals' 'imaginary relationship … to their real conditions of existence" this system of subject formation hinges upon individuals' acceptance of a falsity: that they are, undoubtedly, what they have been interpellated as; that, crucially, they have exercised individuality and choice (that is, agency) in assuming this identity. Ideology then is the willing acceptance of things not really true, it is an embracing of illusion, and the illusion of agency. What better place, then, to explore ideology than in the home-ground of illusion: cinema. (Aaron, 2007, p. 8)

Cinema eventually works ideologically to establish 'the situation' "within a system of imagined relations that depended upon the individual's illusion of agency to fuel its reproduction" (Aaron, 2007, p. 9). Even though the aims of this thesis do not include a discussion on the philosophy of cinema, the importance of Althusser's work and the way Aaron utilizes it pave the way for the conjoining of the effects of material and social conditions with psychological ones in the space of the movie theater.

In this thesis, the interest lies on the diversification of these effects generated in the movie theater –namely social, material and architectural- by decoding these configurations and then bringing them together all the while keeping the architecture of the movie theater at the center of the operation. After looking at "a cinematic situation", and the human scale of the experience in a movie theater; one will concern with questions regarding the social and spatial extensions of this experience in retrospective. The invention of the cinematograph set the bases for the creation of movie theaters where people come together with an aim of watching a film. However, the act of people coming together to watch a spectacle of light and shadows was not exclusive to cinema alone. The next section looks at the precursors of cinema in order to locate what is truly inherent to the cinematic situation/experience which is shared from theater to theater.

2.2. Light and Shadows: Precursors of Moving Image

Movie theaters as purposefully built material spaces to exhibit films emerged through the invention of the cinematograph –a magical invention which enabled moving images that were 'bigger than life'. However, long before the emergence of proper movie theatres, enthusiastic entrepreneurs of different times and places were gathering people to screen various sorts of moving images in bars, cafes, halls and private saloons. Even though, they consisted in light and shadow illusions, they may be a starting point from which to discuss the possible preparatory effects they had on the public before cinema. The historical roots of cinema can be traced in many ways depending on the approach, including those researching the technological developments which finally resulted in the invention of cinematograph; the epistemological survey on the establishment of a certain kind of visual art; or literary review of the artistic form. However, for this study what is most relevant is the evolution of the social practice of bringing people together in a place, in front of a screen, so that they may be amazed by the movement of light.

Regarding the precursors of film and its exhibition, the very first examples can be found in 500 BC, in China. Chinese philosopher Mo-Ti described the inverted image on the wall that was produced by light going through a tiny hole (Ceram C. , 2007). Aristotle also mentioned a similar image a century later. Anthemius Tralles, a mathematician and architect from the Byzantine period of Constantinople, experimented with optics and lenses which would date the origins of *camera obscura* (the`dark room') in the 6th century. This device enabled light to be shed on a surface or a screen, with the help of a small hole or lens (Ceram C. , 2007). The *camera obscura* would be used and valued in various ways over the centuries, but the relevant point in here is that it enabled the use of a screen. Where there is a screen, there are spectators. Screen is an element which draws people's attention - especially when images are projected on it with the help of light and illusions. Moreover, when there are people gathered in front of this screen devoting to it, fully or partially, their attention, then we can start talking about a this gathering as a public event. Since the screen has images that are the representation of materials or

abstractions, it carries its own message. The delivery of this message and the people's reception of it actually become the definition of media; exchange and communication.

Figure 2 The Magic Lantern. An aquatint print depicting a magic lantern entertainment by J. Johnston, 1822 AD (Source: London Museum)
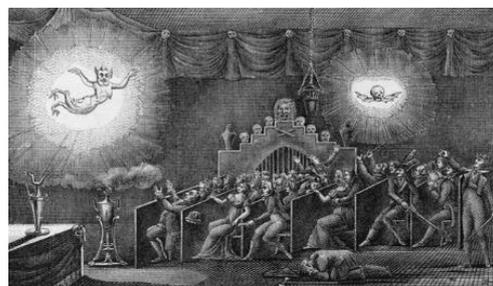
Figure 1 Robert's phantasmagoria at the Cour des Capucines in 1797 (Source: Internet Archive)

The magic lantern was invented by Athanasius Kircher in 1671. He used painted images on glass plates and managed to project them on a screen with the help of an oil lamp and lenses. The movement of the screen or the magic lantern would give a motion to these images which would fascinate its spectators. In late 18th century came the phantasmagorias, possibly the most similar experience to watching a film on the screen. The term comes from the French *phantasmagorie*, in itself derived from the Ancient Greek *φάντασμα* (phántasma, "ghost") + possibly either *αγορά* (agorá, "assembly, gathering") + the suffix -ia or *?γορεύω* (agoreú?, "to speak publicly") (Elsaesser, 2016) Phantasmagorias, some might argue, perhaps belong to a different type of entertainment, closer to a circus. However, even the word itself is particularly telling: gathering and/or speaking publicly. Moreover, the concept of ghost carries by itself the notion of enchantment.

The technique used in Phantasmagoria was a form of horror theatre that used one or more magic lanterns to project frightening images such as skeletons, demons, and ghosts onto walls, smoke, or semi-transparent screens, typically using rear projection to keep the device out of sight. Mobile or portable projectors were used, allowing the projected image to move and change size on the screen, and multiple

projecting devices allowed for the quick switching of different images. As Mervyn Heard wrote in his book *Phantasmagoria* (Heard, 2006) "although the phantasmagoria was an essentially live form of entertainment these shows also used projectors in ways which anticipated 20th century film-camera movements—the 'zoom', 'dissolve', the 'tracking-shot' and superimposition."

On February the 12th 1892 Léon Bouly got the patent for an invention of his named the Cinematograph –a motion picture film camera. He was referring to a Greek word signifying the "writing in movement". Bouly later sold its rights and name to the Lumière Brothers. The duo would work on the machine while also resorting to Thomas Edison's Kinetoscope – the linguistic root of which also harkens back to a Greek word, *kinesis*, meaning motion and exhibition - *kineto-* ("movement") and *scopos* ("to view") (Ceram C. , 2007) It is obvious, when analyzed both etymologically and culturally, that the emphasis of this new groundbreaking invention always was on its motion, on the possibility of images being moved.

The heritage of the cinematograph brought all those formers meanings into the early movie theaters: the dark room, *phantasmas*, gathering, to speak publicly, magic, light, writing in movement, motion and exhibition. Therefore, based on the key concepts involved; cinema has always been about showing 'magical' moving images to the public by using light in the dark. Arranging, appropriating, then finally designing the ideal place for it in the city; adapting the such practice into the everyday life of individuals as a form of entertainment and leisure; and the creation of a whole industry engineered to produce the artistic, textual and visual material it would rely on – all these dimensions were sufficient to make cinema an undeniable phenomenon in 20th century.

2.3. The Movie Theater and the Sources of Its Architectural Style

This section provides a brief summary regarding the history of places of movie exhibition and discusses how movie theaters as we know them are the result of tradition, progress, economic and architectural efficiency and social appropriation.

Le Sortie Des Usines Lumière (*Employees Leaving the Lumière Factory*) was the first film of Louis Lumière. It was shot on 19 March 1895, only a month after the Lumière Brothers had purchased the patent of the cinematograph. The Brothers organized several private screenings on 28 December 1895, in the Salon Indien of the Grand Café in Paris. There were 33 people present for their first public exhibition, consisting of a total of ten film pieces. Le Salon Indien of the Grand Café was a room in the basement of said establishment. Simple chairs were aligned facing the wall where a screen lays. The cinematograph was placed among the chairs of the rear rows. This felicitous event in a simple room with chairs "is widely regarded as the birth of public cinema." (Popple & Kember, 2004).
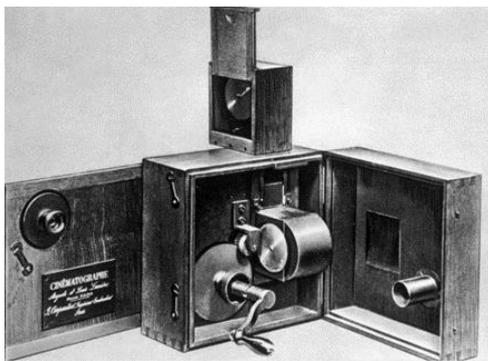
Figure 3 The Lumiere Cinematographe was introduced in 1895 (Source : Universal History Archive/Universal Images Group via Getty Images)

Figure 4 A Scene from the film Le Sortie Des Usines Lumière - screened at the Grand Café (Source: https:// theguardian.com/film/2016/may/23/rediscovering-lumiere-brothers-early-cinema-pioneers)

Still in its experimental period, the first place to host a film screening was the basement floor of a café in Paris. A public place - a commercial place without any access to light, an urban gathering site functioning as an eatery – was turned, with minor arrangements, into an exhibition hall. In fact, thanks to the mobile and portable cinematograph any place could have served as an exhibition hall should there also be a screen. The early years of film exhibition mostly depended on the possibilities of exhibitors. They had to travel around with their cinematograph to show their films. Therefore, the traveling shows were result of the efforts and capabilities of the exhibitors, who were faced with the task of finding the "right

places". Town halls, lodges, churches, schools, stage theaters, playhouses, concert halls, fairs, street carnivals, amusement parks, circuses, parlors, pawnshops, museums and restaurants were among the places used by traveling exhibitors. Following the footsteps of individual exhibitors, entertainment institutions and commercial businesses were the first to integrate film exhibition into their programs as a new entertainment medium with deserved the highest possible exposure. As Charlotte Herzog (1981) stated, in her research about the roots of architectural formation of movie places in U.S.A, "people noticed the movies while partaking of the other amusements. And in case the movies failed, business would continue as before. The earliest outlets were located in business and entertainment districts, were easily accessible to their audiences and has the physical and architectural facilities needed to attract entertainment-seekers." (Herzog, 1981, p. 18)

Figure 5 The postcard of the Grand Café in Paris, 1900 (Source: http://www.pariscinemaregion.fr/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/grand_cafe_-1900-carte_postale_paris9.jpg

Between 1909 and 1915, vaudeville theaters had emerged as the most suitable spaces for the exhibition of movies, since they met all the necessities required by early cinema screenings: "Since theaters and cinemas had to provide similar usage structures, their designs were often closely related, except that in movie theaters the

stage area and scenery were only present in a very basic form or could be eliminated altogether." (Uffelen, 2009). The architecture of a vaudeville theater generally "almost always had an enclosed vestibule or ticket lobby. The ticket office was built into this lobby and was part of the framework of the building." (Herzog, 1981, p. 20). Ticket offices had been a very important architectural element in this economic rapport between owners and audiences. Therefore, having the ticket box outside of the main lobby in later (and proper) movie theaters became a conscious decision aimed at increasing the visibility of the films exhibited, the accessibility to tickets and the approachability of the person who was selling the tickets. In a way, the ticket box was an architectural extension of the movie theater which enabled a first contact with the public and the street. This contact was supported extensively with lights, signs and posters advertising the films. A kind of decoration so as "to make all passers pause and to draw thousands of them inside the house" (Herzog, 1981, p. 20). In vaudeville theaters, mostly advanced and well-thought out interior designs were adapted: lounges, lobbies, foyers, passageways, check rooms, writing rooms, telephone rooms, ladies' parlors and gentlemen's smoking rooms (Jones, 2003). The exaggerated academic forms of architectural motifs and designs gave these places a 'pretty face' alongside fantastic elements. All these features were soon to be imported into the movie palace.

Moreover, on the other side of the Atlantic another space which would become commonplace for the exhibition of film would be the store theater, the origins of which go back to the invention of the *kinetoscope*. In October 1888 Thomas Edison wrote that he was "experimenting upon an instrument which does for the eye what the phonograph does for the ear, which is the recording a reproduction of things in motion, and in such a form as to be both cheap, practical and convenient." (Bowen, 1967) His tinkering gave its fruit as the *kinetoscope* and 6 years after the first mention of the idea, the first *Kinetoscope* parlor was opened on April 14, 1894, at 1155 Broadway in New York City. It was a simple store with a ticket booth located next to the door. A bust of Edison, made out of plaster, was placed inside, and posters and papers announcing what awaited inside were exhibited on the windows

of the store. The architectural organization was very similar to what would be a common film exhibition place, the store theater.

Figure 6 A Kinetoscope parlor in San Francisco, circa 1894, analogous to a movie theater. (Source: https://cms-assets.theasc.com/Kinetoscope-1.jpg?mtime=20180923225422)

Figure 7 The Castle Theatre was located at Washington, opened in 1904, stayed in operation over a decade as a store theater. (Source: http://photos.cinematreasures.org/production/phot os/214206/1500300956/large.jpg?1500300956)

In many stores and facilities where films were exhibited, the places which had been temporarily separated for the exhibition of films eventually started to become more permanent and finally received the name of "screen theater". The 'screen' was mostly a sheet curtain, while 'theater' referred to the place resulting from the moving to the side of the location's equipment and furniture, such as tables or musical instruments (Herzog, 1981). These "screen theaters" slowly but steadily took over the whole space of these establishments. The store theaters started to appear as places for the exclusive screening of films, without additional or side programs. Advertisement sheets and film posters were used to cover the windows of stores to eliminate the light (Herzog, 1981). Still, in some cases part of the window was left uncovered so that passers-by could peek through and get a glimpse of the attraction taking place inside, which often would be enough to awaken their curiosity and lead them inside (Herzog, 1981). The architectural arrangements had been adapted in a way that the changing of functions would be most efficient

economically and spatially. Therefore, the entrance, the exit, the ticket booth and the seats were far from being permanent but rather movable and adaptable.

On the other hand, traveling shows, circus cinemas as well as "fairground cinemas, where most ordinary people first experienced moving pictures, had all but disappeared, and the transitory nature of these performances became regularized and fixed to specific locations." (Popple & Kember, 2004). In this period, in which the transitional nature of these places was overcome, penny arcades came into the picture. Benjamin Hampton (1970), in his *History of the American Film Industry*, defines penny arcades as;

> Store rooms from which the windows and doors had been removed, or set back, the wide entrance hospitably inviting passers-by to enter and enjoy the marvels of talking machines and animated pictures. Usually the entrance was decorated with garish circus-like posters, and a mechanical piano or a giant music-box assisted by a leather lunged barker in advertising the entertainment. (Herzog, 1981, p. 25)

That is to say, the architecture of penny arcades was welcoming in an intriguing way, as well as spatially continual and esthetically attractive insofar it promised doses of entertainment to the passing public.

As early as 1908 between two and three million people in the U.S. visited movie theaters daily and soon a new medium, the inexpensive "Nickelodeon" (the entrance fee of which amounted to five cents), replaced dime novels (a literary form of narrative stories named after its cheap price) as the primary form of simple entertainment for the masses. Particularly after 1903 the nickelodeon, a more established and permanent version of the store theater (or whatever was still being used, whether it be warehouses, arcades, museums or parlors), started imposing itself on the burgeoning film exhibition market, with a seating capacity from ninety to six hundred seats (Popple & Kember, 2004) . It was the culmination of techniques based on the presence of a ticket office, the open front, gaudy poster and light displays, and aggressive sales technique of the traveling show, the concurrence of

the penny arcade and dime museum; and the spirit of the Kinetoscope parlor and store theater (Herzog, 1981). It combined them in a program of iconographic motifs and created an architectural form which was to identify the exterior the movie palace and the movie theater. (Herzog, 1981)

Figure 8 The entrance and the ticket booth of "Nickelodeon" of Pittsburgh in 1905. (Source:http://photos.cinematreasures. org/production/images/892/143473284 7/medium.png?1434732847
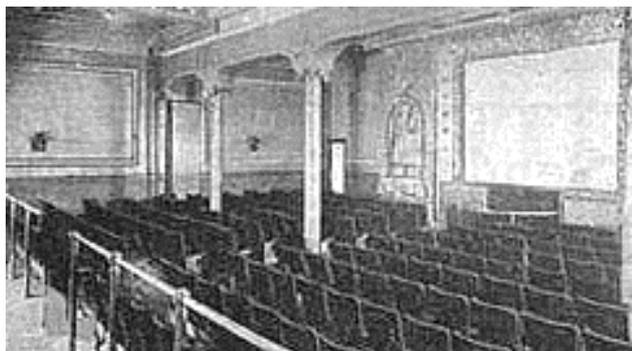
Figure 9 Interior of a nickelodeon theater in Pittsburg. It was claimed to be the first nickelodeon in the United States. (Source: http://photos.cinematreasures.org/production/images/893/14347)

The nickelodeon box office was either a separate isolated unit located at the front and center of the vestibule with the doors behind or it was part of the building and engaged in the center of the back wall of the vestibule with the entrance and exit doors on each side The second type allowed for the vestibule to serve as shelter during inclement weather. (Herzog, 1981) his was an advantage since nickelodeons did not have marquees. Both of these formats had the box office facing the street and immediately accessible to the buying public. And no matter how these models were later adapted in the movie palace, this relationship between the placement of the box office and ticket sales remained important.

During World War I, the ascent of American regular movie theaters and store theaters was challenged by the so-called 'atmospheric theaters'. Their decoration was inspired by the imaginary and flamboyant movie sets, which eventually determined the aesthetic movie theaters would embrace. In Europe, this trend gave

some movie theaters a distinct character compared to theaters which generally imitated "the neo-Baroque Style of the Paris Opera by Charles Garnier (1875)" (Uffelen, 2009). A significant European example of this distinction is Hijman Louis de Jong's design of the Tuschinski Movie Theater in Amsterdam, completed in 1921.

Figure 9 The postcard of Tuschinski Theater, Amsterdam, ca. 1933 (Source: https://farm6.static.flickr.com/5159/7394691716_e211bb3715.jpg
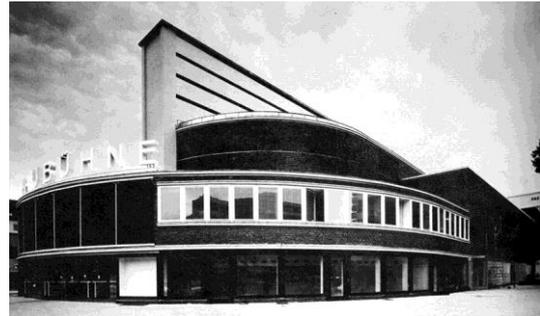
Figure 10 Universum, Berlin, cinema building by Erich Mendelsohn, 1928 (Source:https://artchist.files.wordpress.com/2016/11/universum-cinema-schaubc3bchne-in-berlin-by-erich-mendelsohn-29.jpg)

Figure 8 Cinema Rex in Paris by Auguste Bluysen and John Eberson, photo from 1950s (Source:https://c8.alamy.com/comp/K369H6/rex-cinema-paris-K369H6.jpg)

While the interior decoration of movie theaters continued to be that of an "opulent fairy-tale", the overall architectural patterns in Europe started to increasingly focus on Art Deco. Together with the evolving technology of the cinematograph, the

introduction of movies with sound ('talkies'), and the growing demand from the public, grand theatres embracing this new style, like the Rex in Paris (opened in 1932 and designed by Auguste Bluysen and John Eberson) started to emerge. The theater harbored 3300 seats, and featured a prestigious interior designed by Maurice Dufrene. In Berlin, Germany, the transition to a modern style was also noticeable in movie theaters; one of the best examples of this style is the Universum, built by Erich Mendelsohn in 1928. Advanced methods of air circulation (which would be one of the main design problems afflicting movie theaters) were provided by a tall ventilation shaft (Uffelen, 2009). The semicircular form of the building also provides the angle for the main hall and positions the audience in front of the screen with a curvy background.

As movie theaters gained more importance socially, economically and architecturally, new organizational and infrastructural problems emerged. Overcrowded theaters required a better management of the human stream, who were directed in an out of the screening hall through two gates (entrance/exit); nights when several events were taking place in the movie theater were particularly conflictive. One of the main design problems (which in some cases was even turned into an opportunity) is the fact that movie halls require no outside light or windows, and thus therefore the ventilation of air became a crucial aspect given that the capacity of theaters often surpassed the 3000 seats mark. As an example of alternative solution to this problem, the Tuschinski Theater stood out by introducing "a sophisticated duct and air passage system", which was "developed involving a room in which new blocks of ice were deposited on a daily basis" (Uffelen, 2009).

Following the Second World War, cinema buildings in Europe and U.S. generally followed the modern architectural trends. While movie theaters were adapted to the urban sphere, the opulent characteristics of the theaters, alongside the excitement felt by the public in regards to the act of going to the movies, were eventually toned down due to general developments in society and technology. However, in the evenings, theaters and the scene they spawned would outshine any other facility in

the city, and they would continue to be, for decades to come, the magnet of public attention. However, technological advancements in cinema industry would translate into changes in the interior design of the movie theater. Uffelen (2009) writes,

> The opulent decorations disappeared and the auditorium and projection area increasingly developed into and "invisible cinema" in which nothing should distract from the film and in which the setting should not reflect on the action of the film. The Black Box of the auditorium symbolizes the head of the director with whose eyes the audience should experience the events of the movie as conveyed by the screen.

However 'precious' the experience of the audience in the large theater halls, during the 1960s high capacity movie theaters were starting to change substantially and underwent structural transformations: they were fragmented into smaller different screening rooms or halls under the same movie theater. When the 1970s and 1980s arrived, especially in Europe and U.S, the competition between cinemas and television, which battled over the control of the general public and its leisure and entertainment, finally had a winner: the latter. Movie theaters were not the 'common' source of evening entertainment anymore; consequently, movie theaters of this era were generally built as a part of multifunctional structures and buildings.

Moreover, after the emergence of television, technological advancements had pushed movie theaters into new directions in screen ratio. Uffelen (2009) suggests that "to compete with television, the 70-mm film was developed , as well as the widescreen formats (1:1.66, 1:1.85) and Scope (1:2.35, 1:2.55), which laterally overstrain the human eye (1:1.54) pulling the observer deeper into the happenings on screen." Eventually, existing movie theaters had to live up to these standards in order to survive in cinema business. In the following decades, the expenses resulting from the need to keep up with the technological advancements and the increasing monopoly of film distribution forced autonomous movie theater establishments to make decisions about their business in competing with newly opened cinema centers run by companies in different sizes. These cinema centers would bring together diverse functions in order to support financially and socially

their main activity, the screening of films. Extra-event programs, bars, restaurants, thematic exhibitions, etc. were considered as elements which would add to the main motivation of the center. Regular film theaters located in downtown areas were about to be challenged by even bigger establishments: the blossoming 'cinema complexes', which were generally located at the periphery of the cities and included within the structures of shopping malls, a trend which intensified particularly in the 90s. These spaces were generally advertised as 'having all mediums of leisure activities at once'; shops, cinemas, arcades, gyms, eateries, etc.

Even though this chapter draws a very summarized and general picture of the transforming situation experimented by movie theaters in western countries, architectural traces of this transformation can be identified in many different cities. For example, The History of Moviegoing, Exhibition, and Reception—or HOMER—Project gathers the projects of the histories of moviegoing places. The projects about Brussels, London, Amsterdam, Lyon (and many more) show significant amounts of closed movie theaters.

Film exhibition, in general, has taken a course towards becoming a medium of entertainment, activism, social engagement, education, etc. in many different countries to this day. Nowadays several spaces other than conventional movie theaters, such as cultural centers, museums, galleries or university campuses, are used for film exhibitions, obeying to a wide array of different purposes - sometimes with economic motivations and sometimes without. With the expansion of the Internet and movie streaming channels like Netflix or Hulu the spatial significance of the movie theater has returned to the agenda. In order to discuss whether movie theaters are architecturally and socially still valid in our contemporary world, it is time to look at the interrelationship between cinema, movie theaters and modernity (which is one of the concepts most often associated with the other two).

2.4. Positioning Cinema and Architecture in relation to Modernity

2.4.1. "The Opening of Another Dimension"

The discussion on cinema and modernity can be opened up with the accounts of three modernist intellectuals; Theo van Doesburg, a Dutch painter and architect; Blaise Cendrars, Swiss-born French poet and novelist; and Andrei Bely, a Russian symbolist writer and poet. These three perspectives stem from similar topics of debate regarding cinema that have been tackled in previous sections: the fascination of an audience, the question of reality, cinema and concept of space and continuous movement. Moreover, these three accounts situate a further discussion of cinema and modernity in different angles, which is the main purpose of this part of the thesis.

Theo van Doesburg, an "extraordinary painter of geometric abstraction, revolutionary modern architect, and guiding light of the De Stijl movement" (Gunning, 2006), went to see a movie[15] in the Netherlands in 1917. He then sent a letter to modernist architect Jacobus Oud in which he expressed the thoughts and fascination spawned by a chase scene and its editing, which allows for the observation of an actor getting closer and farther repeatedly, in order to create the continuous, ever-changing, rapid effect of the scene. He wrote (2006),

> In an intensity of motion and light you saw people fall away into ever-receding distances, then reappear the next moment. A continuous dying and reviving in the same instant. The end of time and space! The destruction of gravity! The secret of movement in the fourth dimension. (Gunning, 2006, p. 234)

Cinema had made Theo van Doesburg (a modernist architect) question time and space. He came to the conclusion that it was the end of both. It was also the end of gravity. It was the opening of another dimension. Of course, Van Doesbury's rhetoric dealt with the effects of representation imposed on his perception; his

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[15] According to Tom Gunning (2006), he saw a slapstick comedy, probably a Keystone film, whose title he gave as How Nathan Trapped the Villains and whose proper identification remains unlikely.

observation about the continuous flow of opposite situations coming into life - their unceasing regeneration – is the core idea of both cinema and modernity.

Blaise Cendrars, an important artistic figure who notably influenced the modern French literature scene, approaches cinema from a similar angle. He wrote: "Cinema. Whirlwind of movement in space. Everything falls. We fall in its wake. Like a chameleon, the human mind camouflages itself, camouflaging the universe…" (Cendrars, 1992, p. 25). The voluntary surrender of the human mind to the continuous movement is the most remarkable aspect of cinema, according to Cendrars. The make-believe movement on the screen turns into a blanket covering all questioning about the medium, the human mind and even the universe. Cinema creates its own space out of movement on the screen and dominates the movie theater and its audience. The discussions on cinema and its power on space and society coincide with modernity's power on them, with similar descriptions and driving forces.

Andrei Bely, a Russian symbolist writer and poet, watched the British trick film "That Fatal Sneeze" in 1907. Later, he wrote the following observations about his experience;

> Man is a cloud of smoke. He catches a cold, he sneezes and bursts; the smoke disperses… The cinematograph reigns in the city, reigns over the earth. In Moscow, Paris, New York, Bombay, on the same day, maybe at the very same hour, thousands of people come to see a man who sneezes— who sneezes and explodes. The cinematograph has crossed the borders of reality. More than the preaching of scholars and wise men, this has demonstrated to everyone what reality is: it is a lady suffering from a cold who sneezes and explodes. And we, who hold on to her: where are we? (Tsivian, 1994, p. 151)

What is remarkable about the cinematograph for Bely is its power to overcome the concepts of space and reality as we know them. The message of the movie has crossed the borders of countries and realities. A woman sneezed. "Thousands of people" saw it in different countries. The message was delivered, "we hold on to

her". Then the woman exploded, and at this point, Bely questioned the consequences of the message delivered by the cinematograph, the conditions of the audience in different countries and in different movie theaters. The technology of cinematograph traveled place to place with its message and left Bely with doubts regarding his own place. The cinematograph made the individual become a part of a cross-national group of audiences. Now, on top of the distortion of the reality, visually and geographically, the fact that it is not a one-time event but rather a continuous spectacle with different messages started to be regarded as the essence of the medium. Modernity, similarly, is consistent in being continuous, in defining individuals and bringing them together thanks to a medium which would broaden their perceptions about space and reality.

These three accounts, besides providing valuable clues in regards to modernity, share the same kind of ambivalence and cynicism towards this invention and experience. We will come across similar notions towards the process of modernization and industrialization in the writings of Simmel, Benjamin and Kracauer –highly influential theoreticians and sociologists the works of which have been widely used in the fields of architecture and cinema-.

Van Doesbury's ambivalence, oscillating between being celebratory and doomed - as he wrote "The end of time and space! The destruction of gravity!" -; Cendrar's cynicism, delivered by his choice of words and concepts such as "whirlwind" of movement, "everything falls" (the idea of our fall awakening a certain kind of critical fascination); or Bely's vision about cinema as an extraordinary happening, all acknowledge the wonders of its expansion and at the same resent the circumstances of their own spatial confusion by asking "where are we now?".

Statements like those early examples quoted, regarding cinema and its inherent effects on the individual, would become more abundant with time. As cinema was going through "remarkable" phases of transition and discovery, Popple and Kember

(2004) provide a concise and sharp explanation regarding how this transition intersected with modernity,

> Indeed arguably, it (cinema) became the arena in which the pressures of modernity were most fully played out. Cinema typifies the emergence of a new populist tradition that has dominated mass media culture throughout the twentieth century. From a small-scale and often artisanal enterprise, film production and exhibition grew exponentially reaching millions across continents, and branching across race, social, gender, and age classifications. (Popple & Kember, 2004, p. 5)

The "arena" where "the pressures of modernity were most fully played out" is cinema together with all sorts of aspects within the production, the consumption, the cultures that emerged around it, and so on. Following this, a question arises: how do we locate the "movie theater" in this arena and what are those pressures of modernity which were exhausted? Or what other aspects of modernity were imported into the movie theaters, and through which agencies? Depending on the agency, were these pressures ever perceived as pleasures of modernity? Have movie theaters also been registered as places in which the pleasures of modernity can be instrumentalized? If so, what was the role architecture played in this? How did architecture operate these motivations in time and in different cases? To answer these questions, we need to evaluate how architecture and cinema have been discussed in relation to modernity, especially to see if there are parallels in the understanding of, on one hand, the relationship between architecture and modernity, and on the other, the relationship between and cinema and modernity. How have cinema and architecture been brought together by modernity as the main "arena", in the opinion of current scholars?

2.4.2. Architecture, Cinema and the Two Sides of Modernity

"The current, the new, and the transient": architecture historian and theoretician Hilde Heynen (1999) after having provided an etymological and historical background for 'modern', comes up with these three different levels of meanings associated with the concept of modernity. These three words are highly related with

the concept of time and the nuances of 'the present'. According to Heynen (1999), the modern makes "the present different from the past and points the way toward the future". She then continues with a brief explanation of the distinctions among modernization, modernity and modernism, which is essential to quote fully for the purposes of this study:

> The term modernization is used to describe the process of social development, the main features of which are technological advances and industrialization, urbanization and population explosions, the rise of bureaucracy and increasingly powerful national states, an enormous expansion of mass communication systems, democratization, and an expanding (capitalist) world market.
>
> Modernity refers to the typical features of modern times and to the way that these features are experienced by the individual: modernity stands for the attitude toward life that is associated with a continuous process of evolution and transformation, with an orientation toward a future that will be different from the past and from the present.
>
> The experience of modernity provokes responses in the form of cultural tendencies and artistic movements. Some of these that proclaim themselves as being in sympathy with the orientation toward the future and the desire for progress are specifically given the name modernism. In its broadest sense, the word can be understood as the generic term for those theoretical and artistic ideas about modernity that aim to enable men and women to assume control over the changes that are taking place in a world by which they too are changed. (Heynen, 1999, p. 10)

Modernization, modernity and modernism, taken separately, carry meanings and connotations coming from different fields of academia. However, Heynen locates the relationship among these three concepts as follows:

> Modernity, then, constitutes the element that mediates between a process of socioeconomic development known as modernization and subjective responses to it in the form of modernist discourses and movements. In other words, modernity is a phenomenon with at least two different aspects: an objective aspect that is linked to socioeconomic processes, and a subjective one that is connected with personal experiences, artistic activities, or theoretical reflections. (Heynen, 1999, p. 11)

This duality inherent in the meaning of modernity (on one hand, objective conditions; and on the other, subjective experiences) have been discussed by scholars in different ways. Matei Calinescu (Heynen, 1999) has contended that in the first half of the 19th century "an irreversible split occurred between modernity as a stage in the history of Western civilization and modernity as an aesthetic concept" and further added that these two modes of modernity have been in conflict ever since then. The main question asked by Heynen concerns this gap: what is the position of architecture between meanings, definitions and modes of capitalist civilization and aesthetic? Her book is written to answer this question and heal this split between two realms. Briefly put, the answer is as follows:

> Architecture operates in both realms: it is unquestionably a cultural activity, but it is one that can be realized only within the world of power and money. In the case of architecture, aesthetic modernity cannot avoid entering into a relationship with the bourgeois modernity of capitalist civilization. (Heynen, 1999, p. 12)

In other words, architecture is both tied to objective conditions and subjective experiences.

Modernity is defined also within the binary concepts of programmatic and transitory. Jürgen Habermas was on the programmatic end of the spectrum, defending modernity "primarily from the perspective of the new, of that which distinguishes the present age from the one that preceded it." (Heynen, 1999, p. 12). However, others before him had already disputed this perspective, such as poet Charles Baudelaire who, standing on the other extreme, thought that "Modernity is the transitory, the fugitive, the contingent, the half of art of which the other half is the eternal and the immutable." (Heynen, 1999, p. 13).

Heynen resorts to Marxist philosopher Marshall Berman for an alternative; "To be modern is to find ourselves in an environment that promises us adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of ourselves and the world—and at the same time, that threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we know, everything we are"

(Berman, 1982, p. 15). Berman brings these two ends together by defining modernity as the merged nature of these two contradictory standpoints. Therefore, positioning architecture in Berman's environment of modernity, where the forces clash with each other, gives a more comprehensive set of tools to discuss it.

Film scholar and historian Tom Gunning also turns to Marshall Berman to support his views on where to position cinema (especially early cinema) in relation to modernity. Tom Gunning (2006) observes how while "describing the cinema of attractions, I emphasized what Marshall Berman might call "dissolving" aspect of modernity: its discontinuity, its sense of confrontation and shock, its explosive nature, its speed and disorientation." The aspect of modernity found by Gunning is very similar to Heynen's: both cinema and architecture get resolved and unraveled in this "dissolving" realm of modernity. They both reside and mutate in both objective conditions and subjective experiences. Gunning further explains the flip side of "the systemic organization and rationalization":

> Avant-garde and critical thinkers highlighted these aspects partly against more familiar aspects of modernity that they also assumed: an emphasis on systemic organization and rationalization; maximum exploitation of resources; a pervasive reliance on quantification and abstraction. Theorists of modernity such as Simmel, Kracauer, Georg Lukacs, and Benjamin wished to reveal the dialectical flip side of the processes of modernity (…) did not deny the rational and systematic process of rational and systematic aspects of modernity but revealed that the process of rationalization often entailed chaotic effects (effects that some of them felt revolutionary potential). (Gunning, 2006, p. 308)

The birth of cinema coincides with the western phenomenon of modernity. Gunning developed a theory for early cinema in which he argued that "the cinema of attractions solicits a highly conscious awareness of the film image engaging the viewer's curiosity" (1999). In other words, the cinema of attractions is not about a coherent narrative, but it is motivated by the effect of shock and fascination produced on an audience. Gunning defends his point of view by taking it further: he states that the key role of early cinema amounts to their being the actual emblem

of modernity. According to him (1999), early filmmakers (the avant-garde) were able to capture a true sense of fascination about cinema: "cinema was not modernist, but they embraced its modernity". The rapid developments in technology and the transformation of cities, alongside with the growth of populations, harbored "both apocalyptic and millennial" potentials: on one hand, the enthusiasm awoken by the re-invention of life; and on the other hand, the absolute necessity of successive destruction in order to rebuild the former conditions. The transformative aspects of modernity (including that of cinema) anchored between these two ends created a feeling of ambivalence within different agencies located in society (artists, filmmakers, architects, decision makers, politicians, intellectuals etc). Gunning's bold statements regarding how far cinema can be related to modernity are as following:

> Cinema, both as a practice and as a force that was understood in a variety of ways, played a central role in the culture of modernity. Given its striking appeal to popular sentiment, its mechanical force and play, its enlivening and contradictory tension between picturing and moving, cinema methaphorized modernity. To deny this claim would be to ignore the key role cinema played as an emblem of modernity, not only for the avant-garde but also for the generation for whom its appearance as part of everyday life was a novelty. (Gunning, 2006, p. 301)

Gunning has often been criticized for his ambitious thoughts towards modernity and the culture of shocks by film scholars such as Bordwell (1997) and Keil (2004) in some occasions. One aspect of these criticisms focused on Gunning's incapability to differentiate "perceptual changes" brought by historical transformations of modernity from the simple adaptations of human behavior to the changes of urban and social conditions. According to Bordwell and Keil, another controversial issue was the problematic envisioning of modernity in relation to cinema by using a cause-and-effect approach. Gunning answered both criticisms and made his point clear by explaining that in modernity theory causality has never been used in such simple way but rather in a transformative relational manner. In a way, he aimed at "showing in what ways specific factors relate to the transformations that constitute modernity" (Gunning, 2006, p. 304). Therefore, as

part of these factors, the historical transformations in urban environment, transportation and communication, as well as the changing means of labor, redefined the everyday-life of people materially and spatially. Gunning's above statements and his response to the criticisms presents a way out of the limitations he set for early cinema and modernity. By including the aspect of "everyday life as a novelty", he sets the right conditions in order to answer the following questions: What happened after the early cinema period? Did cinema set itself free from the shocks of modernity? After cinema of attractions, did cinema cease to be a part of broader culture of conflicts? The answers to these questions will also guide the arguments within this thesis, with the goal of situating the discussion on modernity throughout the 20th century, out of the western context (as in the case study), and within the context of architecture's involvement of cinema.

Gunning puts forward an overarching answer to these questions which stems from Berman's duality of modernity. Gunning, by recognizing the shift in the form of films - from 'attractions' to 'narrative' - triggers a change in the perception of the position of cinema in this duality. Cinema, as it was related to modernity by Heynen, is slightly removed from the "aesthetic culture" side and moved towards the "capitalist civilization's" mode of production: the transition from independent avant-garde filmmakers to the structural organization of Hollywood cinema; and such film industry basing its model of development on schemes common to any other American Industry. Aesthetic culture ended up being produced within a corporate industry. In a complementary fashion, Gunning noted that "modernity involves systems of containment and control as much as a new explosive energy. Indeed, critical theories of modernity regard these two aspects as essentially interlinked." (Gunning, 2006, p. 309) .In further explanations, and by taking cinema out of its narrative dominance and bringing it into the broader realm of the city, into different forms of modernity, Gunning summarizes his position as follows:

> The new systematic organization through narrative dominance does not eliminate the anarchic energy of the cinema of attraction and modernity; rather it sublets this energy, using and transforming it. In other words, narrative development may be opposed to the form of attractions, but this very dialectical opposition relates it to other key aspects of modernity. Indeed the interaction between narrative forms and the direct stimulus of audiences by thrills provides a fuller sense of the forms of modernity than the simple culture of shocks allows. (Gunning, 2006)

After the cinema of attractions completed its full circle in modernity it ended up creating an order narrative-wise, organization-wise and space-wise. Gunning wants us to "visualize this process as an interaction between the explosive shocks of modernity as motive force and the transformation of these shocks into a regularized and consistent motion, a transformation of shock into flow" (2006, p. 310).

Long before Gunning, cultural studies scholar, in 1974, Wolfgang Schivelbusch (2014) declared that the experience of riding on a railway was the emblem of modernity. Railway signified the peak of comfort and convenience for travelers. A traveler, during his or her journey, could even forget that they were in motion and had the chance to pursue his or her endeavors. Therefore, the experience of railway symbolized the "regularized and consistent motion" within the context of modernity. However, when a danger or an accident occurred due to various situations (such as high speed or exceed in capacity of passengers or load) the passengers and the public would be dramatically traumatized by the unexpectedness of the event. The shock, the traverse and the rapture produced by such a rationalized technological invention and its experience disturbed the whole system. He concluded that "this interaction between rationality and surprise defines the dynamic of modernity" (Gunning, 2006, p. 310).

Edwin S. Porter's film *Uncle Josh at the Moving Picture Show* (1902) illustrates this situation by going one step further. The movie depicts a man watching a film in front of the screen. Upon seeing a train rushing towards him, said Uncle Josh ducks for cover, thinking that the train will ride over him. The technology of cinematograph had reached the possibility of 'bringing' a moving train into a

theater; bringing a shocking element into the rationality of a simple architectural space. This was the cinema of attractions in the distress of modernity. The next step saw modernity regenerating itself by carrying the distress embedded in every moment of cinema and metropolis into the movie theater. Eventually, movie theater became the place of that arena (of cinema) where both "the pressures" and the pleasures "of modernity most fully played out".

2.4.3. Metropolis, Architecture and Movie Theater

In the early years of cinema as a place where it turned into a social and individual experience, the movie theater had been mostly prominent in the metropolis. The change brought about by modernization and industrialization in the big cities was observed and registered by many writers, authors and scholars. Among them, German sociologist Georg Simmel's early book *The Metropolis and Mental Life* (1903) had already shed light on "how a central feature of modern social life involves confrontation with the stranger" (Pomerance, 2006). The 'world', with its never-ending circulation of goods, individuals, and images facilitated by transportation and developing technology in media, infrastructure and economy, had transformed to a point in which the omnipresent aspect of everyday life is its strangeness and local community is disintegrated.

Ben Singer (1995), writing on Simmel and his essay "The Metropolis and Mental Life" (a crucial text for Kracauer and Benjamin), comes to certain conclusions about how modernity had been perceived: "as a barrage of stimuli". Simmel's highly regarded tag for the metropolis' "intensification of nervous stimulation" addresses both "the physiological and psychological foundations of subjective experience" within objective conditions:

> The rapid crowding of changing images, the sharp discontinuity in the grasp of a single glance, and the unexpectedness of onrushing impression: These are the psychological conditions which the metropolis creates. With each crossing of the street, with the tempo and multiplicity of economic, occupational and social life, the

city sets up a deep contrast with small town and rural life with reference to the sensory foundations of psychic life. (Simmel, 1950)

Simmel's depiction of the metropolis contains a certain kind of public illumination, a new situation of being 'outside'. In other words, as Canadian film scholar Murray Pomerance (2006) observed, "what had once been privately imagined was now dramatically depicted, broadcast, systematized for all to read and know". Pomerance's thoughts on modernity and the city are further developed in the introduction he wrote for his book *Modernity and Cinema*:

> The city was not only a topes of intense navigation and movement, a stuttering form, but also the setting for an unending circulation of talents, purposes, attitudes, and personalities. If brightness was a torture because it vanquished meditation, so was it a blessing because it vanquished what festered and decayed. It promised the cure: it revealed the workings of the mystery as complex and beautiful and strange. (Pomerance, 2006, p. 11)

Pomerance paints an inclusive picture of modernity for both its pressures and pleasures. The functionalization of these aspects brings about the emergence of department stores, grand avenues, the railway, the telegraph, the telephone, audio recording and the visual media, including photography and the cinematograph, which would make "the world appear, more than simply exist". The end products of these media openly attracted "the observing stranger with the special eye". The special eye -the spectator- in the movie theater and in the city was subjected to:

> All the rich confusion of: light and electric stimulation (thus, scientific development), temporary and impenetrable relationship (thus, social mobility and the omnipresence of strangers), alienation of labor from biography and history (thus, the pervasive organization of capitalism and its form of exploitation), and onwardly rushing movement (movement in many directions at once, so that collision, and then war, were inevitable)—the hallmarks of the modem world. (Pomerance, 2006, p. 12 - 13)

Miriam Hansen, a ground-breaking film scholar specializing in the epoch of early cinema and its reception in mass culture and the public sphere, brings (2009)

Pomerance's point of view beyond observation and into critical theory. Hansen has abundantly discussed how cinema studies provide inputs and insights to our understandings of modernism and modernity by focusing on mid-twentieth-century modernity – the "modernity of mass production, mass consumption and mass annihilation"- and the Frankfurt School. Hansen (2009) analyses the limits that emerged between objective conditions and subjective experiences in the aesthetic, cultural and economic contexts of modernity:

> Modernism encompasses a whole range of cultural and artistic practices that register, respond to, and reflect upon processes of modernization and the experience of modernity, including a paradigmatic transformation of the conditions under which art is produced, transmitted, and consumed. (…) Focusing on the nexus between modernism and modernity, then, also implies a wider notion of the aesthetic, one that situates artistic practices within a larger history and economy of sensory perception that Walter Benjamin for one saw as the decisive battleground for the meaning and fate of modernity. (Hansen, 2009, p. 253)

Therefore, the public sphere had also been shaped under these conditions: "a new relationship with 'things,' different forms of mimetic experience and expression, of affectivity, temporality, and reflexivity, a changing fabric of everyday life, sociability, and leisure" (Hansen, 2009, p. 253). Eventually, she includes architecture and urban environments alongside cinema as places where the experience of modernity had been articulated and mediated in the realm of cultural practices. At this point she (2009) introduced the concept of 'vernacular' modernism[16] "to combine the dimension of the quotidian, of everyday usage, with connotations of discourse, idiom, and dialect, with circulation, promiscuity, and translatability" (Hansen, 2009, p. 253).

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[16] Vernacular modernism has a rich literature in the field of architecture. The works of Paul Groth, Dell Upton, and John Michael Vlach can be consulted to for further research. Also, the journal *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press) stands out as a collection of academic works from tradition vernacular structures to modern vernacular architectures and practices.

Miriam Hansen (2009), after bringing the public sphere and cinema together in the movie theater, claims that this is "the single most inclusive cultural horizon in which the traumatic effects of modernity were reflected, rejected or disavowed, transmuted or negotiated" (Hansen, 2009, p. 253). The public sphere of the movie theater is an extension of "social horizon of experience" where the dimension of reflexivity creates an opportunity for individuals, who can "find recognition by both subjects and other, including strangers". Therefore, the vernacular aspect of this experience lies beneath the ever-changing flow in and out of the movie theater - as the architecture both affects the flow and is affected by the flow. In other words, the technology of the cinematograph comes alongside a series of opportunities for specific places, towns or countries. The instructions dictating the exhibition of a film are technically fixed. However, the social, cultural and spatial practices are the evolution of local conditions, everyday life notions, economic motivations and the tactics and strategies of various agencies involved in the showing of movies.

2.4.4. Lessons Derived From an Architect's Account On Movie Theaters

Miriam Hansen, as stated above, based her theory of cinema and the public sphere on currents emanating from the Frankfurt School and critical theory - especially in her book *Cinema and Experience: Siegfried Kracauer, Walter Benjamin, and Theodor W. Adorno* (2012), where she described her main aim and methodology as "extrapolating observations from texts by the three writers that are not primarily or explicitly concerned with film, which is how I had proceeded all along in my efforts to illuminate key concepts in the texts by them that are." She basically "put these three writers in a conversation" in order to compare their insights on cinema, film and publicness. Among these writers[17] Kracauer is identified as "the only regular

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[17] According to Hansen, Benjamin used cinema to construct his theory about modernity. He watched and wrote about the Soviet, Chaplin, and Disney films but not many more. On the other hand, as filmmaker and film theoretician Alexander Kluge once hinted, Adorno's relationship to films can be summarized in a sentence: "I love to go to the cinema; the only thing that bothers me is the image on the screen" (Hansen, 2009).

moviegoer, with a thick knowledge of film history as it was evolving" (Hansen, 2012).

Siegfried Kracauer was born in February 8, 1889 in Frankfurt, He studied architecture and eventually obtained a doctorate degree in engineering. Until 1920, he worked as an architect in Germany in Osnabrück, Munich, and Berlin. In the meantime he wrote philosophical studies, essays and articles. He met and befriended Adorno in 1920 (Koch, 2000). In 1927, his collection of essays on the Weimar Republic, *The Mass Ornament*, was published. The book was a compilation of accounts of the places, the means, the feelings and the everyday lives of the masses. Dealing with the concepts of modernity such as public and private, isolation and alienation, culture and arts; he wrote about what was essential to the people of that era; shopping arcades, films, books, audiences, the art of photography, dancing, hotel lobbies, Franz Kafka, the Bible, and boredom.

Hansen (2012) suggests that "Kracauer understood cinema as a symptomatic element within a larger heuristic framework aimed at understanding modernity and its developmental tendencies" (Hansen, 2012, p. 3). Hansen further points out that Kracauer, resorting to a more utopian way of thinking, saw cinema as "an alternative public sphere alternative to both bourgeois institutions of art, education, and culture, and the traditional arenas of politics" (Hansen, 2012, p. 55). Acknowledging in the mediation its capitalist bases, he was somehow hopeful of cinema being a medium to democratize culture. Cinema was a part of the process of mechanization which provides masses a self-representation. This new medium "not only traded in the mass production of the senses but also provided an aesthetic horizon for the experience of industrial mass society" (Hansen, 2012, p. 70). Therefore, it provided an alternative field for both the pressures and the pleasures of modernity were involved.

What most relevant and enlightening from Kracauer's *The Mass Ornament* for the aims of this thesis is the chapter named "Cult of Distraction, On Berlin's Picture

Palaces". In this piece, his interest focuses on the architecture of the movie theater and how it transforms the audience - how architectural elements and their plays create the "stimulation of senses" (it is worth keeping in mind that Kracauer was a student of Simmel). He also muses on the culture of distraction, the programs that were offered by movie theaters and offers critical thoughts on film as a medium. Kracauer's article, in a way, exemplifies a case study about how movie theaters operate architecturally and socially in a given time and place – which is very similar to the goal of this thesis. Even though his motivations in writing are not purely academic, as an architect, as an intellectual involved with sociology, cinema and philosophy and as hugely influential thinker and writer, it is worth taking a closer look at this article (which deals with several focal points that have been presented in this thesis so far and utilizes them on a case study).

Kracauer starts his essay in an aggressive tone by criticizing movie palaces in Berlin for not being "movie theaters – kinos" but being "palaces of distraction". He certainly has an agenda which includes the issues of mass distraction, palaces, audience, theaters and movie theaters. Kracauer structures his article in a way that all the players in the scene are positioned as relating to the architecture of the movie theater. First, audience and the architecture:

> Elegant surface splendor is the hallmark of these mass theaters. Like hotel lobbies, they are shrines to the cultivation of pleasure; their glamor aims at edification. (…) The architecture of the film palaces has evolved into a form that avoids stylistic excesses. Taste has presided over the dimensions and, in conjunction with a refined artisanal fantasy, has spawned the costly interior furnishings. The *Gloria-Palast* presents itself as a baroque theater. The community of worshipers, numbering in the thousands, can be content, for its gathering places are a worthy abode. (Kracauer, 1995, p. 323)

Kracauer observes how the architectural excess of the movie theater, which aims at creating a glorious atmosphere, ends up turning audiences into a "community of worshipers". Not only the architecture *sensu stricto*, but also other facilitators - such as spotlights "showering their beams into the auditorium" or the orchestra and "its

acoustic production buttressed by the responsory of the lighting" -; in his own words, "this total artwork of effects assaults all the senses using every possible means"[18]. The architecture knowingly pushes the limits of "intensification of nervous stimulation" before the film starts. Therefore, movie theaters, according to Kracauer, utilize the attractions by exaggerating architecture as they "raise distraction to the level of culture".

The culture of distraction achieved in the movie theater brings into the fold the management and its role. The management represents the economic facilitator within the bigger capitalist market of a metropolis. What turns the inhabitants of a city into audiences is the "greater and tangible tension to which the working masses are subjected" (Kracauer, 1995). In a metropolis, as "the sheer necessity of their circulation transforms the life of the street into the ineluctable street of life, giving rise to configurations that invade even domestic space", at the same time, "the form of free-time busy-ness necessarily corresponds to the form of business" (Kracauer, 1995). Kracauer, situated between audience and the management/ownership side of the movie theater, sees the sole purpose of the interior design of the movie theater as "to rivet the viewers' attention to the peripheral, so that they will not sink into the abyss".

This cynic assessment regarding the architecture of a movie theater –an architecture which manipulates its user for the sake of the user- births an interpretation along suggesting what must be done to facilitate movie theaters in order to fulfill their "true vocation – which is an aesthetic vocation only to the extent that is in tune with its social vocation":

> They will not fulfill their vocation until they cease to flirt with the theater and
> renounce their anxious efforts to restore a bygone culture. Rather, they should rid

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[18] It is not a coincidence that Kracauer uses Georg Simmel's terminology. Kracauer studied Simmel's writings, interpreted on them and also wrote a piece on Simmel which was published in the same book with Berlin's Movie Palaces: The Mass Ornament.

their offerings of all trappings that deprive film of its rights and must aim radically toward a kind of distraction that exposes disintegration instead of masking it. It could be done in Berlin, home of the masses who so easily allow themselves to be stupefied only because they are so close to the truth. (Kracauer, 1995, p. 328)

Kracauer's vision of cinema's secured position separate from theatrical stage, both architecturally and socially, is somehow celebratory in regards to the medium and its audience. Movie theaters also have the potential to break from the institutions of high culture which yields this dignity of "the lofty, the sacred" interiors typical of baroque theaters and their spreading "eternal significance" only to the upper classes. The potential of cinema as a medium and of the movie theater as an architectural space and public facilitator is defended by Kracauer as follows:

> The laws and forms of the idealist culture that haunts us today only as a specter may have lost their legitimacy in these movie theaters; nonetheless, out of the very elements of externality into which they have happily advanced, they are attempting to create a new idealist culture. Distraction—which is meaningful only as improvisation, as a reflection of the uncontrolled anarchy of our world—is festooned with drapery and forced back into a unity that no longer exists. Rather than acknowledging the actual state of disintegration that such shows ought to represent, the movie theaters glue the pieces back together after the fact and present them as organic creations. (Kracauer, 1995, pp. 327-328)

Kracauer is actually seeking the ideal place for cinema and its audience. Therefore, he studies the very medium and comes up with a design solution. Even though he does not hint at his education as an architect in any part of the article, he fulfills his vocation by stating:

> The two-dimensionality of film produces the illusion of the physical world without any need for supplementation. But if scenes of real physicality are nevertheless displayed alongside the movie, the latter recedes into the flat surface and the deception is exposed. The proximity of action that has spatial depth destroys the spatiality of what is shown on the screen. By its very existence, film demands that the world it reflects be the only one; it should be wrested from every three-dimensional surrounding, or it will fail as an illusion. (Kracauer, 1995, p. 328)

The architectural formula he came up with for the movie theater has simplicity and passivity at its core. Film as an illusion has been left unchallenged by architectural ornaments, various levels of spatiality and complementary events prior to its exhibition. Architecture has been drawn away from the attention of audiences and been utilized to produce comfortable, dim, cave-like places so that audience can be detached from every other worlds they carried within. In this regard, Kracauer's assumptions would prove to be right: with time, movie theaters have transformed into places which facilitate the film and its world "to be the only one".

Kracauer, by designing the convergence within the movie theater of the audience, the film industry, the film (as a medium) and architecture, draws a picture of the conditions and issues of the movie palaces in Berlin. Although in that piece he had already reflected on how cinema can survive as an illusion, in his article "Film 1928" he pointed out a bigger picture where the agencies of both sides –production and consumption- are integrated and interrelated to each other and must maintain a balance:

> But although film has found its way to the masses, one should not make the producers alone responsible for their commodity. In order to survive they must try to satisfy the needs of the consumers, and even Hugenberg can control the market only to a certain degree. The critique of current film production is thus by no means directed exclusively against the industry, but focuses just as much on the public sphere which allows this industry to flourish. (Kracauer, Film 1928, 1995, p. 307)

By acknowledging the non-autonomous character of both sides, Kracauer defines the inherent agencies and their "playground" – the public sphere - and concludes by stating that they "lie together, die together: this saying holds here in the strictest sense." (Kracauer, Film 1928, 1995, p. 307)

2.5. An Architectural and Methodological Approach to the Movie Theater

2.5.1. Architecture as a Stage

Film scholar Denise Cummings (2004), in her dissertation titled "The spaces of viewing: Film, architecture, exhibition, spectatorship", provides a comprehensive background for "the paradigms of exhibition history" in academic literature. Departing from the side of film studies, starting with the 1985 article "Film History: Theory and Practice" by Robert C. Allen and Douglas Gomery (who openly called for students and scholars to study the history of moviegoing in their local communities), she divides the literature on the subject in three parts: "spectatorship: screen and beyond"[19], "exhibition: socio-cultural history"[20] and "business and more"[21]. On the other side, Cummings presents sources produced in the field of architecture and comes up with only a few examples: Giuliana Bruno (1997) with "Site-seeing, architecture and the moving images"[22]; Edwin Heathcote's *Cinema Builders* (2002), which covers the interplays of the film's journey in time as a medium to the architecture of the cinema places; and Maggie Valentine's (1994) "The study of S. Charles Lee's mid-century theater designs" where she presents a detailed account of the history of the famous cinema builder.

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[19] Her references includes Hortense Powdermaker's *Hollywood: The Dream Factory: An Anthropologist Looks at the Movie-Makers* (1950); Laura Mulvey's "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," (1975);, Melvyn Stokes, and Richard Maltby's *Hollywood Spectatorship: Changing Perceptions of Cinema Audiences* (2001) etc.

[20] Her references includes Emily Gwathmey's *Ticket to Paradise: American Movie Theaters and How We Had Fun* (1991); Michael Putnam's *Silent Screens: The Decline and Transformation of the American Movie Theater* (2000) etc.

[21] Her references includes Anne Friedberg's *Window Shopping* (1992); Douglas Gomery's *Shared Pleasures: A History Movie Presentation in the United States* (1992); Miriam Hansen's *Babel and Babylon* (1991) etc.

[22] In 2002, Bruno's book *Atlas of Emotions: Journeys in Art, Architecture, and Film,* where she further developed her research was published by Verso Books. Giuliana Bruno was awarded with Choice: Outstanding Academic Title of the Year; Guardian: Book of the Year; 2004 Kraszna-Krausz Prize Winner.

The approaches developed in the film studies adopt theories and methodologies from the field of social sciences such as sociology, anthropology, history, psychology, media. On the other hand, the approaches developed in the field of architecture vary from being pure historical (as in Valentine's work) to a spatio-visual one (as in Bruno's). It is easy to say that the literature about movie exhibition places weighs heavier on the side of film studies than the architecture. The goal is not a comparison of numbers of publications but pointing out the inclusiveness of the research field and developing a methodology so that (if not all) most of the aspects of the interdisciplinary nature would be able to play out. Therefore, attempting to carve out a context and methodology to study exhibition histories from an architectural and urban point of view, this study pursues the investigation in the theoretical framework of architecture.

Even though the literature produced on the topic of exhibition history from the field of film studies and new cinema histories is valuable and indispensable, the focus in this thesis is on movie theaters as an architectural, functional and social space. After having looked at the conditions of the user in a movie theater, the precursors of cinema as a medium, the brief history of movie theater as a type of building, the investigation of an overarching phenomenon –modernity- which coincides with cinema, and the experience of cinema as a social and public sphere, the key for further analyses and comprehensive methods to study movie theaters as case studies is to specify how to approach architecture and its roles. Considering the interdisciplinary nature of the problem, we are in need of a paradigm which is able to clarify "the interaction between spatial and social constellations" (Heynen, 2013). Heynen approaches the problem by pointing out that "the only chance to develop a convincing theoretical apparatus nevertheless lies in an interdisciplinary approach". Models of thought which are divergent and even opposed to each other have been developed to explain both sides of the issue: spatial configurations and social/cultural patterns. Heynen chooses to identify three important methods to conceptualize this interaction: space seen as receptor, as instrument or as stage.

The first model is that of space as a "relatively neutral receptor of socio-economic or cultural processes". This way of thinking has been applied to the fields of anthropology by anthropologists Denise L. Lawrence and Setha Low (1990) and to the field of social geography Herbert Gans especially in his book *The Urban Villagers* (1962). Contemporary anthropologists Filip De Boeck (2004) and Abdou Maliq Simone (2004) are very much concerned with urban landscape and with how people interact, transform and utilize the means of their environment. They assess that the space reflects cultural processes: it maintains and hosts them. However, their interpretation does not include the actual effect of its spatial features. In the field of architectural history, the model of thinking space as receptor has been used by authors who adopted a semiotic approach. Robert Venturi and Scott Brown had been the leading figures in this with their analysis of the meaning of the Las Vegas strip, where they consider that the "spatial constellations embody meanings that can be deciphered through careful decoding, through a symbolic 'reading' of space" (Heynen, 2013).

The second model positions spatial constellations in an opposite side. In this model, space and architecture are considered as instruments for accomplishing social processes. Moreover, the built environment is rather active than passive in being the initiator of social and cultural transformations. In the academic literature, the model is adopted by Foucault in his work on Bentham's design of the panopticon prison, in which space is regarded as an instrument to discipline social life within it. Oscar Newman (1972), in his book *Defensible Space*, shows how physical environments and their symbolic meanings control its residents. The most prominent examples of this method to approach space and architecture emerge from the modernists' scene: using architecture as an apparatus to change, organize, and shape the society. Bruno Taut, Ernst May and Le Corbusier saw architecture in its full potential to break from old habits and traditional ways of living, and to create a new, democratic and modern living society. Politicians actually internalized this line of thought especially in the countries where they sought an effective and fast process of modernization. In Eastern Europe (Büchli, 1999), in the colonies of

France and Belgium, Algiers and Congo (De Meulder, 1998); (Çelik, 1997), in the construction of new capital cities of countries where the regime had undergone substantial changes as represented by urban centers such as Ankara, Chandigarh, Islamabad or Brasilia, the built-environment was used to facilitate social change in line with political agenda (Zeynep, 2014).

The third model defined by Heynen integrates these two opposed models through compromising and negotiating. Architecture as a stage refers to the understanding of space "on which social processes are played out". She further explains the idea behind the concept by stating that "as the staging makes certain actions and interactions possible or impossible within a theatre play, the spatial structure of buildings, neighborhoods and towns accommodates and frames social transformations" (Heynen, 2013, p. 3). The model differentiates itself from the first one by being sufficiently inclusive of "the agency of the spatial parameters" for social change and patterns; and from the second one by being less deterministic while allowing the interplay between "forces of domination and forces of resistance". The theatrical metaphor for architecture had in fact been used since the early 20th century. Paul Frankl defined a building as a 'theatre of human activity' in 1914; while Lewis Mumford (1937) referred to a city as a " theatre of social action". Much later, Spiro Kostof (1985) wrote about architecture being "material theatre of human activity, its truth is in its use". Without using the exact analogy, French theorists Michel De Certeau and Henri Lefebvre approached space "as conditioning, structuring or framing social behaviors without really determining them" (Heynen, 2013, p. 9). Susanna Torre (1996), who analyzed the movement of Mothers of the Plaza del Mayo; and Beatriz Colomina (1994), who studied the architectures of Loos and Le Corbusier and their gendered characteristics, presented "very fine-tuned analyses" within the perception of space as a stage. Eventually, a larger number of scholars started approaching space as a stage with nuances. Heynen touches upon two specific examples which are valuable and precise for this thesis regarding how the act of approaching architecture as a stage paves the way to the creation of an inclusive and coherent model to study movie theaters.

The first example is that of postcolonial theories applied to architecture and urbanism, which reached a highly important recognition. She (2013) states that:

> Postcolonial studies of colonial planning and architecture usually bring to the fore how these interventions only rarely achieved the intended results. These studies do show, however, that the modern urban spaces that were produced by modernist planning and architecture functioned as catalysts for forms of behavior that were definitely new and modern –if not the docile kind of 'modern' desired by the colonizers. (Heynen, 2013, p. 11)

Following the work of Hosagrahar (2004), who introduced the concept of 'indigenous modernities' in Delhi, through the approach of space as a stage we are able to discern:

> The confrontation between imported modernism and local realities created urban and dwelling spaces where colonialism was negotiated rather than imposed acknowledging the two way logic of spaces that are on the one hand imposing a certain order while on the other hand opening up cracks and gaps that allow for inventive reinterpretations and uses that exceed what was intended by those who planned them. (Heynen, 2013, p. 11)

The explanation is not only valid for formerly colonized countries but also for countries where "modernism is imported". The Western-oriented, 'progressive' modernity has been criticized by many scholars from various fields and (for) various countries. Feminist theories, gender studies and postcolonial studies finally brought the perception of "the other" to the table and redefined modernity inclusively. There are many approaches such as *Multiple Modernities* theorized and explained by S.N. Eisenstadt (2000) that the developments in modernizing societies resulted in various heterogeneous examples and outrun the hegemonic assumptions of the Western power, so we cannot talk about one single version of the project of modernity. Duanfang Lu coined the term *Entangled Modernities* (2010) to refuse the idea of Western project of modernity and them being the only-true modern societies and the assumption of every other country eventually will reach their status

and declare that the interaction between west and east, the differences between the ideals and the interpretation create entangled histories and practices of modernity. *Indigenous Modernities* is theorized by Jyoti Hosagrahar (2005) and supported with the example of Delhi as a city where the traditional ways of living and building transformed into modern ones as the society proposed their version of the modernity. *Absorbing Modernity* is a term coined by Rem Koolhaas (2014) for an exhibition in Venice Biennale referring to the hegemonic power of Western modernity to eliminate the diverse material cultures and social practices into a single one.

The abovementioned critiques directed at modernity and modernization theories share the very basic idea of approaching space and architecture within a discourse where neither architecture nor society adopts a passive stance while one or the other plays instrumental role. This notion allows us to register the nuances in implementation, appropriation, negotiation, adaptation and perception. Esra Akcan uses a similar approach when examining the exchanges between Germany and Turkey starting from 1920s through the 1950s in the fields of architecture and urbanism. She uses translation theory to emplace this exchange within a context. In her own words:

> Translation theory offers a model for critically evaluating both of these problematic positions. Recent theories have presented countless reasons to reject the conventional notion of translation as a "neutral bridge between cultures," or as a secondhand copy that fabricated the myth of the "original." When translation is defined as the process of transformation that takes place with the transportation from one or more places to another of people, ideas, objects, technology, information, and images, it avoids passive metaphors and depoliticized explanations. (Akcan, 2018, p. 116)

In this context, architectural translation is a situation that effects the building environment oriented towards all cultural flows; however, the dosage and type of the translation differs on every occasion (Akcan, 2009). This line of thought allows us to recognize all the aspects of the agencies involved in the process of the given time and place in the case study. In this particular academic area of cinema and

movie theaters, which concerns all the factors Akcan (2009) mentioned ("people, ideas, objects, technology, information, and images"), studies criticizing orthodox modernity theory and studies taking into consideration translation theory constitute a fruitful framework for further interpretation in this thesis, especially since the case study is located in the capital of Turkey, a modernization project located in a non-western, developing country. For we can observe the translation of the technology of cinema, the social practice of movie-going and the establishment of architectural space for movie exhibition from the Western context to the local case of Ankara. This particular case is "a way to understand the global circulation of culture that extends the notion of translation" beyond architecture and visual fields (Akcan, 2012).

Going back to the model 'space as a stage' (the second example given by Heynen), "the recent literature on 'agency' in architecture very often focuses on the agency of the architect rather than on the agency of architecture as built space" (Heynen, 2013, p. 11). In particular, Karin Jaschke (2010) discusses issues in architecture such as "embodiment, agency and performance". She proposes a critique against the impression of architecture as an idea and/or image emerging in the imagination of the architect and then shifting from there to the reality of the built environment. She draws attention to all the other agencies which create the context for the building activity (such as "engineers, clients, contractors, stakeholders and users") but also "to the natural elements –the land –that makes all of this possible". A broader critique was imported into the field of architecture by Bruno Latour and Albena Yaneva (2008), based on Latour's previous Actor-Network Theory (ANT), in which he posits that any system we encounter should be approached taking into consideration all of its parts - natural, technological, human or non-human - as active operators within a system.

Latour and Yenava (2008) argue that "we should learn to look at architecture as a series of transformations". They claim that buildings "are not static objects but moving projects, continuously being transformed as well during their conception

stage as once they are built" (Heynen, 2013). The article present further elaboration and discussion on the subject:

> We should finally be able to picture a building as a moving modulator regulating different intensities of engagement, redirecting users' attention, mixing and putting people together, *concentrating* flows of actors and *distributing* them so as to *compose* a productive force in time-space. Rather than peacefully occupying a distinct analogical space, a building-on-the-move leaves behind the spaces labelled and conceptualized as enclosed, to navigate easily in open circuits. (Latour and Yenava, 2008, p.87)

The transformation of architecture, then, does not always rely only on the material reality but also on the discourses surrounding them: starting from the initial stages, in its potential in the realms of existing systems, then to the stage where the design starts, then to the building processes, then to the utilization made by the inhabitants and so on. The agencies involved in these processes are some of their most vital parts. Their involvement and movement are intertwined and relational inasmuch as their pace and effects are various and sometimes intermittent.

The previous findings regarding movie theaters and their space in any city show us, in retrospective, a rich set of multifarious approaches. This method 'space as a stage' provides useful frameworks, especially in the case of movie theaters, where the agencies involved in all the phases of transformation can be traced to the space. Therefore, a comprehensive method of looking at the movie theaters of a given time and place should provide a blank space in which to answer the question once asked by Cummings (2004) "to what extent can one argue for at once what is both unique and representative about a particular case study's findings?"

2.5.2. The Inherent Agencies of the Movie Theater

In the light of theoretical and historical findings about cinema, film exhibition and eventually movie theaters, there are major agencies involved in the planning, building, managing and hosting phases of the architecture. The descriptions which follow frame the basic features, motivations and responsibilities of the agencies.

Depending on each case, they operate separately or together. Moreover, one identity may hold multiple agencies within its jurisdiction. Their interplay within the network which surrounds the movie theater is a dynamic, continuous and imbalanced exchange of endeavors. In the case study, many variations of such will be exemplified and presented.

Business Owner: Every movie theater has an owner or owners. Whether it is a natural person or a legal institution, the ownership of the land, the building, the movie theater stands as a fact. The landowner and the building owner may differ: sometimes they hire contractors to build the movie theater or convert an existing place into a movie theater. Stakeholders may be involved as representatives of diverse identities or ideals. The management of the movie theater may be transferred to a manager as a tenant. The agency here is tied with the ownership and its economic motivations. It addresses the identity of the person or institution who holds the main economic motivation behind the property and management of the movie theater. The business owner acts according to the market situation in the capitalist system. It is assumed the owner will be flexible, adapt to the changing economic and social conditions, and act civically in his or her decision-making processes -although there are numerous examples (one of which is presented in Ankara) in which the state owns the movie theater. Business ownership is also an entrepreneurial effort which adapts to the urbanization processes of the city. Therefore, the rules and laws regarding building and management that the owners have to obey are set by another agency: government.

Government: Movie theaters as a property with a function in the city and films as artistic and cultural products are subjected to government's agency, whether it be the central government or the municipal government, through constitution, planning regulations, policies, incentives, censorships, distribution, etc. Depending on the planning decisions taken at any given city, there are already limited areas one can aspire to build a movie theater. However, the regulations, especially in the early years of cinema, were not clearly determined. One can argue that the laws and

regulations for building and managing movie theaters are the results of lessons learned by mistakes, accidents and damages. In the case of Ankara, the passing of new laws and regulations are partly as a result of such events. Regarding the regulations or censorship imposed on films, distribution and exhibition, it is crucial to address the impact of cinema on the public. Therefore, governments see cinema as too big an influence not to control. The decisions are pervaded with a political agenda towards the industry. When the industry changes the content of films, distribution or exhibition accordingly, the space of movie theaters may very well also undergo transformation and even termination.

Cinema industry, together with independent production entities, represents a field which includes the technological and commercial institutions of filmmaking, production companies, film studies, cinematography, animation, screen-writing, film festivals, actors, film directors and other personnel involved in the creation of movies. Along with these, merchandise, distribution, visual and textual materials such as video channels, magazines, fanzines, books and news, are included in the service area as related to film production, promotion and reception. Therefore, in the movie theater, the cinema industry provides the product which feeds the economic motivation of the owner, the architect and the audience. Depending on the time and place, movie theaters aiming at different demographic targets adjusted their film material as well. Whether it is a technological adjustment or a programmatic change is something that can be observed in the theater space itself, had it not been accordingly established at the beginning.

Architect: Since the beginning of exhibition practices and the rise of nickelodeons, architects approached movie theater design in various ways. For example, the period of movie palaces did not follow the design trends of its time and focused on the dimensions of imagination and fantasy. Later in Europe, architects who claimed cinema was the medium of modernity put extra effort on movie theaters, aiming for instrumental public features. Architects experimented with space to create new movie exhibition buildings, mixed-use areas, adaptable places, furniture, lightening

and décor. Their effort has either been recognized or discarded depending on the cultural appreciation of the cinema's general public. Architects are generally not a constant for the movie theater. Their input is materialized in architecture and their ideals may not stand the test of time, as it has happened in many urban centers, including Ankara.

Architecture: Just as it was mentioned in the arguments of Latour and Yaneva (2008), architecture as a non-human agency transforms the practices of film exhibition, perception and experience. Architecture as a domain of cultural and social representation, and in the form of movie theaters, both enables the public sphere and creates a meta-story for the urban environment it belongs to. Movie theaters as an entertainment, leisure and commercial locations trigger the activities within its reach, such as the formation of a cultural and economic focal point within the city affecting the rhythm and flow of human activity. Movie theaters, as architectural products, harbor unique qualities and possibilities which affect its urban environment: movie theater architecture does not require natural light for its hall, and it can be used for gatherings of different types, from concerts to political party meetings, or as a public place where private entities rent their seats. However, in today's cities, many movie theaters have been abandoned and given an idle existence, or transformed into a different function. Besides their material attributions, movie theaters –especially those which are no longer operating- bear a symbolic and nostalgic meaning for their past audiences. This adds another layer to the movie theater's agency in the network of relations. Michael Hays (2009) provides a clear explanation on how architecture works both in the material and symbolic levels in his book *Architecture's Desire*.

> Architecture as a way of negotiating the real – intervening in the realm of symbols and signifying process of the limit of the social order itself. That is architecture as a specific kind of socially symbolic production whose primary task is the construction of the concepts and subject positions rather than the making things. (…) Understood in this way that architecture's effects – the range of conceptual and practical possibilities it both enables and limits – as well as the irreducible affects it presents are a precious index of the historical and social situation itself. (Hays, 2009, p. 1)

Audience: The agency of the audience would seem to start in the physical realm of a movie theater, after its building has been completed. However, the audience previously represented the demand for which the architecture and the service have been performed. The audience is a laboratory for public and individual conditions, especially in the movie theater. From the very beginning of cinematic exhibition, discussions of division, segregation, taste, class, gender or morals in any given society were reflected in the space of the movie theater and its audience. However, the tricky nature of the audience lies beneath a fact has been discussed by Cummings (2004):

> The 'Audience' for movies in any sociological or historical sense is really only an abstraction for the researcher, since the unstructured group that we refer to as the movie audience is constantly being constituted, dissolved and reconstituted with each film-going experience. (…) Shifting from textual analysis to historical conditions of reception involves shifting from a sense of the audience based on filmic evidence to one based on non-filmic evidence. In both cases, the researcher is reconstructing an audience that no longer exists. (Cummings, 2004).

Therefore, the search for the material traces of an audience at the movie theater is the search for "metonymic signifiers of absent viewers" (Cummings, 2004). In this particular case, audiences played crucial roles in claiming their rights in movie theater spaces, programming and the development of social practices.

The aim of this thesis is not to investigate patterns in the history of audiences, but to point out practices which took place in movie theaters. Together with the model of space as a stage; a modernity theory which follows the humanist trajectory of postcolonial theory; the construction of a cosmopolitan humanism emphasizing cross-cultural relations and diversity rather than difference; and acknowledging the interplay between these six inherent agencies which allows for a movie theater history in three basic phases (planning, building and experiencing); it is now time to properly delve into the study of movie theaters in Ankara.

CHAPTER 3

A HISTORY OF MOVIE THEATERS IN ANKARA

It is by way of architecture that film turns into cinema, for, in order to exist, the cinematic apparatus needs a home--a movie "house." And, housed in the city, "since the beginning of the twentieth century... The screen ... became the city square."

Giuliana Bruno (1997)

3.1. The First Years of the Cinematograph in Ankara

In the beginning of the 1920s, Ankara, the capital of the newly established Turkish Republic, was still rather poor in its capacity to provide to its inhabitants what Simmel referred to as "nervous stimulation" when compared to the German writer's metropolis of Berlin, the capital of industrial Germany, in which decades after his writings such procurement was still as intense. In the Turkish city, cinema was not an alternative to any other entertainment. The discussion was not about whether cinema was challenging the position of conventional theatres. Cinema arrived Ankara after the War for Independence (1919-1923), in an environment that did not hold many public entertainment sites or leisure activities for either *yabanlar* or *yerliler* (foreigners and locals) (Şenol Cantek, 2003), and it would certainly stay.

In Ankara, cinema was one of the most powerful agencies of that age - as a new medium, a spectacle and a gathering place. However, its architecture was not definable at the beginning. Modernity, as a program of the newly established state, first produced such practices when transforming places. Architecture was a receptacle to this new invention and the emerging new practices. We see periods in which audiences belonging to different social and economic classes coming

together in the same movie theaters; moreover, we observe how architecture became an instrument to divide the audience, a process in which managers were actively involved and consequently shaped these practices. Movies and their distribution became critically important to set up the `fashion` of cinemas, and the modernity program endorsed by the state discovered in cinema and its place a `perfect` tool and acted on such discovery accordingly. However, the dynamics of the agencies would shift again in the post-World War II era: movie theaters would again be the receptacle of the changing social, cultural and economic conditions. Architects, managers and contractors came up with different answers: neighborhood cinemas, open air cinemas, division of halls within cinemas of the previous era. Those came accompanied by the implementation of new technologies. Audience also opted for one option or another based on the location, architecture and movie selection. Therefore, movie theaters were not only an instrument to organize user behavior but also a stage, because this act of going to the movies developed its social meaning so well that the audience had to act accordingly to provide the message to the public about herself/himself -from where to sit in a movie theater to the decision of whether to watch a dubbed or subtitled movie.

Starting from the early 1920s and up until 1980s, this study looks at the movie theaters of Ankara following the six agencies: business owner, government, cinema industry, architect, architecture and audience. Their relationship to each other, their motivation and their capability differ from case to case, city to city and age to age. If there is one thing that holds all of them together is the architecture of the movie theater. When it stops functioning, the formula falls apart in an irreversible, incurable way. In this chapter, a history of movie theaters in Ankara is presented with the aim of ascertaining the commonalities and establishing a periodization. Throughout the years, the changing dynamics in the interplay of these actors and their impact on the architecture has been traced and various inclinations within their complex mechanisms come to the foreground.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Lumière Brothers' first film screening after the invention of cinematograph dates back to 28 December 1895, at the Salon Indien of the Grand Café in Paris. Only a year after, the subjects of Ottoman İstanbul were shown films at a bar in the central neighborhood of Beyoğlu. In 1908 the Pathé company's regional representative Sigmund Weinberg opened the first Turkish movie theatre in İstanbul, at a locale used by the *Tepebaşı Şehir Tiyatrosu* (Özon, 1972). In the city of Izmir, in 1909, a theatre hall named *Eksaristeron* was rented by the same company and promptly started to function as a movie theatre (Makal, 1992). Magazines and newspapers announced these innovations, new programs and special screenings, which tended to raise the excitement of crowds in both cities (Evren B. , 2014)

Nezih Erdoğan, a film scholar whose main interest lies in audience history, recently (Erdoğan, 2017) published his book *First Years of Cinema in İstanbul – The adventures of Modernity and Exhibition*. He states that by the end of the 1910s cinematography in Istanbul had already left behind coffee houses, bars and stage theaters and moved into proper movie theaters, where the taste and habits of audiences had already settled. At the beginning of 1920s, film screenings in Istanbul were a developing sector with ever-growing audience numbers, even though the European standards of movie theaters had not been fully implemented (Johnson, 1922).

An independent researcher on early cinema practices in Turkey, Ali Özuyar, investigated film exhibition practices between the years 1895 and 1922 in his book *Turkish Cinema in the Silent Era* (2017). During these years, film exhibition - especially in Istanbul and Izmir, and later in Mersin, Adana and Trabzon - became a common entertainment, even propaganda and education practice. We see no mention of Ankara among the cities. Similarly, in his previous book (2015) in which he complies a selection among the articles published in magazines about cinema between the years 1895 – 1928, the only mention of Ankara is the *Ankara Sineması* in İzmir.

There is a substantial but understandable absence of literature on or mention of any activity in Ankara during the early days of cinema. Vehbi Koç[23], who was born in 1901 in Ankara, recalls those years as follows: "During my childhood, it wasn't common to go to music halls and entertainment halls. There was no cinema and maybe once or twice in a year, theatres would come from Istanbul" (Aydın, Emiroğlu, Türkoğlu, & Özsoy, 2004). The situation changed with the establishment of the parliament in Ankara during the Turkish War of Independence, in the early 20s.

There had already been discussions about the morality of cinema both in urban and rural towns. The presence of the cinematograph, a European invention, in Ottoman lands was the result of non-Muslim agents who imported it. Likewise, the screenings were made in districts populated by mostly non-Muslim subjects (Erdoğan, 2017). As can be observed in the memories of journalist Ercüment Ekrem Talu, people were confused about the "magical invention" (Bulunmaz & Osmanoğlu, 2016). Some of them claimed that it was a sin watch films; while others were regretful of having seen them and repented. The more open-minded sectors of society, however, welcomed cinema as a symbol of civilization in their country (Bulunmaz & Osmanoğlu, 2016). Therefore, film exhibitions started Ankara alongside the demographic change the city experienced, partly thanks to diplomats and army members who were later involved in all-encompassing plans to construct a democratic, secular and modern state. Although their ability, morality and methodology to fulfill this aim are still questionable, movie theaters eventually would become one of the most important tools as the years passed.

Before the First World War, Ankara was a small Ottoman town, the population of which merely reached 30.000 inhabitants. After the beginning of the War of Independence (1919-1923), Ankara became more and more important as those

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[23] The Turkish entrepreneur, who founded one of the biggest corporations Koç Group, started his business in Ankara.

battling foreign occupiers chose the town as a center to organize and operate the resistance movement. The geographical advantage of being in the middle of Anatolia was among the reasons why Ankara was declared as the right place for having the parliament in 1920, and later in 1923 the capital of Turkish Republic.

The earliest account of the existence of film exhibitions in Ankara was compiled by Tanyer (2017) and dates back to 1921. The account belongs to Bayramzade Fuat Efendi and took place shortly after electricity had finally made its way into the city. Fuat Efendi recalls watching films screened at the *Sanayi Mektebi*[24], a vocational school built by Vali Ferid Paşa which offered programs of leveling, blacksmithing, carpentry, tailoring, wavering and shoemaking, among others (Feyzioğlu & Güven, 2018).
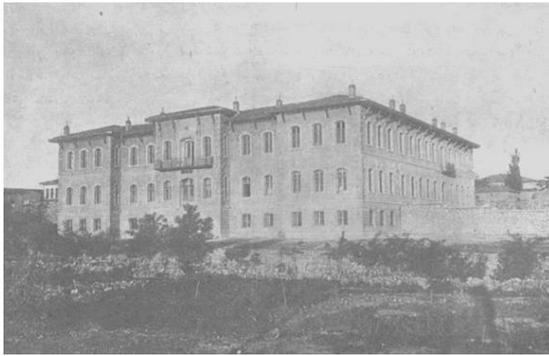
Figure 12 Ankara Sanayi Mektebi, 1906 (Source: https://pbs.twimg.com/media/DVs-VLnXUAE8dE-.jpg:large)

Figure 11 Millet Bahçesi (Source: (Aydın, Emiroğlu, Türkoğlu, & Özsoy, 2004, p. 398)

In 1922, according to the newspaper *Le Matin*, Ankara –"a city with poor entertainment scenery"- had only one single movie theater, which was used for various events (Şimşir, 1988). It was located right across the parliament building, in a 'garden' with only a couple of shrubs and trees and a few benches. In this garden, the so-called *Millet Bahçesi,* there were acacia trees, a pool and a wooden

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[24] Bayramzade Fuat Efendi actually wrote it all took place in a high school; however, Turan Tanyer, based on his research, corrected this statement.

theatre building. According to Önder (2013) *Millet Bahçesi* was the most important space of socialization of Ankara in the days immediately prior to and after the promulgation of the Turkish Republic. The wooden theater building was used for plays as well as film exhibitions. American journalist Clarence Streit (2011) recalls how his trip to Anatolia had been "full of surprises", but nothing could beat seeing the play *Hamlet* performed by the Anatolian Theater Group in *Millet Bahçesi.*

Figure 13 Millet Bahçesi Sineması, 1921 (Source: Önder, 2013, p. 46)

The building was one of the only two movie exhibition places mentioned by Nureddin İbrahim Bey (1924), a columnist in the cinema magazine *Sinema Yıldızı.* He published an article in 1924 named "Ankara'da Sinema Hayatı" ("Cinema Life in Ankara") where he described the architectural features of such spaces and commented on the audience behaviors of Ankara:

> The building is the work of Mimar Vedat Bey. The *Milli Bahçe Türk Şirketi Sineması*[25] has a Turkish-style decorated ceiling, private boxes at the back of the

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[25] Demet Önder (2013), in her dissertation addresses that in sources the building / the establishment was called "Milli Tiyatro (National Theatre)" in some narratives and as "*Büyük Sinema* (Grand

hall, the length and width of which are equal. The screen is a stretched curtain on the theatre stage. The upper floor was reserved for women. The music which accompanies the movies is excellent, as good as that of a first class movie theatre in Istanbul. (Nureddin İbrahim Bey, 1924, p.1) [Author's Translation]

İbrahim Bey (1924) commented further by saying that the "people of Ankara do not go to cinema for movies, but for music. The people from Istanbul follow every program and see every movie". In other words, it would appear, according to this account, that the citizens of Ankara did not care much about films – even though the theater management was able to keep up with the current programs, audiences went to movie theaters to enjoy music. However, people who had resided in Istanbul previously and adopted the habit of going to a movie theater in order to watch a film, ended up developing certain audience patterns and tastes.

Zekeriya Sertel, head of the official state printing house in Ankara at the time, recalls *Milli Bahçe Türk Şirketi Sineması* in his memories. In particular in an occasion in which he hosted a guest: an American journalist woman who wanted to go out for the evening in the Ankara of 1923

> There's nowhere to go in Ankara in the evening. There's only a garden - across the parliament building- where they show movies*. (…) By the time we got there, the film had already started. It was dark. We sat on the chairs at the back. (…) When the lights were turned on, what a surprise! All of the people turned their back to the screen and started to stare at my American friend while thinking they had never seen such a beautiful woman. (Tanyer, 2017, p. 384). [Author's Translation]

Ceyhun Atıf Kansu, a famous poet and writer who spent years in Ankara, mentions in his memoir (Aydın et al, 2004) that he became acquainted with Charlie Chaplin for the first time in this movie theater –a place surrounded by thorn trees. The poor quality of vegetation around the building actually came with a benefit: if the weather allowed for it, the films were screened outside. The managers of the *Millet*

Cinema)" in some others. On the other hand, Turan Tanyer (2017), refers to the movie theater as *Milli Bahçe Türk Şirketi Sineması* following the article of Nureddin İbrahim Bey.

Bahçesi Sineması were Mrs. Mümtaz and the husband of her daughter Eşref (Bozyigit, 1990) until 1929, when the building was lost in a fire (Kayador, 1999).

Nureddin İbrahim Bey listed another cinema in Ankara; in Cebeci, *Karaca Bey Hamamı Sineması* (Karacabey Public Bath Cinema) owned by photographer Mahir Bey and his partners. This was another public/gathering place used for movie exhibition. According to Nureddin İbrahim Bey (1924), "not all movies [shown here] are for everybody".

Figure 15 Karacabey Hamamı during 1950s (Source: http://karacabeyhamami.com.tr/dosya/yukle/2018/01/tarihi-700x456.jpg)

Figure 16 The postcard of Taşhan Building early 20th Century (Source:http://www.24saatgazetesi.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/TA%C5%9EHAN-694x420.jpg)

Ultimately, these two valuable texts, an anecdote from a journalist and an article by a writer, can be considered as the starting point of a study about moviegoing places in Ankara. This type of simple sources contains a variety of valuable information: how wide the discourse of moving images and their places and the socio-spatial characteristics of Ankara. These two short descriptions about the first movie place in Ankara reveal several clues regarding civic life, population dynamics, everyday practices, public spaces, the spatial organization of the capital and above all, the universal mechanism of a movie exhibition and its place.

As mentioned above, *Karacabey Hamamı Sineması* and *Milli Bahçe Türk Şirketi Sineması* were the two movie places in the city in the early 1920s. The locations of

the theaters were not the result of the creation of a new public place but rather derived from a process of reutilizing already existing public places. Two functions in a city - a public bath and a park - were already the conditions of the urban growth of Ankara. Therefore, the agency of architecture belonged to another function in the first place. Through adaptation and involvement with agencies of the cinema network, these places were re-appropriated. Cebeci, where the public bath was located, was already a highly populated neighborhood on south-east of the Ulus – the neighborhood who served as the administrative, commercial and cultural center of Ankara during those years. *Millet Bahçesi* was located right across the Parliament building; on the other side of road there was the Taşhan, a multi-purpose building with various functions such as hotels, cafes, shops etc. Therefore, the decision-making processes regarding exhibition places were driven by concerns such as their proximity to the central business district and their spatial availability to host large numbers of people (the use of a public bath and a park was a practical decision in this respect).

Figure 14 Movie exhibition places in Ankara, the early 1920s

The managers of film exhibitions in these places acted according to the existing leisure and social patterns of the city - the pre-republican period film exhibition

places and practices. What can be deciphered from the accounts of the people who attended screenings and other events in these places is that the agency of audience was in the process of emerging, and was driven by the habits obtained from other places. Thus, it can be asserted that movie places in Ankara, from the very beginning, created their own audience and practices based perhaps on the films they provided, but certainly on their location and the urban space they occupied.

3.2. 1929 – 1945: Various Faces of the Agency of State

3.2.1. Urban Conditions and Social Structure

By 1927 Ankara had already grown to 75.000 inhabitants mainly due to the migration of mostly state officials and bureaucrats, the majority of whom came from Istanbul (Aydın et al., 2004). The rapid increase in population numbers and the character of the population resulted in a shortage of proper housing, a constant changing scenery of the city and the urgent need for new city plans. The ideals and the dreams for the new modern capital of the new democratic Republic were already in the agenda of its founder Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the parliament members: in "the desire to create a modern society, the elite newcomers were expected to become a model for a modern life style. Within this vision, Ankara was desired to be a modernist capital, similar to its European counterparts." (Batuman B. , 2013, p. 578).

The first city plan for Ankara was completed by the German city planner Carl Christoph Lörcher in 1924, aiming at the restructuring of the city center, Ulus. One year later, the southern part of the city, four million square meters, was appropriated and licensed for construction (Cengizkan, 2004). However, this decision did not follow Lörcher's plan, who was then asked to conduct another plan resulting in a new vision: a Yenişehir ("new city") which would comprise a governmental center with its administrative and ministerial buildings and employee residences. Together with this decision, the already existing duality within the population (locals and newcomers) was then also spatialized. The old city (Ulus district) was the center

for locals' commercial and daily activities; on the other hand, Yenişehir was burgeoning with elite residences, state buildings and a brand new urban center.

A comprehensive city plan was necessary considering the rapid growth of the city in terms of construction and population. After the authorities' official visit to Germany in 1927, the purpose of which was to round up candidates for the design competitions of a new city plan of Ankara, in 1929 the project of German planner Hermann Jansen was accepted. The new plan intended to "create an occidental city out of an oriental society" (Günay, 2014, p. 14). According to urbanism scholar Baykan Günay (2014), the plan worked for the first decade, in the circumstances were there was no danger of over-population and Ankara inspired the Western reflection of "the modesty of Republican image, a culturalist modest city".

This project reformulated the organization of the city and the relationships between neighborhoods: "in his design, Yenişehir was not proposed as the new center for Ankara. Instead, the old Citadel was to keep its central role, while Yenişehir was assigned as the site for a new style of life." (Batuman, 2013, p. 379). The new town would also contain government buildings with a new architectural approach provided and inspired by Bruno Taut, Ernst Egli and Clemens Holzmeister (Günay, 2014).

Therefore, building upon the 1924-25 Lörcher Plans and the 1932 Jansen Plan, Atatürk Boulevard became an axis stretching from Ulus Square to Çankaya Palace. This urban structural element was designed to be the spine of the city whilst also carrying along cultural and leisure places. The presence of the state -especially along the Atatürk Boulevard- in shaping the environment, assigning functions, implementing rules and regulations and taking active roles in management was quite radical and effective in character.

Returning to the discussion in the second chapter in relation to the various approaches to space, it can be asserted that the general tendency in this period of

Ankara leaned towards to the concept of "space as an instrument". The agencies behind the intervention in and building of a new city - primarily the state, followed by the architects and planners - idealized the places that would *shape* the lifestyle of the people. Using the built environment as an instrument to create a new way of living, the state in this period was the agency which had the highest visibility among them all. If one way to achieve it was the production of new places owned and managed by the state; another way was to maximize its representation in civil life and places (privately owned). In the context of movie theaters, both of these ways were adopted by the state in a manner that was particular to Ankara in the 1930s and 1940s. In the following part of the thesis, two movie theaters (Yeni Sinema and Halkevi Sineması) are studied in detail to further analyze and discuss this particularity.

Architecture historian Sibel Bozdoğan describes the era comprised between 1923 and 1945 as "a formative period, corresponding to the creation of a modern, artistic and architectural culture in conjunction with the dramatic historical transition from the Ottoman Empire into the Republic" (Bozdoğan, 2008, p. 420). Indeed, during 1930s, the economic and social life in Ankara was forming its own identity through new establishments: hotels, bars, restaurants, fashion stores, bookstores, parks and boulevards. Additionally, radio broadcasting had been introduced to the city. These interventions were necessary for the development of a modern city and its elite inhabitants as well as 'exemplary' for the local people of Ankara. Modernity's social dilemma was crystal clear in Ankara: the tension coming within the tradition-driven local people and the progressive newcomers. According to architecture scholar Nuray Bayraktar (2016), the bond that kept the two groups together was the joy of the Republic. Regardless of whether such joy was able to perform such function successfully, for sure there was a certain place where these two groups came together with the same motivation – and joy: the movie theater.

For example, in an article published in the magazine *Yeni Muhit*, and dated from 1929, the writer (who signed as Süreya) first criticized the behaviour of the elites

and their eventful life in Ankara's new and 'fancy' buildings as opposed to those locals living in Ulus just four or five hundred meters away to then celebrate the common ground that was established in movie theaters:

> Lately cinema has become a common entertainment for both newcomers and locals of Ankara. There was no way that cinema, which affected the whole world and crossed through every border, would not be able to pass through Ankara Castle the buttresses of which have fallen, its guards' bodies rotten and its doors broken. That's why these people go to see the beauties of Hollywood and when they see an inspiring scene they get astonished saying *Vış!* [a regional exclamation of wonder] (Emiroğlu, 2017, p. 304) [Author's translation]

Even though the writer's trust in cinema and its capabilities of reaching people and drawing the interest of locals in Ankara was proven to be right, keeping the two groups of audiences under the same roof did not come so naturally. Moreover, there was even a higher power to these two groups: the smallest but the most respected group of elites, meaning the president Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his closest circle, were also among the audience.

The influence of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the father of the nation, on the everyday life of citizens of Ankara was quite vivid according to writer Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar. Tanpınar (2017) suggested that the everyday life and the agenda of people of Ankara was shaped by the new buildings that had been built (such as Türkocağı, Egli's *Musiki Muallim Mektebi)* and the "legendary life Mustafa Kemal had been leading". The precise observation of Tanpınar actually points out the fact that being chosen as the country's capital city in the years following independence struggle, Ankara made its citizens experience highly harsh days followed by a feeling of pride and integrity. Then, in 1930s, according to Tanpınar, "the enchantment which made everything so glorious and big went away. … Now, people live under the light of everyday issues. The only person who would still live a legendary life was Mustafa Kemal" (2017, p. 16). Therefore, his image and presence in the city represented all the "legendary" achievements of the recent past for the people. Even though he was not physically present in the city, the possibility of his and/or his

close circle's presence effected the spatial organization of the movie theaters, including his receiving of a special seat among the audience.

Going back to the two social profiles inhabiting the same cinema place, cultural historian Kudret Emiroğlu (2017) suggests an explanation for the situation by pointing out the limited number of movie theaters and Ulus still being the city center for both groups. However, in the 1930s and particularly in the 1940s alternative audiences would emerge alongside new movie theaters and new districts.

3.2.2. The Civil Efforts in Film Exhibition

The film screening, as it was mentioned in the second chapter as well, had been a rather civil, entrepreneurial and flexible endeavor. The practical set up of the cinematograph and the mobile nature of the technology allowed for a rather spontaneous and temporary spectacles. The agency of the operator of cinematograph had matured in time and settled down in the place of a movie theater eventually in the cities, maybe with a difference in timing. The technology and practice of cinema and its exhibition found various ways in execution in different societies and geographies.

Film scholar Nezih Erdoğan (2017) suggests that whenever a cinematograph reaches a group of people, there it carries a certain notion of modernity. His idea leaves enough room for the localization of the experience and the practice; and moreover, for the agencies that were involved in the process to act in their own way and pace. The ways and the paces of the agencies gathered around the movie theater in Ankara had been quite different than their counterparts in other places. Therefore, the translation theory offered by Esra Akcan (2018) while approaching modernity and architecture is quite applicable to the civil efforts of film exhibition and establishment of first purpose-built movie theaters in Ankara.

The state-driven modernization efforts which were subjected to the people and the urban environment of Ankara followed various sets of strategies. However, the

practice of film exhibition required rather civil tactics when it came to penetrating everyday life. Thus, cinema reached out to the *yerliler* as well; to those people who were not able to participate in the parties in Ankara Palace thrown by the elites. Cinema reached out to the people whom the state-driven, modern entertainment practices were not able to reach. The first examples of purpose-built movie theaters in Ankara were the products of these circumstances.

The first purpose-built movie theater, *Kulüp Sineması* was opened at the beginning of Rüzgarlı Street in Ulus, in 1930, a year after the only movie place in Ankara (the aforementioned *Millet Bahçesi Sineması*) burned down (Tanyer, 2017). The owner and the manager of the movie theater was the deputy of Bursa, Muhittin Baha Pars (whose involvement with cinema business would continue in the following years). *Kulüp Sineması* was a wooden building and it included a bar. The capacity of the movie theater was quite significant: 1400 seats were distributed in the main hall, balcony section and private boxes. The seats had an iron skeleton and a wooden seating part in the main hall. However, seats in the balcony section and in boxes were covered with red velvet (Bozyigit, 1990). Ali Esat Bozyiğit (1990) describes the architectural atmosphere of the cinema as "tasteful and elegant".*Kulüp Sineması* underwent some renovations and re-opened as *Halk Sineması* in 1936. After the damage caused by a fire in 1941, it was re-opened as *Park Sineması* in 1942 with a 1400 seating capacity (Özalp, 2016). However, the new version lacked the fine architectural features, wrote Bozyiğit (1990).

Figure 16 Kulüp Sineması in Ulus (Source: (Felekoğlu, 2013, p. 600)

Figure 15 Men sitting on a bench in front of Cumhuriyet Sineması (Source: Tanyer, 2017, p. 389)

Cumhuriyet Bahçesi, a park located nearby Bentderesi in the east side of Ulus, hosted a theatre inside a wooden building, named after the Park: *Cumhuriyet Tiyatrosu*. The theatre was converted into a cinema in 1929. (Tanyer, 2017) The process and the architectural settings seem similar to the *Millet Bahçesi Sineması*. However, *Cumhuriyet Sineması* took only a year for it to stop functioning as such. (Tanyer, 2017)

In 1930, the newspaper Hakimiyeti Milliye was heralding new movie theaters to be opened in Ankara. Tanyer (2007) quotes from an article published in the *Hakimiyeti Milliye* newspaper, dated March 1930: "Ankara'da Sesli Sinema" ("Talkies in Ankara"). The writer notes that soon there will be movies with sound and that in Ankara "many more movie theatres" would open, including one which would be located inside the building of the Evkaf Apartments, as well as the forthcoming *Yeni Sinema* and *Himaye-I Eftal Sinema* (Tanyer, 2017). What's worth mentioning from this article is the fact that apparently the inclusion of a movie theater inside the Evkaf Apartents (designed by Mimar Kemaleddin and completed in 1930) was being considered. The original design did indeed feature a stage theatre on the entrance level, but it was not used for this function until late 30s (Tanyer, 2017). Therefore, the writer's expectation for it to become a cinema is revealing of a common trend in the utilization of halls.

3.2.3. Yeni Sinema and Halkevi Sineması: State Sets Hands on the Movie Theaters

The *Hakimiyeti Milliye* article was right. In 1930, Ankara saw the appearance of another movie theater in Ulus, next to the center of social and cultural life, the aforementioned Taşhan building. Turan Tanyer gives a detailed background for *Yeni Sinema* by stating that the movie theater was originally opened in 1928 but failed economically. The owners abandoned the establishment having accumulated a debt to İş bank. Thus, İş Bank became the legal owner of the movie theater. Therefore, in 1930, Yeni Sinema was re-opened.

In 1932, the obligatory ownership of İş Bank was formulated into a new form: a civil and an institutional partnership. The civil agency was no other than the owner of *Kulüp Sineması*, Muhittin Baha Pars. The business pattern of a movie theater owner opening another one is actually a very common endeavor that appears multiple times in the history of movie theaters in Ankara. However, the agency of the owner, Mr. Pars, was conjoined by İş Bank, which marks the first direct penetration of the state into the film distribution and cinema management in Ankara: *Ankara Sinema İşleri Limited Şirketi*[26] (Ankara Film Works Limited Company).

In the early years of the Republic, it was not unusual for the İş Bank to invest in the creation of business channels - from the production of glass, sugar, coal or cotton to the establishment of publishing house and restaurants. İş Bank was involved in the organization of export and import of goods. The distribution of movies and the management of cinemas were two logical and significant ventures of the national bank's business affairs. Muhittin Baha Pars, who had 40% share in the company, benefited from the collaboration, so that their business grew in the following decade (Tanyer, 2017).

Eventually, in 1932 *Ankara Sinema İşleri Limited Şirketi* took over the management of both movie theaters in Ankara: *Kulüp Sineması* and *Yeni Sinema* –which would become one of the most important cultural places in the 1930s Ankara-.

One of the first accounts regarding *Yeni Sinema* belongs to the famous actor and writer Vasfi Rıza Zobu, the leading figure of the Darülbedayi (a formerly Ottoman theater company from Istanbul). He recalls the play they performed in the building not without a certain degree of dissatisfaction:

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[26] Demet Önder in her dissertation refers to the company as "Ankara Sinema İşleri Türk Limited Şirketi".

Awful building! It's not even finished yet. There's a part that looks like a cage which supposed to be the stage. The architect of this building must have built only the hangar and nothing else. There's also a balcony part, but there's no stairs to climb. The architect forgot to put it on the plan. (Aydın et al. 2004, p. 478). [Author's Translation]

The movie theatre underwent re-construction after the unpleasant experience of Zobu in 1934 (Tanyer, 2017). With the help of the renovation, *Yeni Sinema* would eventually become, in the following years, a place which was "the charm of the elite class of the city" (Örik, 1995).

Figure 17 Yeni Sinema in Ulus (Source: Önder, 2013, p. 88)

Although, there are not many accounts describing the spatial organization of *Yeni Sinema*, Dr. Nazmi Özalp, in his book *An Anatomy of a Capital: 1950s Ankara* (2016), gives a detailed analysis. He depicts *Yeni Sinema* as "the first quality movie theater in Ankara".

Even though there wasn't anything special in its dusty rose colour façade, the interior had an interesting design. When entering from the main gate, one would find tickets offices and the stairs leading to the balcony part on the right and waiting room on the left. Audience would wait on the dark blue velvet armchairs for the movie to start. The balcony, which was sitting on columns, and the private boxes just under it, had a wavy decoration and half-moon shape. The middle private box was specially

decorated for Atatürk. Overall, a classic décor was adapted to the hall and the ceilings were high enough for it to feel spacious. (Özalp, 2016, p. 372) [Author's Translation]

Özalp's description reveals yet another agency of the state: audience. The spatial arrangement of the movie hall divided the audience into three general categories; the main hall, the balcony and the private box attendance.

This spatial organization also provided different pricing categories: for example, *Yeni Sinema* ticket prices were set as "Balcony 75, reserved 50, first section 40, entrance 25 kuruş" (Tanyer, 2017) and there were special discounts on "audience's day" and "student's day". Therefore, people from different social and economic backgrounds were still under the same roof, but notably separated from each other.

As it was mentioned before, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (also his close circle) was well above these categories. The visibility of his power and status was present in the movie theater even when he was not physically there. Private boxes were obtained not through the payment of kuruş, but rather by occupying a high status.

Yeni Sinema's architectural organization was almost a reflection of the city's organization. The leader of the country had his own luxury private box, his bureaucratic allies sat with him or in the neighboring boxes and balconies; and the common people crowded the main hall. As it happened with Atatürk's residence in Çankaya, the new residential area in Yenişehir was intended for government officials while the common people inhabited Ulus and other historical neighborhoods nearby. The main point here is that they all had the possibility to gather under the same roof and become a part of the unique *Yeni Sinema* experience, whether it was a special occasion or an everyday habit.

Figure 18 Yeni Sinema in street view (Source: Tanyer, 2017, p. 395)

Figure 19 Yeni Sinema Concert Program, 1938 (Source: Yeni Sinema Magazine, 1938)

Yeni Sinema, with its luxury blue velvet covered seats, represented a very important everyday urban event. Going to the movie theater, seeking and finally obtaining a precious ticket and spending some time in the foyer became a very significant part of the whole audience experience. Writer Nejat Akgün (1996), recalling those days with a certain degree of wonder, draws attention to the order imposed by the movie theater, "the silent agreement among audience members, as if everybody knew which day is their day to go see a movie", "the clean, meticulous outfits of people" and "how impossible it would be for any other movie theater to replace *Yeni Sinema* in this manner" (Akgün, 1996).

Yeni Sinema gave birth to new social practices over the years: everybody would put on glamorous clothes on and go to the cinema to watch American and European movies with the likes of Greta Garbo, Gary Cooper or Jean Gabin (Kortan, 2014). After the movie was over, women would go to take a look at shops; in particular those belonging to the elite, and who would always sit in the balcony section, would go to the "Atlas Store", which had products obeying to Istanbul and Paris fashions. Meanwhile, those sitting in the front sections of the hall would go to Çıkrıkçılar

Street or Samanpazarı, the places where all sorts of bazaar items could be obtained at affordable prices. (Aydın et. al, 2004) The evening screening and additional programs such as concerts, theater plays etc. were socially very significant to the extent that municipality would provide public bus coinciding with the end of the event (Sönmez, 2016).

Considering the agencies involved in *Ankara Sinema İşleri Limited Şirketi* (the owner, the manager, the film distributor; *yerliler*, *yabanlar* and Mustafa Kemal, the audience; the vivid architectural image with velvet seats, lounge, balconies), *Yeni Sinema* represents the first fully-established movie theater in Ankara. A type of radical modernity had finally been created and experienced in civil life in Ankara. People were engaged with the movie-going experience, even though it was under the eyes of the state. However, *Yeni Sinema* lacks the significance of one agency: the architect. In 1930, a complex architectural project financed and planned by the state would create room for the agency of the architect as well.

1930 was the year Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu built the Türkocağı at Namazgah Hill. The project of Türkocağı (or, as it was named later, the *Halkevi Sineması – Türkocağı Merkezi*) was one of the buildings that would define the fashion of the architectural tendencies of the era. The building, which currently serves as the Fine Arts Museum, was commissioned through a competition and was intended to be the definitive cultural center all Turkey would look up to. It was designed drawing inspiration from Ottoman architecture and built next to the Ethnography Museum. The main entrance establishes a symmetry axis with a decorative vestibule which forms a balcony in the upper floor.

The building consists of basement floor and two upper floors. In the center of the ground floor, a theater hall was located. It was for having been the first building in Ankara to be made of concrete (Aslanoğlu, 2010). The theater hall was used for concerts, meetings, conferences, theater plays and film exhibitions. When the concept of the Türkocağı was discontinued, the building was integrated within the

framework of educative centers Halkevleri, and the cinema was re-named *Halkevi Sineması*. It continued functioning until 1933 (Tanyer, 2017).
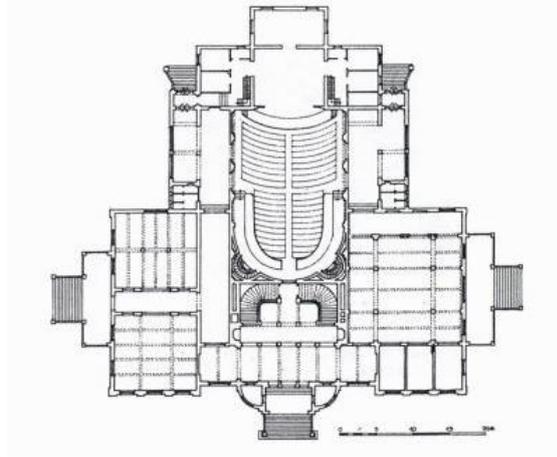
Figure 20 Türkocağı Building Ground Plan (Source: Aslanoğlu, 2010, p. 195)
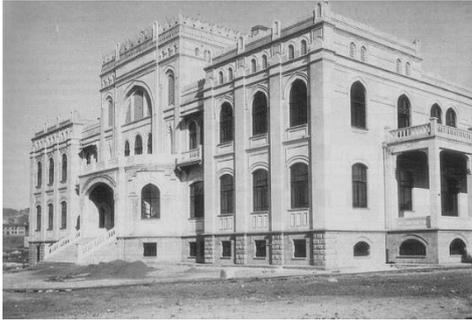
Figure 22 Türkocağı - Later Halkevi Building completed in 1930 (Source: Aslanoğlu, 2010, p. 195)
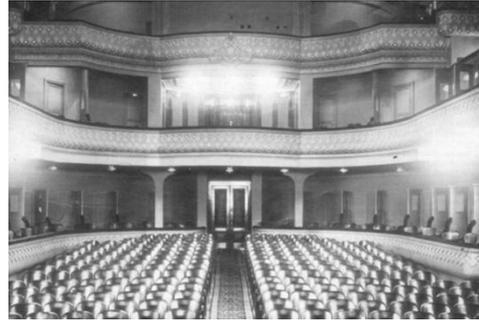
Figure 21 Halkevi Sineması Theater Hall interior with seats, balcony section and private boxes (Source: Aslanoğlu, 2010, p. 195)

Halkevi Sineması represents a turning point regarding how cinema was perceived by the state. Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu's prestige building recognized, both in style and function, cinema as a contemporary need and an opportunity to serve the public good. Even though it was a short term intervention, the state appears once again this time in the most direct way to build, to operate and to own a movie theater.

3.2.4. The Other Audience, The Other Center

In 1937 Abidin Mortaş, the architect and the editor of the magazine *Arkitekt,* published an article in *Arkitekt* covering three projects which had been submitted to the competition of *Çocuk Esirgeme kurumu apartman, sinema, havuz, gazino ve garaj binası* (Child Protection Institution. Building block, cinema, pool, restaurant and garage structure). Mortaş (1937) stated that the main motivation behind this structure was to provide income for the Institution by renting out the facilities. One of the projects covered in the article actually belonged to Mortaş – the architect who would built one of the finest movie theaters in the city in a decade.
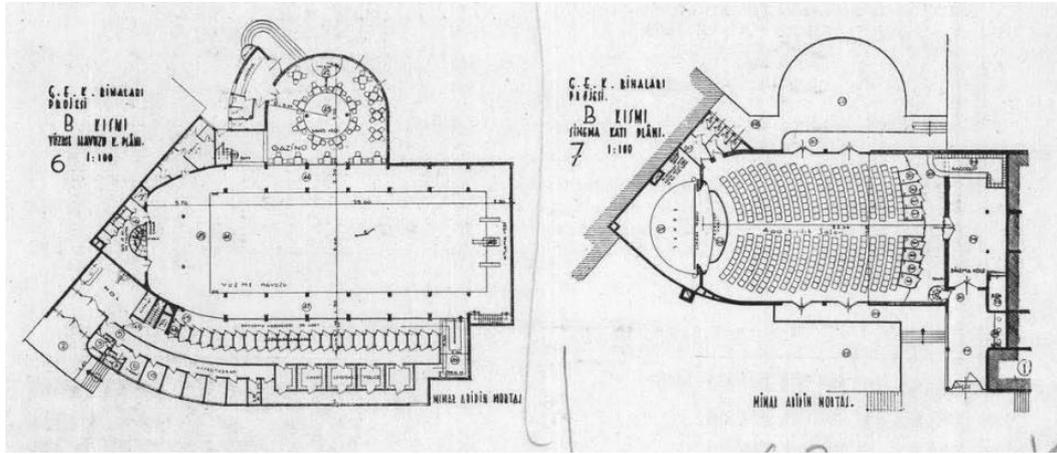
Figure 23 Abidin Mortaş's Project for Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu Binası, floor plans of the movie theater and the pool (Source: Mortaş, 1937, p.332)

A year later, in 1938, a movie theatre with a capacity of 600 seats was opened in Ulus in the building complex of *Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu*. It was rented out to the *Ankara Sinema İşleri Limited Şirketi* and named as *Sus Sineması*. *Sus Sineması* also had a balcony section besides the main hall. During the years of the Second World War, the cinema became known for its screenings, which included a fair share of Egyptian movies.

In 1940, the *Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu* renovated its swimming pool into a music hall, later turning it into a movie theatre, also rented to *Ankara Sinema İşleri Limited*

Şirketi as *Sümer Sineması*. It later became famous for showing detective movies, westerns and thrillers. These two theatres had a completely different audience than *Yeni Sinema* had: teenage boys, unemployed rascals, and students of all kinds. Enis Kortan (2014) recalls these theaters as locales frequented by he and his best friend whenever they wanted to get a kick out of Buck Jones and Gene Autry whilst being loud. Indeed, the audience was always chaotic during movies: laughing, yelling and fighting. Sümer Sineması in particular gained a notorious reputation and started being referred to as *Bitli Sümer* ("Lousy Sümer") among people to address how dirty the audience was (Aydın, Emiroğlu, Türkoğlu, & Özsoy, 2004, p. 479). After Necdet Güneşoğlu took over the management, *Sümer Sineması* was re-named as *Güneş Sineması.* (Özalp, 2016)

These two movie theaters represent several aspects which indicate transformations in film exhibition and movie-going practices in Ankara. First of all, the fact that a building which was built by state (with the motivation of making money out of it) includes a movie hall in the plan reveals the probability of the success of cinema business. A year later, the transformation of the pool in the same building into the second movie theater fully supports this argument. On top of that, we see the extending monopoly of *Ankara Sinema İşleri Limited Şirketi* in management and distribution of the films. It started differentiating the screening program from theater to theater. Therefore, the audience also started differentiating from theater to theater. The audience of Sümer and Sus Sineması, based on the almost derogatory descriptions, represents a section of the population, a specific gender, age, and taste group which is more complex than Yeni Sinema's *yerliler* and *yabanlar*. We also see that the state was having a rather silent agency by just owning the place. This can also be analyzed as the beginning of the state's withdrawal from the cinema business.

In 1939, *Ulus* newspaper released ads for a new movie theatre "Great Movies, Rich Programs, Nice Songs, Luxury Toilets. All this and more awaits you in *Ulus Sineması*!" *Ulus Sineması*, the project of famous sport announcer Sait Çelebi, was

a part of the *Soysal Apartmanı* complex in Yenişehir, the new, modern center of Ankara. The audience coming to the theater also praised for its décor and modern technology (Tanyer, 2017, p. 410). Özalp describes the spatial organization of *Ulus Sineması* as following,

> When you enter the movie theater from the main door at the Atatürk Boulevard side, one finds the ticket offices at the foyer and then moves in to the waiting room. The staircase up to the balcony section was located on the right side, together with the management office. *Ulus Sineması* had a nice hall, even though it wasn't as nice as *Büyük Sinema*'s. There were red velvet armchairs on the two sides of the corridor. During intermissions, people would wait in the smoking hall at the *Soysal Apartmanı* side. (Özalp, 2016, p. 380)[27] [Author's Translation]

Figure 24 Ulus Sineması in Yenişehir (Source: İşcen, 2013, https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B1WJ-lXrKtxyTVdlSkQ3YVV1ekU/view)

Nuray Bayraktar (2016) also points out similar aspects. It was possible to watch some of the most admired foreign films of the period in this cinema, which had many innovations such as an advanced lighting system, as well as hot and cold air installations. She also sees that the opening of *Ulus Sineması* also began the process of moving the gist of cultural activities from Ulus to the neighborhood of Kızılay in Yenişehir, the other center.

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[27] He also adds that in 1967 the building had been demolished

In 1943 Sait Çelebi built another movie theatre, *Ankara Sineması*, on Necatibey Street, between the old and the new centers. *Ankara Sineması* caught the attention of the people with its architectural features, which were extensely promoted: "The new hall promises comfort for the audience with three different classes of seats and exits. It was built in the form of small European cinemas." The capacity of the movie theater was 1000 and according to the municipality's division of entertainment places, it belonged to the first class. Özalp (2016) recalls *Ankara Sineması* having a rather narrow entrance which meant that the posters of upcoming movies were hung on the sides of the doors.

> The building was had a total of three floors with a balcony section. In the foyer, besides the ticket offices, on the right side there were the stairs to reach the balcony section, stairs would also follow downstairs to reach the lower hall. The waiting room was at the street side and the main hall was also on this level. It was a narrow structure with high ceilings. The best part of *Ankara Sineması* was the balcony section, where the slope was high that nobody disturbed anyone else's vision. (Özalp, 2016, p. 382) [Author's Translation]

Behiç Köksal, the projectionist in *Sümer Sineması*, recalls the screen of the *Ankara Sineması* being so high that if you were on the first level, you neck would most probably start aching. However, he praised the cinema's screening program and selection of movies (Karagözoğlu, 2004) Sait Çelebi ran the cinema until late 1940s, when he sold it to Ankara Sinema İşleri Limited Şirketi. However, *Ankara Sineması* continued to be an important cultural center and was preferred especially by university students because of its discount tickets until 1960s. *Ankara Sineması* was also frequented by elementary school students. Enis Kortan wrote that when he was in elementary school, his teacher took his class to *Ankara Sineması* to see the Disney movie *Fantasia*. All the students, including him, were fascinated by the film and by the whole experience of going to movies (Kortan, 2014).

Figure 25 Ankara Sineması in Necatibey Street (Source: (Felekoğlu, 2013, p. 609)

Figure 26 Ankara Sineması, destruction of the building, the banner of the last movie screened hung on the building "The Last Love" (Source: Felekoğlu, 2013, p. 609)

Ulus Sineması and Ankara Sineması are two noteworthy examples in the end of this period; an attempt of an entity other than the *Şirket in* cinema business certainly livened up the movie-going experience. In terms of location, two conditions were important for this batch of movie theatres: firstly, the place in which to establish a movie place *had* to be the city center in Ulus, nearby the parliament building. This requirement was not hard to fulfill, as Ankara was still a compact, small, single-centered city. However, the locations of *Ulus Sineması* and *Ankara Sineması* bring about the realization that the commercial center of Ankara was starting to elongate and veer into the newer parts of the city.

Ankara Sineması also proves another point in terms of the architecture of movie theatres, which had reached a certain maturity in its needs and solutions. For example, A columnist in Ulus Newspaper published a pieces about Ankara Sineması. In the article, he praises the European Architecture attributions of the movie theater. He finds the inner spatial organization very well because of well-managed separation of the categories. He also mentions that harsh conditions of Post-war period in terms of building activities, and congratulates the contractors of the cinema being able to finish the project (Tanyer, 2017).

Together with Ankara Sineması, the management of theatres was the monopoly of the Şirket, especially after Sait Çelebi the last remaining private entrepreneur

eventually handed over the management to that company. While Ankara Sinema İşleri Limited Şirketi was becoming proficient in this business, the institutionalization of movie theatres gained momentum thanks to regulations (such as price setting), a lack of competition, the specialization of theatres, the implementation technology etc.

If we look at the movie theatres to find patterns in their architectural features, the way the place is organized, the locations, the service they provide, and their management, an overall analysis can be made for the years from 1929 to 1945. *Kulüp Sineması, Yeni Sinema, Halkevi Sineması, Cumhuriyet Sineması, Sus Sineması, Sümer Sineması, Ulus Sineması* and *Ankara Sineması* were opened during these years. *Kulüp Sineması*, the earliest one, and *Cumhuriyet Sineması*, the one located on a park, were made out of wood, while others were built with concrete. *Yeni Sinema,* and *Ankara Sineması* were single standing "movie houses" while *Sus Sineması, Sümer Sineması Halkevi Sineması* and *Ulus Sineması* were a part of bigger structural complex. All theatres had only one hall to show movies. However, they had inner separated parts (main hall – front side, main hall – back side, balcony section and private boxes was the common division).

A generalized scarcity of land, construction crises and continued speculation on urban land value hindered the construction of any facility. Therefore, the transformation of a previous space into a new function, as it happened with *Cumhuriyet Sineması* or *Sümer Sineması*; the inclusion of movie theatres as a part of bigger entertainment and leisure complex (i.e. *Kulüp Sineması*, *Ulus Sineması*, *Halkevi Sineması*); or the building a general hall which could serve equally as a concert hall, theatre, meeting hall and movie hall (i.e. *Kulüp Sineması, Halkevi Sineması, Yeni Sinema*), were all rational choices regarding the reproduction of space, which lead to the creation of more flexible and adaptable place making: in some cases cinemas were built as standalone but with multi-purpose structural and social aims in mind; in other cases, they directly were part of buildings aimed at achieving such structural and social multifunctionality.

Architecture of the movie theaters and especially the inner organization of seat division based on different pricings strongly reflected the make-up of society. All transformations the architecture experienced were mostly as a result of drastic fires. Ankara was already notorious for such occurrences and similar episodes of destruction. Even though we do not have the evidence that the fire of Kulüp Sineması occurred due to negligence, fires in cinema buildings had a long history also mainly due to the highly unstable and flammable nitrate film, which was later replaced with safer cellulose acetate film.

Architects in this period were not sufficiently recognized for the single standing movie theaters. However, we know that there was a certain level of interest towards cinema buildings thanks to the articles published in Arkitekt especially in the 1930s. For example, in *Arkitekt*, Mimar Hakkı's "Sinema Binaları" (Cinema Building) was published in 1931 to give and compare examples from Europe's cinema buildings since in Turkey the number of movie theaters was increasing. In 1931, also an article about safety measures and regulations for cinema buildings (declared by the City of İstanbul) was published. Naci Cemal's "Sesli Sinemalarda Sesden Tecrid ve Akustik" (Sound Isolation and Acoustics in Audio Cinemas) where the techniques to improve acoustics and isolation of sound is explained with examples was published in 1934. Another opinion article was written by Turhan Doyran, "Sinemadaki Gelişmeler Karşısında Mimarî" (Architecture in the Face of Developments in Cinema) in 1954, for *Arkitekt*. The article dealt with the technological advancements in cinema such as 3D system and Cinerama and how these technologies changed the movie theater place.

Besides the opinion and information articles, in *Arkitekt*, architectural projects of cinema buildings were published; Mimar Macit Rüştü's design *İstanbul Lisesi* in 1931, *Gaumont Palace Sinema Binası* (Belloc) in 1932, *Universum Ufa Sineması* (Eitel, Schmohi, & Stachelin) in 1932, Mimar Şevki's *Bursa Tayyare Sineması* in 1934, in 1936 Seyfi Arkan's cinema project, two architectural project details for the competition of the building of *Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu ve Sineması* (Mortaş) are

among the articles published in *Arkitekt* related to cinema buildings during this period.
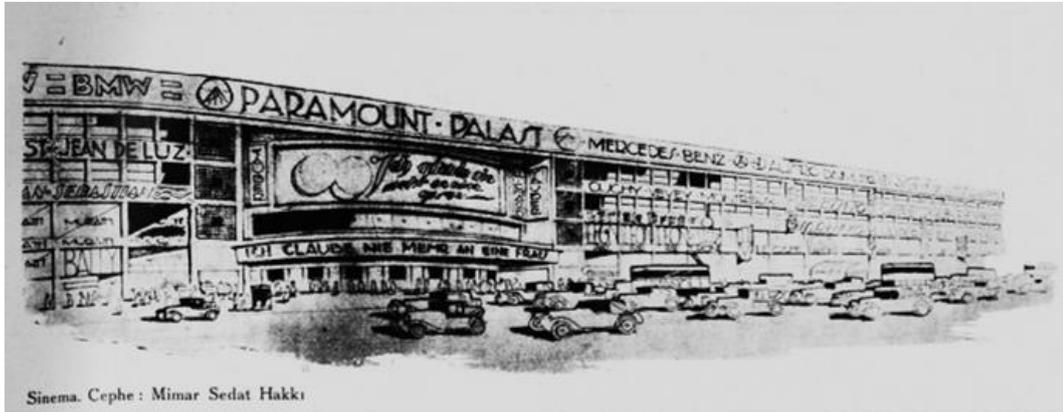
Figure 27 The drawing of Mimar Sedat Hakkı which was used in his article "Sinema Binaları" (Hakkı, 1931, p. 51)

In practice, the architects followed the general tendencies used in spaces with similar functions. Acoustics, décor and furnishing were the main concerns. Since the foyer gained a significant importance as part of the movie theater both spatially and socially, the decoration and visual appearance of the movie theater were designed by the architects meticulously.

In this part of the thesis, the interrelation of the aforementioned aspects and how one development in one of the agencies affected the others has been summarized for the 1930s until the mid-1940s. Through the end of this period, the agency of the burgeoning cinema industry and how films were distributed in the city's different movie theaters also started to diversify. Together with the audience, every movie theater had a certain identity which was recognized by the audiences. More vividly, the involvement of the state in the period gradually decreased during the 1940s; however, the agency behind the shaping of the main characteristics of the period was certainly the state via its building activities, management resources, and the high visibility and symbolic power of the governing elite among the audience.
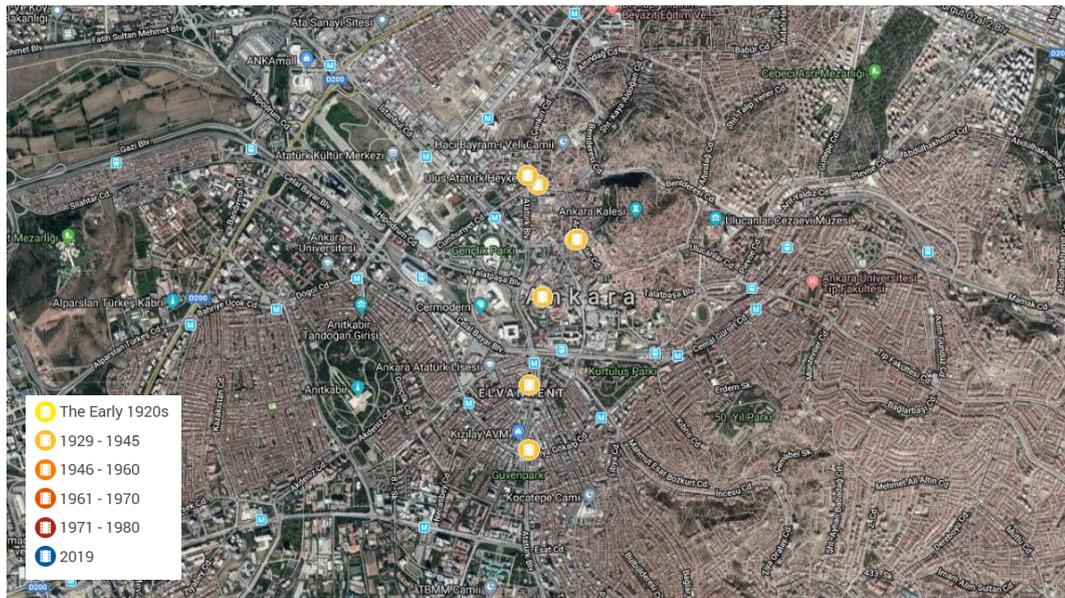
Figure 28 Locations of the Movie Theaters opened in Ankara, 1929 - 1945

3.3. 1946 – 1960: The Civil (yet Visionary) Partnerships

3.3.1. Urban Conditions and Social Structure

After 1945 the Turkish government started making connections with the Western world both economically and politically. The biggest change in the political life of Turkey was the shift from single-party to a multiple/party regime, which had been years in the making. In 1950 the founding party, the Republican People's Party, was beaten by the new Democrat Party in the elections. As the international interventions of the U.S. intensified after World War II, and as part of the Marshall Plan (1947), Turkey started to receive American Funds which also marked the liberalization of the economy. Moreover, in 1955, Turkey was admitted to NATO. According to Bozdoğan and Akcan (2012) these developments also marked the beginning of American "generous packages of development aid and technical assistance in to Turkey to modernize her agriculture, industries and transportation network".

American intervention was not only production and infrastructure-oriented, it was accompanied with an over-arching ideology of 'modernization theory' formulated

by American social scientists and experts from the newly instituted area studies (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012) According to this model, Turkey was one of the most successful examples in the 1950s. Under the title of "Populist Democracy and Post-War Modernism", Bozdoğan and Akcan wrote:

> Central to modernization theory was a basic dichotomy between modernity and tradition, presenting the former as an ambiguous blessing and the latter as an obstacle to its realization. … Above all, the transition from a traditional to modern society was equated primarily with consumerism and entrepreneurship … 'a euphemism for the penetration of capitalism'. (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012, p. 106)

The capitalist emphasis of the modernization theory accompanied by American aid appeared first in the establishment of a "national (Muslim-Turkish) industrial bourgeoisie following the departure of the remaining non-Muslim entrepreneurs, merchants and businessmen inherited from the cosmopolitan Empire" (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012, p. 106). The establishment of a strong private sector, buttressed by the 'import substitution' policies adopted by the state after 1958, led to rapid industrialization, the creation of national market and the new culture of consumption.

While the modernization and urbanization processes continued in Ankara, it was then that migration from rural to urban areas started to reach uncontrollable degrees. According to a study made in 1985 concerning the whole of Turkey, "within a decade (between 1950 and 1960) 1.5 million immigrants arrived to urban areas (600,000 into the four largest cities). The urban population, which was 16.4% in 1927 and had merely reached 18.5% in 1950, jumped to 25.9% in 1960" (Batuman B. , 2013, p. 579). The big cities had not been ready for the rapid increase in population in what concerned the housing facilities, job opportunities and social structure. Eventually, informal housing areas started to mushroom and scatter in the periphery of the cities, empty areas in the inner city and in unoccupied state owned lands. The term *gecekondu* is generally used to describe such type of squatter houses, a word which emphasizes the rapidness of their setting up ("built

overnight"). Architecture scholar Bülent Batuman (2013) summarizes the results of the immigration and the effects of urban economy by noting that "the immigrants who started to work in such marginal jobs at the beginning of the 1950s created spaces in all sectors of the urban economy and became an organic part of urban life."

Ankara, as the developing capital of Turkey, was open to migration in every level - from state officials who were assigned to work in the government to people from nearby or faraway villages in Anatolia, a process that had begun in the 1920s. Tansı Şenyapılı (1983), a scholar who has studied the phenomenon of *gecekondu* over the years, notes that Ankara was the first city to experience such process. One of the problems adderessed over the years regarding the Jansen Plan was the population projection provided by the state officials. In 1950, the population was 289.000 in Ankara, this was already above the population estimation of the state and the plan (Batuman B. , 2013). Moreover, the population of Ankara increased to 550.000 in 1955 (Günay, 2014).

Even though, Ankara was the primary target in the modernization and urbanization efforts of the Turkish Republic up until the early 1950s, with the new Government the focus had shifted back to Istanbul. However, Ankara underwent dramatic changes during the 1950s (Günay, 2006). After the generalized acceptance of Kızılay as the central business district (CBD) of Ankara, the building permits rearranged and increased accordingly along Atatürk Boulevard. The building types which started to spread still exist in the Kızılay district: the apartment block with stores at the street level or shopping arcades/passages. Officially marking it as the CBD of Ankara with the first skyscraper built in the country increased the "international" image of Kızılay. The commercial functions as such: "bank branches, upper class hotels and restaurants, advertising, real estate, foreign and domestic travel agencies and insurance offices" were established (Batuman B. , 2013). Meanwhile, luxury services such as fashion houses, photographers, and hairdressers replaced residences at the upper floors of building blocks.

The period between 1945 and 1960 is significant for Ankara firstly because of the interruption of the modernization and urbanization ideals, the unpredicted growth of population (and consequently but somewhat messily of the built environment) and the increasing variety of central commercial functions as the CBD moved to Kızılay.

Consequently, movie theaters were both affected by these conditions all the while they also informed them. The key issues (entrepreneurship, integration to capitalism, American values, modernization of the infrastructure, the ambivalent modernism fed by consumption, the new bourgeoisie) were all projected on movie theaters and movie theaters became the agents of the change. Especially in terms of 'distribution' of American values, movie theaters were utilized to spread them. Movie theaters also created a triggering effect on consumption patterns in the vicinity of their location. Regarding the urban development of Ankara, movie-going as a leisure activity would start penetrating into the districts which had already reached their capacity of population.

In this period, there are two main points to be made regarding the movie theaters which were established; firstly, the unique character and circumstances which would create a network of agencies driven by the architect and the owner: Büyük Sinema. Secondly, a new urban pattern regarding the locations of the movie theaters strongly related to the developmental procedures and population dynamics of Ankara: the District Movie theaters. Therefore, a detailed analysis of Büyük Sinema is conducted in the agency level, especially focusing on the collaboration of the architect and the owner and the joint vision they had for the movie theater. On the other hand, district theaters are discussed more as an urban development trend for the city's leisure network and the similar tendencies agencies followed.

3.3.2. Büyük Sinema: The Modernist Architecture of The Owner and The Architect

Büyük Sinema, the prestigious leisure place and movie theater of the 'modern' Ankara during 1950s, was designed by Abidin Mortaş, whose motivation was to create "a modest atmosphere by no means alienating, but rather stylized" (Mortaş, 1949). It opened its doors to the public in 1949. However, the planning process went back to the 1930s.

The capital city of the young Turkish Republic was still the showcase of the secular, progressive and modern nation-state rationale, which was facilitated by modern architecture as both a symbol and an effective instrument of the modernization agenda. Political and intellectual elites also needed a secular, modern bourgeoisie who would invest in technology, industry and infrastructure (Bozdoğan, 2001). Kazım Rüştü Güven was certainly one such bourgeois. The details about his biography were delivered by his daughter Ayşe Ağalar (the manager of the Büyük Çarşı) over an interview[28]. Kazım Rüştü Güven had migrated from east Anatolia to Ankara with his family in the 1920s. He started his business with government incentives and eventually he became a successful businessman. Kazim Rüştü Güven and successful business entrepreneur Vehbi Koç were good friends and travelled abroad together several times. One of their visits was to Egypt, another to Italy. After seeing La Scala, (the famous opera house designed by Giuseppe Piermarini, Mario Botta in neoclassical style in the 18th century), Kazım Rüştü Güven - already an idealist art lover – decided he wanted to build an opera house in Ankara (Ağalar, 2017). Unfortunately Güven's ambitions did correspond to the actual reality of 30s Turkey, which was not particularly oozing with opera artists. Therefore, in the 1940s the person who is widely considered to be first Turkish film director, Metin Erksan, convinced him to build a movie theater instead (Ağalar, 2017).

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[28] The interview was conducted by the journalist Taner Dedeoğlu in 2017 and can be reached via http://www.24saatgazetesi.com/artik-anilarda-kalan-buyuk-sinema-opera-binasi-olarak-yapilmis/

Figure 30 Kazım Rüştü Güven, Vehbi Koç and their families during a trip to Egypt (Source: https://t24.com.tr/foto-haber/koc-ailesinin-albumunden-cok-ozel-fotograflar,5270)

Figure 29 The portrait of Kazım Rüştü Güven painted by İbrahim Safi (Ergir, 2011, http:// ergir.com/2011/buyuk_sinema.htm

In the meantime, the seeds of a future urban crisis had been planted by land value speculations. The privileged groups were able to buy land, which turned into means of scarcity due to shortcomings in Jansen's Plan. Consequently, Atatürk Boulevard, the main axis of the city connecting historical center (Ulus) with new center (Yeni Şehir), and the administrative areas of the town of Çankaya (where the latter was located) had reached the highest value in land prices (Günay, 2006). Kazım Rüştü Güven, confident and eager to build a modern movie theater as well as a residential block[29] next to it (all of which would eventually be an instrument 'to fashion people's lives in new ways' on Atatürk Boulevard), needed allies.

Abidin Mortaş, an architect of progressive inclinations, was commissioned with the design of the new movie theater. Abidin Mortaş graduated in 1928 in Fine Arts University in Istanbul. In 1931, with two other architects - Zeki Sayar ve Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu -, he started to publish the first architecture magazine *Mimar*,

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[29] His plan mentioned as building a apartment block for himself, however, in Mortaş's article in Arkitekt, the plan for the next plot was changed into a hotel. However, eventually, the residential building has been built and Kazım Rüştü Güven with his family lived there. Cinema and Hotel composition later was excetued for Nur Sineması ve Oteli.

which 10 years later would change its name to *Arkitekt* (because the roots of the word "mimar" were Arabic). Abidin Mortaş was an advocate for the scientification of Turkish architecture and was in favor of the second National wave of architecture. He rather defended a position towards the adaptation of "European architecture in purely aesthetic and formal terms, without taking into account climate specific and nationally oriented forms of modern architecture." (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012, p. 96). The Arkitekt circle gathered architects and planners with similar perspectives and created a platform for architectural discussion. Abidin Mortaş generally designed for residential use. However, his works also included hotels, cultural complexes and movie theaters, among others.

Figure 32 Büyük Sinema façade from Atatürk Boulevard (Source: Mortaş, 1949, p. 4)

Figure 33 Büyük Sinema entrance at night with the lights on (Source: Mortaş, 1949, p. 3)
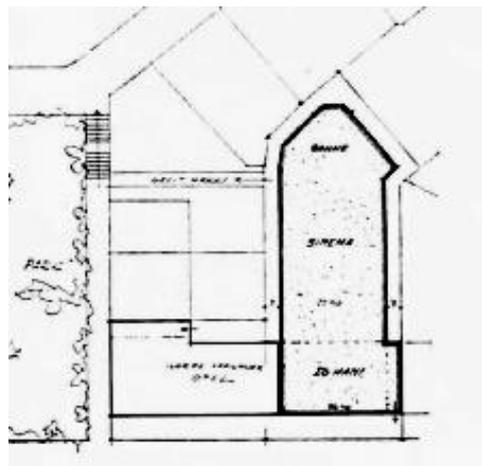
Figure 31 Büyük Sinema Plan Layout (Source: Mortaş, 1949, p. 5)

Eventually, Abidin Mortaş was commissioned to build Büyük Sinema for Kazım Rüştü Güven. Cinema for Mortaş existed "in the most practical and most accessible way, it gives an idea about the true art to each social strata, it disciplines the public's taste in arts. The development of cinema in our country is absolutely essential" (Fındıklı, 2017). Therefore, the phase of architecture as an instrument was established in the minds of these two idealist men; the architect and the landowner.
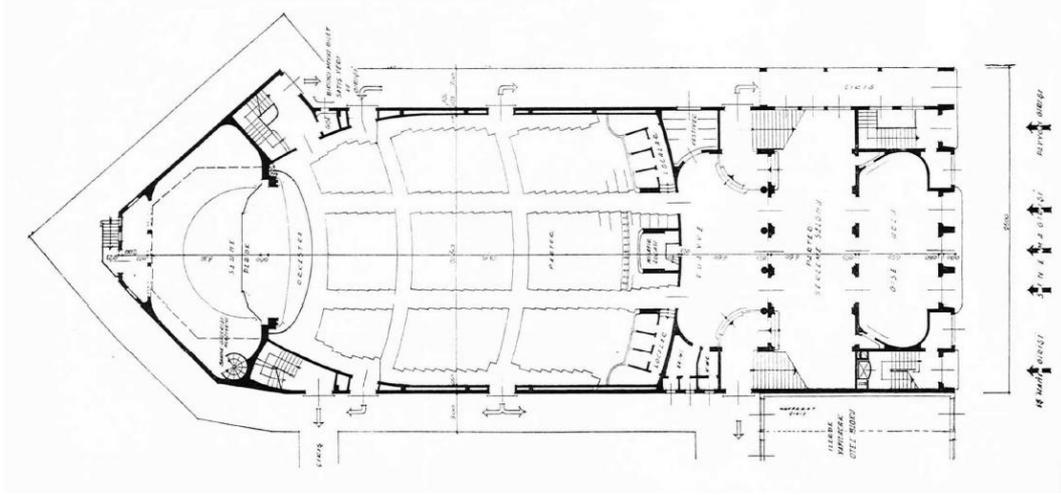
Figure 34 Büyük Sinema architectural plan for the ground floor (Source: Mortaş, 1949, p. 4)

In 1949 Abidin Mortaş wrote an article introducing the architectural features of the building for *Arkitekt* magazine. Thanks to the substantial effort put in by Mortaş, the piece includes plans and large pictures of details of the building both from outside and inside. Moreover, it explains the project, design ideas, uses of places, and future plans for surrounding plots. *Büyük Sinema* was designed as part of a complex which also consisted of an office block, a music hall and a hotel. In the first phase of construction, the cinema part was built with its entrance hall, waiting hall, management rooms, café and the main hall for film exhibition and its accompanying balcony section. All aspects of the theater complex (ceiling, walls, floors, strawman, stairs, plants, furniture etc.) were designed specifically by the architect Mortaş and painters Turgut Zaim (whose painting *Sivaslı Kızlar* hung over the screen) and Nurettin Ergüven.

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Figure 38 Büyük Sinema entrance / foyer and the wall painting Sadabad (Source: Mortaş, 1949, p. 5)
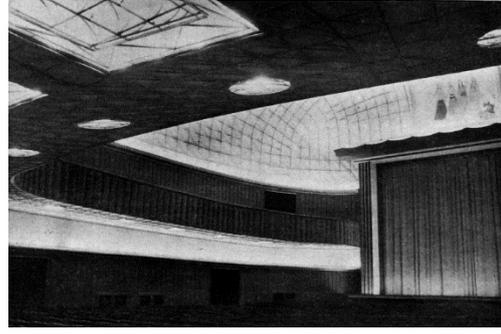
Figure 37 Büyük Sinema stage, ceiling details and the wall painting Sivaslı Kızlar (Source: Mortaş, 1949, p. 10)
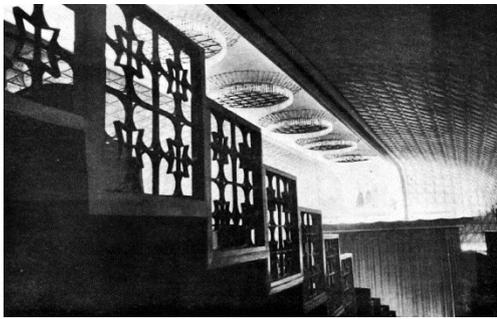
Figure 36 Büyük Sinema decorative details from the stairs, ceiling and the curtain (Source: Mortaş, 1949, p. 11)
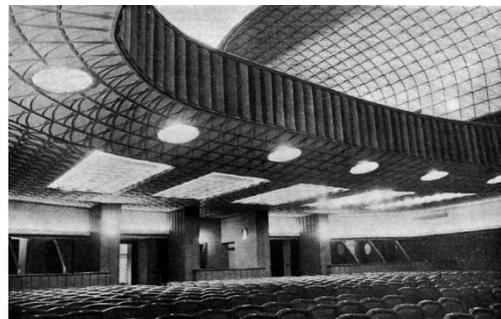
Figure 35 Büyük Sinema parter, seats and balcony sections (Source: Mortaş, 1949, p. 10)

Abidin Mortaş reveals several aspects that need special attention regarding the process of building, the architectural details and his intellectual and professional position regarding the building. The first information the article delivers is the fact that the project was planned as a bigger complex - the owner bought the plots so that the construction site would be larger and the complex would be more varied in functions. This aspect reflects very well the speculation and changing land value especially on Atatürk Boulevard and how buying plots especially to build a complex required special investment. Another aspect which is repeated twice concerns the originality of the design, and that he was not pressured by the contractor other than in economic matters. These two points shed light on the relationship between two agencies: the architect and the contractor. Abidin Mortaş, considering his professional career at the moment, was a well-known architect and at the same time an idealist towards his profession. Mortaş being the decision-maker

about the plan and the design, while sharing similar motivation with the contractor, made him an active agency, allowing him to follow ideals without submitting fully to the market conditions.

Abidin Mortaş made decisions regarding the audience experience. *Büyük Sinema*'s hall was divided spatially as well, based on the spectators' title, social and economic status. Mortaş set the division rules in his article for *Arkitekt*: "Customers" who would pay the given price for their seats and "Guests" who would have their private room without the need to purchase tickets for each screening. As it happened at the opening day, 17th January 1949, then Prime Minister İsmet İnönü attended the screening to watch a Bette Davis movie in his private box (carefully designed for him with extra speakers, since he suffered a hearing impairment) (Tanyer, 2017) . Projectionist Behiç Köksal recalls the staff of *Büyük Sinema* dressed in a particular style, with their hats and tuxedo-like suits which created a rather formal athmosphere for the audience (Karagözoğlu, 2004). *Büyük Sinema* created its own social and moral codes with high standards,even so that the members of the audience were praised for being well dressed and for behaving in a "very civilized manner" (Yavuztürk, 2009).

Figure 40 Büyük Sinema the audience of a concert (Source: Ergir, 2011, http://www.ergir.com/2011/buyuk_sinema.htm)

Figure 39 Mark Aryan is hosted at Kazım Güven's house (Source: Ergir, 2011, http://www.ergir.com/2011/buyuk_sinema.htm)

Büyük Sinema was the only cinema which earned the luxury title among the list of entertainment places announced by Ankara Municipality (Özalp, 2016). The cinema never showed any Turkish movies other than the films of Zeki Müren, whom the owner admired. The cinema managers also started a cinema magazine and published an interview with Abidin Mortaş (Yavuztürk, 2013). A Russian lady opened a bar on the second floor of the cinema, which was also very prestigious for the upper classes (Memlük, 2017).

Büyük Sinema also hosted events like concerts, dance shows, fashion shows etc. The first concert of Zeki Müren took place in *Büyük Sinema* in 19th November 1953. Musicians such as Marc Aryan, Dizzy Gillespie, Dave Brubeck and Red Nichols played on the stage of *Büyük Sinema* (Tanyer, 2017). After the concerts or shows, Kazım Rüştü Güven would host the artists at his home next building (Yavuztürk, 2009). His wife, Nihal Güven, was also very much invested in the management of the movie theater, especially the screening program (Fındık, 2000). Considering all these aspects, Kazım Güven and his wife, together with the staff, represent the agency of ownership and management in a very particular way. They acted almost in a manner that would be called being a 'patron of arts' in Ankara. Certainly, the architectural image created by Mortaş fit into this atmosphere, or even supported it.
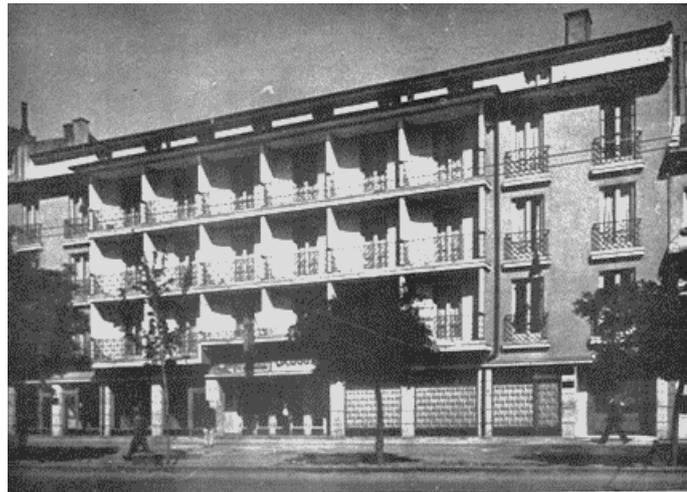
Figure 41 Nur Sineması ve Oteli (Source: Mortaş, 1952, p. 103)

Kazım Güven and Abidin Mortaş announced the opening of *Nur Sineması* (and its hotel) in 1952. An article named "Nur Sinema ve Oteli (Ankara)" (Mortaş, 1952) provides information regarding the design and the building process. The building was located in Çankırı Caddesi, Dışkapı. The hotel part faced the street while the movie theater was attached to its rear. On the street-level there were stores, the entrance to the hotel and entrance to the the movie theater. The interior design of the movie theater displayed flower patterns on the ceilings and the wall papers. According to Özalp (2016), it had a similar atmosphere to that of *Büyük Sinema*.
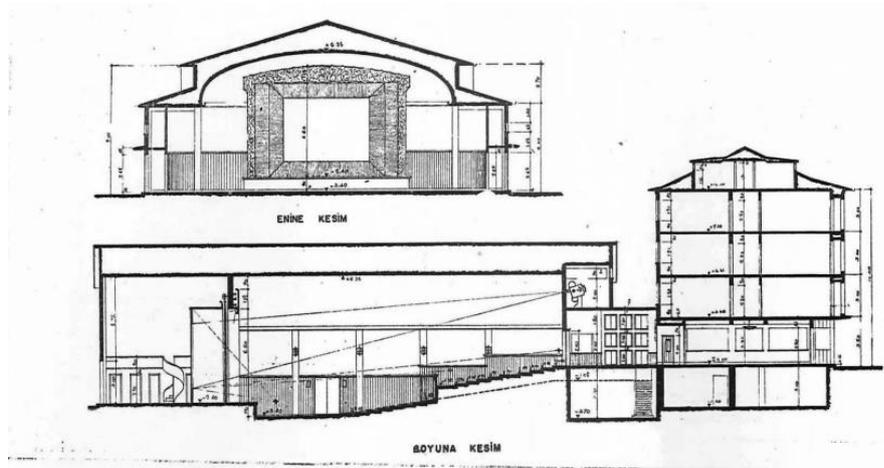
Figure 44 Nur Sineması ve Oteli sections (Source: Mortaş, 1952, p. 106)
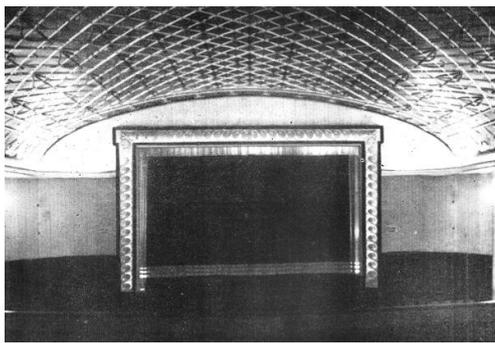
Figure 43 Nur Sineması the screen and the curtain (Source: Mortaş, 1952, p. 104)
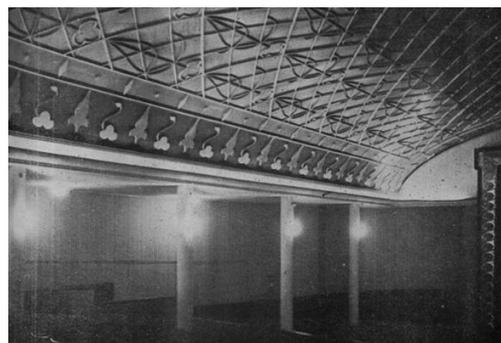
Figure 42 Nur Sineması ceiling details (Source: Mortaş, 1952, p. 105)

By the time, the management of *Büyük Sinema* already established a distribution company called *Büyük Sinema Limited Şirketi* (Tanyer, 2017). So a second agency

in distribution of films appeared in competition with *Ankara Sinema İşleri Limited Şirketi*. Therefore, *Büyük Sinema* and *Nur Sineması* followed similar screening programs. By the year 1957, *Büyük Sinema Limited Şirketi* added another movie theater in its portfolio, *Gölbaşi Sineması* in Maltepe.

In 1956, the owner Kazım Güven (1956) published a letter in a local newspaper addressing the problem of the ticket pricing set by local government. The hardship caused by the monopoly of distribution of movies weakened the efforts of filmmakers who provided 'the only remaining entertainment middle classes had'. The changing means of production in the cinema industry all over the world and the rules and regulations set by state (regarding both ticket prices and censorship), eventually turned the movie theater as a more-or-less neutral container acting as a background for social activities. The features of space itself are not seen as decisive, but emphasis is placed on the influence exerted by social or cultural mechanisms, such as capital movements, labour relationships, discriminatory practices and symbolic transformations.

Figure 46 Büyük Sinema and Nur Sineması film advertisement (Tanyer, 2017, p. 396)

Figure 45 Büyük Sinema concert announcement (Source: http://yavuziscen.blogspot.com/p/ankara-gazete-ilan-ve-reklamlar.html)

By the late 1960s, the movie quality demanded by the audience had not been fulfilled completely; meanwhile economic problems were reflected on the architecture and organization of the theaters (the division of seating areas was discontinued, the balcony sections were closed, functions such as the bar were abandoned, etc). Later, the displacement and transformation of the spatial functions intensified with the fragmentation of the upper floor for retail stores. Eventually, the cinema was closed for all kinds of leisure events in 1978. The building underwent a major spatial reorganization and was turned into a shopping gallery/passage hosting mainly jewellery and bridal stores.

Apart from *Büyük Sinema*, during this period, 13 other movie theaters were opened in the city. These movie theaters were generally the first in their respective neighborhoods. The highly entrepreneurial efforts of owners who relied on the pioneering examples of previous movie theaters, the communal feeling of the audience, and the design and construction by mostly unnamed architects are the main characteristics of these once-succesful movie theaters, none of which have survived as cinemas to this day.

3.3.3. The District Cinemas
In an article reviewing the urban development of Ankara in comparison with the original plans, Baykan Günay (2006) writes that in the early 1950s, the urban development had reached the limits of both Lörcher and Jansen plans together, with the sprawling beyond the planned borders which resulted in districts such as Bahçelievler, Yenimahalle, Gazi Mahallesi, Varlık Mahallesi and Aydınlıkevler. On the other hand, in districts such as Altındağ, Yenidoğan, Kurtuluş and Cebeci, population increased together with illegal housing.

It is no coincidence that the movie theaters opened during this period in residential districts and not in the city center were emplaced in the districts Baykan Günay listed. The entrepeneurs saw a clear opportunity in cinema as it was becoming an inescapable leisure activity for people. The increasing population erased any

concerns of whether or not the audience of one district was enough to keep the business alive. As a result, experimental endeavours (both architecturally and socially) became significant in this period.
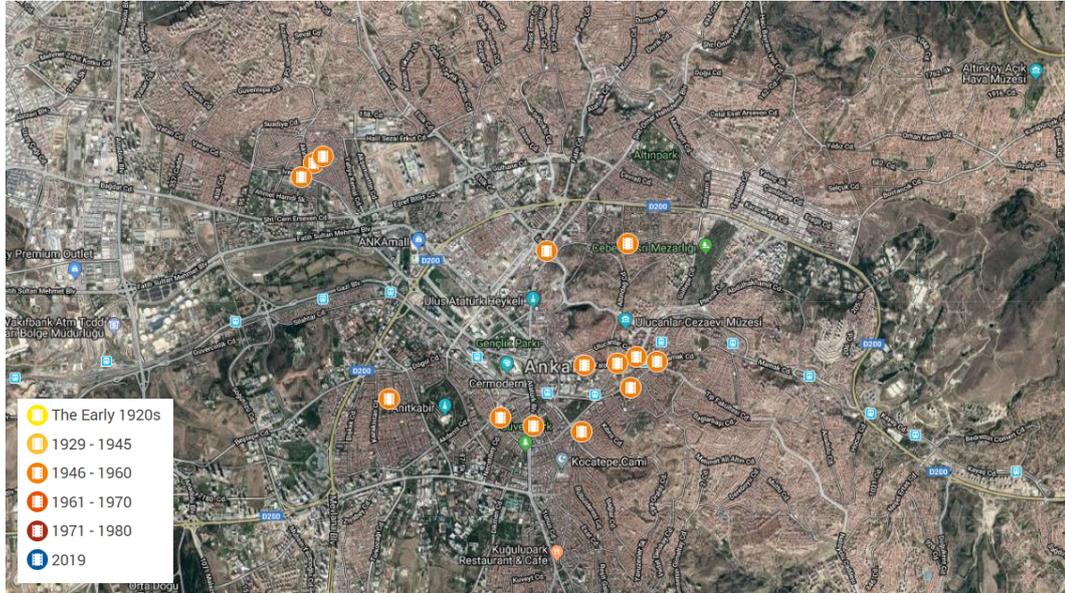
Figure 47 Locations of the movie theaters opened in Ankara, 1946 - 1960

Cebeci Sineması opened its doors to audiences in 1950. The fact that it was located in Cebeci makes it the first district or neighbourhood theater. In other words, *Cebeci Sineması* was the first movie theater not to be located in the city center nor in the axis of Atatürk Boulevard. Cebeci was one of the oldest districts in Ankara. The Cemali brothers, long time inhabitants of the area, were the ones behind the creation and management of the *Cebeci Sineması*, a single-standing building. However, the architectural features and spatial organization of the building were the first (and maybe only) example of their type.

The upper floors of the theater had residential units which were reserved for the employees of cinema. The 1500 seat capacity hall was equipped with a projector room which, famous for being luxurious because it included a shower and toilet. A second movie theater in Cebeci was opened 5 years later in 1955: *Melek Sineması*,

located in Dörtyol area with a 700 seats capacity. By the end of 1950s, the Cebeci area had three more movie theaters: *İnci Sineması*, with its 1200 seats capacity, opened in 1958, located next to Mülkiye and owned by Naci Eklan; *Yılmaz Sineması,* opened in 1959 in the Demirlibahçe neighborhood; and finally *Saray Sineması*, also opened in 1959 in the Hamamönü neighborhood.

Figure 49 Cebeci Melek Sineması in Cebeci (Source: https://i.pinimg.com/originals/c5/a6/eb/c5a6eb300ac44f9be2f 53d16a9291496.jpg)

Figure 48 Gölbaşı Sineması (Source: https://pbs.twimg.com/media/DIVr_LVXcA A7Ri0?format=jpg&name=small)

In the neighborhood of Bahçelievler, on the west of Kızılay, *Renkli Sinema* opened in 1956. The movie theater had 1000 seats capacity and was owned by Tarık H. Koyutürk. *Renkli Sinema* stood out with its unique and modern décor designed by Bedri Rahmi Eyuboğlu and Ferruh Başağa. The theater also introduced some new technological solutions: acoustics were improved in the screening hall, there was a substantial upgrade in heating and cooling systems, and automatic curtain systems were installed. *Renkli Sinema*, like many other movie theaters in Ankara, was burnt down during a fire in September 1966.
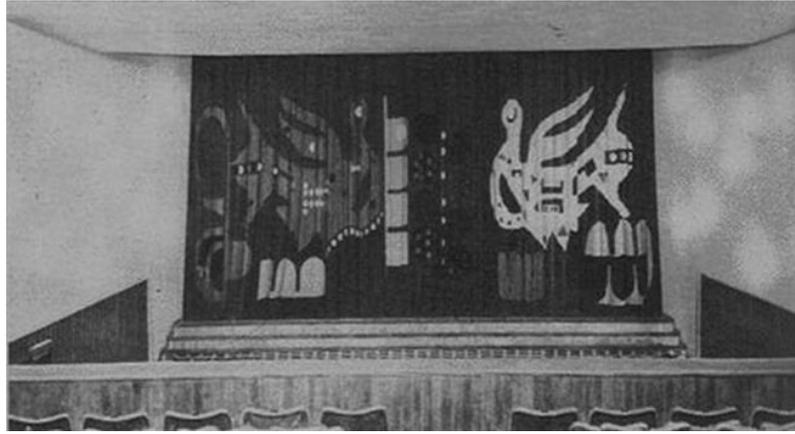
Figure 50 Renkli Sinema Screen Curtain, the design of Eyuboğlu and Başağa (Source: https://www.oguztopoglu.com/2014/02/renkli-sinema-1957 dergisi.html)

Figure 52 Renkli Sinema Façade (Source: https://www.oguztopoglu.com/2014/02/renkli-sinema-1957-hayat-dergisi.html)

Figure 51 Renkli Sinema Advertisement using architectural depiction as a logo (Source: Yavuztürk, 2016, 187)

In the second half of the 1950s, the neighborhood of Yenimahalle, on the northwest of Kızılay, spawned two movie theaters: in 1956 *Seyran Sineması* owned by Fazlı Arıkan; and in 1957, *Alemdar Sineması*, owned by Necati Alemdar. *Seyran Sineması* was "a good theater in terms of size, architecture, seats and screen angles. It's more than a neighborhood cinema", according to Tanyer (2017). On the other hand, *Alemdar Sineması*, with its 1557 seats capacity, was rather big by district theater standards. *Alemdar Sineması* also had unique architectural and spatial characteristics, such as the main hall of the movie theater featuring not only regular seats but also tables with chairs. Thus, audiences could bring their food and have lunch or dinner while watching a movie.

One of the most remembered movie theaters, *Gölbaşı Sineması*, was opened in 1957 in Maltepe. The theater had a 1200 seats capacity, and even though it was owned by Mehmet Balbudak, it was run by Kazım Rüştü Güven (the manager of *Büyük Sinema* and *Nur Sineması*). Two other movie theaters had been established by the late 1950s: one in Kurtuluş (north-east of Kızılay), *Konak Sineması* in 1958 and another one in Telsizler (farther north-east, and very far from downtown), *Örnekdoğan Sineması* in 1959, named after its neighborhood.

The decades following World Ward II, in terms of cinema life in Ankara, brought new trends to their locations, in their use in everyday life, in services they provided and in the way they were designed. First of all, a neighborhood without central, commercial attractions had a movie theatre among its residential areas. *Cebeci Sineması* had inaugurated a different business path: not targeting the whole city but rather the neighborhood. Additionally, above the movie theatre residential units had been added in the plan for its employees. This building program, which gave function and meaning to the residential units atop based exclusively on the presence of a movie theatre, would remain one of a kind. In the apparently bustling district of Cebeci, four more theatres would be opened in the following decade: *Melek*, *İnci*, *Saray* and *Yılmaz*.

After Cebeci, other neighborhoods of Ankara –notably Bahçelievler and Yenimahalle- would gain their own neighborhood theatres. However, these were not small-scale modest theatres, as could be expected. *Renkli Sinema* in Bahçelievler owed its illustrious reputation to its modern décor and "outstanding" quality of service. In Yenimahalle, the *Alemdar Sineması* management offered a new way of using the screening hall by furnishing it with chairs and tables so that viewers could enjoy their meals. These kind of alternative solutions to improving the cinema experience can be seen as an advertisement move based on the utilization of space. Even though there's no proof on whether it commercially worked or not, given its status as a neighborhood cinema, in which generally families watch movies, it would've appeared as a rational strategy. What is

particularly important for this period is that with the exception of *Büyük Sinema*, no new movie theatres opened in Ulus or Yenişehir. This reveals a certain degree of saturation in the main commercial center in the city, which eventually led entrepreneurs to search for different kinds of market in different parts of Ankara – where such fulfillment had been reached, up until that point, in terms of residential use but not of leisure nor entertainment.

In the frame of agencies, we can observe that the state did no longer own movie theaters; however, its involvement continued in the form of censorship and regulations. The architect, especially in the case of *Büyük Sinema* and *Nur Sineması*, recognized the position of movie theaters as that of a contribution to the general public. In the other cases, their architects remain unknown but we can ascertain how the architecture of the movie theater had gained a commercial significance which was used by the managers to convince audience to lure audiences in. In this period, we also see audience gaining its confidence in demanding conditions which would then inform the behaviors of theater managements.

3.4. 1960 - 1980: The Cinema Boom between Coup d'états

3.4.1. Urban Conditions and Social Structure

For Turkey, the 1950s marked, together with the American aid, NATO membership, and the emergence of the national bourgeoise, a turn towards economic liberalization (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012). Following the 1960 coup d'état*,* the new constitution recognized housing as a part of the legal right to welfare services. Bozdoğan and Akcan's analysis (2012) on the topic suggests that "the housing policies of the 1960s and 70s can be seen as steps in the direction of a welfare state, albeit one that would remain unrealized". The housing shortage in the urban areas, especially for low-income groups, contrasted with the upper and middle income groups single family houses, cooperative collective housing and *apartman*s (flats) which would eventually become the main unit of urbanization in the cities (Günay, 2014).

The military involvement in the state and a new constitution, together with the saturation of capital functions, created a new type of pressure on the land-use of Ankara. Unplanned development, increase in *apartmanlaşma* (the process of modifying the urban fabric and built environment –single houses and other types of plots – by converting it into apartment blocks), also known as the *yap-sat* (build and sell) model; an increase in *gecekondu* numbers (squatter housing); and the overall chaos of the Ankara urban-scape in terms of trends, architectural styles, functions, transportation etc (Günay, 2006). Neighborhoods tended to become more self-sufficient and independent in terms of their commercial, educational, cultural and recreational facilities. Because of the constant increase in population, the growth was not only in land surface but also in the density of social exchange.

> In the 1960s and the 1970s, the major issues were the expansion and spatial organization of industrial capacities of the city in order to absorb the migrants arriving in Ankara. This also meant the guidance of the city's growth outside the geographical boundaries defining its core. The physical expansion of the city also brought in the issue of transportation. (Batuman, 2013, p. 580)

The governmental effort to solve problems and to set up a new order resulted into two important laws which would affect the future of Ankara until this very day. The first one was the Law of Property Ownership, which regulates proprietary rights based not on the land but on apartments, passed in 1965 (Günay, 2006). The second one was the *Gecekondu* Law, passed in 1966 with the goal of standardizing the different statuses of *gecekondu* properties. (Günay, 2006)

Law of Property Ownership gave free way to the *yap-sat* (build and sell) type of constructions riding on the wave of a "make your own home" propaganda (Batuman B. , 2013). On the other hand, the *Gecekondu* Law was intended to legalize *gecekondu*s mainly because the state did not have economic or politic power to fight against them nor was able to provide sufficient housing for its inhabitants. The Ankara urban landscape was then left to two main types of housing patterns by law: highly populated residential areas, consisting of building blocks, with poorer

housing areas lacking social facilities, dominated by *gecekondus*. While the former areas had legal rights regarding the establishment of various functions, the latter were still troubled with issues such as the lack of water supply.

Under these conditions, in the *apartmanlaşmış* neighborhoods (after Cebeci, Bahçelievler and Yenimahalle), and especially in Kavaklıdere, moviegoing practices started to be increasingly characterized by their local conditions, demands and opportunities generated by the middle-upper classes. On the other hand, Yenişehir and Maltepe areas were becoming more dense and diverse in terms of movie theaters.

Twenty-three movie theaters were opened between the years 1960-1970 and were scattered all over the city: *Kavaklıdere Sineması, Ses Sineması, Lale Sineması, Çankaya Sineması, Talip Sineması, Dilek Sineması, Karınca Sineması, Seyran Sineması, Kızılırmak Sineması, Cep Sineması, Orduevi Sineması, Eti Sineması, Orkide Sineması, As Sineması Kerem Sineması, Arı Sineması, Dünya Sineması, Eser Sineması, Sun Sineması, Koray Sineması, Uzay Sineması, Süreyya Sineması* and *Emek Sineması*.

This boom in movie theater business in such a short time revived the competition and was supported by the Yeşilçam Film Industry, the most important Turkish film producing scene. All the while film production numbers increased way more than a hundred percent in the span of ten years (In 1960, 85; in 1964, 181; in 1970, 224 films), movie theaters also kept their growth until the second half 1970s.

In the decade of the 70s, opened and closed by two military coups, and right before attempts at economic liberalization, the provincial population of Ankara had reached 1.6 million people and 51% of the inhabitants were living on unauthorized lands. Moreover, the city could only fulfill a 11% of the facility and services people needed. The urban situation of Ankara had reached a point of crisis and deadlock (Felekoğlu, 2013). The scarcity of land, traffic problems, and increase in the cost

of living forced the limits of the city to expand towards the suburbs. The shrinkage of public spaces was adopted as a short-term solution in city center. For example, Atatürk Boulevard used to be a street where restaurants and cafes used the sidewalk on front of the shops, less traffic and wider pedestrian spaces were the essence of the livelihood and association on both sides of the boulevard. In late 1970s, Atatürk Boulevard was limited to bus stops, the traffic of cars and stores which could afford high rents (Batuman, 2017); therefore, the reduction in smaller trade shops, eateries and leisure facilities is dated to those years. Instead, Sakarya Street on the north side and Izmir Street on the southern side became the main attraction hubs, as demonstrated by how they became locations were movie theaters opened in late 1970s.

From 1970 to 1980, Ankara welcomed twenty-six new movie theaters all across its different districts. *Yeni Ulus Sineması, Hanif Sineması, Dedeman Sineması, Akün Sineması, Batı Sineması, Efes Sineması, Menekşe Sineması, Nergis Sineması, Aykut Sineması, Mithatpasa Sineması, Sinema 70, Ankapol Sineması, Stad Sineması, Burç Sineması, Başkent Sineması, Küçük Sinema, Derya Sineması, Mini Sinema, Maltepe Bulvar Sineması, Dedeman Sineması Yıldız Sineması, Demet Sineması, Süreyya Sineması, Göktürk Sineması, Cem Sineması, Şato Sineması* and *Mesa Koru Sineması.*

The *yap-sat* method of *apartmanlaşma* did not only impact the city in purely residential or housing terms, but also had consequences for other facilities such as parking places, green spaces, street shops, theaters or cinemas. The emergence of residential blocks with movie theaters dates back to these years. Vertically organized blocks emphasized the entrance on the ground floor, where the movie theater located; in some cases, next to different store units. The conditions created by this type of building blocks actually have their roots in the first years of Ankara city development. As was observed in the section dealing with those decades, scarcity of land and lack of means of construction jointly generated the emergence of multi-functional buildings. The Law of Property Ownership set the legal grounds

for different uses under one roof. City plans supposedly aimed at the fixed regulation in land-use (of commercial areas, residential areas etc.) were very easy to change or adapt according to the wishes and profits of the owners. Therefore, vertical construction and organization of different uses in city, the never-ending need for housing, the profitable nature of cinema business and the "freedom" of the *yap-sat* model had an organic and logical offspring: apartment blocks with movie theaters. In turn, they generated their own spatial and social organization in particular areas.

In the 1950s, the pattern of movie theater establishments adapted to already densely populated districts' commercial nodes. By the 1970s, the clusters of movie theaters in the city were not limited to the center. Thanks to the aforementioned increasing construction activities, movie theaters were considered an economically viable enterprise and consequently were included in the building programs. Therefore, movie theaters catalyzed growth.

If we look at the distribution of movie theaters in the 1950s, the 1960s and 1970s from the perspective of districts, Cebeci had since the 50s a remarkable amount of movie theaters, especially along Talat Paşa Boulevard and Cemal Gürsel Street. Movie theaters opened during the 1960s and 1970s followed a pattern, new ones being located between those already existing. In Yenimahalle, after the 1950s only one new movie theater was opened. In Bahçelievler, the number of movie theaters was 2 in the 1950s and by the 1970s two more movie theaters were opened in a rather steady fashion. In Dışkapı district, in the 1950s there were two, while in the 1960s two more were added.
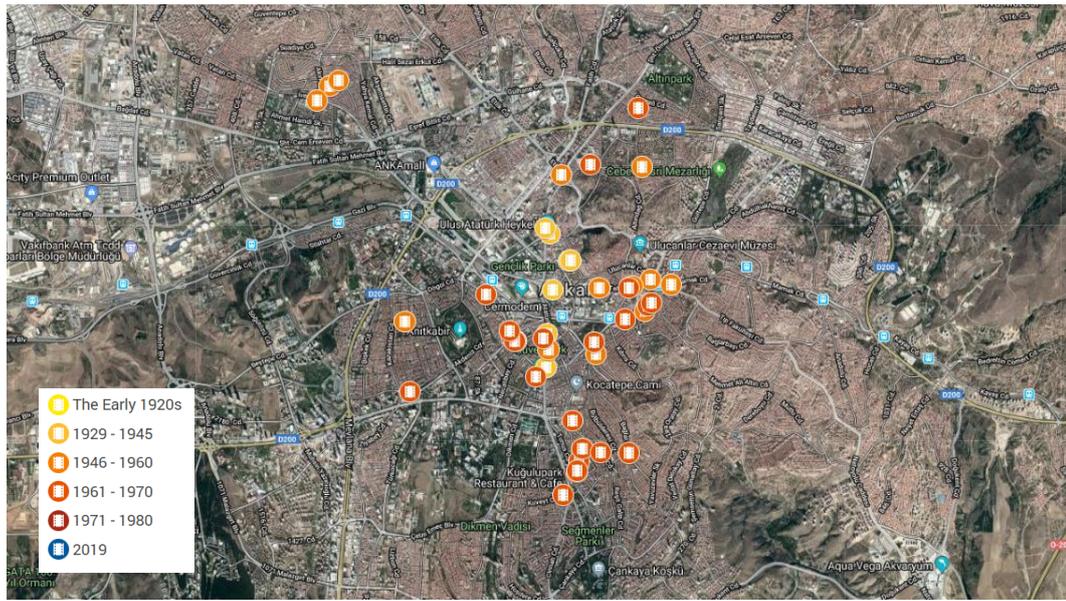
Figure 54 Locations of movie theaters opened in Ankara, 1929 - 1970
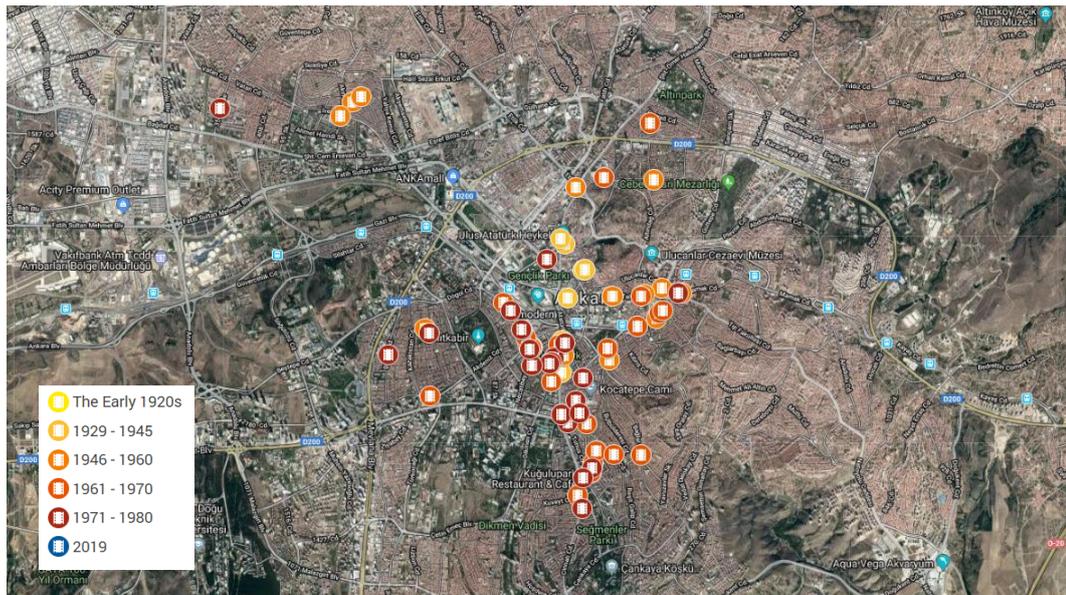
Figure 53 Locations of movie theaters opened in Ankara, 1929 - 1980

In the city center, while the commercial activities veered towards Maltepe, in the 1960s and 1970s, new movie theaters popped up along Gazi Mustafa Kemal Boulevard. In the city center, both on İzmir Street, through Sıhhıye and the area around Kızılırmak Street and Akay Street, we see sporadic patterns of movie theaters.

However, the Tunalı Hilmi District (in its extended understanding, covering from Esat Street to the beginning of Cinnah Street) stood aside from other areas. Having no movie theater in the 1950s and hosting around 10 by the mid- 1970s, the formation of movie theaters pattern can be read on the map. Therefore, to study this period in relation to the transforming relationship between the inherent agencies of movie theaters and the urban development of the city, Tunalı Hilmi District provides a fruitful set of aspects informing the area.

The first aspect is related to the building type: apartment blocks with a movie theater in which different parts of the architecture adopt different roles with different motivations for different groups of users. The second aspect is the repetition of this building type; more specifically in Tunalı Hilmi Street, where between the years of 1965 and 1975 there were five building blocks with a movie theater. All of the original buildings are still standing, even if those formerly hosting movie theaters did change such a function. The architect of two of the apartment blocks with cinemas, Nejat Tekelioğlu, had built two other buildings with movie theaters in Yenişehir, which provides ample opportunity for comparison between the uses of similar spaces for different districts. The third aspect is related to the populist modernity; the seeds of American-influenced modernization had been planted in the 1950s, and by the 1960s the outcome was the increasing of American goods, population and architectural elements in the city. In the case of Tunalı Hilmi Street, these sources and forms stemming from western modernity were brought along with local conditions, a convergence that can be observed in the apartment block. Moreover, the Tunalı Hilmi area has been, from the beginning of its settlement, an easy case to define demographically: upper-middle class citizens belonging to a second generation of the modernization process of Turkish Republic.

3.4.2. Tunalı Hilmi Street and its Apartment Blocks with Movie Theaters
3.4.2.1. Emergence of Tunalı Hilmi Street

In the early 1950s, with Hermann Jansen's Plan, Kızılay was recognized as the new city center. According to Akçura (1971) Kızılay was extended "to the south along

the city's axis of prestige near the ministries and exclusively serves the more affluent groups of population". Thanks to the increasing level of commercial activities, an improved accessibility and the presence of governmental facilities such as the parliament and ministries in the south part of the main square, the city started to grow south beyond Kızılay. Tunalı Hilmi Avenue is located in that general geographic direction and according to Resuloğlu[30] (2011) this is "one of the main reasons why the Tunalı Hilmi Avenue acquired the characteristics of an urban sub-center in the later decades."

The social transformation prompted by the abandoning of a single-party system and the advent of post-1945 relations with the U.S. is described by Resuloğlu (2011) with reference to Tekeli (2005) as "the earlier slogan "in spite of the people, for people" formulated by the aim of modernization during the single-party regime, was modified by a populist approach which can be considered as more respectful of people's choices and anti-bureaucratic attitudes". In light of these developments, Kavaklıdere and later Tunalı Hilmi Street were two areas of Ankara which were open to both social and spatial changes, even though they had even been included in Jansen's city plan but as a part of the green belt. (Resuloğlu, 2011)

In the early 1950s, the Tunalı Hilmi area was not residential yet. Resuloğlu (2011) names the significant buildings around the area based on the interviews she conducted with inhabitants of the area.

> Until the 1950s, Bülten Street -one of the streets that intersect with Tunalı Hilmi Avenue- was a dirty path. The area through the East, which had not yet been structured, was consisted of vineyards and gardens. The significant buildings were the embassies, the *Kavaklıdere İlköğretim Okulu* (Primary School) and *14 Mayıs Evleri* (May 14 Houses) in Kavaklıdere. After the constructions of the houses, the residential life began to develop in the Kavaklıdere. (…)Despite such housing

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[30] Architectural history scholar, Çılga Resuloğlu's PhD thesis "The Tunali Hilmi Avenue, 1950s - 1980s - The Formation of a Public Place in Ankara" served as a vital complement to this case. Said thesis is rich with information provided by residents of the district regarding the historical aspects, obtained through interviews.

development in the larger Kavaklıdere, until the 1950s, the Tunalı Hilmi Avenue was still a place that was mostly occupied by Kavaklıdere vineyards. The Street was defined by Esat (today's Esat junction, where the Kennedy Street, the Tunalı Avenue and the Esat District intersect) on the north, and the Kavaklıdere Şarap Fabrikası (Wine Factory) on the south. The Kavaklıdere Şarap Fabrikası was placed on the south of the Özdemir Street, and the Atatürk Bulvarı (Boulevard) was running on the west of the Street. The Cenap Evi (House), which was located on the south part of the Atatürk Bulvarı, was one of the significant examples of the housing in this region during the period. (Resuloğlu, 2011, p. 60)

Within a decade, residential development in this area would ensue due to the general rapid urbanization and growing population processes endured by the city. The distress between planned and unplanned residential areas was the result of unsuccessful planning decisions or the lack of thereof. In Ankara, as observed by planning scholar Tekeli (2005), city plans followed and reacted to not-so-planned urban developments, and not the other way around. Tunalı Hilmi Steet and its urbanization also started similarly: the need for residential and public facilities was mostly felt on lands which were closest to the burgeoning city center of Kızılay; especially those where the demography of inhabitants and the spatial characteristics were most adequate for urban growth.

In 1957, the Ankara municipality came up with a new city plan: the Uybadin-Yücel Plan. The main characteristic of this plan was the decision taken to recognize high density residential area as the main solution to cope with population growth and scarcity in housing. Kavaklıdere district was included in the plan as a residential area, an inclusion which paved the way for Kavaklıdere becoming "among the fastest developing housing regions of the city (…) and becoming a subcenter more apperant in the 1970s." (Resuloğlu, 2011, p. 103).

Thus in the Uybadin-Yücel Plan Kavaklıdere was chosen as the main district for residential developments and emplacement of embassies, and by the late 1960s the area had practically reached its total capacity in the fulfillment of those functions. According to Resuloğlu (2011), this is one of the main reasons why Tunalı Hilmi

became a site "where residential, cultural, recreational and commercial activities took place together". In other words, Kavaklıdere, as a newly formed residential district with a middle-upper class demographic profile, needed nearby area(s) of commercial procurement obeying to the demands of their lifestyle and tastes. Perhaps aware of this joint need for housing and commerce, in the late 60s small-scale contractors started to build apartment blocks with stores and movie theaters. This trend would be followed up during the 1970s with store complexes called "pasaj" (passage/gallery), and the street started to be recognized as a major commercial strip.

Figure 56 Tunalı Hilmi Street South End (Source: https://pbs.twimg.com/media/DLjcH3uWAAYy3r8?format=jpg&name=900x900)

Figure 55 Tunalı Hilmi Street North End (Source:https://i.pinimg.com/originals/81/02/22/81022268a94169d218ccf03ae9519aff.jpg)

The historical context to the emergence of Tunalı Hilmi Street is th erefore highly related to the urbanization process of Ankara. The street -as it was called until the mid-1960s, Özdemir Street and its district Kavaklıdere became a mostly prestigious neighborhood mainly providing housing (and later offices as well) for middle-upper class groups since the 1960s. Together with a permit issued by the Ankara municipality, which allowed for a maximum of seven floors in apartment blocks, the density in population and commercial activities substantially increased as did its tendency to become a sub-center. The spatial and social transformation in the

street as it was gaining momentum was accelerated by the construction of Hotel Tunalı in 1969. This hotel, whose exceptional location placed it close to embassies, served many foreign guests, who also exerted a trigger effect for commercial development.

At the south end of Tunalı Hilmi street one of the most historically important public parks, Kuğulu Park, can be found. This park was designed by Herman Jansen as a part of a projected green route for Ankara. The park was named after two swans (*kuğulu*) which were sent as a gift to Ankara mayor Vedat Dalokay from the mayor of Vienna in the mid-70s. Such was the birth of the "park with swans", right after Ankara and Vienna became twin cities and the mayor of the latter had paid a visit to Ankara; the swans themselves, who lived in the park's small pond, were named after the cities. However, Vedat Dalokay himself referred them to Ferhat and Şirin. (Büyükyıldız, 2008) And these two swans and the park became an important attraction point. Right across right across the park, an office and store complex was built and named Kuğulu Pasajı in 1978. Later this building would be a prototype for many others in Tunalı Hilmi and Yenişehir.

In the early 70s five different movie theaters existed on Tunalı Hilmi Street; and three others within a 5 minutes walking distance from Kuğulu Park. A decade before, none of them were there. The aim of this case study is to provide a historical and social background to these cinemas and conceptualize them as places of movie-going based on their location, architecture and service. The experience of the street through movie theaters constituted a constant public/private transition, which is further emphasized via other commercial activities found all along the street. These five movie theaters share a specific design idea due to their being a part of a building program which offered residential, commercial and leisure uses all at the same time, with modern decorative touches. The exhibition program of the theaters, additional shows and eatery facilities are among the many features of the establishments for the individual and social practices of local audiences.

The very nature of moving images and the place which enables them created a set of specific spatial and social conditions for Tunalı Hilmi Street staring from the year 1965. To be more specific, the following section of the chapter addresses and analyzes the first apartment block with a movie theater to appear on Tunalı Hilmi, *Başkent Apartmanı*. The focus is on the relationship between the owner (Ayhan Nergiz), the architect (Nejat Tekelioğlu), the planning regulations and the design principles. Then another apartment, *Talip Apartmanı* will be presented, which was designed with the same principle and by the same architect, in order to study the changes, consistencies and trends that were set by the architect. Having a movie theater in the apartment block will generate new spatial and social conditions. Following this discussion, the study examines how these five apartment block with movie theaters affected the social and cultural life on Tunalı Hilmi Street. Finally, in light of the findings, a thorough analysis of the agencies involved in the process will be presented along with a discussion on how their relationship created an architectural culture around movie theaters.

3.4.3. Başkent Apartmanı and Kavaklıdere Sineması: The Owner, The Architect and The Architecture

Ayhan Nergiz was born to a farmer family in the Anatolian province of Elazığ in 1936. In 1951, he arrived at Ankara to continue studying in the vocational school *Taş Mektep,* and started to live with his sister and brother-in-law (Tunç, 2011). After his graduation, he started a construction company with his two brothers (one of them was already in the business with his own partner) (Tunç, 2011). The three brothers started their construction activities in the Bahçelievler neighborhood and later continued building apartment blocks in Tunalı Hilmi district, the Kolej area, Meşrutiyet Street, İnklap Street, Yüksel Street and Sağlık Street, among others (in other words, in the whole of Yenişehir). Ayhan Nergiz proudly stated that they helped people to own high quality apartments with affordable prices. (Tunç, 2011)

In 1964, Ayhan Nergiz and his brothers realized the development potential of the Tunalı Hilmi district and decided to invest accordingly (Tunç, 2011). Nergiz

already knew who to reach for the design of their first project there: the architect Nejat Tekelioğlu with whom he had already worked in the construction of a building in the Sıhhiye area (Nergiz, 2017). Nergiz and Tekelioğlu agreed on the plans for the building of a residential block – which would later be called *Başkent Apartmanı*.

Before getting into the details of the building, let us introduce the important figure in the construction of post-1945 Ankara: Nejat Tekelioğlu, "the architect who didn't talk much", as Ayhan Nergiz (2017) described him. In today's architectural history literature most of the information about Tekelioğlu was provided by the participants of a panel that took place in 12 May 2017, in VEKAM, as a part of the project "Ankara'da İz Bırakan Mimarlar", conducted by architectural history scholars T. Elvan Altan, Adile Nuray Bayraktar and Umut Şumnu.

Nejat Tekelioğlu was born in the Mediterranean province of Silifke in 1930. Even though his original surname was Türe, he would change it to Tekelioğlu (Bayraktar, 2017). He started elementary school in a town called Merzifon (in northern Turkey) and in his last year there he lost his hearing capability completely because of meningitis (Bayraktar, 2017). However, he continued his education successfully and in 1955, he graduated from Fine Arts Academy, Architecture Department (Bayraktar, 2017). In the literature Nejat Tekelioğlu has been mentioned mostly in regards to his work with Vedat Dalokay, an architect who was mayor of Ankara between 1972 and 1977. Their collaboration started with the Kocatepe Mosque Project in the late 50s and would continue for a decade (Bayraktar, 2017). Their notably modern design for Kocatepe Mosque was quite unconventional for its time. Even though they had won the competition organized by the *Türkiye Devrim Diyanet Sitesi Yaptırma ve Yaşatma Derneği* (Turkish Revolution's Association for the Construction and Revival of Religious Sites), its managers would eventually re-assign the design and construction to other architects (Çakıcı, 2017). The original design for Kocatepe Mosque was built in Islamabad, Pakistan and opened in 1986.
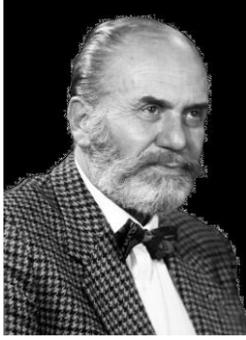
Figure 58 Nejat Tekelioğlu
(Bayraktar, 2017, p. 9)

Figure 59 Tekdal Apartmanı (Sokullu,2017, p. 71)

In 1958, Tekelioğlu and Dalokay started a joint architecture bureau. Their portfolio mostly consisted of residential projects[31]: In 1959, İmar Blokları; in 1960, Basın Sitesi; and in 1963, Tekdal Apartmanı. According to architecture scholar Abdi Güzel (2017), the imprint of Le Courbusier can be observed both in İmar Blokları and Tekdal Apartmanı. He adds that "by pushing the limits of traditional production processes, these architects were in search of a way of compromise both to make a difference and a modern place in urban fabric". Seda Sokullu (2017), in her piece on Tekdal Apartmanı, also supports this argument by stating the following:

> Tekdal Apartmanı with its plain prismatic form represents the architectural vision of Dalokay and Tekelioğlu. Having had the chance to be a student of Bonatz and Holzmeister and to work with Le Corbusier and Perret. Dalokay approaches modernism not only as an architectural style but as a new breath with a philosophy for life. It is possible to see that Dalokay has adapted a flawless symbolic system to practice through a spatial analysis shaped by the perception of abstract geometry in search of modern expression.(Sokullu, 2017, p. 73) [Author's Translation]

Even though Dalokay and Tekelioğlu continued to share the same office they began to work independently (Nergiz, 2017). It was around this period that the latter met with Ayhan Nergiz, and in 1964, Tekelioğlu was commissioned with the design of an apartment block in Tunalı Hilmi Street. The decision-making process in regards to the inclusion of a movie theater in the basement floor was the result of a

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[31] See Appendices B.

negotiation between the partners and the architect (Nergiz, 2017). The contractors, who saw the potential for development in the district, realized that even though cinema was becoming more and more popular the Tunalı Hilmi district lacked such a locale (Tunç, 2011).

The construction of the movie theater and the building block was not easy, especially given that there were not many examples in the city. However, the Nergiz Brothers entrusted Tekelioğlu with the design. Ayhan Nergiz (Tunç, 2011) described him as "a very good architect with advanced drawing capabilities". Their business relationship as contractor and architect would continue with two other residential block projects with movie theaters.

The construction of *Başkent Apartmanı* was approved in 1966 by the municipality and its movie theater, *Kavaklıdere Sineması*, opened its doors in 1968 (Tanyer, 2017). In 1969, another project of Tekelioğlu (unrelated to his ongoing business with the Nergiz brothers), the construction of *Talip Apartmanı*, was completed and *Talip Sineması* was opened (Nergiz, 2017). Başkent Apartmanı and Talip Apartmanı share very similar principles in terms of design. However, we can also recognize some improvements and solutions between them. The only study about these two buildings is an article of Umut Şumnu (2017) where he objectively discusses the architectural features, internal organization of the buildings, the furniture and overall decoration.

Başkent Apartmanı and *Talip Apartmanı* shared the same design idea: vertically organized building blocks with three main functions - cultural/commercial (movie theaters), commercial (retail stores, cafes etc.) and residential (apartment units). Such a building program represented an intense multi-functional appropriation of an urban plot, achieved with the creating of the maximum amount of units within the frame of planning regulations and permits. However, the architect Tekelioğlu was still able to create proper living spaces without sacrificing either design quality or his modern ideals.
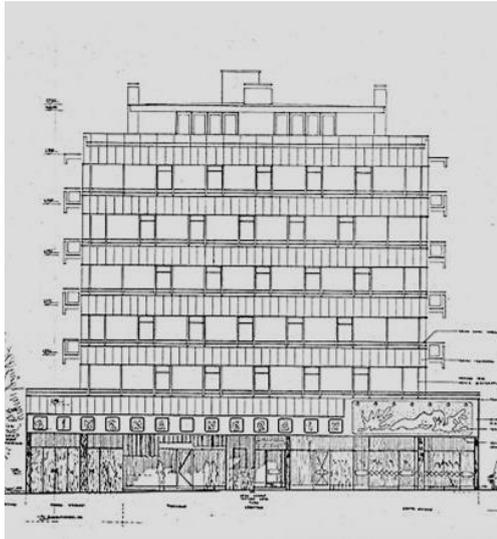
*Figure 63 Başkent Apartmanı architectural plan -
façade elevation (Source: Sivil Mimari Bellek)*

*Figure 62 Başkent Apartmanı Kavaklıdere
Sineması and Ziraat Bank on the sight
(Source: Sivil Mimari Bellek)*
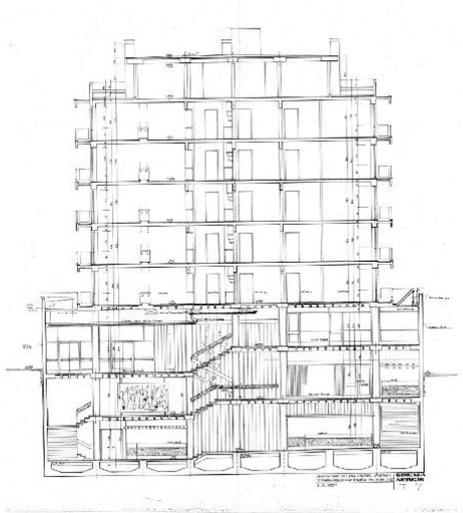
*Figure 60 Başkent Apartmanı Section 2
(Source: Sivil Mimari Bellek)*
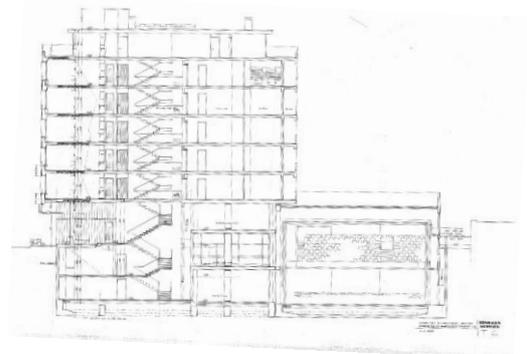
*Figure 61 Başkent Apartmanı Section 1 (Source:
Sivil Mimari Bellek)*

Başkent Apartmanı consisted of 5 floors and *Talip Apartmanı* consisted of 6 floors.
Both of them had stores at the ground level, while the basement level harbored the
movie theater. Their façade shared the same design features: a plain prismatic form
was dominated by Sun breakers which created vertical lines.

Figure 65 Talip Apartmanı Section (Source: Sivil Mimari Bellek)

Figure 64 Talip Apartmanı Façade (Source: Sivil Mimari Bellek)

The ground level consisted of a rather narrow entrance to the building which would lead to the staircase to the upper floors' residential units and the entry to the movie theater downstairs. The building's main entrance was placed in between stores. The ticket office to the cinema was placed in the entry to the theater, alongside with a foyer. If one was to continue downstairs, he/she would arrive at the level where the entrances of balcony section and private boxes are located, one level below, *parterre* and its foyer are located. In the plans of the both buildings the foyer areas are decorated with wall reliefs the fashion of which is intended to match that of the building's façade on the street level.

Figure 68 Talip Apartmanı Relief (Source: Şumnu, 2017, p. 117)

Figure 67 Kavaklıdere Sineması Ceramic (Source: Şumnu, 2017, p. 117)
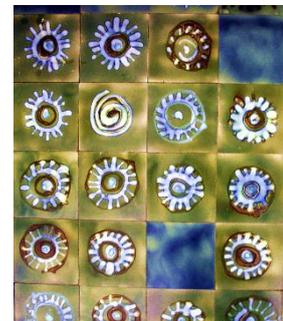
Figure 66 Menekşe Sineması Ceramic (Source: Author's Archive)

Ceramic relieves and their adaptation into buildings during the years between 1950 and 1980 became an important contribution to the construction of an identity for the buildings in coherence with their architecture. Architecture scholar Ezgi Yavuz (2017) considers this inclusion of art pieces in and on buildings as a way of re-evaluating modern architecture so as to satisfy the emotional needs of the people and internalizing them. Umut Şumnu (2017) addresses the issue from a different angle, stating that the implementation ceramic relieves created an opportunity for artists, both as economic income as well as a new field of artistic representation. He continues by mentioning the names of the most important contemporary artists of the era (such as Ferruh Başağa, Salih Acar, Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu, Eren Eyüboğlu, Füreya Koral, Nuri İyem, Hamiye Çolakoğlu and Atilla Galatalı) all the while highlighting how their involvement in public constructions in Istanbul and Ankara provided extra recognition to the buildings. In Ankara, similar ceramic art works had been used in other movie theaters as well such as *Renkli Sinema* (which featured the work of Ferruh Başağa and Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu), *Arı Sineması* and *Talip Sineması* (decorated by Hamiye Çolakoğlu).
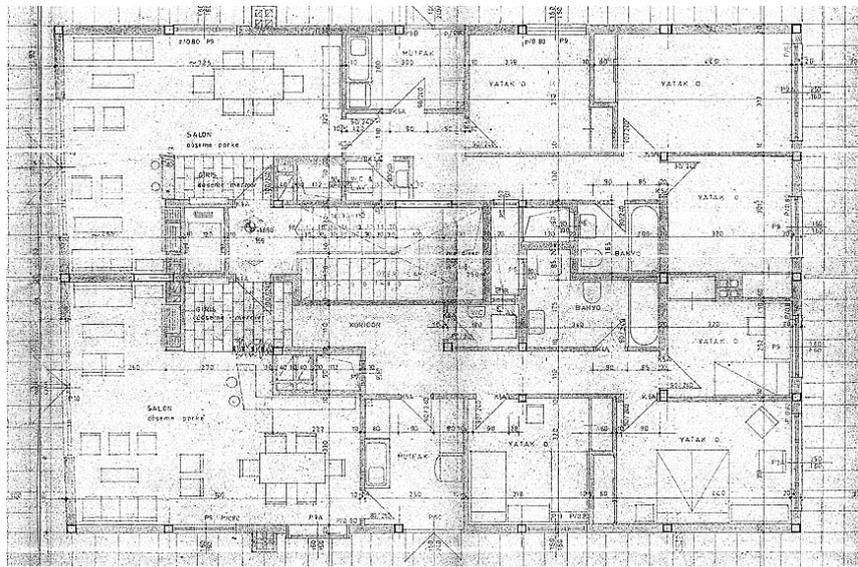
Figure 69 Başkent Apartmanı Floor Plan (Source: Sivil Mimari Bellek)

Let us now turn to the residential units of the two apartment blocks. As mentioned, the entrance halls of buildings are narrow yet leave sufficient space for the theater and stores. The inner organization of the floors in Talip Apartmanı is more advanced than in *Başkent Apartmanı*; the former has three apartment units of different sizes on each floor, while the latter has only two apartment units on each floor. This difference in planning can be explained as a the result of the realization of the architect to upgrade the implementation of the movie theater; *Başkent Apartmanı* was raised above the theater with a smaller bulk, however *Talip Apartmanı* keep its ground as it is on the upper floors as well. In other words, for *Talip Apartmanı*, the ground surface of the residential units was equal to the size of movie theater. In *Başkent Apartmanı*, residential units' ground surface was

The details in the interior design of the apartment units can be listed as follows: built-in wardrobes in the bedrooms, two bathrooms per flat, and a storeroom (in *Talip Apartmanı*), American bar (in *Başkent Apartmanı*), and the placement of dinner table in front of the window besides an additional kitchen table. These spatial and decorative arrangements, as Şumnu stated (2018), exemplify the needs of the higher social classes. These nuances in the interior design of the buildings on Tunalı Hilmi Street also address the general demographic nature of the district.
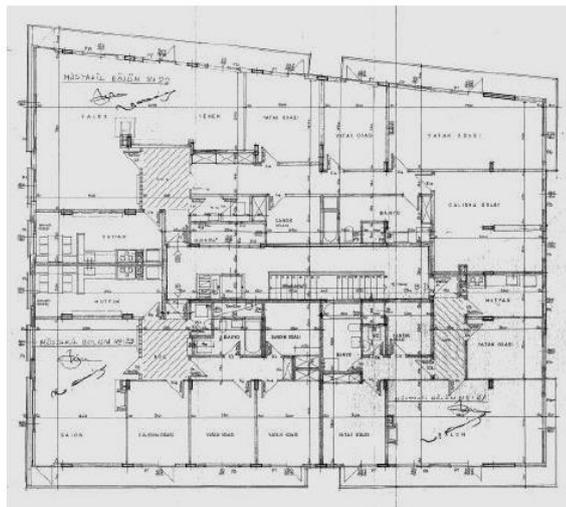
Figure 70 Talip Apartmanı Floor Plan (Source: Sivil Mimari Bellek)

Abdi Güzer (2017) reflects on the "reconciliation efforts in the structures of Tekelioğlu" when observing these buildings:

> The apartment blocks of Talip and Başkent (Kavaklıdere), which will later make us remember him as a "cinema architect", should be seen first and foremost as efforts to urbanize the traditional housing structure and integrate it with public uses. If we recall that commercial, social and cultural functions can only take place under the flats in a period where the zoning plans consisted of the repetition of the parcels, divided mainly depending on the production and capital opportunities, creating new typologies in Ankara required special solutions. In this sense, Tekelioğlu seeks a compromise between the impositions and constraints of the city and its context and the expectations of modern life in the apartment blocks with movie theaters. This typology, that is, the effort to transform the residential building into commercial and public uses on the ground floor, was developed in the following years and used as a generic model. Similar structures started to appear on the whole of Tunalı Hilmi Street. (Güzer, 2017, p. 22) [Author's Translation]

This commentary provided by Güzer interprets the dynamics of Tekelioğlu in a precise way. However, he does underestimate the role of the contractor as a decision-maker in the whole process. This point is especially important for the main argument of this thesis. In the construction of movie theaters, the agencies who led the way in the first phase were mainly the contractor and the architect, whilst governmental agents played a background yet nevertheless important role. The motivation of the contractor to build a movie theater as a part of the apartment block was mostly, if perhaps not purely, guided by economic profit – an issue which was addressed directly by Ayhan Nergiz (Tunç, 2011) himself when reckoning that the movie theater business was booming at that moment. Another dimension of this joint planning is the fact that by building a movie theater underground, the contractor did not have to sacrifice any of construction rights he had earned (from the municipality) for the residential part of the building, since the permits had been given based on the number of floors. Therefore, utilizing and commodifying the underground area of the building (a space not particularly adequate for housing) and burying the movie theater there was a rational and profitable business opportunity. Again, this is partly due to the fact that movie theaters do not require

natural light. The only obstacles they had to surpass were related to the construction and engineering.

Ayhan Nergiz (2017) also mentioned that they sold all the residential units but kept the movie theater in *Başkent Apartmanı* and the stores. This is how he started to become actively involved in the cinema management business. Right after construction was completed, the agency of Nergiz grew from contractor to manager of the space together with his brother in law Zafer Göker (Tunç, 2011). His future business decisions prove the catalyzing effect of the agency of ownership and management and how it was shaped by trends in the cinema industry.

In the late 1960s, the screening of films was conducted in a particular way according to the nature of film rolls. At the beginning of any given showing, the projectionist would place the first roll of the film; after it concluded, the roll would be taken to another cinema to be screened. Therefore, to increase economic profitability and salvage logistic problems, it was commonplace to own a distribution company or to collaborate with other cinemas in town. Ayhan Nergiz first chose to team up with the management of *Ankara Sineması* in Sıhhiye (Nergiz, 2017). However, because of logistical irregularities and flawed timings in the circulation of film rolls, problems often occurred during screenings. As a result, the Nergiz brothers decided to do build another movie theater. It was a feasible and logical step considering that they were active contractors and two cinemas could, in managerial terms, be run more systematically and easily with one copy of each film (Nergiz, 2017).

Figure 71 Zafer Göker (on the left) in front of Kavaklıdere Sineması with a movie poster (Source: Tunç, 2011, p. 145)

They collaborated with Nejat Tekelioğlu again for their new project, this time in the Kızılay area, a new apartment block with a movie theater, located on Menekşe Street: *Orkide Apartmanı*, which was built in the late 60s (Nergiz, 2017). At first, the building had a stage theater instead of a movie theater, but due to the low demand it was transformed it into a movie theater: *Menekşe Sineması*. One or two years later they would construct another building block with a bigger movie theater in a plot located right next to *Orkide Apartmanı* (Nergiz, 2017). The new building, also designed by Tekelioğlu, was called *Nergiz Apartmanı*, and its cinema *Nergiz Sineması* (Nergiz, 2017). In the span of three years, Nergiz was able to manage three cinemas with one copy of the films. They bought movies from the distribution company *Ulus Film*; later, when *Ulus Sineması* closed down and was turned into the *Soysal Han* commercial gallery, they bought the movies which had played there (Nergiz, 2017). The cinemas, according to Nergiz, screened high-quality films suitable for all ages, and shied away from erotic or avant-garde movies (Tunç, 2011). In fact, he was very well aware of the fact that the cinema's programming and film selection was crucial for the success of the movie theater.

However, it was also crucial to sustain and manage the complexities related to the order of the building block overall. If we go back to our case study of Başkent Apartmanı, it relied on three different functions which represented three different

levels of privacy and/or publicness. In a district like Tunalı Hilmi, where the demographic fabric consisted of middle-upper classes, having a public place (the cinema) in the building was not considered as a disturbance of the privacy of the residents. However, in Maltepe (south of Kızılay), similar type of buildings harboring movie theaters underground started to screen porn movies known as "üç film birden" ("three films for the price of one") (Tanyer, 2017). The sort of audiences these establishments attracted started to bother not only the residents of the apartment blocks themselves but also the inhabitants of the whole neighborhood.

Regarding the co-habitation of commercial/private in *Başkent Apartmanı* and the maintenance of a certain kind of civic order, an example from Şumnu's study (2017) fits very well with the discussion. He discovered a decoration aspect concerning the building: the fact that furniture for *Kavaklıdere Sineması* was purchased from the furniture company *Aktan Mobilya* –which was also a supplier for other movie theaters like *Alemdar* or *Menekşe*. The most significant items purchased here are the 'sound absorbing Cophenhagen panels', which was considered by Şumnu as part of Tekelioğlu's meticulous efforts to solving the acoustic problems inside movie theaters. It can be argued that this also indicates the architect's efforts in the containing the noise emanating from the movie theater, alongside the structural decision to treat the ground-level stores as a buffer zone designed to mitigate the sound (so that it would not reach the residential unit on the first floor).

In this discussion of the interplay between the different functions within a building, it is helpful to go back to Beatriz Colomina's (1999) comments on how "modernity is the publicity of the private". Her interpretation stems from the concept of "modern architecture as mass media". Movie theaters, as explained in the second chapter, already contained the pressures and pleasures of modernity within. The translation of this in the context of the built environment of post-1945 Ankara coincides with the transition from the "radical modernism" of early republican period to some sort of "popular modernism" (Cengizkan, 2000). The pressures of

modernity, in this case, can be described mainly as the contractor's efforts to attain a maximization of profit – and hence the most thorough and total utilization of the urban plot. The cinema industry's demanding film distribution techniques and the 1966 law of property rights complemented and informed contractors' attitudes. The dimension most purely dealing with the pleasures of modernity can be ascertained in the architect's efforts on creating a certain kind of modern life and aesthetics in his/her work, the audience's entertainment in the movie theater, and the homeowner's comfort in a modern apartment complete with an American Bar. This convergence of consequences and developments stemming from modernity applied to the specific socio-historical context of Ankara is an equation on full display under the roof of *Başkent Apartmanı*, in which contractor and architect adhered to the framework of the "publicity of the private" and thus created a mixed-used building which was the product of "popular modernism" (Cengizkan, 2000).

Therefore, *Başkent Apartmanı* is the well-managed materialization of the clashes of post-1945 popular modernism of Ankara, rather than it being an example of programmatic modernist architecture where 'one can find it all'. The repetition of the same type of building with the same functions on four additional occasions within less than a five year period and within a 1 km distance in the same street proves the system was highly convenient in this particular era, when the demands of the contractor, the architect, the cinema industry, the planning regulations and the audience played out in balance within the network their agential relationships had established. To further prove this, it is time to turn to the joint analysis of the other cinemas in Tunalı Hilmi Street.

3.4.4. The Audience, The Street and The Five Theaters

Soon after the opening of *Kavaklıdere Sineması* in 1968, *Ses Sineması* opened at Tunalı Hilmi Street, nº87 (Tanyer, 2017). In fact this building was not designed with a movie theater in mind, but rather the ground floor was converted into a movie theater afterwards. In 1969 *Lale Sineması* was the third movie theater to open its doors in the street and was located right next to the *Kavaklıdere Sineması*. *Lale*

Sineması had a 900 seats capacity and balconies; one neighbor recalled it being "the loveliest" (Resuloğlu, 2011, p. 133). The Talip Apartmanı building block, the construction of which was ordered by the Talip Family on Tunalı Hilmi Street (towards the Esat end), was the second design of Nejat Tekelioğlu in the area, as mentioned in the previous section. It would be equipped with a movie theater which would receive the name *Talip Sineması*. Finally, *Yeni Ulus Sineması* was established in early 1970 with a relatively small capacity and without a balcony section.

In addition to all of these, on the surroundings of the two ends of Tunalı Hilmi Street, by the early 1970s, four more movie theaters had been opened. In 1969, in Esat street, the Karınca Apartmanı building block with its *Karınca Sineması* in the late 1960s, at Şili Square, *Çankaya Sineması*; in 1972, at the lower end of Cinnah Street, *Hanif Sineması*; and in 1975, *Akün Sineması* in was opened Atatürk Boulevard (Felekoğlu, 2013).

Figure 72 Locations of the movie theaters in Tunalı Hilmi District, 1975

Resuloğlu's study (2011) on the oral history of Tunalı Hilmi presents various accounts of audiences who frequented these movie theaters. When people were asked about what were the most significant cultural places in Tunalı Hilmi without

an exception they all mentioned *Akün Sineması* and *Kavaklıdere Sineması* (and sometimes the other movie theaters would also be mentioned). Due to the fact that *Akün Sineması* had a completely different building program in terms of its size and its architecture, and its location on Atatürk Boulevard, it is included in this study only for the procurement of a better context for the cultural scene and audience practices in Tunalı Hilmi in the mid-1970s.

The accounts of interviewees can be deciphered into two major dimensions that fit the purposes of this thesis: first, the experience and practice of movie-going; second, the architectural features of the movie theaters and what they represented for the people. Based on these two aspects and the overall characteristics of Tunalı Hilmi Street, it is possible to evaluate how movie theaters affected each other, how they triggered commercial and cultural developments in the area and how they transformed the human flow traversing the thoroughfare.

The architect Serinokun, a resident in Tunalı Hilmi, recalls what cinema meant for him;

> When I was a child, we dreamed about going to the cinema at the weekends. It was a big staff for us. If the movie was important for us, we had sometimes bought our tickets before the movie premier. We talked about the artists, the scenario, and the clothes all day long. Tunalı, in the 1960s and in the 1970s was, a "cinema heaven" which was full of cinema halls. I think the avenue became popular due to the opening of the cinema halls. (Resuloğlu, 2011, p. 128)

Another interviewee, the architect Peksöz, shared similar thoughts;

> Both in my childhood and in my youth, cinemas were one of our rare sources of fun. The theatres had a scent specific to them. There used to be such high demand that sometimes it was impossible to find tickets, even in the black market. For example, when *Akün* was very crowded, salons used to be emptied very quickly and the following show used to start before having any opportunity to clean or to air the place. No matter what, we always went to the cinema, dressed up very smart. What I mean is that cinema used to be very special for us. (Resuloğlu, 2011, p. 128)

Architect Bayraktar, who worked in the Tunalı Hilmi district, recalls her habits regarding movie-going:

> In general, I was going to Tunalı for cinemas. I can say that I experienced cinema pleasure really in Tunalı after 1972. There wasn't much audience during those hours which we preffered to go the cinema. We used to take our food and go to the cinema such as going for a picnic. I went to Tunalı for film festivals during the last periods. This means that I have never used Tunalı for shopping. I used it more for emotional and special ties; just for cinema, theatre. (Resuloğlu, 2011, p. 135)

These three accounts focusing on movie-going experiences represent a rich variety of audience behavior in Tunalı Hilmi. Going to a movie was certainly an 'event' for them. Considering that these people lived or worked in the area, they did not have to make a substantial effort to access the movie theater; however, they did have to make an effort to find tickets. Therefore, the movie-going experience first began with the enabling act of purchasing of a ticket, and then would continue with the actual event of entering the screening room and watching the film. Tunalı Hilmi Street, the so-called 'cinema heaven', was where one could taste the pleasures of this industry and art-form. What is also important here is that going to cinema carried within complementary actions which would partake on the construction of a whole practice or habit; this complementary action was for Bayraktar getting something to eat before the movie; for Serinokun, it was taking a walk to Kuğulu Park.

If we are to look at the accounts of interviewees regarding the architectural aspects of the theater, their explanations often come with comparisons. For instance, the architect Peksöz remembers that

> *Kavaklıdere Sineması* had not many halls when it was opened. It had one large hall with a beautiful balcony, which had lodges. *Ses Sineması* was the largest and the most beautiful one in Kavaklıdere. It had one hall with a very nice balcony. I did not prefer to go to the cinemas in Esat, but there was a *Karınca Sineması,* and for a while one part of this cinema worked as an open-air cinema. People used to eat sunflower seeds and watched the movie in their cars. The characteristic of the cinema was that

only Turkish movies were played there, and that's why I did not go to this cinema. (Resuloğlu, 2011, p. 135)

Figure 74 Kuğulu Park 1970s (Source: Resuloğlu, 2011, p. 190)

Figure 73 Kuğulu Park 1970s (Source: Resuloğlu, 2011, p. 190)

The architect Serinokun also mentions other cinemas:

> *Lale Sineması* was famous for the two interesting masks which were placed on the left and the right side of the theater stage. It stood for a while after the cinema flood. Nevertheless, it turned into a super market, then a clothing shop. *Yeni Ulus* was also a pretty cinema.(…) Moreover, Güvenevler (western part of the Kavaklıdere district) was famous with *Çankaya Sineması*. (Resuloğlu, 2011, p. 135)

These accounts show how often a simple architectural feature or just a piece of décor was glued to peoples' minds. Frequently a district became famous thanks to a particular movie theater, and sometimes a particular exhibition practice disrupted the typical habits of audiences and was successfully able to attract a wider attention.

Apart from the interviewees of Resuloğlu, the book *Sinemada Son Adam: Makinist Ramazan Çetin: Ankara Sinemaları Tarihi* (Evren & Karadoğan, 2008) also provides information regarding the exhibition programs of the movie theaters together with their architectural features.

Kavaklıdere Sineması, with its 750-seat capacity, was a three story movie theater; it was also the cinema that survived the longest (until 2007) among those mentioned. The exhibition program of the theatre generally embraced the most popular films coming from Europe and the US. In some occasions they would also

show non-dubbed movies without subtitles, catering to American audience members who worked in the embassy or military bases (Felekoğlu, 2013). One of the interviewees of Resuloğlu is Nurettin Erbir, a resident of Tunalı Hilmi since 1952, who mentions how "the bureaucrats of Ankara used to go to *Kavaklıdere Sineması* in the weekends. I mean, they were the cinemas frequented by the elite". *Ses Sineması* was located in the very heart of Tunalı Hilmi Street, between Esat and Kuğulu Park. It would be eventually converted into a well-known restaurant (Tapas), which in turn would be replaced by a Çağdaş supermarket. The capacity of the theater was 900 people. In the early 70s *Ses Sineması* underwent some infrastructural problems which were register in a report of the Electric Engineers Union (1972). There it was stated that "the Ankara Municipality shouldn't have given an operation license for *Ses Sineması* due to the serious fire hazards which still exist after three years of opening and which might provoke a fire caused by a misuse of electrical systems". The screening program of *Ses Sineması* included animated films for kids - the school in the vicinity would bring classes to the cinema (Poroy, 2016). Later *Ses Sineması* would also be used for theater plays and concerts, which would generally summon university students as an audience (Yalçın, 2017).

Lale Sineması opened in 1969 on the Tunalı Hilmi Street's junction with Bestekar Street (nearer to Kuğulu Park), and would be eventually converted into the prestigious Paşabahçe, a ceramics shop. *Lale Sineması* was a relatively smaller theater compared to *Kavaklıdere* with its 350-seat capacity (Kayador, 1999). It was renowned for its movie selection, which included foreign films screened in their original language with subtitles (Evren & Karadoğan, 2008).

Yeni Ulus Sineması was another cinema on the street, located in today's Tunalı Passage (a commercial gallery). The exhibition program followed the general trends in Tunalı Hilmi - quality foreign movies with subtitles (Felekoğlu, 2013).

Talip Sineması was situated on Tunalı Hilmi nearby Esat Street (on the intersection with Büklüm Street). It was owned and managed by Talip Ünal. Regardless of its

somewhat reduced 350 seat capacity, it was one of the most significant movie theaters in the area (Evren & Karadoğan, 2008). The audiences attending the theater generally consisted of university students. The exhibition programs generally included foreign films in their original language and sometimes Turkish movies. After owner Talip Ünal's death, the management of the theater passed onto his children, who weren't as successful as their father in the business (Evren & Karadoğan, 2008). Eventually the cinema was first transformed to a clothing store and later it became an underground parking place (Evren & Karadoğan, 2008).

There are some additional common particularities regarding the locations of the theaters that are worth mentioning. All of these theaters were found on the eastern side of the street. The geographic features of the land (Tunalı Hilmi Street has significant slopes) and the eastern side's higher altitude than the western side, explain this repeated spatial placement: placing movie theaters in the basement levels of buildings was more affordable on the eastern side. The repetition of same typology of spatial function along up to Kuğulu Park, defined as the end of Tunalı Hilmi Street as a proper commercial strip supports the identity of the street as a cultural, commercial and recreational sub-center.

Different functions and distinct spatial organizations bring forth patterns of the movement for the people transiting the street. In other words, the strip-form center, thanks to its various functions, carries groups of people from one point to another. In this context, movie theaters can be seen as hubs which hold groups of people for a couple of hours to then release them to the street. This mechanism of pumping people to street in every two hours, coupled with smaller scale human flows coming from stores, kept the street functioning as a living organism. Another effect of movie theaters in on the human flow along the street was the long queues of people waiting to buy tickets. Ayhan Nergiz (Tunç, 2011), recalls the days when people would come and wait early in the morning by stating "Especially for some movies, we used to sell so many tickets, we would see queues were getting longer and longer".

Figure 77 A ticket to Kavaklıdere Sineması (Source: KOÇ Archive)

Figure 76 Ayhan Nergiz on a newspaper article about the overwhelming interest in the movie E.T. (Source: Tunç, 2011, p. 141)

Figure 75 The ticket booth of Kızılırmak Sineması (Source: Sivil Mimari Bellek)

Another link between audiences and the management of movie theaters was also established through posters of the upcoming movies littered around the city. The streets and the billboards were both the communication tools and invitation cards for the movie-goers. In other words, the experience of moviegoing started maybe on another street with a poster, continued with waiting in a queue, buying the ticket, then going back to the theater, this time to watch the movie. If we are to think of this ritual not for one movie theater in the street, but for five of them, it would be a sign of a certain type of the liveliness in the street.

Figure 79 People queuing in front of Kızılırmak Sineması - 1970s (Source: Tunç, 2011, p. 138)

Figure 78 Two men posing in front of the posters of Kavaklıdere Sineması (Source: Şumnu, 2017, p. 102)

The small store owners were able to benefit from the liveliness of the street. Zühtü Yakut, who has had a clock repairing shop located at the entrance of the building block of *Kavaklıdere Sineması* since its opening, states that he went to the movie with his wife at least three times a week, normally after working hours were over (Resuloğlu, 2011). As a result of the crowd attracted by the cinema in the 1970s, he became a well-known clock-repairer in Ankara. He adds that his first shop was on the front façade of the building; after the construction of the cinema, it was located inside the building. As a result of this change, he claims (Resuloğlu, 2011) that "he could easily watch people who came to the cinema or looked at the posters and the time passed very fast, even at times when he did not work." The repairing service of Zühtü Yakut was recalled by other neighbors interviewed by Resuloğlu. When an activity was supported by or enabled other types of activities, people were inclined to get more attached to this intersection of activities than they would to single, separated ones. Therefore, combining a movie-going activity with having a clock repaired, or with the activity of eating pizza in the nearby Tivoli restaurant, turned such movie-going activity into a wider cultural and social practice, a natural conclusion given that several interviewees offered proof of having partaken in such 'side-trackings'.

Resuloğlu (2011) comes up with an explanation to these observations: "It is plausible to state that the commercial and cultural activities have a mutual effect. In a sense they maintain each other. Therefore, the loss of one of these activities that is vital in forming the character of a public place, can have a negative effect on the other and the general character of the public place itself." Eventually, this is what happened in Tunalı Hilmi Street. When the boom in the cinema industry started to show symptomatic signs of over-saturation and eventual decadence, together with the social unrest prior to the coup d'état of 1980, the hardships of film distribution caused by an increase in prices started to severely affect the movie theater business as the new decade started. Except for the lone exception of *Kavaklıdere Sineması* (which, as mentioned before, survived well into the 21st century), all other movie theaters had permanently shut their doors by the late 80s.

The interplay of agencies in this era becomes more complex and ambivalent compared to previous decades. We see that ownership and management became two different entities. Governments continued to intervene in the production and distribution through censorship, and with municipal planning regulations the locations of movie theaters were defined under the zoning of commercial and cultural functions. The increase in production of Turkish films and developments in the country's cinema industry had a clear impact on the built environment through the increase in movie theaters. Audiences had never enjoyed so many options regarding cinemas, and their dedicated consumption of movies reached levels of genuine fandom, as was reflected in the letters they wrote to newspapers, a phenomenon which was studied by Dilek Kaya Mutlu (2002) in her dissertation "Yeşilam In Letters: "A Cinema Event" In 1960s Turkey From The Perspective Of An Audience Discourse".

3.5. After the 1980s: A Place in the International Market
Even though the main scope of this thesis does not include the period after 1980s, in order to see the drastic change that took place in these last four decades a brief

analysis based on the locations, the type and the numbers of movie theaters is featured in the following pages.

With the 1980 coup d'état, Turkey experimented radical and instant transformations socially and politically. The main policy intended to overcome the economic and urban downturn of late 1970s was the earning of a place in international market and the privatization of entities (Batuman, 2017). It was observed that neo-liberal economies grew not so much through the production of goods, but through the exchange of goods. Therefore, in every line of business, the distribution rather than the production became the key to profit.

The decrease in production of films in Turkey during the early 1980s, paved the way to a proportional decrease in the number of movie theaters since the distribution of foreign (mainly American) movies was handed to an oligarchy of international media companies. The decline of small business units, and later globalization in the shape of the emergence of shopping malls with international brands, bluntly shook and shifted the economy and land value.

The increase in affordability of television for private homes is a common reason to justify the decrease in number of movie theaters in the mid-1980s. However, a particular reason for Ankara was the decreasing feeling of urban security in public places, especially after the 1980 coup d'état. Later, of course, together with the emergence of cable TV, VHS technology, later DVD and eventually the Internet, the necessity of attending a movie theater to watch a movie slowly vanished.

The distribution of cinemas in the map reflects this radical change after 1980. In 2019, we see a totally different picture: there are 30 cinema establishments; out of which only 3 are located in the city center, while the rest can be found in shopping malls. These three multi-screen theater complexes downtown (Büyülü Fener in Kızılay and Bahçelievler; and Metropol in Kızılay) are proof of a cultural, if not commercial, decline in the city center, the former Yenişehir.
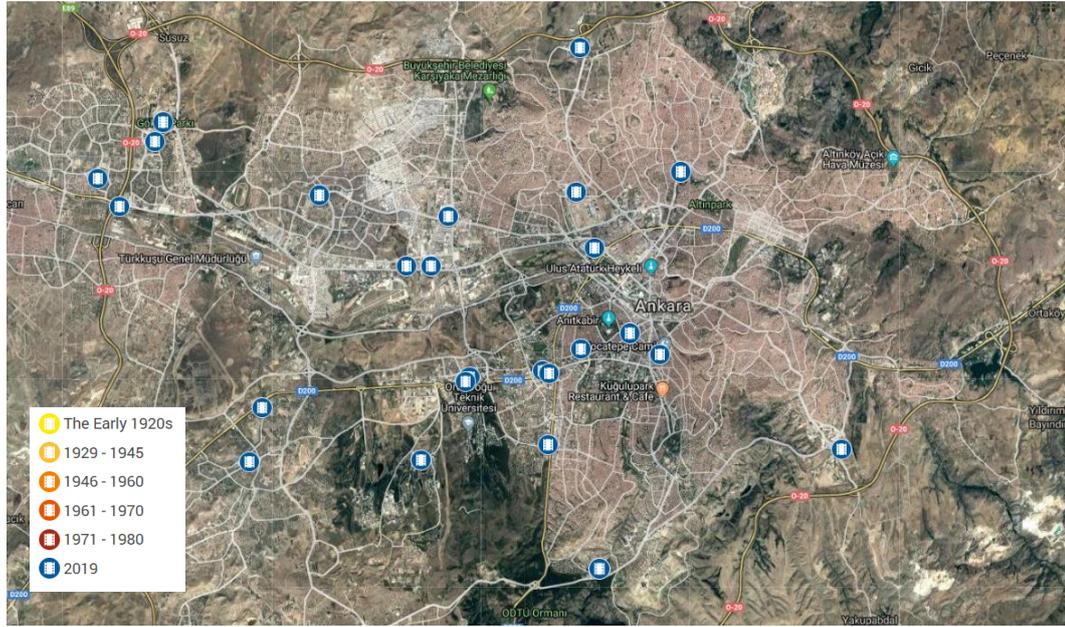
Figure 80 Movie Theaters in Ankara 2019

In her dissertation Demet Önder (2013) prepared - by using statistics provided by TÜİK (Turkish Statistical Institute) - several tables regarding the numbers of cinema halls, seating capacities and audiences. Her findings suggest that following the decrease which started in mid 1980s in all those numbers, in the mid-1990s all trends returned to an increase. She analyses (2013) the situation as

A good example for downscaling in leisure spaces is the change in the capacities of cinema halls. Through the development of multiplex cinemas, each of which generally have at least five simultaneous viewing screens, cinema halls were subdivided into smaller units with various seating capacities. (Önder, 2013, p. 162)

151
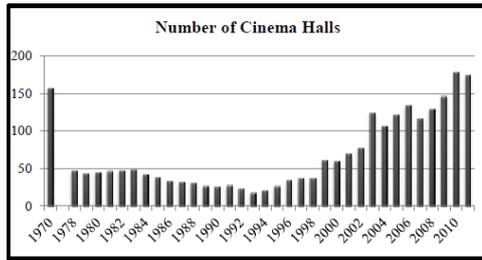
Figure 81 The numbers of cinema of cinema halls 1970 – 2010 (Önder, 2013, p. 163)
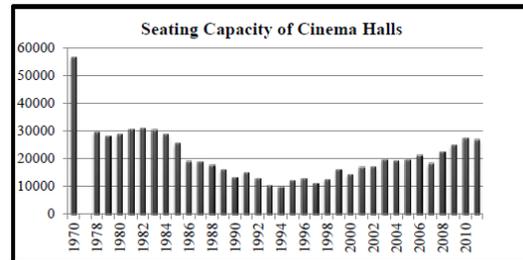
Figure 83 The numbers of Seating Capacity of Cinema Halls 1970 – 2010 (Önder, 2013, p. 163)
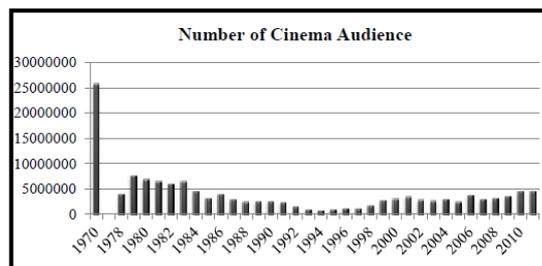
Figure 82 The numbers of Cinema Audience 1970 – 2010 (Önder, 2013, p. 164)

Based on these statistics, even though we cannot technically posit that after 1980s the number of movie theaters decreased, if we take into consideration the demographical increase in population (in 1980 the population of Ankara province was 2.854.689, and by 2010 it had increased to 4.771.716) and the decrease in the number of movie theaters in the city in direct relation with the street, we can say that the movie-going experience has taken a significant downturn, substantially due to an assortment of transnational modifications of film-consuming habits.

Since the establishment of first movie exhibition place in Ankara in the early 20s, in different time periods and in different parts of the city movie theaters created, based on their location, architecture and service, particular social and cultural practices for audiences of all kinds. The preceding pages have shown how throughout the history of movie theaters in Ankara the interplay of agencies involved has been transformed and readapted several times.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

The film *Those Awful Hats,* made by D.W Griffith in 1909, is a small piece of movie history that needs to be briefly addressed at this point, before delving into the proper results of this analysis, as it encapsulates a most artistic, symbolic version of the essence of this thesis. *Those Awful Hats* is a satirical moral story taking place in a movie theater. The film opens in a small exhibition place, where we see a stressed audience trying to see a film on the screen. However, some women's enormous hats are blocking the view of other people. When warnings directed at the women fail to convince them to remove their hats, a machine comes down from the ceiling and starts picking up these hats from the heads of women. However, the machine cannot be slowed down and catches one of the hats taking the woman herself. While she is disappearing from the movie theater, we see the audience cheering. And the movie ends with a moral lesson: "Ladies will please remove their hats". *Those Awful Hats* presents a remarkable commentary on the public sphere of the movie theater. Moreover, it provides insights regarding audience behavior, architecture of movie theaters, role of theater management, gender dynamics, fashion and the increasing mechanization of means.

To bring this symbolic understanding of the gist of the thesis to our particular geographical enclave and procure an anecdote obtained from actual reality, I will also bring to mind a story I came across with when I started to investigate movie theaters in Ankara. It is a peculiar memory from Behiç Köksal who, in the late 1930, was working as a projectionist in *Yıldız Sineması.* The movie *Üç Ahbap Çavuşlar* was about to be screened. The audience was very excited because their favorite dubbing artist, Ferdi Tayfur, was "absolutely great" in this movie. However, by

accident, the copy screened was not the dubbed version but the original language version with subtitles. The moment the audience realized Ferdi Tayfur was not talking, the cinema erupted into chaos. The management had to stop the film immediately and announce that the spectators could come the next week on same day with their ticket to see the dubbed version, news which were met with thundering cheers (Karagözoğlu, 2004).

Both *Those Awful Hats* and the chaos that ensued in Köksal's cinema share commonalities regarding movie theater space, cinema management and audience dynamics: in other words, the admiration awakened by movies and the reactions unexpected events could provoke. In this manner, bringing an American film from 1909 and a scene which took place in a movie theater in Ankara in the 30s, two apparently disparate events, allows us to formulate a common perception on the organic and ever changing relationship people had with the space they attended to be entertaıned.

After constructing a brief yet concise history of movie going places practices in the Western world, both before and after the invention of the cinematograph, and a general observation on how these developments penetrated Turkish territory, the task was to understand how they gelled and mutated in the local case of Ankara, first by looking at the city's overall periods of fruitfulness and tribulations in the domain of the cinema management business as relating to its rapport with audiences, and ultimately concentrating on the cinemas of a specific urban area of the Turkish capital. The main objective behind this effort was to better comprehend the dynamics and evolution of these cases as they related to social and economic developments and practices.

In this thesis, three main periods in the history of movie theaters of Ankara until the 1980s have been formulated and each of them has been analysed based on the urban conditions and social sturcture of the period, the prominent movie theaters and their agiental relationships, and the urban network which was established by these

movie theaters. The first period (1929-1945) starts with the first purpose-built movie theater in Ankara and ends around World War II. The significance of this period is the gradual penetration of the state into movie theaters both on the side of procurement (ownership, management and film distribution) and on the side of reception: as an audience, as "guest" spectators. While *Halkevi Sineması* included all these facets of the state, in *Yeni Sinema* the image of the state was represented via spatial organization specifically through private boxes reserved for the governmental elite. The ideal modern Turkish society was formed in the movie theater in the period of state-driven modernization processes. Together with the increase in number of the movie theaters, the audience was re-grouped sometimes specifically according to a certain type of gender, age and taste. *Ankara Sinema İşleri Limited Şirketi* started to operate as the main film distribution and cinema management company which had both institutional and private shareholders. The articles about movie theaters in *Arkitekt* magazine during 1930s gave a glimpse of the increasing professional interest in cinema buildings.

The second period (1946-1960) signifies the withdrawal of the state's involvement with the cinema business and the takeover of private entities. The transition to a multi-party system, the arrival of American aid and the introduction of economic liberalization changed the socio-political climate of the country. Moreover, due to the migration from rural areas to urban areas, the population increased dramatically. The projection of these changes on the urban land of Ankara in relation to movie theaters became the upsurge in district cinemas. On the other hand, *Büyük Sinema* created a unique trend on its own thanks to the modernist efforts of the owner Kazım Güven and the architect Abidin Mortaş. Their collaboration indicated a pattern (of which we saw a different version in the next period as well) where the two agencies approached the movie theater in a complementery way. The end product was a good example of the balance established between the economic motivation and the design profession. Thus, *Nur Sineması* became the next product of the collaboration of Güven and Mortaş, besides being managed as well by the *Büyük Sinema Film Şirketi*.

The third period (1960-1980) witnessed movie theaters being scattered around the city, in a rather increasing pace when the 1970s came around. The Yücel-Uybadin plan, together with the law of ownership, caused a construction boom in the form of residential blocks. The adaptation of movie theaters into this construction programme was repeatedly used, especially in Tunalı Hilmi Street - an emerging cultural subcenter which did not have any movie theater in its vicinity until the mid-1960s. The contractor Ayhan Nergiz was the person who saw the opportunity and teamed up with the architect Nejat Tekelioğlu for *Başkent Apartmanı*, the building in which *Kavaklıdere Sineması* situated, was an epitome of the popular modernity this period is associated with.

As it has been proven, the presence of these movie theaters in mixed use, multifunctional buildings (a tendency that, as we saw, dates back to the beginnings of film exhibition whether it be in Turkey or elsewhere) seems to support the hypothesis of spaces not obeying to a logic of receptacle or instrument, but rather a middle ground represented by the mixed theory of them being a stage. I believe the case of apartment blocks with cinemas and stores, three possible levels of spatial function and practice all equipped physically or ideologically with the spirit of popular modernity (whether it be in their nuances or their absolute presence), is in some ways the logical and perhaps definitive offspring of post-1945 urban projects attempting to maximize space in order to make profit by bringing together the public and the private, of which these apartment blocks stand as an evident reflection.

The traces of this difference can be found in the form of the relationship the owner and the architect maintained. In the case of Güven and Mortaş, architect was actively involved in the decision-making process regarding the building program - he reflected his professional ethics in both the design and the building process. Even though Güven had the vision to create an artful environment in and around his movie theater, he was convinced that one way to do it was to resort to the aesthetics and the character of the building provided by Mortaş. In the case of Nergiz and

Tekelioğlu, the architect was prescribed the building programme (and previously decided upon spaces and functions) and not given much room for creativity; however, upon closer inspection the reflection of his professional vision can be ascertained in the details. Because *Başkent Apartmanı* actually registers as a building with a cost-saving, thrifty design which makes the most out of its plot and building rights. Therefore, despite these constraints, Tekelioğlu – alongside his three other buildings with movie theaters - proved his professional efficiency and aesthetic values.

If we continue with the comparison of the agencies involved in *Büyük Sinema* and *Kavaklıdere Sineması*, the difference between the management of the movie theater and the audience becomes prominent. The unique atmosphere created in *Büyük Sinema* was mainly thanks to the management and their standards, which can be considered almost didactic, and it stood apart as a singular space in its neighborhood. However, in the case of *Kavaklıdere Sineması* and other movie theaters along Tunalı Hilmi Street, their atmosphere was a continuation of its urban surroundings, a part and parcel of the life in the district, rather than mere single movie halls. The homogenous character of audience and the urban network they were in shaped the movie-going practice.

Overall, these three periods of movie theaters in Ankara show that the movie theater as a part of urban sphere has been tightly connected with the urban development processes of the city; highly reflexive to the changes in the socio-economic landscape; notably diverse in their agencies and greatly representative of the architectural culture of its period. Therefore, in order to properly understand said dynamics taking place in the urban sphere, looking at these buildings as the mere products of a construction effort would have not sufficed, and it is in this regard that a methodology based on the actor network theory has proven most helpful. The examination of these particular spaces as a result of a convoluted and complex series of actions and practices conducted by distinct agents. All of these agents, to some degree or another, shaped the emergence and continued evolution of these

sites as reacting to the events and tendencies of the sociopolitical moment they were undergoing. Whether it be the leanings and fancies of audiences, the expectations and hopes of owners and distributors, the regulations and possibilities offered by the state, the overarching developments of the city or the instincts of architects.

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APPENDIX A: THE LIST OF MOVIE THEATERS IN ANKARA

The map of movie theaters based on their location and time can be seen here;
https://drive.google.com/open?id=11zjReeaOa-
DXnRM2ncPkpvRQ2UQ&usp=sharing

The Opening Periods of the Movie Theaters in Ankara (until 1980)			
1.	The Early 1920s	Millet Bahçesi Sineması	Ulus
2.	The Early 1920s	Karacabey Hamamı Sineması	Cebeci
3.	1929 - 1945	Ankara Sineması	Sıhhiye
4.	1929 - 1945	Kulüp Sineması	Ulus
5.	1929 - 1945	Yeni Sinema	Ulus
6.	1929 - 1945	Halk Sineması	Ulus
7.	1929 - 1945	Park Sineması	Ulus
8.	1929 - 1945	Sus Sineması	Ulus
9.	1929 - 1945	Sümer Sineması	Ulus
10.	1929 - 1945	Ulus Sineması	Yenişehir
11.	1946 - 1960	Renkli Sinema	Bahçelievler
12.	1946 - 1960	Cebeci Sineması	Cebeci
13.	1946 - 1960	İnci Sineması	Cebeci
14.	1946 - 1960	Melek Sineması	Cebeci
15.	1946 - 1960	Yılmaz Sineması	Demirlibahçe
16.	1946 - 1960	Nur Sineması	Dışkapı
17.	1946 - 1960	Örnekdoğan Sineması	Dışkapı
18.	1946 - 1960	Saray Sineması	Hamamönü
19.	1946 - 1960	Konak Sineması	Kolej
20.	1946 - 1960	Gölbaşı Sineması	Maltepe
21.	1946 - 1960	Büyük Sinema	Sıhhiye
22.	1946 - 1960	Seyran Sineması	Yenimahalle
23.	1946 - 1960	Alemdar Sineması	Yenimahalle
24.	1946 - 1960	Güneş Sineması	Yenimahalle
25.	1960 - 1970	Emek Sineması	Altındağ
26.	1960 - 1970	Süreyya Sineması	Aydınlıkevler
27.	1960 - 1970	Arı Sineması	Bahçelievler

28.	1960 - 1970	Uzay Sineması	Cebeci
29.	1960 - 1970	Çankaya Sineması	Çankaya
30.	1960 - 1970	As Sineması	Demirtepe
31.	1960 - 1970	Kerem Sineması	Demirtepe
32.	1960 - 1970	Alemdar Sineması	Demirtepe
33.	1960 - 1970	Dünya Sineması	Dikimevi
34.	1960 - 1970	Eser Sineması	Dikimevi
35.	1960 - 1970	Karınca Sineması	Esat
36.	1960 - 1970	Dilek Sineması	Kocatepe
37.	1960 - 1970	Koray Sineması	Kolej
38.	1960 - 1970	Sun Sineması	Kurtuluş
39.	1960 - 1970	Eti Sineması	Maltepe
40.	1960 - 1970	Orkide Sineması	Maltepe
41.	1960 - 1970	Seyran Sineması	Seyranbağları
42.	1960 - 1970	Orduevi Sineması	Sıhhiye
43.	1960 - 1970	Kavaklıdere Sineması	Tunalı Hilmi
44.	1960 - 1970	Ses Sineması	Tunalı Hilmi
45.	1960 - 1970	Lale Sineması	Tunalı Hilmi
46.	1960 - 1970	Talip Sineması	Tunalı Hilmi
47.	1960 - 1970	Cep Sineması	Yenişehir
48.	1970 - 1980	Dedeman Sineması	Bahçelievler
49.	1970 - 1980	Yıldız Sineması	Bahçelievler
50.	1970 - 1980	Süreyya Sineması	Cebeci
51.	1970 - 1980	Hanif Sineması	Çankaya
52.	1970 - 1980	Akün Sineması	Çankaya
53.	1970 - 1980	Mesa Koru Sineması	Çayyolu
54.	1970 - 1980	Demet Sineması	Demetevler
55.	1970 - 1980	Burç Sineması	Demirtepe
56.	1970 - 1980	Başkent Sineması	Demirtepe
57.	1970 - 1980	Küçük Sinema	Demirtepe
58.	1970 - 1980	Derya Sineması	Demirtepe
59.	1970 - 1980	Mini Sinema	Demirtepe
60.	1970 - 1980	Göktürk Sineması	Etlik
61.	1970 - 1980	Dedeman Sineması	Kavaklıdere
62.	1970 - 1980	Batı Sineması	Kavaklıdere
63.	1970 - 1980	Ankapol Sineması	Kavaklıdere
64.	1970 - 1980	Şato Sineması	Keçiören - Mecidiye
65.	1970 - 1980	Cem Sineması	Keçiören - Pınarbaşı
66.	1970 - 1980	Aykut Sineması	Kocatepe
67.	1970 - 1980	Maltepe Bulvar Sineması	Maltepe
68.	1970 - 1980	Mithatpaşa Sineması	Mithatpaşa

69.	1970 - 1980	Sinema 70	Sıhhiye
70.	1970 - 1980	Yeni Ulus Sineması	Tunalı Hilmi Sineması
71.	1970 - 1980	Stad Sineması	Ulus
72.	1970 - 1980	Efes Sineması	Yenişehir
73.	1970 - 1980	Menekşe Sineması	Yenişehir
74.	1970 - 1980	Nergiz Sineması	Yenişehir

The Functioning Movie Theaters in 1998 (Bozyiğit, 2000)		
1.	On Sineması	Bahçelievler
2.	Akün Sineması	Kavaklıdere
3.	Koru Sineması	Koru
4.	Kavaklıdere Sineması	Tunalı Hilmi
5.	Galleria	Ümitköy
6.	Ankapol Sineması	Yenişehir
7.	Batı Sineması	Yenişehir
8.	ASM	Yenişehir
9.	Büyülüfener Sineması	Yenişehir
10.	Megapol Kültür ve Sanat Merkezi	Yenişehir
11.	Metropol Sanat Merkezi	Yenişehir
12.	Mithatpaşa Gösteri Merkezi	Yenişehir
13.	Menekşe Sineması	Yenişehir
14.	Nergiz Sineması	Yenişehir

The Functioning Movie Theaters in 2019		
1.	Cinemaximum ANKAmall	Akköprü
2.	Büyülüfener Sineması	Bahçelievler
3.	Taurus Cinemarine	Balgat
4.	Cinemaximum Atlantis	Batıkent
5.	Cinemaximum Atakule	Çankaya
6.	Arcadium	Çayyolu
7.	Cinemaximum Gordion	Çayyolu
8.	Optimum Avşar	Eryaman
9.	Göksu Sinemax	Eryaman
10.	Cinemaximum Metromall	Etimesgut
11.	Cinemaximum Antares	Etlik
12.	Forum Cinema Pink	Etlik
13.	Cinefora	Keçiören

14.	Nata&Vega Prestige	Mamak
15.	Cinemaximum Panora	Or-An
16.	Cinemaximum Cepa	Söğütözü
17.	Kentpark Prestige	Söğütözü
18.	Cinemaximum Armada	Söğütözü
19.	Cinemaximum Next Level	Söğütözü
20.	A City Cinevizyon	Yenimahalle
21.	Cinemaximum Podium	Yenimahalle
22.	Metropol Sanat Merkezi	Yenişehir
23.	Büyülüfener Sineması	Yenişehir

APPENDIX B: THE LIST OF THE PROJECTS OF NEJAT TEKELİOĞLU

Source: *Ankarada İz Bırakan Mimarlar: Vedat Dalokay & Nejat Tekelioğlu,* Eds. Nuray Bayraktar, 2017

1.   **Bizim Apartman** Vedat Dalokay - Nejat Tekelioğlu - 1958 (1963, 1966 tadilat)
Mesnevi St. No:8, Güvenevler Neig., Çankaya

2.   **İmar LTD Residential Blocks** Vedat Dalokay - Nejat Tekelioğlu - 1959
Servi Sk., Umut Sk., Mahmut Esat Bozkurt Cad., Ön Cebeci Mah., Çankaya

3.   **Basın Sitesi** Vedat Dalokay - Nejat Tekelioğlu - 1960
Cinnah Cad. No:80, Aziziye Mah., Çankaya

4.   **TSE Central Building and Laboratuars** Vedat Dalokay - Nejat Tekelioğlu - 1961 (1960 competition year)
Necatibey St. No:112, Yücetepe Neig., Çankaya

5.   **Karabük Apartmanı** Vedat Dalokay - Nejat Tekelioğlu - 1961
Bülten St. No:49, Barbaros Neig., Çankaya

6.   **Karabük Apartmanı** Vedat Dalokay - Nejat Tekelioğlu- 1961
Büyükelçi St. No:15, Barbaros Neig., Çankaya

7.   **Tekdal Apartmanı** Vedat Dalokay - Nejat Tekelioğlu - 1962 (1963 modifications)
Üsküp St. No:6, Çankaya Neig., Çankaya

8.   **Başkent Apartmanı** (Kavaklıdere Sineması) Nejat Tekelioğlu - 1965 (1996 modifications)
Tunalı Hilmi St. No:105, Barbaros Neig., Çankaya

9.   **Orkide Apartmanı (Menekşe Sineması)** Nejat Tekelioğlu - Özdemir Çakıner - 1966
Menekşe-1 St. No:8, Kızılay Neig., Çankaya

10.   **Nergiz Apartmanı** (Nergiz Sineması) Nejat Tekelioğlu - 1967
Menekşe-1 St No:10, Kızılay Neig., Çankaya

11.   **Talip Apartmanı** (Talip Sineması) Nejat Tekelioğlu - 1969
Tunalı Hilmi Cad. No:67, Barbaros Mah., Çankaya

12.   **Danıştay Lojmanları** Nejat Tekelioğlu - 1977 (1985 modifications)

Zeytin Dalı (Nevzat Tandoğan) St.. No:10, Kavaklıdere Neig., Çankaya

13. **Nergiz İş Hanı** Nejat Tekelioğlu - 1978
Sağlık-1 Sokak No:5, Cumhuriyet Mah., Çankaya

14. **Ziraat Bankası Maltepe Branch** Nejat Tekelioğlu - 1991
GMK Blv. No:97, Anıttepe Mah., Çankaya

15. **Zabıta Evleri** Nejat Tekelioğlu – Date is not available.
706. Sk, 702. Sk., 715. Sk, 712. Sk, 711. Sk., 127. Sk., Mutlu Mah., Mamak

16. **Kocatepe Camii** Vedat Dalokay - Nejat Tekelioğlu - 1957 (Competition Year)
Dr. Mediha Eldem St No:67, Kültür Neig., Çankaya – Cancelled Project.

APPENDIX C: TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Sinemalar bir asırdan fazla bir zamandır kent hayatı içinde yerlerini almış durumdadırlar. Sinema salonu, sinema yapısı gibi terimler hayatımıza girmeden çok daha önce, film gösterimleri çeşitli birçok kentsel mekânda (tiyatrolar, barlar, kahveler, hatta hamamlarda) makinistlerin öncülüğünde, mekân sahiplerinin çabaları ile gerçekleştirildi. Sinema, mimarlık tarihi içerisinde bir yapı birimi / tipi olarak yer alırken, temel tasarım fikri basitçe yüzünü bir perdeye dönmüş sandalyeler ile dolu bir salon oldu. Sinemalar, en temel sözlük tanımını kullanacak olursak, insanların eğlenme amacı ile film izlemeye gittiği mekânlardır. Bu mekanın kullanıcıları için temel motivasyon, eğlence olarak tanımlanmıştır. Bu eğlencenin aracı ise filmlerdir. Sinema salonu, fonksiyonel olarak, bir sanat formu olan sinemanın servise sunulmasıdır. Kamusal yönü ise bu ortak mekânda insanların bir deneyimi paylaşıyor olmaları ile kar motivasyonu ile hareket eden bir işletme döngüsünün içinde bulunmalarıdır. Tüm bu girdiler, mimari tasarım ve sonraki dönüşümler için bir etki ağı yaratmaktadır. Bu noktadan hareketle, bu araştırma, sinema mekânının, açılışından yönetimine, dönüşümünden yıkılışına geniş bir yelpazede barındırdığı ilişkiler konu edilmiştir.

Bu tezin temel amacı, sinema mekânlarını / yapılarını, 20. yüzyılın mimari kültürünün bir ürünü olarak incelemek ve bu alanların sosyal ve mekânsal anlamlarını ve koşullarını, farklı coğrafyalar ve zamanlar için, anlamayı ve tartışmayı sağlayacak kapsamlı bir söylem geliştirmektir. Bu amaca yönelik olarak, bu çalışma bize mimarlığın nasıl işlediğine dair en kapsamlı ve etkin açıklamayı sunan bağlamların neler olduğuna dair bir cevap sunmaktadır.

Sinema salonu tanımına dayanarak, hem bir sanat formu hem de bir endüstri olarak sinema, hem kitle olarak izleyici (*audience*) ile kurduğu ilişki hem de bireysel olarak izleyici (*spectator*) deneyimi ile ilk bağlamı oluşturmaktadır. Sinematografın doğuşu, daha sonra kamusal gösterimler ve özellikle kentlerde sinemaya gitme pratikleri modernite düşünceleri ile tarihsel olarak çakışmaktadır. Böylece, ikinci

bağlam modernite, sinema ve sinema mekânı arasında bir ilişki kurularak geliştirilmiştir. Modernite tartışmalarının dâhil edilmesi bizi sinema salonları hakkında yapılması muhtemel; ağırlıklı olarak kentsel / kırsal, batı / doğu ve tarihsel dönemler arasındaki farklar ve karşılaştırmalar açısından, genel geçer söylemlere karşı korumaktadır. Bu çerçevede, sömürgecilik-sonrası modernite düşünceleri izlenerek, evrensel olanı yerelleştiren, mahalli olanı küreselleştiren bir yaklaşım adapte edilmiştir. Üçüncü bağlam ise özellikle mimarlık tarihi okumalarında, mimariye karşı nasıl bir yaklaşım takınılması gerektiği ile ilintilidir. Bu konuda, "sahne olarak mekân/mimari" yaklaşımının; sosyal yapı ve pratiklerin mekândaki yansımaları ile mekânsal organizasyonların sosyal yapı üzerindeki etkileri arasında bir uzlaşma sunarak, tartışmanın katmanlarını ve ölçeklerini çeşitlendirirken, yerel örnekler arasındaki nüansların fark edilmesini kolaylaştıran oldukça verimli bir araştırma aracı olduğu bu tez ile kanıtlanmıştır. Bu yaklaşımın diğer iki açılımı ise; batı-odaklı olmayan, kapsayıcı bir modernite teorisi ile sinemanın geniş ilişkiler ağını açıklamada kullanılmasının en uygun olduğu düşünülmüş olan aktör ağ teorisinin uygulanması olmuştur.

İzleyicinin semiyotik ve psikolojik durumu ile ilgilenen Roland Barhes ve gösterim mekânını anlamlandırma ve teorize etme kabiliyeti ile öne çıkan Giuliana Bruno'nun izlerini takip ederek, izleyicinin sinema mekânındaki deneyiminin uzantıları sınandığında, sinemanın anonim, karanlık ve kayıtsız gibi görünen mekânsal düzenlemesinin, yapının bulunduğu kentsel çevre ile ve sinema ile ilintili diğer araçlar ile ne kadar bağlantılı olduğu ortaya çıkmaktadır. Sinema mekânının karanlığının izleyiciyi çeken baştan çıkarıcı bir özelliği vardır. Bunun üzerine, izleyici için 'bir etkiler festivali' sunması ve böylece kentsel gerçeklikle sinemadaki gerçeklik arasına bir set çekmektedir.

İzleyicinin yaşadığı bu ikilem, sinemanın ilk yıllarında daha güçlü bir şekilde yaşanmıştır. Sinemanın teknolojik bir gelişme olan görsel illüzyonu, yarattığı şok ögesi ve içerik bakımından değerlendirildiğinde 'atraksiyonlar sineması' olarak kayda geçen yapısı birçok yazar, mimar, artistin deneyimlerini kinik bir büyülenme

olarak kayda geçirmesi tesadüf değildir. Dolayısıyla sinema salonunun ve izleyicinin içinde bulunduğu bu çelişkili durum, sinemanın etkilerinin katmanlarının ve mekanlarının çokluğunu kanıtlamaktadır.

Sinematografın keşfi ile başlayan, film gösterimleri önceden belirtildiği gibi ilk olarak barlarda, kahvelerde başlamış olup, özellikle Avrupa ve Kuzey Amerika'da mekânsal olarak kendi yerini zaman içinde yaratmıştır. Ve nihayet, 1907 yılında Nickeodeon, ilk sinema salonu olarak kayıtlara geçmiştir. Sinema yapıları, zamanla mimari trendleri yakalamış, kentlerde prestij yapıları haline gelmiştir. İkinci Dünya Savaşının ardından, sinema salonları yüzyıl başındaki gösterişli tasarımlarından arınmış, modern mimari çizgilerini izlemiştir. Bununla birlikte, sinema salonu da, izleyiciyi yalnızca perdeye ve perdedeki yansımaya odaklayacak şekilde dikkat çekici karakterler arındırılmıştır. Zamanla, çok salonlu sinemalar, kültür merkezlerinin parçası olarak sinemalar, açık hava sinemaları, arabalı sinemalar, alışveriş merkezleri içinde sinemalar gibi film gösterim mekânları çeşitlenmiştir. Özellikle, son yıllarda her türlü alışveriş ve eğlence aracını bir arada bulundurma vaadi ile alışveriş merkezleri (Ankara örneğinde), müstakil yapılara oranla sinema salonlarının çoğunluğuna sahiptir.

Sinema ve mimari, modernite fikirleri ve uygulamalarına doğru yakınlaştırıldıklarında, her ikisinin de modernite ile kurdukları ilişkilerin pek de farklı olmadıkları görülmektedir. Bu noktada, araştırma, mimarlık alanında Hilde Heynen, sinema alanında ise Tom Gunning'e başvurmaktadır. Bu iki önemli akademisyenin kendi alanlarında yaptıkları keşifler karşılaştırıldığında ortak bir paydada buluştukları gözlenmiştir. Sinema ve mimari, hem estetik yönleri, dolayısıyla öznel deneyimleri; hem de teknolojik olarak sürekli gelişmekte olmaları ve (özellikle sinema salonuna ulaşan sinemanın ve kent toprağında inşası tamamlanmış mimarlığın) kapitalist sistem içinde yer almaları, dolayısıyla objektif koşullara bağlı olmaları açısından modernite düşüncesinin merkezinde barındırdığı çelişki ve ikilik durumunu taşımaktadırlar.

Sinemanın bir medyum olarak taşıdığı özellikler, mimarinin biçimsel özellikleri ile sinema salonunda çakışmaktadır. Modernitenin bir başka unsuru olarak görülen,

istikrarlı, durgun ve kontrol altında olan bir mecraya (sinema salonu) bir şok olgusunun dâhil edilmesi (perdedeki görüntü) üzerinden tartışıldığında benzer bir noktaya ulaşılmaktadır. Sinema mekânı, modernitenin baskılarının vuku bulduğu bir mimaridir. Ancak bu demek değildir ki, bu durum modernitenin zevklerini dışarıda bırakmaktadır.

Sinemanın ilk yıllarında, kent yaşamının ve metropollerin endüstrileşme etkisi ile kalabalıklaşmalarının ardından, kitle iletişim araçları ile birlikte, kamusallık ve toplum yeni bir çağa adım atmıştır. Bu durum en kapsamlı şekilde, film teorisyeni ve tarihçisi Miriam Hansen'in çalışmalarında tartışılmaktadır ve bu teze dahil edilmiştir. Gündelik hayat pratikleri değişime uğramış, hızlanan kentin bireyleri gittikçe artan bir şekilde özellikle görsel ve işitsel uyarılara maruz kalmışlardır. Bu ilişkiler ağı içerisinde, sinema mekânının rolü de oluşmaya başlamıştır; sinema mekânı, tüm uyarıların bir çatı altında toplandığı, 'oyalanma sarayları' haline gelmiştir. Oysa Kracauer, sinemanın işçi sınıfları, tiyatro opera gibi üst sınıf temsiliyeti haline gelmiş, sanat dallarının yanında, için bir temsil alanı haline gelebileceğini düşünenlerdenken, o da sonradan bu duruma daha kinik bir şekilde yaklaşarak; sinemanın kapitalizm içindeki bağlarının fazla güçlü olduğunu ve sinema prodüksiyonu, sinema salonu ve izleyicinin varlıklarını sürdürmeleri için belli bir denge tutturmaları gerektiğinde karar kılmıştır.

Bu noktada, sinema mekânında düğümlenen bu ilişkileri daha iyi kavramak adına, Hilde Heynen'in 'sahne olarak mekân' yaklaşımına başvurulmaktadır. Sahne olarak mekân yaklaşımı, 'bir araç olarak mekân' ve 'bir alıcı olarak mekân' yaklaşımları ile karşılaştırıldığında, bu iki zıt görüşün ortasında yer alarak, mekânın sosyal yapıyla girdiği ilişkiyi açıklamayı hedeflemektedir. Mekânın veya mimarinin kullanıcıları üzerindeki 'yönlendirme' etkisi azımsamadan, sosyal yapının ve ilişkilerinin mekân üzerindeki şekillendirici etkisini de göz ardı etmeden, hem mimari özellikleri hem de sosyal çeşitlenmeleri tanımaya yarayacak bir yaklaşım sunulmaktadır.

Bu çeşitlenmeleri ve hangi ögelerin dâhil olduğu açıklamayı sağlayacak metodolojik bir cevap bulmak adına, Bruno Latour'un Aktör-ağ teorisine

başvurulmaktadır. Mekânı ve mimariyi sürekli değişen, hareket eden bir mekanizmanın odak merkezine yerleştiren bu teori; mekânda düğümlenen ilişkilerin aktörlerine ve onların aktivitelerine odaklanarak mimariyi açıklamayı hedeflemektedir.

Bu mimari yaklaşım ve teori, sinema yapılarına ve mekânına yöneltilmesindeki amaç hem sinema mekânlarının bir mimarlık tarihi okumasında nasıl bir metodoloji ile çalışılması gerektiğini keşfetmek olmuştur. Böylelikle, sinema yapılarına özgü aktörler şu şekilde sıralanmıştır: mülk / işletme sahibi, yerel ve merkezi yönetimler, sinema endüstrisi, mimar, mimari ve izleyici. Bu aktörlerin kurduğu ilişkiler, sürekli bir değişim içinde olmakla beraber, birinin davranışındaki değişiklik başka bir aktörde kendini (bazen beklenmedik bir biçimde) gösterebilmektedir.

Böylelikle, Bu tezin amacı izleyici tarihindeki kalıpları araştırmak değil, sinema mekânlarında buluşan pratikleri işaret etmektir. Bir sahne olarak mekân modeli; post-kolonyal teorinin hümanist yörüngesini izleyen bir modernite teorisi; farklılıklardan ziyade kültürler arası ilişkileri ve çeşitliliği vurgulayan kozmopolit bir hümanizm anlayışı ve sinema yapılarını üç temel aşamada (planlama, inşa etme ve deneyimleme) değerlendirmeye olanak tanıyan bu altı içkin aktör arasındaki etkileşimin kabulü ile Ankara sinemaları araştırmasına geçilmektedir.

Ankara'da 1980 yılına dek açılmış sinemalara, kentsel gelişim ve sosyal yapıdaki değişikler göz önünde bulundurarak yaklaşılmış olup, sinemaların mimari yapı ve özelliklerine muhakkak değinerek, her aktörün davranışları incelenerek bir dönemleme yapılmıştır. Bu dönemlemede, Sibel Bozdoğan, Baykan Günay, Ali Cengizkan, Bülent Batuman gibi Ankara'nın kentsel tarih yazımında gerek planlama gerekse mimarlık alanından yaklaşarak önemli katkılar sunmuş akademisyenlere başvurulmuştur. Sinematografın Ankara'daki ilk yıllarında hâlihazırda mevcut olan yapılar film gösterimi için kullanılırken, son derece sivil bir çaba ile izleyicinin ilgisi kazanılmıştır. Cumhuriyet'in ilanına kadar taşra olarak değerlendirilebilecek Ankara'nın yerlileri, Meclis'in kuruluşu ile birlikte demografideki değişimler toplumda iki farklı katman yaratmıştır. Özellikle sonraki dönemlerde bunun sinema mekânına yansıması söz konusu olmuştur.

1929 – 1945 yılları arasında sinema mekânında rol oynayan en önemli aktör merkezi yönetim, devlet olmuştur. 1929'da Ankara'nın ilk sinema olarak tasarlanmış yapısı açılmıştır. Hemen bir yıl sonra, Ankara'nın sosyal yaşamında çok önemli bir yere sahip olacak olan Yeni Sinema açılmıştır. Yeni Sinema sivil, özel bir işletme olmakla beraber, devletin ve yönetimin en üst tabakasında bulunan Cumhurbaşkanı Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün dahi kendi locasının olduğu dolayısıyla kente hâkim olan devletin yönlendirdiği modernite pratikleri ve uygulamalarının da sembolü olarak sinema mekânındaki varlığı oldukça etkili olmuştur. Devletin, sinemayı modern bir iletişim, eğitim ve propaganda aracı olarak görmesi ile birlikte, Ankara'da inşa edilen Türkocağı, sonraki ismi ile Halkevi ve Halkevi Sineması devletin hem mülk sahibi, hem yönetici, hem de temsili olarak farklı alanlarda etkisi ile birlikte görünürlüğü artmıştır. Bu dönemin sonlarına doğru, Yenişehir'de açılan Ulus Sineması, tarihi merkez Ulus'tan kopuşun ve Yenişehir'e doğru uzanan yeni bir merkezin (ki Jansen Planı ile biçimlenmiştir) oluşumunun başlangıcına rastlamaktadır. Film endüstrisi ve dağıtımı konusunda; bu periyod için en önemli atılım bir özel ve tüzel kişi ortaklığı olan: Ankara Sinema İşleri Limited Şirketi'dir. 1940'ların sonunda doğru Ankara'daki tüm sinemaların film dağıtım ve yönetimini İş Bankası ile Bursa Vekili Muhittin Baha Pars ortaklığı olan bu Şirket yüklenmiştir.

Tezin bu bölümünde, yukarıda belirtilen yönlerin birbiriyle olan ilişkisi ve aktörlerin birindeki bir gelişmenin diğerlerini nasıl etkilediği 1930'lar için 1940'ların ortasına kadar özetlenmiştir. Bu sürenin sonunda, gelişen sinema endüstrisi ve kentin farklı sinema salonlarında filmlerin nasıl dağıtıldığı da çeşitlenmeye başlamıştır. Devletin sinema işletmelerine dâhil olması durumu 1940'larda yavaş yavaş azaldı; ancak, dönemin temel özelliklerinin şekillenmesinin ardındaki aktör, kesinlikle inşaat faaliyetleri, yönetim kaynakları ve izleyicilerin yöneten seçkinlerin yüksek görünürlük ve sembolik gücü sayesinde devlet oldu.

1946 – 1960 yılları arasında, sinema mekanlarını şekillendiren aktörler arasındaki ilişkiler, dönemin sosyo-politik ikliminden ve Ankara'nın kentsel gelişiminin karakterine bağlı olarak değişime uğramıştır. İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası

Amerikan yardımları ve etkileri ile birlikte, tüketim odaklı farklı bir modernite anlayışı gelişmeye başlamıştır. Bunun yanı sıra, Ankara'nın kentsel gelişimi neticesinde artan nüfus ile doyum noktasına ulaşan mahalleler dışında gecekondulaşma da bu dönemde başlamıştır.

Bu dönemde açılan sinemalar ile ilgili belirtilmesi gereken iki temel nokta bulunmaktadır; ilki, mimar ve mal sahibi tarafından şekillendirilen bir aktör ağı ve koşulların ürünü olan Büyük Sinema. İkincisi, Ankara'nın gelişim trendleri ve nüfus dinamikleri ile ilgili olarak sinema salonlarının yerleri ile ilgili yeni bir kent modeli örneği olan mahalle sinemalarıdır. Bu nedenle aktör düzeyinde, özellikle mimar ve mal sahibinin işbirliğine ve sinema için sahip oldukları ortak vizyona odaklanarak detaylı bir analiz yapılmaktadır. Öte yandan, mahalle sinemaları, kentin eğlence ağları ve aktörlerin izlediği benzer yönelimler açısından kentsel gelişim eğilimi olarak ele alınmaktadır.

Büyük Sinema'nın sahibi Kazım Güven ve mimarı Abidin Mortaş'ın birlikteliği, hem bu dönemin mimari pratikleri açısından hem de sinema yapıları arasında önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Bu iki aktörün sinemaya verdiği önem, prestijli, standartları yüksek, Ankara'nın sosyal ve kültürel yaşamına katkı sunabileceğine inandıkları bir yapı inşa etme istekleri, sonraki dönemlerde pek rastlanmayacak bir modernist bir vizyonun örneği olmuştur. İkili, Büyük Sinema örneğinde bunu başarmış olup, Nur Sineması ile Kazım Güven'in film şirketi ile bir sonraki seviyeye taşımışlardır.

Büyük Sinema Ankara sosyal ve kültürel yaşamında önemli bir yer tutmuş, çeşitli bir konser, etkinlik, oyunlara sahne olmuş, 1950'li yıllar boyunca izleyicisinin kalitesi ile de kendinden söz ettirmiştir. Ancak bu durum, sinemaların zora girmesini açıklayacak bir durumun da kaynağını oluşturmuştur. Ankara'da sinema bileti fiyatlarının Belediye tarafından belirlenmesi, sinema yöneticilerinin yükselen film fiyatları karşısında, bilet fiyatını artırmaktan başka çaresi olmaması ve bu iki aktörün uzlaşamaması nedeniyle, sinema yöneticileri film kalitesini düşürmüş, sinema salonundaki farklı fiyat uygulamalarını en yüksek fiyata çekmiştir. Bu

durum, 1950'li yıllarda beğenisi ve pratikleri yerleşmiş izleyicileri isyana sürüklemiş, ve sonuç olarak Büyük Sinema'nın çöküşünü başlatmıştır.

Büyük Sinema dışında, bu dönemde kentte 13 sinema salonu daha açılmıştır. Bu sinema salonları genellikle kendi mahallelerinde ilk olanlardır. İzleyicinin ortaklık ve kamusallık vurgusunun öne çıktığı ve çoğunlukla isimsiz mimarların tasarım ve yapımına dayanan, önceki dönem sinemalarının öncülüğünde sahiplerinin son derece girişimci çabaları ile açılmış, bugün hiçbirinin açık olmadığı bu başarılı sinema salonları dönemin karakterini oluşturmuştur.

1960 – 1980 yıllarına gelindiğinde, Ankara'nın kentsel süreçlerini derinden etkilemiş iki önemli unsur ile karşılaşılmaktadır. İlki, Ankara'nın kentsel problemlerini yüksek yoğunluklu konut alanları ile çözmeyi hedeflemiş Yücel-Uybadin Planı, ikincisi ise Kat Mülkiyeti Kanunudur. Bu iki karar, Ankara kentsel gelişimi açıklanırken en çok kullanılan iki terimin de kaynağını oluşturmaktadır: yap-satçılık ve apartmanlaşma. Bu gelişmelerden, elbette sinema yapıları, konumları ve sayıları da diğer dönemlerden farklılaşacak şekilde etkilenmiştir.

1950'lerde, hâlihazırda yoğun nüfuslu alanların ticari yapısına adapte edilmiş sinema yapıları modeli, 1970'lerde, kentteki sinema yapılarının oluşturduğu kümelenmeler, kent merkezle sınırlı olmaktan tamamen çıkmıştır. Yukarıda belirtilen artan inşaat faaliyetleri sayesinde sinema salonları ekonomik açıdan kar getirisi yüksek bir girişim olarak kabul edilmeye başlanmıştı ve sonuç olarak konut birimlerine dâhil edilmeye başlanmıştır. 1970'lerde sinema sayısı 50'nin üzerine ulaşmıştır. Yeşilçam'ın film üretimindeki rekor sayıları de bu döneme rastlamaktadır.

1950'lerde, 1960'larda ve 1970'lerde sinema salonlarının dağılımını ilçeler perspektifinden ele alındığında görülmektedir ki Cebeci, 50'li yıllardan beri özellikle Talat Paşa Bulvarı ve Cemal Gürsel Caddesi boyunca kayda değer miktarda sinema salonuna sahip olmuştur. 1960'larda ve 1970'lerde açılan sinema salonları, yeni olanlar hâlihazırda var olanların arasında bulunan bir örüntü izlemiştir. Yenimahalle'de, 1950'lerden sonra sadece bir tane yeni sinema salonu

açılmış olup. Bahçelievler'de sinema salonlarının sayısı 1950'lerde iki idi ve 1970'lerde iki sinema salonu daha açılmıştır. Dışkapı ilçesinde, 1950'lerde iki olan sinema yapılarına, 1960'larda iki tane daha eklenmiştir.

Ancak, Tunalı Hilmi Bölgesi (genişletilmiş bir şekilde Esat Caddesi'nden Cinnah Caddesi'nin başlangıcına kadar) sinema yapıları açısından diğer bölgelerden ayrı bir eğilime sahip olmuştur. 1950'lerde sinema salonuna sahip olmayan ve 1970'lerin ortalarına kadar yaklaşık on sinemaya ev sahipliği yapan Tunalı Hilmi Caddesi, sinemaya içkin aktörler ile ilişkileri ve bu dönemin kentsel gelişim trendlerini anlamak açısından oldukça verimli bir dizi özellik sunmaktadır.

Bu özelliklerden ilki, Nejat Tekelioğlu'nun tasarımı olan Ayhan Nergiz'in inşasını ve daha sonra sinemasının yönetimini üstlendiği Başkent Apartmanı'nın modelinin cadde boyu tekrarı sonucu beş yıl gibi kısa bir süre içerisinde, cadde boyunca bir kilometre aralığında beş farklı sinemanın açılmış olmasıdır. İkinci ise, Tunalı Hilmi bölgesinin bir alt-merkez olması sürecinde sinemaların oynadığı rol ile alakalıdır. Sonuncu unsur ise, dönemin ürünü olan popülist modernite olgusunun bu yapılar ve oluşturduğu dinamikler üzerinden okunabilmesine imkân veren tasarım, inşa ve kullanım pratikleridir.

Nejat Tekelioğlu, Vedat Dalokay ile ortaklığı sayesinde literatürde karşımıza çıkan bir mimarken, Ankara sivil mimarisine yaptığı katkılar azımsanamayacak ölçüdedir. Özellikle Başkent Apartmanından sonra üç farklı sinemalı apartman üretmiş olması ile son yıllarda tekrar dikkat çekmiş bir unsurdur.

Başkent Apartmanı ve Kavaklıdere Sinemasının, müteahhit Ayhan Nergiz'in Tunalı Hilmi Caddesindeki gelişmeyi öngören bir fırsatı değerlendirmesi ve apartmanın bodrum katının sinema olarak inşa edilmesine karar vermesi ile temelleri atılmıştır. Kar motivasyonu ile hareket eden Ayhan Nergiz, Tunalı Hilmi Caddesi üzerinde bulunan bu arsayı değerlendirerek, sinema salonu, dükkânlar ve daireler ile farklı amaçlar ve kullanıcıları aynı çatı altında toplamıştır. Nejat Tekelioğlu ise bu tasarruflu yapı için önerdiği tasarım ile kendi mesleki

standartlarını, estetik anlayışını ve dönemin bir takım mimari trendlerini de takip ederek oldukça tutarlı ve titiz bir proje gerçekleştirmiştir.

Başkent Apartmanı ile birlikte, yine Tunalı Hilmi caddesinde konumlanan Talip Apartmanı ve Sineması'nın da tasarımını üstlenmiş olan Nejat Tekelioğlu, konut birimlerinin tasarımlarındaki bazı kararları bu modernite temasını destekler niteliktedir. Amerikan mutfak, kiler, gömme dolaplar, kahvaltı masası yeri vs. gibi ögeler, belli bir sınıfa hitabın göstergesidir. Bununla birlikte, binaların cephelerinde, sinema kısmında ve iç duvarlarda kullanılan seramik ögeler belli bir estetik anlayışın tasarıma yansıması olarak kabul edilebilirler. Tunalı Hilmi bölgesinin orta – üst sınıf demografik yapısı göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, böyle bir yapı programının kabulü, cadde üzerinde bir kullanıcı ve sinema ile birlikte bir izleyici pratiği ortaya konulmasından anlaşılmaktadır.

Tunalı Hilmi Caddesinin sinema izleyicisi, çok benzer programlara sahip bu beş sinema içinde en çok Kavaklıdere Sinemasından bahsetseler de, esas olan cadde üzerinde birbirine eklenmiş bir sıra etkinlikten biri olarak sinemaya gitmeyi göstermektedirler. Kimi Esat Caddesi ucundan, kimi Kuğulu Park ucundan başlayarak, bu edimleri gerçekleştirerek sinemaya ulaşmışlardır. Bu durum, kentsel ritim açısından da Tunalı Hilmi'ye bir özellik katmaktadır. Bilet almak için kaldırımda sıralanan izleyiciler, film giriş çıkışlarında yaşanan kalabalık, diğer ticari aktiviteleri de destekleyen bir unsur olmuştur ve bölgenin gelişimi ve bir alt-merkeze dönüşümünde önemli rol oynamıştır.

1980lerden sonra Ankara'da sinema yapıları, sinema salonları, izleyici pratikleri ve film dağıtım sistemleri yön değiştirmiştir. Her ne kadar istatistiklere göre, 1980larden sonra sinema salonu sayısının azaldığını söyleyemesek de 2019'da müstakil sinema (işletmesi) sayısı kent merkezinde yalnızca üçken, alışveriş merkezlerinde bu sayı 20'nin üzerindedir. Bu durum, sinemanın kent mekanı ile kurduğu ilişkide yitime gittiğini işaret etmektedir.

Ankara'da, 20'li yılların başlarındaki ilk film gösterimden bu yana, farklı zaman dilimlerinde ve şehrin farklı bölümlerinde yer alan, mimarisine ve hizmetlerine göre

her türlü izleyici kitlesine yönelik sosyal ve kültürel uygulamalar gözlenmiştir. Bu tezin çalışma alanı olarak seçtiği Ankara'daki sinema salonları tarihi boyunca ilgili kurumlar arasındaki etkileşimin birkaç kez nasıl dönüştürüldüğü ve yeniden şekillendirildiği gösterilmiştir.

Bu tezde, sinema dünyasının kısa ve öz bir öyküsü sunulduktan sonra, Batı dünyasında, sinematografın icadından önce ve sonra yer almış gösterim pratikleri ve uygulamaları ve bu gelişmelerin Türk topraklarına nasıl girdiğine dair genel bir gözlem yapıldıktan sonra, tezin amacı sinema mekânlarının nasıl doğduğunu ve değiştiğini anlamak olmuştur. Bu nedenle, kentsel alanda yer alan söz konusu dinamikleri doğru bir şekilde anlamak için, bu binalara yalnızca bir inşaat çabasının ürünü olarak bakmak yeterli olmayacaktır ve bu bağlamda, aktör ağ teorisine dayanan bir metodolojinin verimliliğini kanıtlandığı görülmektedir. Ankara'nın örnek ve sembol oluşturabileceği düşünülen sinema örneklerini, aktörlerin birlikte nasıl çalıştığının açıklanması ile ele alınması hem süreç boyunca çalışma alanını geniş tutmuş, hem de detayları yakalamaya olanak sunmuştur.

Sonuç olarak ortaya çıkan durum göstermektedir ki Ankara sinemalarının bu üç dönemi, sinema kamusal alanın bir parçası olarak, kentsel gelişim süreçleri ile sıkı sıkıya bağlantılı olmuş, sosyo-ekonomik alandaki değişimlere karşı oldukça hızlı bir şekilde karşılık verebilmiş ve dâhil olan aktörler açısından oldukça geniş bir yelpaze sunmuş ve döneminin mimari özelliklerinin taşınmasında önemli bir yer edinmiştir. Bahsi geçen aktörlerin tümü, yaşadıkları dönemin sosyo-politik duruma karşılık davranışlar sergilemiş, aynı zamanda bu durumları sinema mekanları ve pratikleri ile birlikte şekillendirmişlerdir. İzleyicinin beğenisi ve eğilimleri, mal sahiplerinin ekonomik beklentileri ve büyüme umutları, kimi zaman devletin getirdiği düzenlemeler ve sınırlar, mimarın tasarım eylemi ve idealleri hepsi sinema salonunda mekansallaşmış, bir nevi kendilerine yer bulmuşlardır.

APPENDIX D: THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

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Adı / Name   : ELİF
Bölümü / Department   : MİMARLIK TARİHİ

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (**İngilizce** / English) :

AN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE MOVIE THEATERS IN ANKARA

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: **Yüksek Lisans** / Master ■   **Doktora** / PhD ☐

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