

**ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SCIENCE**  
**ENGINEERING AND TECHNOLOGY**

**APPROPRIATION OF THE BATHROOM IN EVERYDAY LIFE:  
TOWARDS A CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE CONTEMPORARY  
BATHROOM AND ITS ELEMENTS**

**Ph.D. THESIS**

**Aysun AYTAÇ  
(502072954)**

**Department of Industrial Product Design**

**Industrial Product Design Programme**

**Thesis Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Şebnem TİMUR ÖĞÜT**

**JULY 2015**



**GÜNDELİK HAYATTA BANYONUN DÖNÜŞÜMÜ:  
GÜNÜMÜZ BANYOSUNUN VE ELEMANLARININ  
KÜLTÜREL ANALİZİNE DOĞRU**

**DOKTORA TEZİ**

**Aysun AYTAÇ  
(502072954)**

**Endüstri Ürünleri Tasarımı Anabilim Dalı**

**Endüstri Ürünleri Tasarımı Programı**

**Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Şebnem TİMUR ÖĞÜT**

**TEMMUZ 2015**



**Aysun Aytaç, a Ph.D. student of ITU Graduate School of Science Engineering and Technology student ID 502072954, successfully defended the thesis entitled “APPROPRIATION OF THE BATHROOM IN EVERYDAY LIFE: TOWARDS A CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE CONTEMPORARY BATHROOM AND ITS ELEMENTS”, which she prepared after fulfilling the requirements specified in the associated legislations, before the jury whose signatures are below.**

**Thesis Advisor :**      **Assoc. Prof. Dr. Şebnem TİMUR ÖĞÜT .....**  
İstanbul Technical University

**Jury Members :**      **Prof. Dr. Özlem ER .....**  
İstanbul Technical University

**Prof. Dr. H. Neşe ÖZGEN .....**  
Özyeğin University

**Assoc. Prof. Dr. H. Hümanur BAĞLI .....**  
İstanbul Technical University

**Asst. Prof. Dr. A. Can ÖZCAN .....**  
İzmir University of Economics

**Date of Submission : 22 May 2015**

**Date of Defense :      06 July 2015**



*to Roman O., the otterman,*



## FOREWORD

This study would not be possible without the support of many people.

I would like to thank:

- . My advisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Şebnem Timur Öğüt for her time, guidance, contribution, feedback and support in every stage of the study and in every way,
- . The member of my dissertation committee, Prof. Dr. Özlem Er for her contribution and feedback, especially on structuring the research design,
- . The member of my dissertation committee, Prof. Dr. Neşe Özgen for her suggestions and feedback, especially on the theoretical framework of the study,
- . Yaşar University and Asst. Prof. Dr. Mine Ovacık for hosting my workshop,
- . İzmir University of Economics and Asst. Prof. Dr. Deniz Deniz for hosting my workshop,
- . Özlem Badak for providing valuable market insight,
- . My friend Onur Karakuş introducing me to Özlem Badak,
- . My dear colleague and friend Nilü for her help,
- . My dearest friend Benoş for her support and encouragement,
- . My Çikçe for being my friend, and
- . All my friends for giving moral support throughout my study.

I am thankful to my family and my love Ozan for their never-ending support and patience.

I am also grateful to the women who generously participated in my research.

May 2015

Aysun Aytaç



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## **APPROPRIATION OF THE BATHROOM IN EVERYDAY LIFE: CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE CONTEMPORARY BATHROOM AND ITS ELEMENTS IN TURKEY**

### **SUMMARY**

People and their environment recreate and complete each other constantly through everyday life. Studies show that this interaction can be a rich source of inspiration for industrial designers to create better designs or generate new design ideas. Appropriation (to make one's own) in everyday life is part of this interaction. It is one of the ways to change and recreate environments and to construct meanings. It reveals how people intervene their environment and interact their surroundings. In a dwelling, appropriation might derive from various factors such as conflicts between people and features of the given environment or the desire to reflect one's identity. Regarding design research, understanding these appropriations provides a better understanding of the user and the society, which in the end could provide better product development processes and better products.

Contemporary domestic bathroom, being one of the important domains of the dwelling, can be studied through its appropriation in everyday life, which this study does. Domestic bathroom is of interest because it is one of the spaces where practices might highly be affected by culture, which might foster appropriations. The study aims to find out the types of appropriations employed in the bathroom and their influencing factors. It does this in the Turkish context. With this aim, it also reveals the interrelation between users and the domestic bathroom space, and how the bathroom and its elements are incorporated into everyday life routine. By providing an insight of the use and experience of the bathroom, the obtained data becomes an important input for researchers and professional designers.

With a qualitative approach, 15 semi-structured face-to-face interviews were conducted with women live in urban areas of İzmir. The interviews were transcribed and analysed by the generalised issue-focused analysis method. Observations, photographs and field notes were also contributory to the analysis of the transcriptions.

Based on the analysis, four key concepts were emerged: (i) the dominance of women on the organisation, management and cleansing of the bathroom, referring to the domination of the women on the bathroom usage, its organisation and cleaning, (ii) creation of the desired bathroom, referring to the pretentious side of the bathroom, in other words the image women wish to create, (iii) variation in performing activities, referring to the various use practices and differences in use and cleaning practices, and (iv) creation of the extension of the bathroom, referring to the physical incompetency of the space and its elements. In addition, three types of appropriations were identified: (i) utilitarian appropriations, which indicate versatility, (ii) tenants' appropriations, which indicate temporality, and (iii) social appropriations, which

indicate personality. Lastly, the findings show that there are two major strategies of appropriations employed by women in order to overcome the struggle between the everyday side and the pretentious side of the bathroom: (i) decoration and (ii) management.

Without the aim of generalisation, the findings provided an insight into the use and appropriation of the domestic bathroom space. The findings of the study confirm that (i) domestic bathroom is a tool for creation of the territory of the self, and (ii) the consumption trends foster the powerful and dominant modern bathroom image created. Moreover, the findings create (i) an account of interactions, context and reasons which can be used by studies and designers that put people, practices and everyday life in the centre of focus, (ii) a model to understand the everyday life in bathroom space, and (iii) a starting point to create better bathroom spaces.

The study generates knowledge that will support related studies not only in industrial design but also in social sciences, since the concept of appropriation and the use of bathroom space are associated with fields in social sciences such as culture, material culture and everyday life.

## **GÜNDELİK HAYATTA BANYONUN DÖNÜŞÜMÜ: TÜRKİYE'DE MODERN BANYONUN VE ELEMANLARININ KÜLTÜREL ANALİZİ**

### **ÖZET**

Rutinler, alışkanlıklar ve ‘şey’lerden oluşan gündelik hayat ve insanlar arasında bir etkileşim vardır. Gündelik hayat ne kadar kaçınılmaz olsa da, insanlar ona teslim olan edilgen varlıklar değildir. Gündelik hayatın içinde, insanlar ve çevre birbirini sürekli tekrar yaratır, tamamlar ve dönüştürür. Araştırma çalışmaları, bu etkileşimin daha iyi tasarımlar yapmak ve yeni tasarım fikirleri geliştirmek için endüstriyel tasarımcılara zengin bir ilham kaynağı olabileceğini göstermektedir. Gündelik hayattaki bu dönüşüm kendileme/kendinin kılma eylemi (*appropriation*) üzerinden tartışılabilir çünkü kendileme/kendinin kılma eylemi insan ve çevre arasındaki etkileşimin bir parçasıdır; çevreyi değiştirmenin, yeniden yaratmanın ve anlam inşa etmenin yollarından biridir. Bu olgu, insanların çevrelerine nasıl müdahale ettiklerini ve ortamlarını nasıl etkilediklerini ortaya çıkartır. Konut içinde kendileme, insanlar ve verili mekân arasındaki çelişkiler veya kimlik yansıtma arzusu gibi farklı etkenlerden kaynaklanabilir. Tasarım araştırmaları açısından bakıldığında, gündelik hayattaki kendileme eylemlerinin araştırılması ve anlaşılması, tasarımcının kullanıcıyı ve toplumu daha iyi anlamasını sağlar, bu da daha iyi ürün geliştirme süreçlerine ve daha iyi ürünlere ulaşmayı sağlayacaktır.

Bu çalışma konutun önemli alanlarından biri olan günümüz evsel banyo mekânını kendileme kavramı üzerinden okumayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışmanın banyoyu odağına almasının sebebi, banyo pratiklerinin kültürden fazlasıyla etkilenebilir olması ve bu durumun da kendileme pratiklerini besleyebilir olmasıdır. Çalışma, günümüz banyo mekânında gerçekleştirilen kendileme pratiklerinin tiplerini ve bunların etmenlerini bulmayı amaçlar. Bunu Türkiye bağlamında yapar. Bu amaç ile beraber, çalışma, kullanıcılar ve banyo mekânı arasındaki karşılıklı ilişkiyi ve banyo ve elemanlarının gündelik hayat rutinine nasıl dahil edildiğini de ortaya çıkartır. Çalışma, banyonun kullanımı ve deneyimi hakkında derinlemesine bir bakış sunarak araştırmacılar ve profesyonel tasarımcılar için önemli bir kaynak veri oluşturur.

Çalışmanın amacı ve soruları nitel bir araştırma tasarımını gerektirmiştir. Dolayısı ile çalışmanın temel verisini görüşmeler ve görüşmecilerin ifadeleri oluşturmaktadır. Etnografik bir yaklaşım ile İzmir’de, kent merkezinde yaşayan 15 kadın ile yarı yapılandırılmış, yüz yüze görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Üç görüşmeci ile pilot çalışma, 12 görüşmeci ile nihai çalışma sırasında görüşülmüştür. Pilot çalışmaya çiftler ile görüşülerek başlanmış ancak erkeklerin banyo mekânının kullanımı ve düzeni hakkında konuşmaya istekli olmadıkları, kadınların bu konularda daha baskın oldukları gözlenmiş ve çalışmaya profesyonel olarak çalışan veya çalışmayan kadınlar ile görüşülerek devam edilmiştir.

Araştırmanın konusu olan banyo mekânının mahrem bir alan olmasından dolayı görüşmecilerin bu konu ile ilgili bir yabancı ile konuşmaya çekinebilecekleri düşünülerek görüşmeciler arkadaşlar ve aile çevresinden seçilmiştir. Kadınların misafir gelmeden önce banyo mekânını temizleme ve derleyip toparlama eğilimleri bilindiğinden, arkadaş ve aile çevresinden bu konuda daha rahat olabilecek, banyo mekânını toparlamama konusunda ikna edilebilecek esneklikte görüşmeciler önermeleri istenmiştir. Ayrıca, önerilen görüşmecilerin bu mahrem mekân ve orada gerçekleşen eylemler hakkında çekinmeden rahatlıkla konuşabilecek olmaları da önemli bir kriter olarak belirtilmiştir. Görüşmeci belirlendikten sonra telefon ile veya yüz yüze konuşularak banyo mekânının olduğu gibi bırakılmasının araştırma açısından önemi vurgulanmıştır. Görüşme tamamlandıktan sonra yukarıda bahsedilen kriterler hatırlatılarak görüşmeciden kriterlere uygun birisini önermesi istenmiştir.

Görüşmeler ortalama bir saat sürmüştür ve üç kısımdan oluşmaktadır. Birinci kısım genel bir giriş niteliğindedir ve demografik veriyi toplamayı amaçlamıştır. İkinci kısım banyoda gerçekleşen eylemlere odaklanır ve banyo mekânının gündelik rutinini anlamayı amaçlamıştır. Son kısım ise banyoda gerçekleştirilmiş ve bir önceki kısımda konuşulan konular tekrar gündeme getirilmiştir. Görüşmecinin bahsettiği konuları banyoda göster ve anlat tekniği ile anlatması istenmiştir. Bu kısımda ayrıca banyo mekânı gözlemlenmiştir.

Görüşmeler yeni veri oluşumu durduğunda ve ortaya çıkan kavramlar/temalar arasında ilişki kurulabildiğinde sona erdirilmiştir. Her görüşme hemen akabinde deşifre edilmiş ve genelleştirilmiş konu odaklı analiz metodu (*generalised issue-focused analysis method*) ile analiz edilmiştir. Bu metodun dört aşaması vardır; kodlama, sınıflama, bölgesel tümlene ve kapsamlı tümlene. İlk aşama olan kodlama, metni birden fazla kere okumayı gerektirmiş ve bir nevi metin ile beraber düşünmeyi sağlamıştır. Bu aşama kağıt üzerinde, geniş satır aralıkları ve kenar payları olan deşifre metnin üzerine notlar alınarak yapılmıştır. Kodların sınıflandırılması ve tümlene aşamaları Microsoft Excel programı kullanılarak yapılmış, görüşme metinleri tekrar tekrar okunarak notlar arasında sürekli karşılaştırma yapılmıştır.

Görüşmelerin yanı sıra görüşmeler sırasında çekilen fotoğraflar ve alan notları da analize katkıda bulunmuştur.

Analiz sonuçlarına göre dört anahtar tema ortaya çıkmıştır: (i) banyo mekânının düzenlenmesi, idaresi ve temizlenmesinde kadınların baskın olması; kadınların banyo mekânının kullanımında, düzenlenmesinde ve temizliğinde kuralları belirlemelerine işaret eder, (ii) arzulanan banyo mekânının yaratılması; banyonun gösterişçi tarafını yani kadınların yaratmak istedikleri banyo imajını işaret eder, (iii) eylemlerin gerçekleşmesinde çeşitlilik olması; çeşitli kullanım pratikleri, kullanım ve temizlik farklılıklarını işaret eder, ve (iv) banyo mekânının bir uzantısının yaratılması; mekânın ve elemanlarının fiziksel yetersizliklerini işaret eder. Bunlara ek olarak, üç tip kendileme pratiği belirlenmiştir: (i) faydacı kendileme eylemleri; çok yönlülüğü işaret eder, (ii) kiracıların kendileme eylemleri; geçiciliği işaret eder, ve (iii) sosyal kendileme eylemleri; benliği işaret eder. Son olarak da bulgular, kadınların banyo mekânının gündelik tarafı ile gösterişçi tarafı arasındaki mücadelenin üstesinden gelmek için iki ana kendileme stratejisi geliştirdiğini göstermiştir: (i) dekorasyon ve (ii) idare stratejileri.

Genelleştirme amacı olmaksızın, çalışmanın bulguları evsel banyo mekânının kullanımı ve kendilenmesi hakkında derinlemesine bir bakış sunmuştur. Çalışma (i)

günümüz evsel banyo mekânının benlik mekânı yaratmak için kullanılan bir araç olduğunu, ve (ii) yaratılmış olan güçlü ve baskın modern banyo imajının günümüz tüketim trendlerinden beslendiğini doğrulamıştır. Ayrıca, çalışma (i) insanları, eylemleri ve gündelik hayatı odağına alan çalışmalar ve profesyonel tasarımcılar tarafından kullanılabilir etkililişimler, bağlam ve sebepler dökümü sunmuş, (ii) banyo mekândaki gündelik hayatı anlamak için bir model önermiş, ve (iii) daha iyi banyolar yaratmak için bir başlangıç noktası oluşturmuştur.

Kendileme kavramı ve banyo mekânının kullanımı kültür, maddi kültür ve gündelik hayat gibi çalışma alanları ile ilişkili olduğu için, bu çalışma, endüstriyel tasarım alanındaki ilgili araştırmalara katkıda bulunmasının yanı sıra, sosyal bilimler alanındaki ilgili çalışmalara da katkı sağlamaktadır.



## 1. INTRODUCTION

I think mankind is more than waist-deep in daily routine. Countless inherited acts, accumulated pell-mell and repeated time after time to this very day, become habits that help us live, imprison us, and make decisions for us throughout our lives.  
(Braudel, as cited in Shove, Trentmann, & Wilk, 2009, p. 1)

The everyday is platitude (what lags and falls back, the residual life with which our trash cans and cemeteries are filled: scrap and refuse); but this banality is also what is most important, if it brings us back to existence in its very spontaneity and as it is lived  
(Blanchot, 1987, p. 13)

Today, in a contemporary society, everyday life is inevitable (Lefebvre, 1971, 1987); people are dragged by its daily routines and habits, even without noticing. It is lived through its complex dynamics. However, individuals are not totally inactive agents in everyday life (Heller, as cited in Gardiner, 2000). They are active subjects in the construction of meaning in everyday life, not only as ‘knowers’, but also as ‘doers’ (Bennett, 2005; Gardiner, 2000). Their taken for granted daily practices are complex and processual rather than simple and reified which are related with notions like identity, status and aspiration (Paterson, 2006).

Everyday life does not only consist of routines and habits; it is also comprised of all the ‘stuff’ around people. This environment, which includes products, is not static; there is an interaction with the people living in it. Through everyday life and its routines, people and products recreate, appropriate and complete each other constantly (Hofstede, 2001). Therefore, they acknowledge and internalize the stuff/products in their environment. Through the routine practices, they decide how to incorporate products into everyday life, how to use them, thus they construct meanings.

Everyday life is an important domain for the industrial designer since it is the world where people change and recreate their environment, and show their creativity. The surprising creative world of everyday life provides important data where the designer reveals the hidden potentialities of it. What people do everyday can be a rich source of inspiration for the industrial designer to create better designs or generate new ideas. Therefore, it is beneficial for the industrial designer not to take everyday life

for granted. Understanding everyday life enables the designer to understand the society since it is the society who makes the everyday life (Inglis, 2005).

In everyday life, to change and recreate their environments, one of the ways people employ is 'appropriation'. The concept of appropriation, which originates in Marxian thought, has been the subject of various research within disciplines such as urban sociology, general psychology, environmental psychology, architecture since 1960s (Serfaty-Garzon, 1985). According to Marx, appropriation implies man's relation to nature (Graumann, 1976a). Its definition in the dictionary is 'suitable', 'proper' and 'assigned to a particular person'; originally coming from the meaning 'to make one's own' (Appropriate, 2002).

The phenomenological approach relates the existence of the individual to his/her spatiality, thus it returns to the 'individual' and praises the 'subjective experiences' of the lived space. Within this perspective, appropriation is one of the fundamental concepts used to inspect the relation between the individual and the space, especially the experience of home (Göregenli, 2010). Appropriation reveals the creativity of the individuals; it shows how they reflect their identity, create their own décor, create a territory of the self, intervene their environment to meet their needs or, in general, interact with their surroundings. What the user does in everyday life; his/her routine practices; the disguised rituals and habits that guide his/her behaviour in everyday life are valuable information for industrial design research. Since appropriation is part of this information, it becomes worth to be studied on for the industrial designer.

The concept of appropriation is used by various studies, such as by Miller (1988), to understand the forms of appropriations employed --especially in the kitchen-- by the tenants living in a single council estate in London built in 1970s; by Chevalier (1998), to compare the appropriation of the domestic interior with the garden; by Lupton and Noble (2002), to reveal how people appropriate their personal computers at work; and by Berglund-Lake (2008), to examine how the Swedish tenants appropriated their apartments constructed after the Second World War in Sweden. As these studies also show, appropriation is one of the ways to transform the 'space' into 'place'.

Bilgin (1990) emphasises that space is the raw material of existence and action. Individuals are not put as keystones in a space; on the contrary they organize, and

dialectically differentiate it from others' or the environment, in other words they appropriate the space (Bilgin, 1990). Appropriation of space has been one of the main concepts of the studies that focus on the use and experience of the dwelling (Atasoy & Erkman, 1976; Barilleau & Lombardo, 1976; Bayazıt, Önder, & Özsoy, 1976; Chombart de Lauwe, 1976; Haumont, 1976; Korosec-Serfaty, 1984; Raymond, 1976; Serfaty-Garzon, 1985; Thornberg 1976). It is used to comprehend the total relation between the user and the dwelling.

Appropriation practices deriving from several factors can be various. For instance, appropriation of the dwelling might reflect the conflicts between human needs and space properties (Atasoy & Erkman, 1976); it might also be the tool to actualize the self and self-identity at home (Korosec-Serfaty, 1984). As a matter of fact, the house may become the sphere of personal appropriation itself (Moles & Rohmer, as cited in Barilleau & Lombardo, 1976).

Domestic bathroom, being one of the important domains of the dwelling, can be studied through its appropriation in everyday life, which this study will do. It is one of the places where the practices performed in it might highly be affected by culture. It is mainly the space where the basic physiological needs are satisfied, however, under the influence of cultural habits or the inherited habits through family. Thus, it can be said that, bathroom is the space where the natural needs are satisfied but culturally, in other words the place where natural practices are turned into cultural ones. This transformation might require many modes of appropriation and makes the contemporary domestic bathroom space valuable in terms of the range of appropriations, especially in the Turkish context. What makes the Turkish context special is related with the cultural transition happened in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Especially after the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the radical reforms were aimed to transform the nation according to Western models of lifestyles, rejecting the traces of the social, political and daily life of the Ottoman Empire. With the ideals of Westernisation and modernisation, these transformations were also manifesting itself in the architecture and design culture, and in everyday life (Bozdoğan, 2001; Gürel, 2008). Within the discourse of modern architecture, 'model

homes’<sup>1</sup> with modern ‘bath-rooms’ were being published in architectural publications and magazines, apartment buildings were becoming the representation of modern living with their modern bathrooms, furthermore the modern bathroom and its fixtures were being imported from the West (Bozdoğan, 2001; Yavuz & Özkan, 2005; Gürel, 2008). According to Bozdoğan (2001), health and hygiene were the most celebrated qualities of the modern home. Articles in popular magazines were proposing houses flooded with light, furnished with comfort, with a garden “and a bathroom devoid of illness-causing germs” (Bozdoğan, 2001, p. 215), however, the society seemed not fully incorporated the modern bathroom fixtures into their everyday life. Back then; the traditional ways<sup>2</sup> were used for cleaning the body and satisfying the basic bodily needs.

As Bozdoğan (2001) indicates, 20<sup>th</sup> century modernism ignored the differences in cultures, accepting “the essential “sameness” of human beings as the scientific, objective, biological underpinning of what were to be uniform modern lives” (p. 8). The emerged modern bathroom caused various use practices due to cultural differences. For instance, using toilet bowls (Western-style water closet) rather than squat toilets or using the bidet or filling the bathtub with water and getting in for bathing were foreign practices for the Turkish society. The products were the symbols of Westernisation and modernisation at homes; however, the proposed use practices were different than the society’s accustomed ones, and thus the products were subjected to appropriation during use. Toilet bowls were being used with an integrated nozzle (*taharet musluğu*) to clean with water after defecation due in part to Islamic rules. Bathtubs were not being filled with water since the body should be cleaned with streaming water, again according to Islamic rules. It was used as a basin to wash the body while sitting or standing. Since the toilet bowl was being used with the nozzle, the bidet was idle, however, was taking up space in most of the

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<sup>1</sup> For the discussion of model homes in Europe and America, see *The Exhibitionist House* by Beatriz Colomina (1998) where she discusses the twentieth century exhibition house (with a model kitchen) that is advertised by both the media and the house itself.

<sup>2</sup> There were three main spaces for cleaning the body and satisfying the basic needs; squat toilet, *hamam* and *gusülhane*. The squat toilet (*alaturka* type toilet) was a water closet –basin with a hole on the ground or just a hole in the ground – which was located outside the house in a courtyard or a garden. For bathing, people were usually going to *hamams*; the Turkish public bathhouses. *Gusülhane* was the private bathing space reserved in the rooms of houses which was a small closet having water containers and drainage. It was located in the bedrooms for married couples to wash after sexual intercourse, which was obligatory according to Islamic rules.

bathrooms. The most familiar product in terms of use practice was probably the washbasin, but it was used to wash the feet as well, during ablution. Back then; purchasing the modern bathroom fixtures and displaying them in the bathroom space were strengthening the feeling of being modern, however, in daily life the traditional bodily practices of the society were not easily changing or getting standardised; what the society inherited, the habits and the cultural practices, did not coincide with the imported modern bathroom fixtures completely (Gürel, 2008). Even today, the bathroom embodies various uses and cultural differences, not only among families but also among the members of a family.

While a modern, Western life style was aimed to be built within modern homes and everyday life in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the ‘modern Turkish woman’ was also being shaped within the national discourse. According to Nalbantoğlu (1998) and Bozdoğan (2001), although the women were being encouraged to take part in the public realm, the idealised image of the Turkish woman in the 1930s was identical with intellectual wife, educated mother and sophisticated housewife. In order to educate the girls in this direction, one of the most important institutions was established by the Ministry of Education in 1928-1929; the Girls’ Institutes (*Kız Enstitüleri*). As Bozdoğan (2001) explains, part of the curricula of these schools was grounded on the studies of Christine Frederick<sup>3</sup> such as ‘The New Housekeeping; Efficiency Studies in Home Management’ published in 1913. The mothers of the future were being thought, with an emphasis on national culture, Taylorist principles of housework, rational organization of domestic space, ways to increase the household efficiency and productivity (Bozdoğan, 2001). The popular family and women’s magazines of 1930s (e.g. *Yedigün*, *Muhit*, *Yenigün*) were also promoting these schools that raise “the efficient women of the efficient modern house” (Baydar, 2002, p. 238). One of the articles in the magazine *Muhit* in 1932 was titled as “Let professional life be

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<sup>3</sup> In 1912, Christine Frederick begins to apply Taylor’s methodology (standardisation of working methods) to the study of household work. In her book *Household Engineering: Scientific Management in the Home* (1919), she illustrates the principles of rationalisation in the kitchen by showing efficient layout and routes of tasks. Her efficient kitchen diagrams show that one of the main ideas in rationalising the work in the kitchen was considering the equipment and layout in the kitchen as an assembly line and aligning them along walls, creating continuous row. Frederick’s studies had an impact both in the United States and Europe. After the translation of her book to German in 1922, many German architects enthusiastically applied her research to kitchens (E. Lupton & Miller, 1992).

yours, I am content with my new house”,<sup>4</sup> written by a woman who has resigned her job and devoted herself to her house, family and children, was promoting the domestic life and the notion of being a housewife both with its title and content (Baydar, 2002).

The assumption that domestic chores belong more to women than men is conventional (Chapman, 1999). Back in the 1930s, the modern house and its rooms were addressing the man in the articles in popular magazines; they were “owned and guarded by man” (Baydar, 2002, p. 240). Therefore, the woman was left with the modern kitchen and the modern bathroom in the modern house since she was responsible to raise healthy generations. Kitchen was the space to produce in efficiency and provide healthy food for the future generations, and bathroom was the space to provide hygiene and more health.

By considering the historical construction, this study regards domestic bathroom as one of the key spaces through which modern woman is defined today. Since she is responsible for many things regarding home and family, bathroom becomes one of the main agents in realizing these chores and defining the ‘ideal’ modern woman. It is where she cleans her body and does her personal care, thus attains positive reactions during socialisation. It is where she cleans her children and their clothes, thus shows that she raises healthy generations and she is a concerned mother. It is where she cleans the house, the space itself and does the laundry, thus she is approved at being a ‘woman’ while being monitored by others and gains social respect. All these daily tasks might imply a struggle in the bathroom. Because, while she carries out them, she also desires to keep the bathroom space clean and tidy since it is one of the signs of being good at being a ‘woman’. Thus, women try to overcome this struggle in the bathroom by employing some types of appropriations, as this study claims. Referring to de Certeau (1984), including these, all types of appropriations performed in the bathroom can be regarded as the *tactics* of everyday life.

According to de Certeau (1984), briefly, there are two opposite factors in everyday life; *strategies* and *tactics*. Strategies belong to the prevailing system; they are the

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<sup>4</sup> “Memuriyet Sizin Olsun!. Yeni Kavuştuğum Evim Bana Yeter”. The article in Turkish can be reached at [<http://www.5harfliler.com/memuriyet-sizin-olsun>]. The English title translation is taken from Baydar (2002).

extensions of power and domination. On the other hand, *tactics* are ‘make do’s conducted by the weak over the strong through everyday practices. With an analogical approach, applying de Certeau’s (1984) two concepts to the everyday life in the bathroom, the given domestic bathroom space, the mechanisms that produce the bathroom products, the mainstream bathroom designs, the dominant consumption patterns and the pre-defined modern bathroom images can be regarded as *strategies* (of the strong). On the other hand, appropriations employed in the bathroom can be regarded as the *tactics* (of the weak) operated by the users through everyday practices. With these appropriations/*tactics*, users transform, redefine and reproduce the bathroom space and make this given space their own.

### **1.1 Purpose of the Study**

In the Turkish context, through the example of contemporary domestic bathroom, this thesis aims to find out the types of appropriations employed in everyday life and their influencing factors. With this aim, the study will also reveal the interrelation between users and the domestic bathroom space, and how the bathroom and its elements are incorporated into everyday life routine.

The research questions are:

- How is the domestic bathroom used and organised in everyday life?
- What types of appropriations are performed during the usage and the organisation of the domestic bathroom?
- What are the influencing factors in performing these appropriations?
- What is the material culture of the domestic bathroom that furnishes these appropriations?

By answering these research questions, the study will show the usage, organisation and the appropriation of the domestic bathroom. By providing an insight of the use and experience of the bathroom, the obtained data will be an important input for researchers and professional designers. Since appropriations also reflect the conflict between user needs and the given space/product properties, the findings of the study will be a starting point to create better bathroom spaces.

## 1.2 Overview of the Methodology

The research questions of the study call for a qualitative research design. It focuses on the statements of the users. Thus the information gathered through interviews creates the main data of the study. It is based on 15 face-to-face, semi-structured interviews (three within the pilot study, 12 within the main study) with the inhabitants of urban environments in İzmir. The aim of selecting the interviewees among the urban inhabitants provided the following four conditions; (i) having a permanent income, (ii) having at least one ‘modern’ bathroom in the house, (iii) having the opportunity to access the mainstream market of bathroom products, and (iv) being affected by the dominant consumption trends.

This way the interviewees would be active consumers of the current bathroom market, thus they would be part of the consumption of bathroom elements to an extent. This also increases the probability of consumption, appropriation and *tactics* regarding the bathroom space.

The study is conducted with 15 interviewees in total. Since qualitative researcher selects information-rich cases to study in depth (Patton, 2002), the sampling of this study has been done purposely to reach information-rich cases, indeed all sampling is purposeful in qualitative research (Patton, 2002; Punch, 1998). Purposeful random sampling (or random purposive sampling) strategy is used throughout the study. This sampling strategy is not representative but credible as also emphasized by Patton (2002). Here, the word ‘random’ does not indicate a statistical concept that depends on a large number of participants since the participants must consent to be interviewed in such studies (Patton, 2002). In addition, snowball sampling strategy is used to reach the ‘good’ interviewees; an approach for reaching data-rich participant where one leads to another. The interviewees were selected through friends and family network in order to provide a degree of social acceptance. This social acceptance provided mutual trust between the interviewees and the author, and it provided access to the bathroom, one of the private spaces at home. With the snowball sampling strategy, it is managed to reach the users (women) who would not mind leaving the bathroom as it is for the interview. The size of the sampling was decided according to the purpose of the study and information needed, in given time and resources (Patton 2002). The interviews stopped when the data reached a

sufficient and saturated point so that no new data emerges, concepts are developed and the relationship between them is delineated (Seidman, 2006, Corbin and Strauss, 2008).

The interviews lasted 45 minutes to 1.5 hours, which were digitally recorded. In addition to the interviews, the bathroom space and its elements were observed and photographed. In the analysis stage, the interviews were transcribed and analysed with the generalised issue-focused analysis method (Weiss, 1995). Issue-focused analysis has four distinct analytic processes, which are coding, sorting, local integration and inclusive integration (Weiss, 1995). It requires working on the transcription texts, re-reading and making continuous comparison between the notes and codes of the transcription texts. The analysis started right after the very first interview. With the first step coding what the material (the transcribed interviews) says was tried to be understood; with sorting, set of folders were created which were organised according to the codes; with local integration, the material in the emerged folders were interpreted; and finally with inclusive integration previously emerged areas were connected and four concepts were generated within the report of the analysis (Weiss, 1995).

In addition to the interviews, observations, photographs and field notes were also used to understand the situations and conditions, and they were contributory to the analysis of the transcriptions.

### **1.3 Importance of the Study**

This study is concerned mainly with appropriation in everyday life, and it investigates this concept through the domestic bathroom space. As it is mentioned previously, there are various studies on the concept of appropriation, both theoretical and field based. Their aims vary from generating meanings of the concept, to understand the appropriation of the dwelling (as a whole or a specific part of it, i.e. kitchen, attic, cellar), the workspace, the garden or the urban space.

Bathroom, being the fundamental space of the modern daily life today, had been mostly the topic of historical, architectural and technical studies in the literature. Besides the literature on bathroom, there are also many studies done particularly on water closets/toilets regarding their history, socio-cultural evolution and technical

details. In addition, there are also comprehensive studies on the history and the socio-cultural evolution of norms and ideals of hygiene and cleanliness mostly in the area of sociology.

The bathroom is of interest because it is both a functional space and has a symbolic meaning and it is --as well as kitchen<sup>5</sup>-- one of the spaces where cultural elements, differences, values and influences can easily and mostly be observed at home (Anıl, 1995; Bektaş, 1998; Gürel, 2008; Kaplan, 1996; Kira, 1966; Özarık, 1990; Özemir, 2002).

While the kitchen, has been the topic of several studies in the world literature (Cieraad, 2002; Freeman, 2004; Hand & Shove, 2004; Lupton & Miller, 1992; Watson, Hand, & Ingram, 2007; Silva 2000; Southerton, 2001) the domestic bathroom, not from a mere historical or a technical point of view but as a total space, seems not succeeded in taking enough attraction (Morales, 2007; Quitzau & Røpke, 2009), also in Turkey.

The bathroom related theses conducted in Turkey mostly cover the historical (Arat, 1994; Fitoz, 1999; Türkel, 2002), architectural (Anıl, 1995; Arat, 1994; Göçmen, 1986; İşören, 1996; Kaplan, 1996; Köprülü, 1991; Özarık, 1990; Paydak, 2004; Yetiştirici, 2003) and technical sides (Anıl, 1995; İngin, 1997; Kaplan, 1996; Köprülü, 1991; Özarık, 1990; Turna, 1991; Yetiştirici, 2003) of the topic. While some of them analyse the current state of the bathrooms in mass-housing or in middle-class houses in terms of architectural and usage aspects (Anıl, 1995; Atasel, 1997; İşören, 1996; Kaplan, 1996; Köprülü, 1991; Özarık, 1990; Sağır, 1984; Tosun, 2005), others specifically cover the elements that form the bathroom, e.g., faucets, toilets and tiles (Akkaya, 2007; Aytaç, 2004; Genç, 2009; Pekşen, 1998; Yakupoğlu, 2002; Yazgan, 2004). Some studies are related with the design and/or social, cultural and technical development of the squat toilets (Özemir, 2002) and some are related with the special users of bathrooms like children, disabled or aged users (Gül, 2003; Şalgamcıoğlu, 2014; Turna, 1991). However, to the best of the author's knowledge, none of the bathroom related theses in Turkey has examined the socio-cultural and/or the material culture aspects of the domestic bathroom thoroughly. Thus, this study is

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<sup>5</sup> For a detailed study on how cultural values shape the user practices within kitchen appliances see Boztepe (2004).

expected to fill a gap in the literature while, with their reasons, it tries to reveal the types of appropriations employed in the bathroom. Thus, it will show how bathroom is used and appropriated within the daily life practices.

This study differentiates itself from the existing studies also with its approach whereby the bathroom space is being studied as a whole rather than focusing on a specific product or a practice. It approaches the bathroom as a whole because it considers the human behaviour as the centre of the study while it tries to detect and praise the taken for granted practices and patterns in everyday life of the bathroom space.

Without the aim of generalisation, the study will show how users organise and use their bathrooms. By doing so, the findings will show an inventory of appropriations and practices that can be valuable data for further bathroom studies. It can also set a model for studies to be done in different cultural contexts other than Turkey, since bathroom is a culture specific space.

Lastly, this thesis generates knowledge that will support related studies in social sciences especially studies in material culture, everyday life and culture, since the concept of appropriation and the use of bathroom space --thus this thesis-- are associated with these fields.

#### **1.4 Scope of the Study**

In order to explain what this study covers, a brief account of the scope of the study will be given here.

The study focuses on the ‘contemporary domestic bathroom’. The word ‘contemporary’ is used to refer to the ‘bathroom space’ in our homes today which is imported from the West and had been a symbol of modernization and Westernization, especially after the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 (Cengizkan, 2002; Gürel, 2008). In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the modern bathroom and its fixtures had been popularized by becoming the norm of the ‘modern’ flat which is furnished with modern interiors (Gürel, 2008). Since then, the modern bathroom and its fixtures have been in our everyday lives representing a modern and Western lifestyle, thus promoting “its design as a universal space” dissociated from culture (Gürel, 2008, p. 230). Therefore, unless stated otherwise,

throughout the thesis, the word ‘bathroom’ refers to today’s domestic bathroom space in the apartment blocks and private houses in the urban areas in Turkey and it does not cover the public bathrooms such as baths and *hamams*.<sup>6</sup>

To narrow down the study, a classification according to a product (the bathtub, the shower cabin, the washbasin, the toilet etc.) or a use practice in the bathroom (cleaning the body, elimination, cleaning the place, personal care etc.) could have been done. However, the study does not focus on or single out a certain fixture or a certain practice, since practices are related to other practices; they are interrelated (Kuijer & Jong, 2011). Therefore, while inquiring the appropriations in the bathroom, the research is not conducted according to a specific use practice or a product in the bathroom. On the contrary, keeping a holistic approach, the interview questions were kept broad but various in terms of practices, uses and products.

As being one of the important domains of home, bathroom can be studied solely within the approach of history, ergonomics, architecture, interior architecture, gender studies, feminism studies, consumption studies, etc. However, the concern of this thesis is the appropriation of the bathroom space and its elements in everyday life, and it drew on some of these fields such as history, architecture, gender studies and consumption studies.

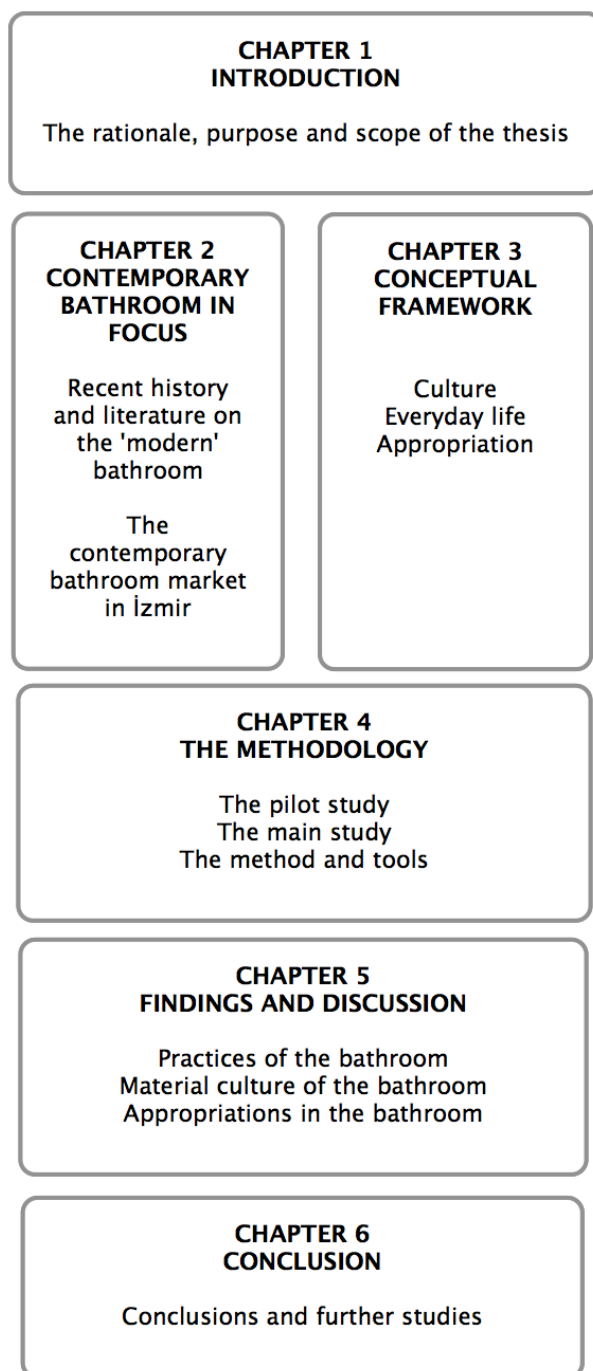
## **1.5 Structure of the Study**

As being the introductory chapter, Chapter 1 starts with the rationale of the study and continues with the overview of the research. Chapter 2 presents the conceptual framework of the study. Chapter 3 provides the recent history of and the literature on the modern domestic bathroom. After a brief history of the emergence of the modern bathroom in the United States and England --as they are the two countries most closely bound up with industrialization-- the market and the conditions of the contemporary bathroom in Turkey is outlined with the help of recent catalogues and brochures. Chapter 4 explains the method and the tools of the study thoroughly. Chapter 5 presents the interviewee profiles and the findings of the study together with discussions. Finally, as being the concluding chapter, Chapter 6 concludes the

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<sup>6</sup> *Hamam* (hammam in English) is the public Turkish bath house, which is important in the historical process of bathing in Turkey, however this study does not cover *hamams*.

study with a broader perspective, and ends with suggestions for future research. The organisation of the thesis is diagrammed in Figure 1.1.

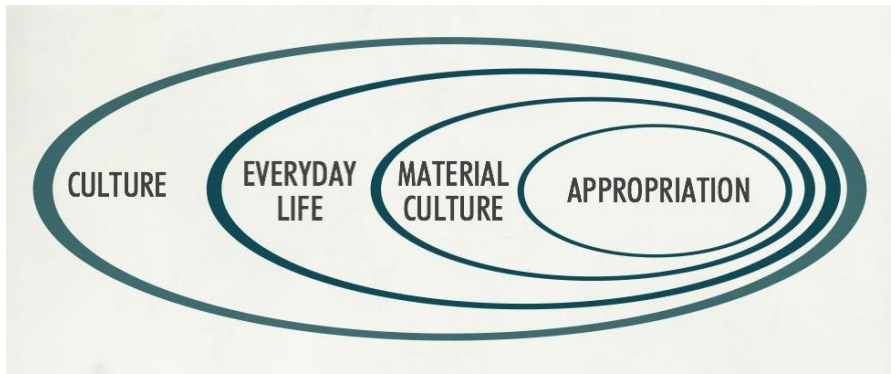


**Figure 1.1 :** Overview of the study.



## 2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In this section, the concepts that generate the theoretical background of the study -- culture, everyday life, material culture and appropriation—and their relation to industrial design will be illustrated and discussed. Figure 2.1 shows the relation of these domains in which culture can be regarded as the largest universe that includes the others.



**Figure 2.1 :** The main concepts of the study.

### 2.1 The Concept of Culture

Edward Tylor (1871), the British anthropologist, defines culture as the “[...] complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by the man as a member of society” (p. 1) which can be accepted as one of the first scientific definitions of culture. The definition of the concept of culture varies in every academic branch. As Raymond Williams (1985) also asserts, culture is one of the most complicated words in the English language since it has been defined in many different ways in time within many different disciplines. The word culture is being used in seven different meanings in Turkish language (Turan, 1990). Being aware of these varied descriptions, in order to avoid confusions, in what follows, the meaning of the word used throughout the thesis will be explained.

According to Williams, culture is a *whole way of life* (as cited in Bennett, 2005). More specifically, it is the particular way of life that a society lives, or of people, a period, a group or humanity in general; it involves ways of thinking, understanding, feeling, believing and acting ‘characteristic’ of a particular group thus not ‘characteristic’ of another group (Inglis, 2005; Linton, 1999; Williams, 1985). In other words, it “determines the uniqueness of a human group in the same way personality determines the uniqueness of an individual” (Hofstede, 2001).

Inglis (2005) points out eight aspects of culture deriving from Williams’ above definition of culture that is the ‘whole way of life’ of a given group of people. These aspects are related to the approach of this study:

- “Culture comprises the patterns of ideas, values and beliefs common to a particular group of people, their ‘characteristic’ ways of thinking and feeling.
- The culture of one group differentiates it from other groups, each of which has its ‘own’ culture.
- Culture contains meanings. Culture is meaningful.
- The ideas, values and beliefs of a group are profoundly implicated in motivating people to act in certain ways.
- The ideas, values and beliefs of a group are embodied in symbols and artefacts.
- Culture is learned.
- Culture is arbitrary
- Culture and forms of social power are intimately bound up with each other” (pp. 5-7).

Culture is learned and transmitted through generations by living and doing as it is impossible to avoid it (Hofstede, 2001). However, culture is also dynamic. It is alive; it is shaped by the changes in the societies and vice versa. It does not consist of only words or intangible concepts; it is always around us -in our very everyday life- “represented in material forms and social practice” (Schudson, 1989, p. 154). Therefore, culture, this complex unity of tangible and intangible elements, also includes the objects we use in our everyday lives, i.e. industrially designed products.

From the standpoint of industrial design, design and culture are intertwined, as well as everyday life. Industrial design constitutes a big part of our everyday lives; it is at home, in the garden, in our bags, on the way to work, in the car, in the office, in a hotel, in our pockets, at the market etc. However, objects do not simply exist in a culture, they define it as they penetrate to its beliefs, values, fears and fantasies (Kline, 1992). They are closely related with the norms of a society through production, consumption, design and usage, thus they are part of that society's collective identity (Bilgin, 2009).

There is an interaction between design and culture; design changes culture, but is also shaped by it (Moalosi, Popovic, & Hickling-Hudson, 2010). The customs, values and habits specific to a culture might require specifically designed products rather than standard products commonly sold or imported on the market. Forms of a product might be defined by specific cultural needs and conditions, thus they might be meaningful only in that cultural context. In other words, it is the culture of that society that gives meaning to the everyday products. For instance, special two-pieced teapot set and *ince belli* tea glass, Turkish coffee pot and coffee cup (Figure 2.2, author's photographs), water closet with the nozzle for water cleansing and squat toilet. "Observing the design of artefacts produced and consumed in a society often reveals the cultural situation and the people's lives, education, needs, wishes and fears" (Moalosi et al., 2010, p. 176). As Boztepe (2004) emphasises, culture encompasses the fabric of everyday life while it places general parameters around design.



**Figure 2.2 :** Turkish teapot & tea glass and Turkish coffee pot & cup.

Friedman (1995) defines culture as the essentialisation of difference. Similarly, Appadurai (2003) specifies the concept of difference as the most valuable feature of the concept of culture. Pointing the differences that have cultural dimensions are important in 'design-wise' since the culture in which the product designed may be

different from the one in which the product will be used. Nowadays, design companies and industrial designers are challenging the difficult task of designing products for cultures other than their own. In order to design the right product for the right user, industrial designers should be aware of the local or the cultural context of the desired product. In other words, in order to embody the cultural factors into products, industrial designers should learn and deeply understand the users' culture; his/her lifestyle, needs, and values rather than leaning on their intuitive knowledge (Heskett, 2002; Moalosi et al., 2010). Due to the cultural diversity around the world, the approach of *one-size-fits-all* might not work today and in the future (Boztepe, 2004; Delaney, McFarland, Yoon, & Hardy, 2002). For example, while the attempt was to produce a single refrigerator model for the European market, different shopping and eating habits across Europe resulted in launching hundreds of different refrigerator models with one thousand variations by Electrolux (Echikson, 1993). Some global companies like Intel, Microsoft, Hewlett Packard, Philips and Siemens have already started to develop their own methods and projects to study cross-cultural aspects (Hofstede, 2001). In addition, products' use and meaning might not remain the same in everyday life when they cross cultures. Some examples of culture-oriented usages would be Chinese peasants using washing machines to clean potatoes (Brookes, as cited in Boztepe, 2004), Malaysian Muslims using a built-in directional finder mobile phones to help pray in the direction of Mecca (Hermida, 2003) and Turks, in the second half of the 20th century, using bathtubs not only for bathing but for water storage or washing rugs as well.

While providing value and meaning within the culture-oriented products they design, designers act both as culture builders and catalysts for change (Moalosi et al., 2010). Razzaghi and Ramirez Jr (2005), where they also indicate the studies that emphasise the necessity of the integration of culture and product design, summarise the following reasons why the integration of culture into products can be advantageous and beneficial in terms of product design and the users;

- Culture can sell.
- Culture can be a means for users' satisfaction.
- Culture can be a reflector of users' identity.
- Culture can be a resource for design innovation and inspiration.

- Culture can play a role in the intuitive use of products.
- Culture can be a balancing force versus globalization.
- Culture can set trends and fashions.

Domestic bathroom is one of the everyday spaces where cultural beliefs, values and norms of a society can be observed, especially in Turkey. As it will be explained in detail in the next chapter, due to the traditional bathing culture and toilet use, today, the contemporary bathroom in Turkey might embody some cultural constraints while displaying the modern bathroom fixtures. Such cultural constraints make bathroom a limited subject to work on for industrial designers, but conversely, they also make it a rich source of product innovation<sup>7</sup> as well; a source of new product ideas for local cultures and new market opportunities (Er & Akay, 2001). Thus, the bathroom becomes one of the rich areas for design research and industrial design practice. According to Moalosi et al. (2010), “designers are challenged to foster cultural diversity through localisation of products in the face of globalization” (p. 177). Understanding what and how cultural norms and values work in the contemporary bathroom would reveal rich data for industrial designers and how they can be integrated into new design ideas would be a challenging study (Moalosi et al., 2010).

## 2.2 The Concept of Everyday Life

Everyday life is what we are given everyday [...].  
(Leuilliot, as cited in de Certeau, Giard, & Mayol, 1998, p. 3)

The term ‘everyday life’ in the title of this thesis might seem ordinary and insignificant. It might indicate studying the ‘banality’, however, it is this banal but rich everyday life routine of the users providing important data to designers which this thesis will focus through field study, aiming to reveal the ‘extraordinary’ in the ‘ordinary’ as suggested by Lefebvre (1987). In other words, the inherent taken for grantedness of everyday life makes it valuable as a research topic (Bennett, 2005).

As Gardiner (2006) summarizes, there had been two different approaches to the concept of everyday life after the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The first approach (Max Weber,

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<sup>7</sup> See Timur and Er (2005) for how culture becomes a limitation for new product development and how it creates a source of new product design ideas at the same time.

Wilhelm Dilthey, Alfred Schütz and others) tried to develop the necessary conceptual and methodological tools for a systematic analysis of the everyday. They perceived the everyday as separate and distinguishable from specialized knowledge and practices, and they thought that everyday life was *problematic* (Heller, as cited in Gardiner, 2006). The second approach -this thesis also grounds on which- refers to a group including Mikhail Bakhtin, Walter Benjamin, Michel de Certeau, Agnes Heller, Henri Lefebvre, Michel Maffesoli and others “who view the everyday in more complex and nuanced terms” (Gardiner, 2006, p. 207). As they treated the everyday as extraordinary rather than interpreting it as trivial or *problematic*, they tried to *problematize* it, “[...] expose its myriad contradictions, effects, determinations and hidden potentialities” (Gardiner, 2006, p. 207) and emphasized that this routine everyday life is also capable of a surprising dynamism and creativity.

According to Lefebvre (1971, 1987) as there were and there have always been the concept of everyday life, it is unavoidable. The humble, solid and taken for granted everyday life is the compound of insignificancies; it is the collection of so-called unimportant activities and of products; it is made of linear and cyclical repetitions; it is a moment made of moments which all parts follow each other in such a regular succession (Lefebvre, 1971). However, we need this sense of routine and stability, in other words our *life-world*<sup>8</sup> which is consisting of our perception and experience of the arrangements and the stability of the world around us (Inglis, 2005). Lefebvre (1971) suggests that, with a critical approach, one can try to understand these ‘meaningless’ facts and organise them systematically according to a pattern and a method. This way, we can learn from these previously neglected facts which then can be appreciated according to some values. It is also important that one must try to *defamiliarize* oneself with what is routine and familiar. Undertaking such a method will give a meaning to the ‘meaningless’ and the ‘insignificant’ everyday life, and make it seem strange, peculiar rather than ordinary and banal (Inglis, 2005; Lefebvre, 1971).

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<sup>8</sup> The term *life-world* was coined by the phenomenological philosopher Edmund Husserl (Inglis, 2005). ‘The always taken for granted world that is constantly pre-given of which we are all conscious in life as the world of us all’ is what Inglis (2005) quotes from Husserl for the meaning of the term. According to Inglis (2005) Husserl’s term *life-world* refers to that “human life can only function if the individual person has a certain sense of stability and certainty as to the world around them” (p. 8).

In order to define everyday life, Lefebvre (1971) emphasizes that the society where it is lived and where it takes root should be defined first. The changes and the perspectives of the society are crucial in understanding the everyday life and thus the society itself. In a similar vein, Inglis (2005) also argues that if we want to understand everyday life thoroughly, we have to see how the society makes the everyday life as it is and conversely we cannot understand a society without understanding its everyday life.

Lefebvre (1987) defines two modes of repetition make up the everyday routine; the cyclical and the linear. The cyclical dominates in nature, e.g., the nights and days, seasons and harvests, activity and rests, hunger and satisfaction, desire and its fulfilment, life and death. On the other hand, the linear dominates in 'rational' process, e.g., repetitive gestures of work and consumption; however, these repetitive gestures mask and crush the cycles, this way the everyday impose its monotony. Here, Lefebvre (1987) emphasizes the contradiction of everydayness: although the days follow each other and other, yet, everything changes, however, this change is also programmed; obsolescence is planned. The change is realized in such a way that the impression of speed is superimposed on monotony.

As a conclusion, the success of an everyday life study relies on taking nothing for granted (Sparke, 2001). Everyday life -the largely taken for granted world that remains as a secret- "[...] constitutes what Lefebvre calls the 'common ground' or 'connective tissue' of all conceivable human thoughts and activities" (Gardiner, 2000, p. 2). The daily routines and the practices forming everyday life have not taken the full interest of social scientists (O'Dell, 2009; Shove, 2003). If we examine carefully, these nearly invisible but ritually organised daily lives -the actions produced by the routines and rhythms- are thoroughly cultural although they might seem to be instinctive (O'Dell, 2009). In other words, it is important to remember that everyday life is the accumulation of its past lives, therefore, it is also shaped by the number of increasing or decreasing customs and habits transferred from those past lives (Proto, 2004).

### **2.2.1 Everyday life and design**

It is obvious that our everyday lives do not only include routines, rituals, habits, myths and traditions but also the 'stuff' around us; the products we prefer using and

the ones we try to avoid, the products we love or hate, the products we want to display or hide. However, products/objects are not the passive features of everyday life. There is a continuous interaction between people and their environment, thus the products. “People and artefacts continuously create each other, especially during daily routine actions” (Hofstede, 2001, p. 110).

Here, since it has been an inspiration for this study, it is essential to mention the significant book titled ‘The Design of Everyday Life’ by Elizabeth Shove and her colleagues (Shove, Watson, Hand, & Ingram, 2007) where they try to further theorize the role of ‘stuff’ in everyday life. They claim that, with some exceptions, in sociology and anthropology, “there is the tendency to privilege the semiotic over the material and to analyse the hardware of consumption with reference to the circulation of meaning and the reproduction of interpersonal relations” (Shove et al., 2007, p. 7). They seek the answers for these questions: How can we go beyond the study of things as carriers of semiotic meaning? How can we think about the agency not only of individual artefacts but of interrelated complexes of stuff? How might we conceptualize the materials of material culture and how do objects and practices co-evolve? How are things appropriated and used? As a result, the book aims to show “how things are implicated in the development, persistence and disappearance of patterns and practices of everyday life” (Shove et al., 2007, p. 3). With the word ‘practice’, they do not prefer limiting its meaning to just what people do. As they explain, ‘doing’ is not just ‘doing’; doings are performances shaped by complex relationships of materials, knowledge, norms, meanings etc. which form the ‘practice-as-entity’<sup>9</sup> (Shove et al., 2007, p. 13).

The book by Shove and her colleagues (2007) is related with this thesis mainly in two ways; (1) in its first chapter, it underlines how ordinary objects and the role of stuff are extraordinarily important in shaping the design of everyday life, and how everyday items have failed to capture sufficient academic interest, and (2) in its second chapter -‘Having and doing: the case of the ‘Restless Kitchen’- the authors examine the materiality of practice within kitchens. They try to understand why people renew their kitchens as often as they do, indicating that in England kitchens are renewed at the rate of once every seven years. Considering kitchens being at the

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<sup>9</sup> See Schatzki (1996) for his explanation of the practice as coordinated entity and other meaning of practice.

centre of everyday life, regarding the continuous transformation and the desire for the new, they try to focus on the point that kitchens configure the performances, routines and aspirations of domestic life rather than the focus on symbolic attributes and on the cultural significance of ownership as most of the sociological accounts do.

In order to explain the reasons of kitchen renewal, authors first consult to the existing theories; (1) consumers desire for the new, (2) kitchens being the key sites of identity and self-expression, (3) kitchens being the trace of the social, political and economic ordering of domestic life and (4) leading of new practices, rather than individual desires, to the purchase of new kitchens and new types of equipment. They interviewed forty English owner-occupiers -a mix of married and single residents from different backgrounds- about the arrangement, design and use of their kitchens and quoted from the informants within the text. Consequently, they argue that above theories cannot be the only reasons for the explanation of the renewals; according to the clues provided by the interviews, kitchen renovation involves the imagined specific practices that are bound to home and to a different, 'normal' or 'idealized' family life; a more appropriate future. They come to the conclusion that having the necessary tools and materials in the kitchen was not enough since it was also important to "live up to' the images and ideals associated with them" (Shove et al., 2007, p. 26); the restless balance between 'having' and 'doing' was crucial and it is the central in the dynamics of consumption.

Above theories and facts reveal some characteristics of the appropriation and everyday life of kitchens, such as the constant change and evolution of the space; practical aspects leading to change in the space; constituting the desired future in the space. These may also be relevant for domestic bathroom since it is also at the centre of everyday life, only more private.

### **2.2.2 Everyday life and the bathroom**

The relation between everyday life and the bathroom has not attracted enough attention in the literature. One of the recent studies that is concerned with the everyday life in the bathroom is a doctorate thesis titled *The Meaning of The Contemporary Bathroom* by Morales (2007) which has also motivated this thesis. Morales tries to make a multi-layered cultural reading of the meaning of the contemporary bathroom in Montreal, Canada. With a qualitative approach,

interviews were conducted with eight middle-class families. Through a user-centred approach and by focusing on how people use, appropriate, and experience their bathrooms, the aim of the doctoral study by Morales (2007) was to understand the meanings that people assign to their bathrooms within their everyday lives. The main question of that study was; what meaning do people impart of the space of the bathroom? The two dimensions that characterize his study were; (1) How does everyday experience provide particular meaning to the space of the bathroom? and (2) How is the physical environment of the bathroom (the elements that compose it) is defined through the semantics?, in other words, Morales (2007) suggests a semiotic reading of the space. He interviewed eight middle-class adults who have constructed or renovated their bathrooms within the previous five years in order to provide more references corresponding to the term 'contemporary'. Since the middle-class in Canada is more significant in numbers than high- and low-classes, he chooses middle-class adults. Besides these, the subjects had to be born and raised in Canada in order to control for possible cultural and ethnic differences in rituals and habits in the context of the use of the bathroom. In addition to the interviews, as supplementary data, he administers thirty-six questionnaires, which followed almost the same structure as the interview. He also followed the contemporary bathroom images in magazines; he chose some of the most important interior magazines in Quebec, from the years 1994 and 2004 to make a comparative analysis of possible changes that the bathroom has undergone in the last decade. Additionally, he went to some stores specializing in bathroom equipment to explore current equipment and design trends and to examine the images in the catalogues.

With the semi-structured interviews he examined the explorations of the physical environment, the everyday life experience, and the use of water. He analysed the transcribed interviews through whole text analysis consisting the steps of codification, categorization of codes and integration of the categories (theme analysis). He created tables in which concepts and codes are confronted using the interview transcriptions. In addition, with the cultural reading of the space, he revealed several theoretical concepts, such as, privacy, comfort, cleanliness, and appropriation. These concepts were viewed from different disciplines like, design studies, semiotics, cultural studies, material culture studies, and psychological anthropology. His findings can be grouped into five concepts:

(1) Everyday Catalyst. The contemporary bathroom is versatile and it is an everyday 'catalyst'. It seems to accelerate the process of grooming, relaxing or stimulating the senses.

(2) Living Bathroom. There is a quest for comfort in the bathroom, thus the contemporary bathroom becomes a living-bathroom, playroom, dressing room etc.

(3) Shifting Meanings. The meaning of the bathroom shifts according to the usage, to the time of the day, to the members of the family, to the different phases of the user's life etc. For instance, how the water is used changes the usage and the meaning of the bathroom; children's playroom, hygienic facility, spa etc. The bathroom appropriates the characteristics of other rooms in the house, expanding its functions and meanings.

(4) There is a social concern for the individual's well being. This concern is related to the emphasis placed on health, the way we look and smell, how much we weigh, how stressed we are, and everyday life struggles. So, what will the impact be on both home design and sustainable development in the domestic context? It might be convenient to revise the overall design of the contemporary house. The concept of comfort associated with relaxation might also be revised to include a wider spectrum of possibilities.

(5) Water. Women have a closer relationship with water in terms of using more water and for a greater amount of time than men. Women use and enjoy the bathroom more than men do. Water is the basic component of the contemporary bathroom, it is an agent to obtain specific goals or induce psychological and physical states. Regarding the informants took part in the research; there is the problem of indiscriminate use of water, since water is free in Montreal. The habits and the rituals developed in the contemporary bathroom entail a potential increase in water consumption.

Above study, is the only research on how everyday life attributes meanings to the contemporary domestic bathroom and how everyday life shapes it as a space today. Apart from the aforementioned study, another recent study on the contemporary bathroom is by Quitzu and Røpke (2009), which focuses on the changes in Danish bathrooms. They try to show the transformation of the contemporary Danish

bathrooms underwent in terms of design, use and meaning. They benefit from the ‘regime’ concept that “refers to the idea that a kind of coherent whole emerges—a meso-level framework that is dominant in a given period and has implications for which practices and objects can enter the room and which stylistic features are allowed”. They suggest that a regime for bathroom constitutes of three aspects: physical frameworks, the practices in the space and the images and meanings associated with the space and these aspects of the bathroom have to fit together in order to form a regime, in other words form a coherent whole. Drawing lines back in history, they identify only one regime in Denmark: the hygienic bathroom. Analysing the interview data (which is done with six families who have renovated their bathrooms), magazine reviews and media coverage, they discover that the current changes are challenging the hygienic bathroom regime and thus a new regime is emerging. When they question whether the changes in the bathroom fit together in terms of physicality, practices and images they notice that the well-being bathroom regime is emerging; a similar conclusion to the study of Morales (2007).

Instead of dealing with the whole space, focusing on some particular practices performed in the bathroom is also a way to understand and make sense of the everyday life of the bathroom and its routines to a certain degree.<sup>10</sup> As Lefebvre (1987) defines the repetition in everyday life as one of the most difficult problems that an everyday researcher faces, it is yet a rich source for the industrial designer. If one knows how to look and analyse, these repetitions and the recurrences -for instance in the bathroom- give away important data for the industrial design discipline. Therefore, the research questions of this study are tried to be answered by analysing and understanding the on-going dynamics of everyday life in the bathroom while dealing with the patterns and routine practices related to the space.

### **2.2.3 Everyday life and material culture**

According to Lefebvre (1971), without confusing everyday life and material culture, everyday life (which is sustenance, clothing, furnishing, homes, neighbourhoods, environment etc.) can also be called material culture which means our everyday lives include the material culture of our practices. Therefore, the ‘everyday life’ of the bathroom comprises of the material culture of it, including not only the objects

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<sup>10</sup> See Hand, Shove and Southerton (2005) and Hielscher, Fisher and Cooper (2007).

related with the space (in and out of the bathroom), but also how the users practice them within the everyday routine.

Material culture can be described as the object part of culture. It is the *stuff* that is unremarked upon, familiar and taken for granted implying whatever exists as an exterior environment that habituates and prompts us and makes us what we are (Miller, 2010). Attfield (2000) defines material culture as “[...] the social meaning of the physical world of things [...]” (p. 15). Besides the lexical meanings of the objects, these meanings are the meanings that are ascribed to the objects by the people who are practicing them in everyday life (Attfield, 2007). Users’ everyday interactions with objects are dependent on the users’ making sense of what they mean and what actions will be effective in transforming them to suit their purposes, in other words appropriations.

In everyday life individuals tend to accept the *stuff* as passive and affected, however, in many cases, objects are active and affect the humans, and the interaction between them and objects (Bilgin, 2009). Understanding material culture is important because objects are perceived by interpreting the information of the senses in the light of what is known of that material culture (Dant, 2008) and thus, objects and forms around us can tell much about the society and the people use them. “They are pervasive and they embody and perpetuate ideas about culture, regions, religions, nations and individual and collective identities” (Burkhart, 2006, p. 33). In fact, objects do not only reflect culture but also constitute it, and culture contributes to the construction of everyday life. For instance, regarding the bathroom, its everyday practices and appropriations, the water closet with integrated nozzle or the various usages of the bathtub reveal much about the Turkish society; they show how the culture and the objects interact with each other and change everyday life. In other words, the objects around us –namely the material culture- represent and constitute the culture we live in since they can carry and communicate cultural meanings (Belk, 1988; Boztepe, 2004; Douglas & Isherwood, 1996). With Miller’s words, the society is “[...] always a cultural project in which we come to be ourselves in our humanity through the medium of things” (1998, p. 169). Moreover, everyday responses and activities of people --users in our terms-- could differ according to the cultural context that they had been brought up in. How they do things in specific ways could vary from one society to another thus one cultural context to another, which means

this is not a function of instinct but of the culture of the society (Mead, as cited in Inglis, 2005). For instance, while a Western user would have some difficulties in using a squat toilet (*alaturka*<sup>11</sup> toilet), most of the Turkish users would easily use it, yet more, if the case is public toilets, many Turkish users even might prefer the *alaturka* type toilet to the water closet, due to the accepted hygiene norms. In other words, the material culture makes us characteristic of our own society and culture, and we learn these through everyday routines that leads to consistent interaction with things, not as passive set of categories (Miller, 2010).

### 2.2.4 Everyday life creativity – *tactics* vs. *strategies*

As Gardiner (2000) expresses, while everyday life can be routine, static and unreflexive, it also enables dynamism and allows people to show their creativity; “In short, the everyday is where we develop our manifold capacities, both in an individual and collective sense, and become fully integrated and truly human persons” (p. 2).

De Certeau (1984) argues that everyday life revolves around two opposite factors; *strategies* and *tactics*. He explains that *strategies* are constructed by the prevailing system, by the force-relationships in order to control the everyday life; they are the hallmark of institutionalized power. A *strategy* selects a space to make its own that will serve as a base for the exercise of power and domination, “a place for everything and everything in its place, physically, bureaucratically, scientifically, panoptically, politically” (Silverstone, 1994, p. 120). On the other hand, *tactics* are ‘ways of operating’ conducted by the *weak* over the *strong*; they are manoeuvres of the ordinary man, art of the *weak* realized through everyday practices or can be called as “[...] the tricks of the everyday [...]” (Silverstone, 1994, p. 121). *Strategies* are able to produce, tabulate and impose spaces whereas *tactics* can only use, manipulate and divert these spaces. *Tactics* are “dispersed, hidden and ephemeral, and improvised in response to the concrete demands of the situation at hand” (Gardiner, 2000, p. 172). Although, *tactics* may be limited with the possibilities offered by the circumstances, they do not obey the rules, however, they are temporal; they rely on the collective memory of the society and they are passed on from generation to generation.

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<sup>11</sup> *Alaturka* means ‘according to Turkish style’ adapted from French *a la turca*. It refers to the squat toilet.

This study sees an analogy between the above two concepts of de Certeau (1984) and the everyday life in the bathroom. Today, most of the mechanisms that control everyday life are the mechanisms that produce products for consumption. Since this study approaches the issue at the level of the bathroom, ‘the given’ domestic bathroom space and the mechanisms that produce the bathroom products can be regarded as the *strategies* of the dominant consumption practices. Therefore, the tools they use are whatever displayed in the stores, product catalogues, company brochures, advertisements, i.e., whatever common on the market. As Lefebvre (1987) states, “[...] the everyday constitutes the platform upon which the bureaucratic society of controlled consumerism is erected” (p. 9). If these are to be considered as the *strategies* of the dominant consumer patterns, oppositely, the appropriations in the bathroom done by the users can be seen as the *tactics* of the everyday life performed to cope with ‘what is already there’, what is being imposed. The *tactics* in the bathroom are the tricks of the everyday life of the bathroom. In other words, users appropriate the ‘given’ bathroom space whose limits are described and defined by the dominant mechanisms and consumption trends (Table 2.1).

**Table 2.1 :** The analogy between de Certeau’s concepts and the appropriations in the bathroom.

|                               | STRATEGIES                                                                      | TACTICS                                                                                                                |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (de CERTEAU)<br>EVERYDAY LIFE | belongs to the strong - the hallmark of institutionalized power and domination  | belongs to the weak - ways of operating conducted by the <i>weak</i> over the <i>strong</i> through everyday practices |
| DOMESTIC<br>BATHROOM          | the given space - what is common on the market - the dominant consumer patterns | appropriations in the bathroom operated by the users through everyday practices                                        |

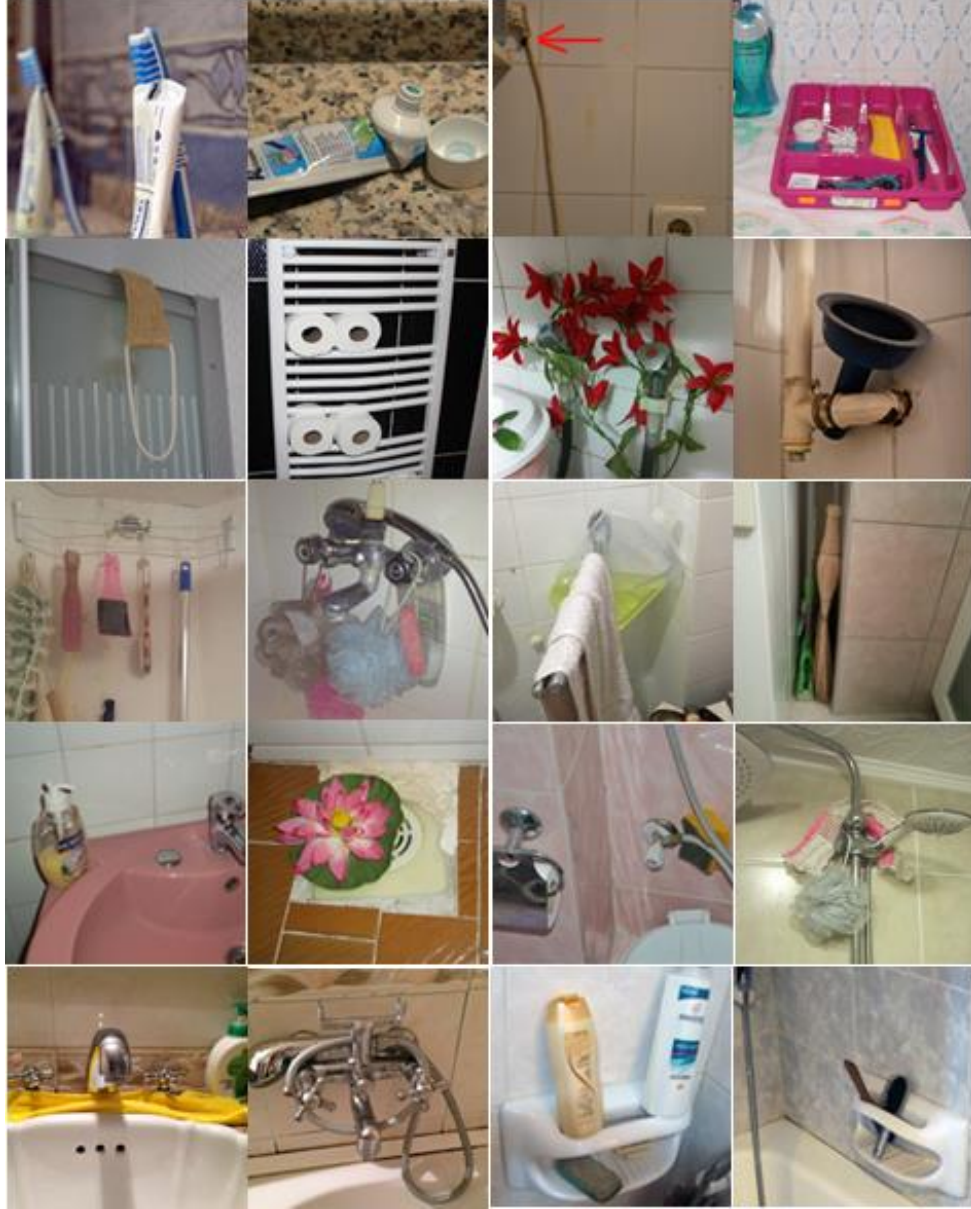
One of the examples of the *tactics* in everyday life of the bathroom is the use of the bidet in the near history. When the bidet had first entered the market of the bathroom fixtures in 1950s in Turkey, it was being sold as a part of three-piece set with the lavatory and water closet and it was completely an outsider. The owner-occupiers had no choice but to accept this culturally alien product in this given space since the building contractors were furnishing the bathrooms with the latest trend, so called modern design solutions, which was leading to the three-piece set (Gürel, 2008).

However, the bidet was not mainly preferred to wash genitals but was appropriated as a product to wash feet or kept as a symbol of wealth or modernism.

Using a product for different purposes or adding various uses to a product can be named as ‘misuse’, however, it can also be regarded as a certain level of ‘creativity’. Within the latter point of view, in March 2013, to support this study, two-day workshops have been conducted in three universities in İzmir: İzmir Institute of Technology (with five participants), Yaşar University (with 13 participants) and İzmir University of Economics (with 29 participants). The workshops were named ‘Everyday Life Creativity’ and based on the concept of ‘thoughtless acts’ as used by Jane Fulton Suri. As being the partner and the Creative Director of the global design consultancy firm IDEO, Suri gives examples of such acts in her book ‘Thoughtless Acts? Observations on Intuitive Design’ (2005), which includes hundreds of inquisitive photographs from everyday life showing how people make do and get by to enable their lives. She reveals our *thoughtless acts* via these photographs, which are our interpretations about the stuff around us. They are the “... intuitive ways we adapt, exploit, and react to things in our environment; things we do without really thinking” (Suri, 2005, p. i). These mundane but *creative* acts that are often taken for granted show how we interact with the given material world in our everyday life. We recognize the possibilities of different objects, materials, spaces, forms and textures and -most of the time unconsciously- engage with them in order to enable our lives.

During the workshops, the students were asked to look at their everyday environments through a lens that they have never looked before. They were asked to observe their everyday lives, document (via camera) the *thoughtless acts*, and analyse them in order to seek inspiration from real life. They also thought if those observations could be inspirational for designers, if they could be used to generate new design ideas and if they could inspire thoughts about design opportunities. Relating the workshops to this thesis, they were asked to observe also the bathroom space and take at least five thoughtless acts photographs from any bathroom. They brought photographs from everyday lives, analysed the actions and relations observed in the photographs and sketched their design ideas in relation to their observations. The photographs they took in the bathrooms uncover many things: the interaction between objects and the users, the interaction between the space and the people using it, how we interpret our surroundings, the inadequacy of the bathrooms

in terms of physicality, how people relate themselves to the designed world and how they act creatively within this relation (Figure 2.3). In other words, the photographs show how everyday life creates *tactics* to deal with this given environment and the dominant consumption practices. Figure 2.3 shows photographs taken by some of the workshop attendants.<sup>12</sup>



**Figure 2.3 :** Works from Everyday Life Creativity workshop.

Gardiner (2000) -commenting on de Certeau- states that consumers appropriate, use, and attribute meaning to objects in many unexpected and surprising ways and these

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<sup>12</sup> Antonella Paparella, Aslı Çalışkan, Ceren Cengiz, Ekin Ergin, Erdem Topsakal, Gizem Pirinççiler, Gözde Kozak, Pelinsu Babacanlar, Pelin Caner, Tuğçe Semiz, Hatice Aktürk, Utku Yücelmiş and Öykü Köyağasıoğlu.

activities are largely ‘unsigned, unreadable, and unsymbolized’ since they are not “governed by formalized logic and escapes the gaze of official power” (p. 170). In other words, de Certeau (1984) sees the consumer as a creative actor. In order to explore such acts displayed in the above images, one should focus on the types of operations that characterize consumption, so that the hidden moments of creativity and self-expression can be discovered (Gardiner, 2000).

The ‘creative’ acts shown in Figure 2.3 are the unexpected and surprising uses of the space and the objects in that space. The photographs show that, the reasons of such acts --in other words appropriations-- may vary; for instance, the inefficiency of the space in terms of storage/shelves/hooks; the need to use the products/the space efficiently; the need to be practical; to decrease the workload related to cleaning or to increase the visual quality of the space. These appropriations are the results of users encountering the everyday life in the bathroom space. They can also be called the *tactics* of the users since they are performed to cope with the given space, the limited options on the market or the dominant consumer practices. The outcome of these workshops regarding bathroom appropriations, supported to deeply investigate the subject in terms of this thesis.

### 2.3 The Concept of Appropriation<sup>13</sup>

Appropriation is one of the ways to negotiate the sets of rules, systems, structures and spaces in everyday life, besides improvisation, making up and making do (Paterson, 2006).

According to the dictionary, the word appropriate means, as an adjective, ‘suitable’, ‘proper’ and as a verb it means ‘assigned to a particular person’; originally coming from the meaning ‘to make one’s own’ (Appropriate, 2002). Barbey (1976) defines the meaning of the French verb ‘appropriier’ as “to make something suitable or convenient to a specific purpose by achieving conformity with a given model or alternately by making it different or inimitable” (p. 216).

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<sup>13</sup> The concept of appropriation is used as *kendileme/kendinin kılma* in recent studies in Turkish (Bilgin, 2009; Göregenli, 2010). In this study *kendileme* is used in the Turkish abstract since I believe it corresponds the concept of appropriation more than *kendinin kılma*. While the term *kendinin kılma* might associate more with ownership, *kendileme* reflects the practices and the tension in the bathroom in a better way.

According to Graumann (1976a) and Serfaty-Garzon (1985), the concept of appropriation was first used in psychology and its philosophical background goes back to Marx's anthropology; his theory of man's relationship with nature. For Marx, the individual reproduces him/herself through the production of objects and sees his/her reflection in the world that he/she constitutes, and only in producing things, s/he finds self-realization (Marx, as cited in Graumann, 1976a). Graumann (1976a) explains appropriation through Marx's perspective as follows;

[...] for Marx work becomes the all-inclusive essential and prime mover. In its products work is objectified, and the producer finds himself confronted with things alien to him unless he appropriates them by means of operations or activities. And through this appropriated work, and through work only, man develops his 'human capacities'. Acting on the external world and changing it, man at the same time actualizes his potentiality, his own nature. The appropriation of an object thus always includes the appropriation of a skill or aptitude to cope with such objects (p. 116)

Graumann (1976a) also points out that according to Marx, although appropriation implies man's relation to nature, and his production and reproduction, this activity is not solely belongs to the individual. Marx (as cited in Graumann, 1976a) sees man as a social animal who can develop into an individual only in society. "In this sense the real subject of appropriation is not the individual but society. And it is society, which preserves and hands down appropriations from generation to generation. History is this continuous change of appropriating men and appropriated nature" (Graumann, 1976a, p. 117).

As to the concept of 'appropriation of space', Serfaty-Garzon (1985) states that it was used frequently in French urban sociology research in the 1960s and 1970s. In addition, the proceedings of the 3rd International Architectural Psychology Conference held at Louis Pasteur University Strasbourg in France in 1976 shows that researchers from various disciplines like urban sociology, general psychology, environmental psychology and architecture were interested in the studies of appropriation of space. This shows that "man's representation of, and activity in, man-made environment has historical, political, economic, societal, psychological, and physiological dimensions" (Graumann, 1976b, p. 209).

Among these researchers, Barbey (1976) tries to identify spatial appropriation with five different but interrelated meanings which are relevant to the study of the use of space at home: "(i) personal identification with a given space which may result into spatial identity, (ii) apparent or effective control over a given space, which is not

equal to its legal possession, (iii) feeling of belonging or relating closely to the home and its surroundings, (iv) habituation and/or adaptation to the premises, which is a relationship established over time, and (v) provision for privacy and freedom to organise home space according to personal criteria and decisions” (p. 216).

According to Chombart de Lauwe (1976), the house or the lodging are the first places of appropriation. He elaborates on the concept by explaining that appropriation of space is related with aspirations, desires and representation that are specific to a culture, a social class, a society, but employed in a particular way by each individual. It might be employed through the acts of “moving, possessing, relaxing, acting, feeling, admiring, dreaming, learning, creating, according to one’s desires, aspirations, projects” (Chombart de Lauwe, 1976, p. 30). Moreover, he notes about the subject-object relationship and indicates that appropriation of space is a type of communication. It is associated with the processes that are built in that subject-object relationship since objects arranged in a built space are symbol bearers. Thus, appropriation is associated with “practices, cognitive processes and affective processes” (Chombart de Lauwe, 1976, p. 30). He claims that all living spaces could be studied through their appropriation. However, he also states that appropriation is not an isolated act; “It is deeply marked by social relationships, the whole of social structures, the ideologies” (Chombart de Lauwe, 1976, p. 30). Similarly, Raymond (1976) also thinks that appropriation of space is linked to symbol and communication “of the social qualities of the place, the I or the WE” (p. 70). According to Thornberg (1976), it is a two-way relation; “ [...] we appropriate places through our notion of identity, and we grasp our identity through the appropriation of places where we live” (p. 151).

Haumont’s (1976) field study that is based on 1000 non- or semi-directed interviews collected from house and flat owners as well as tenants, illustrates that French city-dwellers appropriate their dwelling through two approaches, which are organisation and marking of space. Similarly Atasoy and Erkman (1976) use the results of a study based on the interviews made with 20 families in 1972 and discuss the data for architectural design. Their focus is on the appropriations performed due to the inadequacy of space. Their aim is to determine unsatisfied human needs through their interviewees’ appropriations and create spaces which could meet the needs better, since they think appropriation of space reflects the conflicts between human needs

and space properties. They first inspect the changes in the dwellings made by the occupants and the desired changes that families would like to make if they had the opportunity. In the second phase of the study, they develop a plan type according to the data obtained which is the remodeling of the existing plan.

In more recent studies, the concept of appropriation is being used and interpreted in several different ways. Regardless of its different ways of uses, most agree that appropriation starts after a commodity is sold, after it is possessed by an individual or household and 'owned' (Miller, 1987; Silverstone, 1994). When users acquire and start using products, they also start to personalize and incorporate them into their everyday life routines that the whole process may be called appropriation (Lupton & Noble, 2002).

In everyday life, consciously or subconsciously, we try to organise our environment within every possible context. According to Nippert-Eng (2010), we construct the 'territory of the self' with our extended selves, some of which may be clothing, photographs, tools, decorations, workplace surroundings etc. and thus we appropriate our surroundings through the routines of everyday life. Based on personal observation, home --in this case the bathroom-- is one of the spaces where mostly women extend themselves through tangible (e.g. different types of decorations like plastic flowers or colour match textiles) and intangible (e.g. fresh air, light) elements.

From Miller's point of view, creating the 'territory of the self' with the stuff in our environment can also be considered as an assimilation process of an 'alien' environment or a product. The term 'alien' implies the goods displayed on the market which do not belong to us yet; "[...] a symbol of estrangement and price value [...]" (Miller, 1987, p. 190). In his book where he analyses material culture, mass consumption and their theoretical bases, and where he emphasises the subject-object interrelation, Miller (1987) argues that mass produced commodities are products of human labour and they are alien to us when they are first produced, however, they are appropriated, thus, inalienated through an expanded process of consumption, and are recast as inalienable cultural material.<sup>14</sup> As Ilmonen (2004) stresses, the inalienation process does not take place in a cultural void since we learn from our older generations about how to or how not to utilize objects. "[...] we have

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<sup>14</sup> Miller builds his arguments on Hegel's (1977), Marx's (1973, 1974, 1975) and Simmel's (1968, 1978) thoughts.

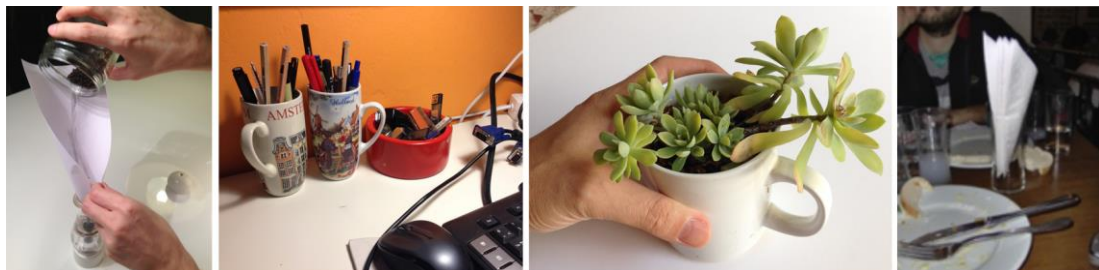
not only been socialized in our cultural reality, but we also participate in the construction of it” (Berger and Luckman, as cited in Ilmonen, 2004, p. 39).

The instant we start to use a product or live an environment, we transfer and internalize them into our lives with constant appropriations, we charge them “[...] with particular inseparable connotations” (Miller, 1987, p. 190). Miller (1988) uses this concept also in his research where he analyses his interviews with tenants living in a single council estate in London built in 1970s. Hoping to detect patterns or lack of them, he focuses on how the tenants have engaged in some form of appropriation who are faced with the provision of a range of furnishings selected by the council. He investigates how they have decorated and altered their kitchens and how those social groups transformed alienable goods into inalienable culture, which he thinks they are often unable to accomplish. Similarly, Berglund-Lake’s (2008) study examines how the Swedish tenants appropriated their apartments -the new and unfamiliar space- constructed after the Second World War in Sweden. Based on life story interviews, his study reveals that the Swedish tenants appropriated this new and unfamiliar space by organizing their things and establishing new everyday routines and habits, and made it one with their on-going life, in other words a place they could call their own (Berglund-Lake, 2008).

A similar perspective on the concept is also shared by Lupton and Noble (2002). According to them, appropriation is about making an object ‘mine’, in other words it is “the incorporation of an initially ‘alien’ object into subjectivity via everyday use” (pp. 5, original emphasis); it invests the object with personal meaning. In their study where they made interviews with people about their use of personal computers at work in order to investigate the meanings given to the personal computers, they indicate that there are ‘strategies of appropriation of objects’. They focus on the two major strategies in their study: decoration and configuration. It appears that, users (1) decorate their personal computers by adding artefacts to the outside of the computer and by manipulating the appearance of the screen, and (2) configure them by arranging the layout of its interface and software, and by constructing personal files. A research parallel to Lupton and Noble’s (2002) in terms of adjusting our surroundings, is Chevalier’s (1998) study where the key analytical notion is appropriation. The study compares “the appropriation of the domestic interior with the garden and its natural elements” (Chevalier, 1998, p. 48) in order “to examine

how people, as creative appropriators, succeed in creating their own interior décor through objects” (Chevalier, 1998, p. 47). In her study, which is done among the families who have gardens and lounges, she mentions two opposite cases that make her reach to the conclusion that reciprocal ‘colonization’ is the process of appropriation in garden/gardening. While one of this opposite cases try to ‘colonize’ the garden with furniture and artefacts to appropriate it, which in the end makes the garden an extension of the lounge, by contrast, other case ‘colonizes’ the lounge by bringing into natural themes or designs which she calls the ‘colonization’ of the lounge by the garden. According to Chevalier, these two cases illustrate ‘bridging’ the lounge and the garden as a process of appropriation. Based on the study of Morales (2007), it can be said that such appropriations are also seen in the contemporary bathrooms as well. To some extent, users appropriate the bathroom by using the characteristics of other rooms in the house such as bringing the living room furniture into the bathroom or turning it into a playroom with toys or decoration (Morales, 2007). In other words, they appropriate the bathroom by colonizing with elements that do not fundamentally belong to the bathroom or are not related to its initial practices.

People appropriate objects also by adding or changing functions in order to adapt or alter them for different purposes (Burkhart, 2006) which is, for Paterson (2006), a form of resistance, for de Certeau (1984), “the very activity of ‘making do’”. Below figure displays some examples to adapting/altering objects for different purposes; respectively, using a sheet of paper as a funnel, using coffee mugs as penholders, using a coffee mug as a flowerpot and using a glass as a napkin holder (Source: author's photograph).



**Figure 2.4 :** Appropriation of objects by adding/changing functions.

According to Parsons (2009), the purposeful appropriation of objects highlights the potential of objects and should inspire designers. As mentioned previously, Jane Fulton Suri (2005), gives examples of such appropriations in her book ‘Thoughtless

Acts?’. Without sharp definitions, she groups the photographs in seven titles with question marks: reacting?, responding?, co-opting?, exploiting?, adapting?, conforming? and signalling?. She describes the photos grouped under the title of ‘adapting?’ as altering the purpose or context of things to meet our objectives, which can be considered as everyday appropriations (Figure 2.5).



**Figure 2.5 :** Everyday appropriations as ‘adapting’ (Suri, 2005, pp. 105-123).

According to Suri (2005), these actions show how we engage, adapt and make sense of our designed world. In a similar manner, Sanders (2006c) defines, making an object better fit our functional needs or personality as ‘adapting’ and regards it as a level of creativity. She identifies four levels of creativity that people seek (Table 2.2). *Doing* level of creativity refers to the many readymade goods and services offered to ‘consumers’. *Adapting* level of creativity emerges when products, services or environments do not exactly fit people’s need, for instance, holding sheet music with pegs (Figure 2.5). *Making* level of creativity usually involves some kind of guidance like a pattern or a recipe and finally, *creating* level of creativity relies on the use of raw materials and the absence of a predetermined pattern.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Sanders (2006c) relates these levels to the old design spaces where the focus is on consumptive activities and the new, evolving and emerging design spaces which are, design for experiencing, design for adapting and finally co-creating spaces “where designers and everyday people work collaboratively throughout the design and development process” (p. 12)

**Table 2.2 :** Four levels of everyday creativity, adapted from (Sanders, 2006c, pp. 8-10).

| Level of creativity | Motivations                                                   | Example                                                                                                                         | Requirements                                         |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| Doing               | To get something done/to be productive                        | to buy or select a pre-packaged microwave food and prepare it for meal                                                          | Minimal interest<br>Minimal domain experience        |
| <u>Adapting</u>     | <u>To make something on my own by changing it in some way</u> | <u>to add an extra ingredient to a cake mix to make it special</u>                                                              | <u>Some interest</u><br><u>Some domain expertise</u> |
| Making              | To make something with my own hands                           | to create an entrée using a recipe                                                                                              | Genuine interest<br>Domain experience                |
| Creating            | To express my creativity/myself<br>To innovate                | to make up the recipe as you go and have to improvise along the way when you discover that you have run out of a key ingredient | Passion<br>Domain expertise                          |

According to de Certeau (1984), the consumers --non-producers in his terms-- tend to use creativity to cope with or manipulate the everyday life which is controlled and dominated by political and economical forces. Consumers do this with consumption; “The tactics of consumption, the ingenious ways in which the weak make use of the strong, thus lend a political dimension to everyday practices” (de Certeau, 1984, p. xvii). This process of creativity transforms the original commodity into something different which can be called a type of appropriation, however, what is important is the process of appropriation or ‘making do’ related to the usage rather than the materials used in the consumer practice (de Certeau, 1984; Gardiner, 2000).

Regarding the consumer practices, the creative transformations in everyday life are called also ‘hacking’. Social media is one of the domains where various types of hackings are shared especially through photographs. For instance, the growing web site IKEA Hackers ([www.ikeahackers.net](http://www.ikeahackers.net)) publishes modifications on and repurposing of IKEA products online. Any type of appropriation done with IKEA products or done to the IKEA products gets published on the web site. Users photograph the process of appropriation of IKEA products and publish it with the step-by-step instructions. The appropriations are called ‘hacks’ which makes its creator/user the ‘hacker’. Some ‘hacks’ are only considered as simple embellishment additions while some others may require power tools and lots of ingenuity. For instance, Figure 2.6 shows how Faktum sideboard is turned into an herbs greenhouse

and Ordning cutlery stand is turned into a lamp (<http://www.ikeahackers.net/2013/01/faktum-sideboard-revisited.html> and <http://www.ikeahackers.net/2012/12/the-just-so-i-can-say-i-hacked.html>).



**Figure 2.6 :** Repurposing of IKEA products.

Similarly, the online photo management and sharing application Flickr ([www.flickr.com](http://www.flickr.com)) has two photo sharing groups called IDEO's Thoughtless Acts and Non Intentional Design, following the work of Suri (2005) and Brandes and Erlhoff (2006). The contributors of the groups share the everyday life appropriations that they come across with in life from all over the world.

Another popular Internet phenomenon is the photographs of *life hacks* that are being shared on the Internet and on the social media as useful advices or tips to ease life. These *life hacks* simply show everyday appropriations; how people cope with the problems or deficiencies in their everyday lives and most of them can inspire designers for a new product idea Figure 2.7 shows some of the *life hacks* found on the internet (Source: <http://shialabeowulf.tumblr.com/post/33670447154/99-life-hacks-to-make-your-life-easier>).



**Figure 2.7 :** Some *life hacks*.

The study of Kim and Lee (2014) shows that everyday life appropriations (*everyday design* in their terms) encourage a design process that is based on interactions between users and artifacts, and between artifacts. They claim that everyday life appropriations can help professional designers to “better understand real contexts” and they can “better understand people’s actual actions with everyday artifacts” (Kim & Lee, 2014, p. 3). To study these hypotheses, they first collect photographs of appropriations through a mobile application from 16 graduate students who live in a dormitory. In total they received 245 cases in two weeks showing various appropriations employed by the participants. The second phase of their research consists of working with professional designers. They worked with four groups of designers; each group consisted of two designers. They were asked to design a product for students who live in dormitories to manage and organise cables of digital products. The two groups of designers were provided with the photographs of appropriations that were collected in the first phase. The other two groups of designers were provided with images of products relevant to the design problem that are on the market. The designers were given one hour to solve the problem and visualise their design ideas. Afterwards, each pair of groups was interviewed by the researchers to gain insight into the designers’ thought process. Based on the comparisons between the groups, they reach to the conclusion that the designers who were provided with the cases of appropriations “were more immersed in the actual context” and these appropriations help designers to observe actual contexts and to be absorbed into the context of target users (Kim & Lee, 2014, p. 10). They also find out that a design process that uses appropriations in everyday life starts with the observation of the interaction between users and artifacts, which they call

interaction-oriented process. They reveal that everyday life appropriations involve human-artifact interactions and “these interactions convey actual contexts, involving causes of interaction, and enable designers to incorporate particular action-artifact analogies into new designs” (Kim & Lee, 2014, p. 11). In sum, their study shows the importance and value of everyday life appropriations as design resource in the professional design process.

Apart from the physical changes in objects, the work of appropriation may take place as purely symbolic ways as users state that what matters is the thought that the object expresses and embodies (Carrier, 1990).<sup>16</sup> A totally functional object may be appropriated with only symbolic values. For instance, in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in the modern urban dwellings in Turkey, although the bidet was not used, it was mostly bought or kept in the bathroom as a symbol of wealth and/or modernism. Similarly, appropriations can also be observed at emotional levels. Gell (2010) points out that appropriation includes emotions as it is the ability to change a utilitarian artefact into more like work of art with personal expression. Gell (2010) defines consumption “as the appropriation of objects as part of one’s *personalia*” (pp. 112, italics in original) which is a phase of the cycle that some individual personality and badges of identity are attributed to artefacts. These artefacts, according to Lupton and Noble (2002), due to and during the processes of appropriation, may take imprints of their users or be manipulated and changed for a purpose and thus become the autobiographical display of the marks of their users or act as signifiers of personal events.

Here, it is worth to mention the extensive study ‘The Meaning of Things’ by Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981) where they signify the material possessions in contemporary urban life, and the ways people give meaning to their domestic environment. The book successfully shows the relationship between people and objects, the meanings that users give to their possessions and how users give meaning to their lives through these relationships. The study emphasizes how the artefacts have been incorporated into everyday experience by their users or owners. Experiences with a product do not only relate to the activities, but also to the meanings they add to people’s lives, such as the symbolic meanings described in the

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<sup>16</sup> One of the main concerns in Carrier’s (1990) study is the gift relations where objects need to bear the identity of the giver. He also calls attention to the ways people appropriate commodities in the process of purchase, which is shopping.

book. Drawing on a survey on the relations or the transactions between people and things, they give examples of different ways of appropriations of how people give meaning to their physical surroundings, both physically and symbolically.

Appropriations done through giving symbolic meanings to a product, other than the meanings publicly associated with it, are also mentioned by Lunt and Livingstone (1992, p. 84); “[...] bringing objects into the home and under control, giving them local meanings, translating the object from an alienable to an inalienable condition” is a way of appropriation. Through such uses, individuals negotiate their cultural identities (Paterson, 2006). This transformation of meaning does not occur only between consumers and products but also between consumers and other consumers. Paterson (2006), by going back in history, gives the example of the appropriation of the democratic, unisex motor scooter by turning into a male Mod style icon.<sup>17</sup> “In terms of subcultures, one stylistic innovation does not exist in isolation. Imitation, mimicry, mutability and eventual transformation characterise this on-going dialogue within, and between, subcultures” (Paterson, 2006, p. 156). He also gives the use and appropriation of mobile phones as another example but from recent history. He points out that mobile phones have been appropriated, by a certain generation, by means of the creation of forms of abbreviations of the text messages, which led to a symbolic and linguistic innovation, later contaminated in emailing for instant communication.

As mentioned previously, appropriations are not only observed at the product level; in everyday life, to some extent, people also appropriate the urban space. Lefebvre (1991) states that we appropriate space in time and become its fully entitled owners as opposed to *dominated* spaces. He (1991) defines dominated (and dominant) space as the transformation of the space by dominant powers using technology and/or practice which its origins coincide with political powers. According to de Certeau (1984), the pedestrians appropriate the city space through the medium of walking in it; they recreate the city and give new meanings to it through their walking. Grounding its theoretical framework mainly on Lefebvre (1971) and de Certeau (1984), Dereli’s (2010) thesis study also takes the everyday life observation to the level of urban space. One of the aims of his study is, by analysing the city (mainly

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<sup>17</sup> See Hebdige 1988 and 2000.

İstanbul), to follow the traces of the creative contributions of the ordinary people to the city in terms of product, use and space, and thus to understand the relations between ordinary people and the urban space. According to Dereli (2010), ordinary people make do and get by, by playing with the limits of the city. Based on de Certeau's (1984) *strategies* and *tactics* that shape the everyday life, the author argues that the *strategies* of political-economical powers create their own defined urban spaces and uses in the city. However, these 'untouchable' spaces are transformed and reproduced by the 'creative' *tactics* of ordinary people in the everyday life of the city, which --according to this study-- also can be called 'appropriation of the urban space by everyday people'. He gives the examples of the tools and behaviours of the fishermen on the Galata Bridge, the tea vendors on the Galata Bridge and at the seaside, people using the defined spaces like parks and green areas according to their needs and the street vendors (*seyyar satıcılar*) redefining their own shopping spaces that have internal dynamics of their own (Figure 2.8).



**Figure 2.8 :** Appropriations through urban space (Dereli, 2010, pp. 67-78).

All these show how people appropriate the 'given' urban life and space whose limits are described and defined by the political-economical powers through use and design. Dereli also finds worth noting that the tactics of ordinary people are not

borderless; people manipulate the urban space but in a limited way where borders are again defined by the strategies.

**Table 2.3 :** Various definitions and approaches of the appropriation concept.

|               |                                                                                                                                                            |
|---------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| APPROPRIATION | man's relation to nature - (Marx)                                                                                                                          |
|               | (of space) a type of communication – (Chombart de Lauwe, 1976)                                                                                             |
|               | (of space) personal identification with a given space which may result into spatial identity – (Barbey, 1976)                                              |
|               | (of space) apparent or effective control over a given space, which is not equal to its legal possession - (Barbey, 1976)                                   |
|               | (of space) feeling of belonging or relating closely to the home and its surroundings - (Barbey, 1976)                                                      |
|               | (of space) habituation and/or adaptation to the premises, which is a relationship established over time - (Barbey, 1976)                                   |
|               | (of space) provision for privacy and freedom to organise home space according to personal criteria and decisions - (Barbey, 1976)                          |
|               | (of space) reflects the conflicts between human needs and space properties – (Atasoy and Erkman, 1976)                                                     |
|               | tactics of the weak (as opposed to the strategies of dominant powers) - (de Certeau, 1984)                                                                 |
|               | inalienation of mass produced commodities through the process of consumption - (Miller, 1987)                                                              |
|               | decorating and altering one's surrounding - (Miller, 1988)                                                                                                 |
|               | transforming alienable goods into inalienable culture - (Miller, 1988)                                                                                     |
|               | adding symbolic value to an object - (Carrier, 1990)                                                                                                       |
|               | (of space) in time and become its owner (as opposed to dominated space) - (Lefebvre, 1991)                                                                 |
|               | creating one's own interior décor through objects - (Chevalier, 1998; Morales, 2007)                                                                       |
|               | to personalize and incorporate products into the everyday life routine - (Lupton & Noble, 2002)                                                            |
|               | making an object 'mine' - (Lupton & Noble, 2002)                                                                                                           |
|               | objects taking imprints of theirs users thus become the autobiographical display of the marks of their users - (Lupton & Noble, 2002)                      |
|               | the incorporation of an initially 'alien' object into subjectivity via everyday use (it invests the object with personal meaning) - (Lupton & Noble, 2002) |
|               | adding function(s) to and/or changing function(s) of an object - (Burkhart, 2006; Parsons, 2009; Suri, 2005)                                               |
|               | ways to negotiate the sets of rules, systems, structures and spaces in everyday life – (Paterson, 2006)                                                    |
|               | transforming new and unfamiliar space by organizing things and establishing new routines and habits - (Berglund-Lake, 2008)                                |
|               | changing a functional artefact into more like work of art with personal expression - (Gell, 2010)                                                          |
|               | constructing the ' <i>territory of the self</i> ' with extended self (appropriation of one's surrounding) - (Nippert-Eng, 2010)                            |

While various studies on the concept of appropriation are given until here (Table 2.3), it should not be perceived as a one-way relation as if only users do appropriate

spaces or artefacts. In the same way, products can shape, transform and in Latour's (1992) words, even 'discipline' users' behaviour and practices through everyday use (Ilmonen, 2004). It can be said that the boundaries are not clear between users and objects in the process of appropriation (Lupton & Noble, 2002). For instance, as the users appropriate the built-in bathtub according to their habits and needs, it partially changes the bathing habits of its users too, likewise, while a housewife appropriates her bathroom space as she needs and desires, the space itself partially controls her everyday routine as well, e.g., in terms of its cleaning and use.

Another dynamic aspect of appropriation is that its type may change according to the characteristics of the user -namely the appropriator, e.g., age, gender, income, beliefs, education, and according to the uses to which the product is to be put (Carrier, 1990; Ilmonen, 2004). It also changes during life; especially appropriation of a home changes during the family's life since the roles and status of its members change, and so do the psychological and social relations within the family (Barilleau & Lombardo, 1976).

Although, appropriation can be understood as the construction of an inalienable environment through the use of mass-produced objects (Chevalier, 1998), the appropriations in the bathroom might not be restricted to the tangible objects; services such as water and electricity supplies and fresh air can also be part of these strategies. All these strategies might be regarded as trivial, however, as Miller (1988) puts it, owner-occupiers (mostly women) form creative strategies to appropriate that which they have not themselves created, and to see these activities, it is important to understand that they derive from profound concerns.<sup>18</sup>

In sum, we live in already built physical environments that most of the time did not choose or construct ourselves; however we tend to create our own objects and environments of dwelling. In order to adapt to our environment, and to create order and significance, we continuously personalize and humanize what is given through an everyday routine (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981). Commenting on de Certeau, Appadurai (2003) states that, "[...] the transformation of spaces into places requires a conscious moment, which may subsequently be remembered as relatively routine" (p. 183). For instance, although the bathroom is a given space, the

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<sup>18</sup> Miller grounds his argument on the studies of Oakley (1976) and Gullestad (1984).

settings inside do not just happen to be there by themselves; they are mostly created by the users. There may be habitually and/or culturally constructed elements and systems, which constitute the ‘appropriation part’ of the everyday life in the bathroom.

This study focuses on the appropriations in the bathroom space since they are important in that they help users to turn a space into a place, which reveals the interactions between users and the space/artefacts. They uncover the creativity of the users, reflect users’ identities or show how they intervene their environment to meet their needs. These interactions are important for industrial design discipline because placing the user and his/her experiences in the centre of design research enables a better understanding of people, their values, lifestyles thus of society, which in the end could provide a better product development process.

By focusing on the appropriations performed in the bathroom, this study does not only provide insight on the user context and his/her interactions but it also provides user research data, which could be useful for user research studies regarding bathroom. The user research studies in industrial design discipline are done under various names and the most accepted one is called ‘user-centred design’ approach.

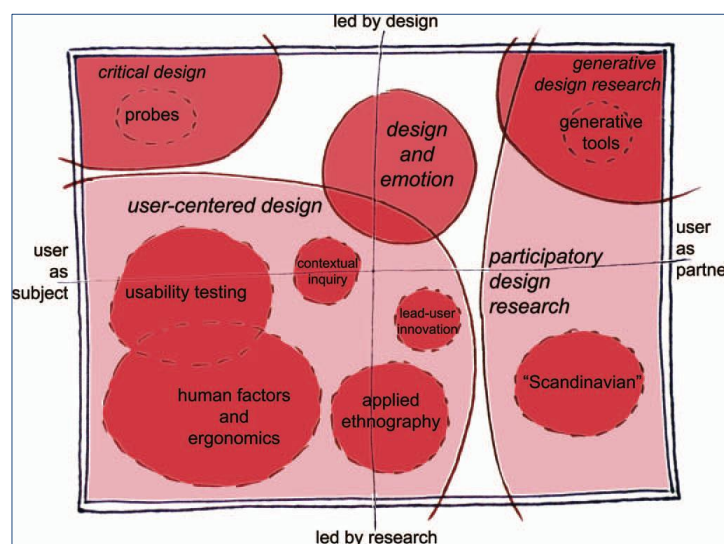
The user-centred design<sup>19</sup> (UCD) approach is one of the recent design methods for knowing and understanding the user and the context, i.e., the everyday circumstances and the environment of the user. Sanders and Stappers (2008) indicate that it started in the 1970s, became widespread by the 1990s and has been the most useful in design and product development. Ylirisku and Buur (2007) state that the term was emerged “to elevate the awareness that the influence [of] modern computerised and industrial products had on their users” (p. 6). They also add that the “field has since grown into a global business backed by international networks of academic research” (Ylirisku & Buur, 2007, p. 6). They define the final aim of the UCD as to “deliver good products to markets” (Ylirisku & Buur, 2007, p. 7), i.e., creating a product that is easy to use, serves the aims of people and leaves a positive impact on both the brand’s identity and the user’s memory.

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<sup>19</sup> In the literature and in the design world, the term is also used as people-centred or human-centred, emphasizing the focus on the ‘people’ throughout the design process and the importance of the contribution of the ‘everyday’ people to the product development process.

The UCD approach provides the designer to understand the user's real needs which gives way to the understanding of the user's lifestyle, culture and values (Sanders, 2006b). Especially, in cultural context, the products are rethought, re-contextualized, re-defined and assessed new meanings and uses by the users, thus, they fit and make sense in that culture, locality and lifestyle (Boztepe, 2004). With this approach, it is possible to identify the user differences, and find out how these differences might affect the design decisions and how the product can create meaning.

The widely used methods of UCD approach, where the user regarded as subject, are ethnographic research tools such as observation (mostly participant) and key-informant interviewing which are borrowed from cultural anthropology (Sanders, 1992). With such methods and tools, the designer reaches the direct relation attained with the user and his/her everyday life, which is a very valuable source for the product development process. The UCD approach takes its insight from people/users with a "thorough understanding, through direct observation, of what people want and need in their lives" (Brown, 2008, June, p. 86). Therefore, the UCD approach requires an in-depth collaboration with social sciences and users, i.e., 'everyday' people (P. Martin & Schmidt, 2001; Sanders, 2001; Sanders & Stappers, 2008). Figure 2.9 shows the landscape of UCD research which is discussed in more depth in Sanders, 2006a.



**Figure 2.9 :** The landscape of UCD research (Sanders & Stappers, 2008, p. 6).

Today, the UCD is not only a design research approach noted in the academic world, but also used actively within global firms and design companies for a better world, in other words for a better product development. One of the embracer of the approach is

IDEO, the award-winning global design consultancy firm. The firm was founded in 1978 and works with a range of clients, from public and private sectors, from organisations to governments. As they explain on their web site (IDEO, n.d.-c), they take a human-centred, design-based approach to help organisations in the public and private sectors innovate and grow. Tim Brown, the president and the CEO of IDEO, implies that *design thinking* -IDEO's term for *thinking like a designer*- is inevitably human-centred; "Design thinking is a human-centered approach to innovation that draws from the designer's toolkit to integrate the needs of people, the possibilities of technology, and the requirements for business success" (Brown, n.d.). According to IDEO, design thinking can transform the way organisations develop products, services, processes, and strategy; "This approach brings together what is desirable from a human point of view with what is technologically feasible and economically viable" (IDEO, n.d.-b). In one of his speeches, From Design to Design Thinking in the University of Michigan, Brown (2010) explains what design thinking is and why it should be human-centred, and he shows some examples of the application of design thinking to new kinds of problems done by IDEO and other design teams and firms. In that speech, he stresses that the fundamental idea of design thinking is taking the human-centred approach. The approach begins with what human needs or might need, and then it may integrate technology and economics. It deals with what makes life easier and more enjoyable, what makes technology more useful and usable. However, he warns us that it is definitely more than simply good ergonomics; it is often about understanding the culture and the context in order to even know where to begin to have new ideas. Brown advises that by looking, following and observing people, we can recognize behaviours that we can build and innovate from, which makes the routine behaviour and what people do everyday sources of inspiration for new ideas.

Similarly, David Kelley (2002), the founder and the chair of IDEO, tells in his speech on TED in 2002, how they used to give the emphasis on the product itself – mostly technological products- and underestimate the use experience back in the 1980s in the Silicon Valley. However, he acknowledges that, they have started to focus more on the human and taking more and more, the human-centeredness approach to design, which, according to him, involves designing behaviours and personality into products.

IDEO now shares their UCD methods by releasing the Human-Centered Design Toolkit on their website (IDEO, n.d.-a). The toolkit includes the tools and the tips that will help people, non-profit organisations and social enterprises that work with low-income communities throughout the world. It walks users through the human-centred design process and supports them in activities such as building observation and empathy skills, prototyping, leading workshops, and implementing ideas.

Jane Fulton Suri, the partner and the Creative Director at

, also pioneered on UCD approach. In her speech on TEDxWWF, she starts with her understanding of UCD and how this approach directs the design projects (Suri, 2011). What she finds important are the underlying rules, rituals and habits that guide human behaviour in their everyday life, i.e., observing people in their situation. That is why she has been trying to persuade designers and her clients to get out into the world and get curious and look at the human patterns. According to her, these patterns can inspire us to design solutions for people that are more innovative and more useful and actually more meaningful. Her speech includes some examples that UCD approach is used where the designs inspired first by observation of people in their own habitat. For instance, in the University of California, after the observation that most of the learning was actually happening in between spaces, in the hallways, in the doorways with the casual encounters with faculty rather than in the classroom, the new computer science building was designed with less emphasis on the high tech classrooms and labs but more use of circulation space to encourage this kind of impromptu gathering and collaborative learning. She also gives other examples to show that the approach works well in whole range of things like the design of a cash machine that respects personal privacy a little more, the design of long haul flights enabling to lie flat even within economy class, the design of services like less stressful screening in the airports and the design of social programmes aimed discouraging teen pregnancy.

Suri had written about the benefits of using ethnographic observation throughout the product development process also in the end of her book *Thoughtless Acts?* in 2005. The book includes hundreds of pictures from everyday life showing how people make do and get by to enable their lives. The situations in the pictures are the intuitive ways people adapt, exploit, and react to things in their designed and natural world, i.e., their interactions with the environment (Suri, 2005). Suri thinks that these

interactions might be a significant source of insight for designers. In order to do that, she suggests observation of behaviour in its natural setting as a starting point for human-centred design process. She emphasises how ethnographic observation can be used as a tool for better design:

Examining these everyday interactions, we discover a lot about how we engage, adapt, and make sense of our surroundings. We see directly how design plays into our lives, how we actively shape our environment, and how we in turn are shaped by it. Observing such interactions can inspire new design opportunities and guide better solutions in several valuable ways (Suri, 2005, p. 166).

She gives examples of projects where the design teams in IDEO have taken the UCD approach and started with observation and ended up in successful solutions. Figure 2.10 shows some of these cases. The one on the top left shows the observation of a travel agent who had developed her own way of making conference calls which inspired IDEO to design a conferencing system that would indicate clearly the status of participants' connections. The image on the top right shows a breakfast concept that supports the rituals and experience of making and consuming breakfast after an observation on activities rather than the products. The image on the bottom left is a defibrillator device designed to be used in emergency situations enabling at a glance how to safely carry and lay it down ready for use which is designed after observing on cultural patterns and meanings. They have built it on the Western people's familiarity with handling books, which are read left to right, top to bottom and they came with the idea of the asymmetric physical form of a closed book which saved precious seconds in emergency. Finally, the image on the bottom right shows a stroller which has larger wheels for better manoeuvrability, more space for shopping and paraphernalia and higher seat for better interactions with the child, designed after observing lots of parents transporting babies and toddlers around.



**Figure 2.10 :** Design projects by IDEO (Suri, 2005, pp. 168-175).

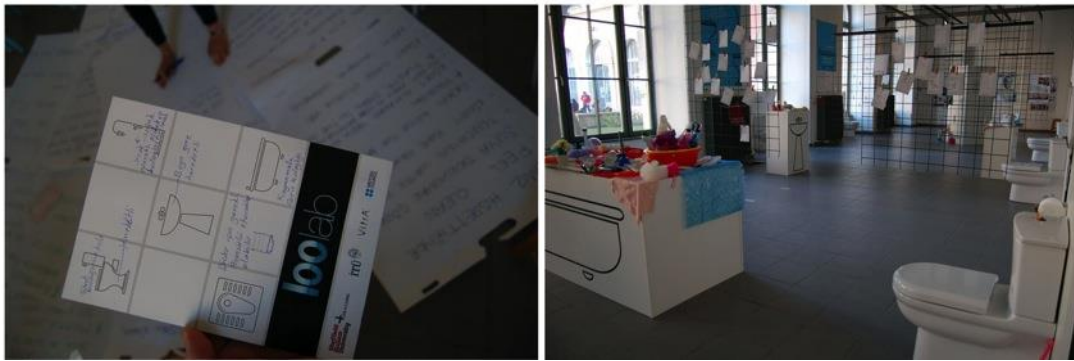
It is pertinent to mention here also the doctoral thesis by Boztepe (2004), titled *Product Adaptation: A User Value-Based Approach*, which examines product adaptation requirements from a user-centred perspective. It is a good example of how designers and design companies could make use of the UCD approach. The primary goal of that study is to examine user value in relation to users' local experiences and interactions with product. She tries to find out the user-related factors that designers should consider when designing for different local markets so as to create value for users. She emphasizes that several factors have been affecting the adaptation-standardization decisions of global firms but not enough importance has been given on the user related factors. According to her, on the producer side, there is a need and opportunity for the adoption of UCD approach to product adaptation. She conducts an ethnographic study using observation and semi-structured interviews as primary methods of data collection. She interviews twenty one urban families in the town Akyazı in Adapazarı, Turkey and seven American families in different states of the United States on kitchen appliances since preparing and consuming food are culture-specific practices. Then she focuses particularly on white goods, such as refrigerators, ovens, and dishwashers and small countertop appliances such as food processors, mixers, blenders, toasters, and coffee makers etc. She visits the informants during their daily meal preparation. She uses grounded theory approach to code and analyse the data which are field notes, transcriptions of audio taped interviews, photos, videos, and inventory checklists. She gathers immense amounts of data and endless opportunities for interpretation, thus she decides to investigate

only the refrigerator in-depth and reaches the conclusion of the suggestion of four major value categories; Utility Value, Social Significance Value, Emotional Value and Spiritual Value. She proposes a framework to assist designers in their decision-making regarding product adaptation and standardization, which puts a UCD approach in the core. The framework is built on the proposition that user value is an outcome of the harmonious combination of product properties and the elements of local context. She also proposes five types of adaptation based on this framework; Convenience Adaptation, Performance Adaptation, Economy Adaptation, Social Significance and Identity Adaptation and Pleasure Adaptation.

Another UCD study, which is related with bathroom use, was carried out in 2013 in the Department of Product Design in Istanbul Technical University (ITU). The project --called 'loo-lab'-- was an international collaboration between Sheffield Hallam University and ITU, and its main aim was to collect knowledge and insight to design bathroom for an ageing population. Throughout the project, a website<sup>20</sup> was created in order to collect bathroom photographs with text messages from users' everyday lives and this way a virtual community was created. Apart from the social media site, an exhibition was held in ITU (Figure 2.11). The two-weeks 'loo-lab' exhibition provided the visitors respond through drawings and writing. In conjunction with the exhibitions, a group of 26 older users ranging in age from 70 to 95 engaged in a workshop. The whole project was a medium for the bathroom users to be active participants in the design process, as the leader of the project Paul Chamberlain also says, "The project shows our commitment to user-centred design and it gives people an opportunity to share their thoughts and experiences of bathrooms, a topic rarely discussed. We have developed creative ways to engage people in this sensitive issue" (Thinktank: designers have Turkish bath debate, 2013).

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<sup>20</sup> The website is not active today; <http://www.loo-lab.com/>.

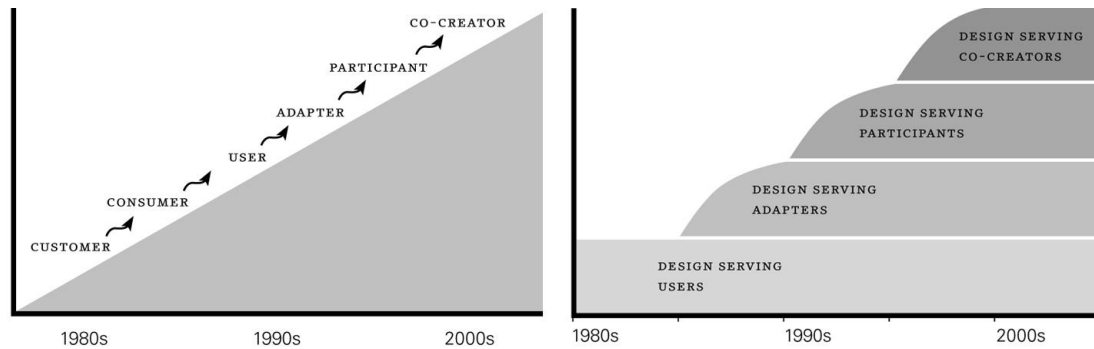


**Figure 2.11 :** Loo Lab discussion and The Loo Lab exhibition.

Taking the UCD approach one step further, a new design research approach called participatory design/co-design<sup>21</sup> has emerged (P. Martin & Schmidt, 2001; Sanders, 1992). According to Sanders (2001), throughout the design history, the focus was first on the body with the emphasis in the field of ergonomics, then in the 1980s, it shifted to the mind with the introduction of cognitive ergonomics, then it turned to the social aspects of human behaviour with the advent of applied ethnography in the 1990s, and then in the 2000s, the attention was on the emotional domain and finally shifted to the dreams and aspirations of the people who will buy and use the goods and services that designers design. She (2006a, 2006b) also points out that, similarly, the roles of everyday people that are cast by designers also evolved, from ‘consumers’ to mere ‘people’. Initially, in the 1980s they were emphasized as ‘customers’ or ‘consumers’, then in the 1990s, toward the acceptance of the UCD process they took the role of being ‘users’. With the name ‘users’, people gained a more active role in their interactions with the products. Today, they might play the role of ‘adapters’ of products where “they are capable of adapting products to better meet their own needs” (Sanders, 2006c, p. 3), or according to the design process, they might be the ‘participants’ in the process or even ‘co-creators’ in design (Sanders, 2006a, 2006b). Sanders (2006b, pp. 30-31) schematizes the evolution of the roles of users and emerging new design spaces as in Figure 2.12.

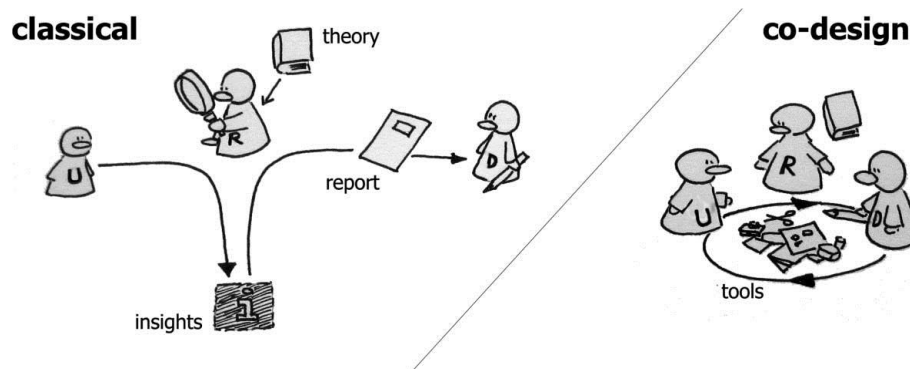
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<sup>21</sup> For more information on participatory design/co-design see Sanders (2000, 2001, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c) and for a detailed history and the evolution of co-design see (Sanders & Stappers, 2008).



**Figure 2.12 :** The evolution of roles and emerging new design spaces.

With the participatory design/co-design approach, the relation between the user and design process has changed. Sanders and Stappers (2008) note that in the classical design process the user, the researcher and the designer do what they do separately, however, in co-design the roles get mixed-up, as they depict in Figure 2.13 (p. 11). The approach is defined as designers and everyday people working collaboratively throughout the design development process (Sanders, 2006b).



**Figure 2.13 :** Classical roles and merged roles in design process.

Martin and Schmidt (2001), from the global design research company SonicRim, define participatory design simply as designing with users instead of designing for them. Many different tools are being used for this approach. Sanders and her team (2000, 2001; Sanders & Stappers, 2008) have explored the language for participatory design with the two- and three- dimensional tool kits that take the advantage of the visual ways we have of sensing, knowing, remembering and expressing; like tools for remembering, feeling, storytelling or dreaming which are consisting of collages, coloured shapes and velcro models etc.<sup>22</sup> Martin and Schmidt (2001) underline that while users use these tools to express their ideas, the focus is not on what they

<sup>22</sup> See [www.maketools.com](http://www.maketools.com) for the toolkits that Sanders and her team generated for everyone to use throughout the participatory design process.

actually construct, but it is on “how they communicate their thoughts and ideas” (p. 14).

In sum, this study focuses on the appropriations in the bathroom space and puts the users in the centre. It praises the user experience and tries to understand the underlying rules and habits that guide the behaviour in everyday life of the bathroom space. While it tries to show the importance of the routine practices of the user in everyday life and the observation of it, this study could be a starting point for the involvement of appropriations in potential user research studies on bathroom space.

### **3. CONTEMPORARY BATHROOM IN FOCUS**

This chapter is related with the ‘modern bathroom space’ becoming the part of private home and everyday life. It starts with a brief history on the emergence of the modern bathroom space in the United States (US) and England, continues with its emergence in Turkey and concludes with today's bathroom market in İzmir, Turkey.

#### **3.1 The Emergence and the Early Phases of the Modern Bathroom**

The practice of bathing dates back to ancient cultures. Its traditions, meanings and its practices vary among different periods and cultures. While some periods considered bathing as a total regeneration, some have viewed it as a quick cleaning act, but some assigned more profound meanings related with the health and happiness of humans, yet some might have neglected it totally (Giedion, 1955).

The earliest evidence that shows humans bathing indoors was found in India, ancient Egypt and in the palaces of ancient Aegean and Greek civilizations (Yılmazkaya, 2003). However, the history of bathing does not follow a linear progress line. In Greece it was associated with gymnastics; in the time of the Roman Empire and Ottoman Empire bathing was a public activity and it meant bodily cleaning, relaxation and well-being as it is in many Islamic civilizations; in mediaeval monastery, bath had strict procedure rather than enjoyment; in the Middle Ages public baths were popular due to the crusaders returning from Islamic cities; in the 16<sup>th</sup> century bathing regressed since public baths were banned; in the 18<sup>th</sup> century public baths were re-emerged; in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and early 19<sup>th</sup> century in Europe the bath meant medical treatment; and from 1860s the bath turned into a concept of private cleaning (Wright, 1960; Kira, 1966; Rybczynski, 1987).

Starting from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the role of cleanliness ruled the bathroom practices and morphologically, the bathroom presented various forms from steam baths to shower baths, from hot-air baths to private cubicles (Giedion, 1955).

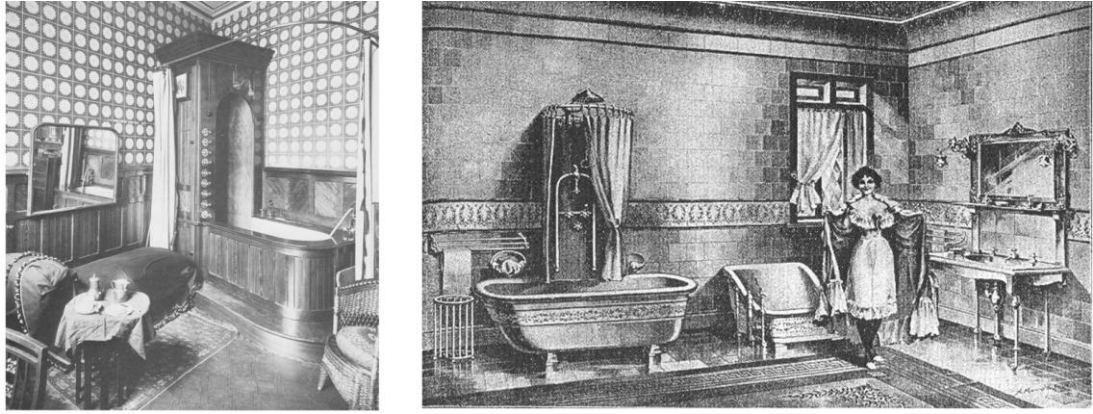
Around 1900, as a result of the availability of plumbing and sewers, the portable bath space consisting of a bathtub or a shower has been transformed into a fixed space and a fixed position in the home with industrial ‘fixtures’ which Giedion defines this as a transition “from a nomadic to a stable condition” (1955, p. 682).

Thus, after a long history,<sup>23</sup> the modern domestic bathroom as we know today (with its standard fixtures such as bathtub, shower, toilet, washbasin and proper plumbing system) has entered the houses between 1890 and 1940 in the two countries that are most closely bound up with industrialization; England and North America (Giedion, 1955; Lupton & Miller, 1992; Wright, 1960). Apart from industrialization, the evolution of the modern bathroom as a space --which followed by modern kitchen-- was related also with the technological advances especially in plumbing and sewage systems and changing socio-cultural practices and norms (Giedion, 1955; Lupton & Miller, 1992).

In England, between 1880 and 1910, the ‘fixed bathroom’ was the luxury bathroom with its high quality sanitary elements in a spacious room with windows, which was adopted by well-to-do middle class (Giedion, 1955; Wright, 1960) (Figure 3.1). Starting from 1880s, the plumbed-in baths were being installed widely in middle class houses, but arrived to the houses of working class in 1920s (Forty, 1995). According to Wright (1960) it became a means of wealth and good taste with its grand display, large carpet, patterned wallpaper and stained glass windows. Until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the bathrooms looked like any other room of the house, however, after 1900s, the fixed bathrooms were reflecting the absolute hygiene with its white-enamelled fixtures, floor and wall tiles. It became a status symbol of middle-class in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Forty, 1995).

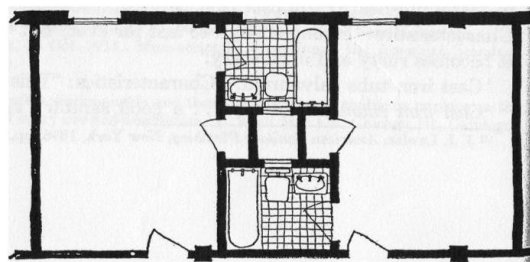
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<sup>23</sup> Considering that the history of bathing and bathroom is out of the scope of this thesis, for an extensive history of bathing and bathroom see Wright (1960) where he takes a historical approach to the cleaning spaces and see Giedion’s (1955) study on the history of mechanization and modernity where a whole chapter is about the history and evolution of bath from antiquity to the 20th century. See (Bushman & Bushman, 1988) for a thorough review of bathing customs and attitudes towards cleanliness in America. See Winkler and Fisher (1989) for a compilation of layouts and designs by various companies showing the bathroom proposals that existed in the beginning of the 1900s. See Hembry (1990) for a social history of bathing facilities in England from 1560 to 1815 with the focus on medical and social aspects of spas. For the evolution of the hygienic aspect and representation of the bathroom and kitchen between 1890 and 1940 in US see Lupton and Miller (1992) where a critical, feminist and material culture studies point of view is showed. For the history of hygiene and cleanliness see Shove (2003) where she relates the concept of cleanliness to the bathroom area and questions why over a number of decades, the practice of bathing and showering have become ‘normal’ part of everyday life, and see Vigarello (1988) where he gives a cultural and historical account of cleaning and body care starting from the Middle Ages to the 20th century in France.

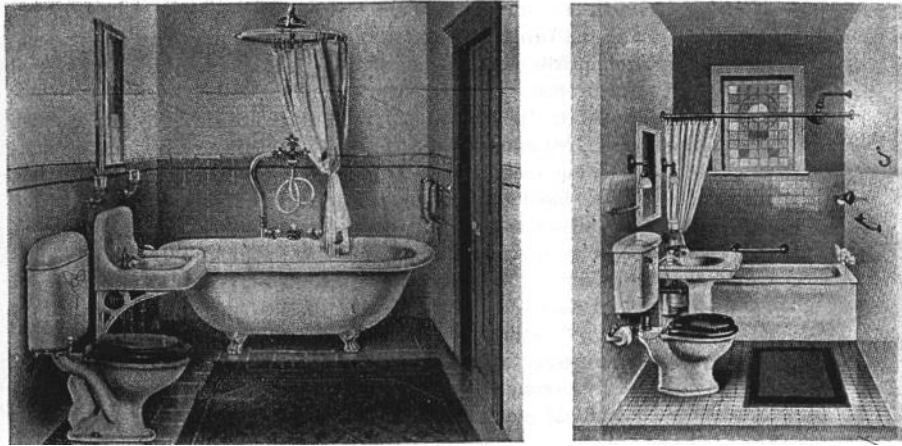


**Figure 3.1 :** English bathrooms; c.1895 and a catalogue image from 1901 (Forty, 1995, p. 166 and Giedion, 1955, p. 687).

In the US, the American type compact bathroom first emerged in hotels not at homes (Wright, 1960). However, the real democratization of the hotel bath was in 1908 when a new hotel in Buffalo came up with the motto of ‘a bed and a bath for a Dollar and a half’ (Giedion, 1955). This way, it was proved that the bathroom became available at slight cost with every room and this aroused the tendency to combine the bathroom into the apartment plans which ended up in the standard American layout: the bath is a cell and an appendage to the bedroom. Figure 3.2 shows the plan of Statler Hotel designed as two rooms with compact bathrooms with common ventilation and plumbing shaft, and Figure 3.3 shows images of the compact American bathrooms.



**Figure 3.2 :** Bathroom plan of Statler Hotel (Giedion, 1955, p. 698).



**Figure 3.3 :** Compact bathrooms; 1908 and 1915 (Giedion, 1955, p. 699).

The two images in Figure 3.3 show the rigid layout of the American compact bathroom from 1908 and 1915. Differently from English bathrooms, they were tried to be fit in small space as much as possible and the fixtures were tried to be aligned along one wall. With the mass production techniques, the production costs were reduced and the bathtub was brought to a broader public (Giedion, 1955; Glassberg, 1979). The mass produced, one-piece, double-shelled, built-in white tub had become decisive in the bathroom size and design;<sup>24</sup> it was the backbone, the module and the standard thus the symbol of the American bathroom around 1920s (Giedion, 1955; Winkler & Fisher, 1989). While Americans were defining the bathroom size in accordance with the tub, British started to keep it small too but in order to plan a small house and heat the bathroom easily (Rybczynski, 1987). Regardless of its size, besides electric iron, washing machine and central heating system, a convenient bathroom was defined as one of the elements that make a house ‘modern’ by the modernist architects, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Rybczynski, 1987).

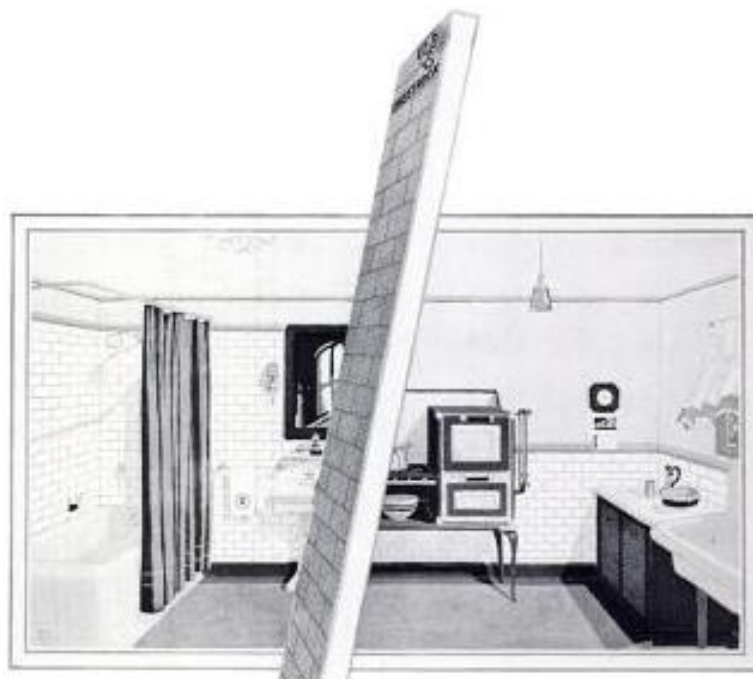
The interior design of the ‘modern’ bathroom of the ‘modern’ house varied according to the countries. In the US, while the interiors of the bathroom emerged and continued as simple and white, in England, heavy and elaborated decorations were commonly being used in the bathroom interiors and on bathroom fixtures (Wright, 1960). For instance, through the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the modernist architect Adolf Loos (1898) declared white as the only suitable colour for the bathroom as it indicates the cleanliness of the space. He criticised the Austrian

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<sup>24</sup> See Winkler and Fisher (1989) for a compilation of layouts and designs by various companies showing the bathroom proposals that existed in the beginning of the 1900s.

bathroom interior, fixtures and plumbing system as being inferior to the US's, especially due to the coloured tiles and the fixtures enamelled in dark colours instead of white.

Unlike its very first appearance, the first decades of the modern bathroom at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century -and also the modern kitchen- was extremely focused on the ideals of hygiene (Lupton & Miller, 1992). The modern bathroom, especially in the US, reflected this ideal with its materials, details and colours. The catalogues and the advertisements in the US were important agents in supporting this ideal; they were putting forward seamless surfaces and non-porous materials; encouraging the special wall surfaces instead of ceramic tiles, favouring the fixtures over furniture, rejecting the carved details and intricate decorations of Victorian domestic objects and recommending the overtly industrial ensemble of porcelain-enamelled equipment and hospital white washable surfaces (Lupton & Miller, 1992). The tile board advertisement in Figure 3.4 shows the surface of the material that is “impressed with a gridded pattern, offering a low-cost alternative to ceramic tiles, thought to be the most hygienic wall surface for bathrooms and kitchens in the 1910s and 20s” (Lupton & Miller, 1992). Besides the hygienic trend in bathroom interiors, marketing of the goods for bodily and space hygiene were also increasing with the rise of packaging as promoting the emerging standards of hygiene, mass distribution and consumption in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Lupton & Miller, 1992) (Figure 3.5).



**Figure 3.4 :** A tile board ad, 1925. Source: Lupton & Miller, 1992.



**Figure 3.5 :** Bathroom products ads. Source: Lupton & Miller, 1992.

In 1930s, the ruling style streamlining (which its source of inspiration was the ‘conical teardrop shape’ borrowed from aerodynamics and applied to both vehicular and non-vehicular objects; Figure 3.6) affected the interior design of bathrooms and kitchens followed by the interiors of houses in the US (Lupton & Miller, 1992) (Figure 3.7). The easy to clean flush surfaces and rounded edges were dominating the bathroom interiors as they were emphasizing the bathroom hygiene once again. As Forty (1995) discusses, 1930s were the determining years of the aesthetic of cleanliness of the coming decades. The seamless exteriors of household products of all kinds have not only become the norm in the domestic domain, but also retained within the many other modern environments such as trains, aeroplanes and public buildings, creating the “imagery of exaggerated hygiene” (Forty, 1995, p. 156).



**Figure 3.6 :** Streamlined non-vehicular products (Meikle, 2005).



**Figure 3.7 :** Streamlined kitchen ad, 1937 (Source; antiquehomestyle.com).

After the years of domination of white in the bathroom, the coloured bathroom fixtures and floors aroused in 1930s. Some of these bathroom designs are presented in Figure 3.8 from the companies Kohler (1928), Crane (1951, designed by Henry Dreyfuss), American-Standard (1953 and 1957), respectively.

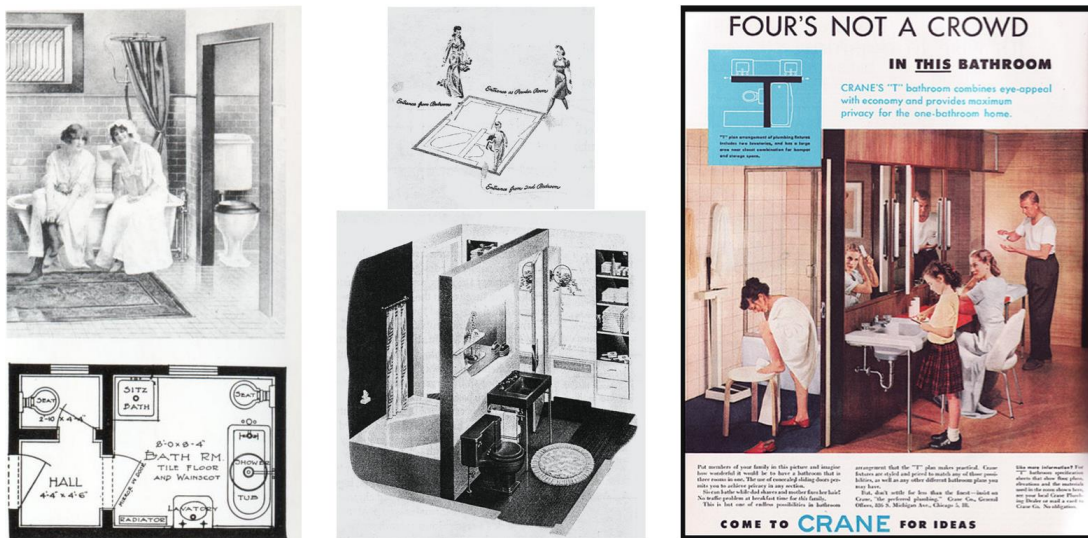
In Britain, by 1930s, since the fixed bathroom were widely common in working class homes, the coloured bathroom was used to create a class distinction, thus reassigned the status of the modern bathroom for the middle class (Forty, 1995). The new coloured equipment gave way to the prominence of decoration of the bathroom besides its hygiene, however the coloured bathroom -mostly high contrast including the colour pink- reached its climax in 1950s. According to Lupton and Miller (1992), the reason of the late prevalence of the coloured bathroom is either its high cost or the powerful image of whiteness as an ideal of hygiene. In the advertisements of the 1950s, besides the standard bathtub, the colourful bathroom spaces were also commonly being presented with the square or corner tubs (Figure 3.8).



**Figure 3.8 :** Coloured bathroom advertisements (Source; flickr.com)

After the widespread of the standard bathroom, Americans started to rethink about the size of the bathroom. Besides the minimal standard bathroom, over-size bathrooms have also existed which were associated with luxury and intimate pleasures of married life. Furthermore, to keep the toilet with bathing or not was being discussed which led to design proposals separating it from the bathroom with a door (Lupton & Miller, 1992) (Figure 3.9). Additionally, the increase in the dimension of the bathroom space was also associated with class distinction; while the servants' bathroom was kept small; the employers' bathroom was increased in size. These various design ideas open the way of 'bathrooms with multiple enterings', 'powder rooms for guests', 'separate bath for each bedroom' and 'master bathroom for parents' through 1950s. Figure 3.9 shows three divided bathroom design advertisements of Standard Sanitary Mfg. Co. (1912), Standard Sanitary Mfg. Co.

presenting a cut-away view of the Duo-Use (1944), and Crane Bathroom (1952), respectively.



**Figure 3.9 :** Divided bathroom ads (Lupton & Miller, 1992, pp. 36-37).

While the various quests for different visual forms and sizes were being continued for the bathroom, however, it appeared that the overtly industrial and pure ‘modern’ design of the bathroom has not been designed according to the functional requirements of the body movements. After having researched in the late fifties, in 1966, Alexander Kira published his classic study of bathroom ergonomics, ‘The Bathroom: Criteria for Design’ where he thoroughly investigates the “unexplored problems of personal hygiene and the establishments of basic criteria and parameters for the design of facilities to accommodate these activities” (Kira, p. iii).<sup>25</sup>

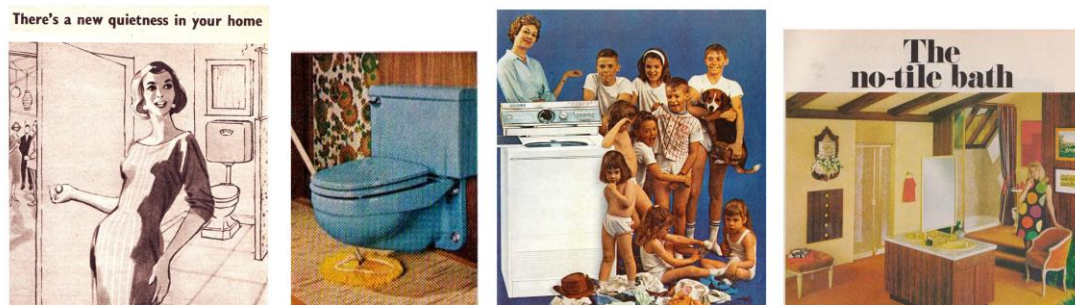
In the 1960s, the high contrast bathrooms with the colour pink were still common, while blue and green fixtures were also used. In addition, coloured and patterned toilet papers and paper towels were becoming popular. Figure 3.10 shows magazine advertisements of American Standard Bathroom (1960), Shires Bathroom (1965), Lady Scott Bathroom Tissue (1966), and Dixie Throw Away Bathroom Towels (1968), respectively.

<sup>25</sup> Alexander Kira’s study was the first socially based interpretation of the use of the bathroom with a fundamental functional approach in the academic literature. It offers a complete account of the usage of the space and its fixtures. It also fills a big gap in the literature by scientifically analysing the bathroom and fixtures and their functions supported by the photographs of users washing hands, face, hair, total body, urinating or defecating in front of calibrated background grids and proposing appropriate design solutions with the necessary arrangements and configurations. Its revised edition was published in 1976.



**Figure 3.10 :** Magazine ads (Source; adclassix.com, flickr.com, vintage-ads.com).

During these years, in parallel to the advances in technology, the number of the automatic washing machine and dryer advertisements had increased which followed by the detergents and water softeners advertisements. Innovations in the toilet design were also being reflected within the advertisements. The new wall-hung type toilets were being advertised as ease for the bathroom cleaning. In addition, thanks to the new siphon flushing technology, the toilets were quieter. Additionally, through the end of the 60s the laminate panels (by the brand Formica) started to replace the colourful tiles. Magazine advertisements of quiet siphon (1960), American Standard wall-hung toilet (1961), Borg-Warner Washing Machine (1964), and Formica laminate bathroom (1969) are seen in Figure 3.11, respectively.



**Figure 3.11 :** Magazine ads (Source; flickr.com).

### 3.2 Westernisation and the Emergence of the ‘Modern’ Bathroom in Turkey

Since the ancient civilizations, the relation established with water, the customs of physical and mental purification, cleaning and bathing have been mainly particular to culture and religion of that civilization. The Anatolian peninsula, today’s Turkey, have reflected the culture and religion of its civilizations to its public bathhouses for ages, during the Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire (330-1461), the Seljuks (1060-1308) and the Ottoman Empire (1299-1922). For Anatolian civilizations, due to the architectural value and features of hygiene, relaxation and interaction, public bathhouses have always been an essential aspect of life (Ergin, 2011). During the

Ottoman Empire many *hamams* (the Turkish public bathhouses) were built. *Hamam* was not only a place to bath, but also a socializing space, especially for women, since it is used by the whole neighbourhood (Figure 3.12). It was the place for cleaning and socialization, but it was also the visual emblem of the ruler's, the owner's, or the city's power and prosperity (Ergin, 2011). During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, modernizers and urban reformers were rejecting to use hamams to restructure the urban areas and the society with the ideals of bringing the Ottoman closer to Western civilization where, supposedly, bathing was done in a private bathroom (Ergin, 2011).

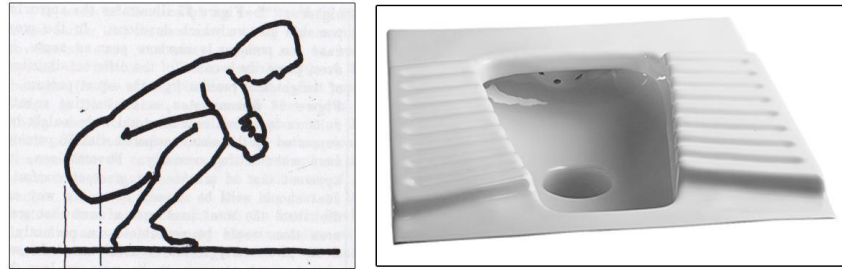


**Figure 3.12 :** ‘Turkish Bath’ by La Barbier (Yılmazkaya, 2003, p. 35).

Back then, apart from *hamams*, there was a private bathing space reserved in the rooms of houses called *gusülhane*<sup>26</sup> which was a small closet having water containers and drainage. It was located in the bedrooms for married couples to wash after sexual intercourse which was obligatory according to Islamic rules. Other basic needs were satisfied traditionally on a squat toilet. The squat toilet was a water closet --basin with a hole on the ground or just a hole in the ground-- which was located outside the house in a courtyard or a garden. This crouching type of water closet is called *alaturka* and it is still used in some regions across Turkey, Middle Eastern and Asian countries in the form of a ceramic basin fixture. Figure 3.13 presents squatting posture and a typical *alaturka* type toilet designed by Vitra (Sources: Kira, 1966, p. 64 and vitra.com.tr).

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<sup>26</sup> *Gusülhane* means ‘the place for the complete ablution’, one of the rules of Islam which requires to clean the whole body.



**Figure 3.13 :** Squatting posture and a typical *alaturka* type toilet.

After the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the ‘fixed’, private bathroom space was becoming widespread very slowly and it was being represented and perceived as an important agency of Westernization and modernization (Gürel, 2008). According to Gürel’s (2008) study where she historically analyses the bathroom, its fixtures and its practices during the Westernization period in Turkey, the case of modern bathroom in Turkey is a concrete example of how modernity “embodies the destruction of the old, traditional, familiar and inherent as well as the introduction of the new, progressive, up-to-date and extraneous” (p. 216), thus she shows that “the bathroom is a product of global modernity” (p. 215).

The foundation of the Turkish Republic brought many radical reforms in order to change the social, political, cultural and economic structures of Turkey. The main aim was to shape a new nation according to Western models while abandoning the Orientalist representations of the Ottoman Empire. This transition was also manifesting itself in everyday life, in architecture and design culture, with its top-to-bottom modernization (Bozdoğan, 2001; Gürel, 2008). In her book ‘Modernism and National Building’ --where she illustrates the history of Turkish architecture culture in the early Republic Period-- Sibel Bozdoğan (2001) describes how modern bathroom and its elements entered the ideal modern houses and apartment buildings in the chapter ‘Living Modern: Cubic Houses and Apartments’. During the late 1920s and 1930s, the first Western-style bathroom fixtures were incorporated into domestic plans of architects. ‘Model homes’ were published in architectural publications and popular magazines were introducing the Western-style living. However, these plans were directly taken from foreign publications, thus the lifestyle offered was completely unfamiliar to Turkish middle-class. Starting from 1936, Republican Turkish architects proposed model designs which were less ‘foreign’ - showing softer transitions with traditional elements, e.g., incorporation of *alaturka*

toilet separate from the ‘standard’ bathroom (with its built-in bath and *alafranga*<sup>27</sup> toilet) (Bozdoğan, 2001).

One of the multi-storey apartment buildings built in 1928 (Figure 3.14) became the prototype for multi-unit housing in the capital city of Ankara. This apartment building called Second Vakıf Apartments (designed by Kemalettin Bey), had its central heating system, electricity and elevator, and it also included the modern bathrooms with fixtures which resulted in the apprehension of the bathroom as high standard (Yavuz & Özkan, 2005). With the proliferation of the apartment flats in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the bathrooms became widespread in the urban areas.



**Figure 3.14 :** Second Vakıf Apartments (Holod, Evin, & Özkan, 2005, p. 60).

The apartment flat-living and the bathroom co-evolved as symbols of being Western and living modern through the 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, for the ones who could not let go their accustomed toilet practices, *alaturka* toilets were kept in flat plans which were converted into *alafranga* types within later renovations (Gürel, 2008; "Tasarımcı gözüyle", 1990). According to Gürel (2008), especially in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, *alaturka* toilets were perceived as a symbol of backwardness, underdevelopment and insanitary conditions and a signification of past, of anachronism, of rural tradition, of uncleanness and of lower strata, although it was still preferred by many users.

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<sup>27</sup> *Alafranga* means ‘according to French/European style’ adapted from French, refers to the Western water closet. The emergence of the term and its opposite *alaturka* date back to the Ottoman Empire to the 18th century. During the influence of Westernisation and modernization, other than the areas of military, politics and economics, some parts of the society tried to imitate the everyday life in the West, which formed two different views and lifestyles, called being *alafranga* and being *alaturka* (Bilgin, 2009).

People were placed at the apartment flats with bathrooms that correspond to other cultural models, which forced them into appropriation of the bathroom fixtures. Besides the *alafranga* toilet, the built-in bathtub was the other ‘modern’ fixture of the bathroom; it was the symbol of both status and Westernisation. However, according to the beliefs and habits of Turkish people, bathing in filled water was not acceptable; the body was supposed to be washed with running water. Turkish people were used to wash their bodies by pouring hot water with a bowl (metal bowl, later replaced with the plastic) from *kurna* (water basins made of marble) in *hamams*. (Figure 3.15 shows a typical *kurna* in Çukurcuma Süreyya Hamamı in İstanbul and a view of *kurnas* from Bulgurlu Hamamı in İstanbul, respectively).

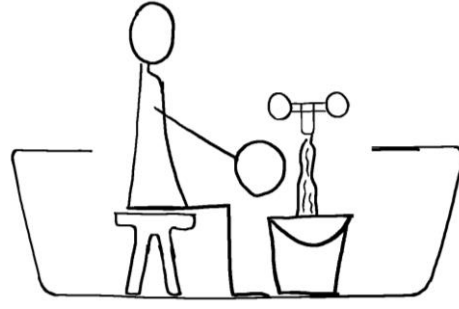


**Figure 3.15 :** Views from *hamams* (Yılmazkaya, 2003, p. 17 and 134).

Reminiscent of this practice, at homes, a plastic stool and a plastic bucket were placed in the bathtub. By sitting on the stool, water was filled in the bucket and it was poured with a bowl (Figure 3.16 illustrates this practice, drawn by the author). In some cases the bathtub was used as a shower basin (Gürel, 2008). Either way, the built-in tub was taking up a 1.5 meter square space in the bathrooms (Bektaş, 1998; Gürel, 2008).<sup>28</sup> The society was trying to internalise the bathtub by inventing new uses such as, storing water to be used during water shortage, washing big household items, soaking large textiles like curtains, rugs and blankets in water and washing them (Emiroğlu, 2012).

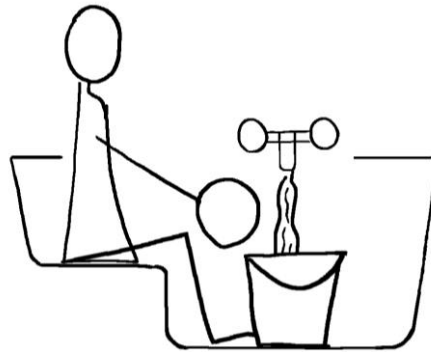
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<sup>28</sup> See Bektaş's (1998) short article about how the bathtub raised the building cost, how it became the symbol of wealth and how it was foreign to our lifestyles.



**Figure 3.16 :** Sit and bath in built-in tub.

According to the Turkish architect Nejat Ersin, despite the above issues, the built-in tub was in great demand during 1950s which was expensive due to the importation (Gürel, 2008). In Gürel's interview (2008) with Ersin, he says that as he realised the demand of the bathtub, he designed a seated bathtub<sup>29</sup> which was close to the traditional way of bathing; that is, by pouring water from a container while seated in the tub (Figure 3.17 illustrates Ersin's seated bathtub design and its usage, drawn by the author). Ersin notes that his hybrid design with a showerhead became a preferable item and a substitute for the standard bathtub for many buildings (Gürel, 2008).



**Figure 3.17 :** Seated built-in tub.

Apart from the seated bathtub, there had been another proposal to the problem by the company Serel, one of the biggest ceramic sanitary ware companies in Turkey. Through the end of the 80s, since they received the feedback that people use bathtubs by sitting on stools inside and even use buckets and bowls to pour water, they decided to design a ceramic *kurna* for flats as an alternative to the bathtub ("Tasarımcı gözüyle", 1990) (Figure 3.18).

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<sup>29</sup> Seated bathtubs were designed in the 1920s for the minimum existence dwellings in Frankfurt, in order to require less space. They were smaller than the standard bathtub (104x70x62 cm) and designed to soak in water but in seated position. See Heskett, 1995, p. 82 and Teige, 2002, pp. 245-246.



**Figure 3.18 :** Ceramic *kurna* designed by Serel, end of the 1980s.

The other ‘stranger’ in the modern bathroom was the *bidet* which was initially used in France for washing the genital area after sexual intercourse (Rybczynski, 1987). In Turkey, this fixture was taking part in the bathrooms during the 1950s to the 1970s both because it was perceived as a symbol of wealth and modernism, and it was sold as a set with the water closet (Gürel, 2008). Later, the bidet started to lose its popularity since it was taking too much space in the bathroom and the *alafranga* toilet was already had an integrated nozzle for cleansing since washing with running water after defecation is a requirement according to the faith and habits of the society. Hence, if the bidet was installed already, it was occasionally preferred to be used for washing feet since it was useful that way as well. In an interview in 1990, the designer of Serel indicates that bidet was not very popular in Turkey, thus they sold 1 or 2 sets out of 10 sets with bidet ("Tasarımcı gözüyle", 1990).

### 3.3 The Contemporary Bathroom Market in İzmir-Turkey

The ceramics sanitary ware market in Turkey is characterised with the dominance of the local companies as ceramics production tradition goes back 8000 years in Anatolia, Turkey. The first production of the sector started in 1958 by Eczacıbaşı in İstanbul, however the sector started to develop with the 1980s (T.C. Bilim Sanayi ve Teknoloji Bakanlığı, 2012). Today, there are 39 manufacturers in the ceramics sanitary ware market in Turkey; 9 are large-scale and 30 are middle-scale companies (T.C. Bilim Sanayi ve Teknoloji Bakanlığı, 2012). According to the market report published by the Ministry of Economic Affairs, the leading companies of the sector are Eczacıbaşı (Vitra - Artema), Kale Group (Kale, Kalevit, Çanakkale Seramik, Kalebodur), Çanakçılar Seramik (Creavit), Kütahya Seramik, Ece Banyo, Ege Seramik and Serel (ECA) (T.C. Ekonomi Bakanlığı, 2013). Some of these companies

also manufacture auxiliary products such as faucets and shower systems, acrylic bathtubs and shower basins, shower and bathtub cabins and bathroom furniture. With an output of 17 million units, Turkey is Europe's largest ceramic sanitary ware manufacturer (Turkish Ceramics Federation, n.d.) and the 44.3% of ceramics sanitary ware production is being exported (T.C. Bilim Sanayi ve Teknoloji Bakanlığı, 2012).

Today the market is mainly affected by the procurement in mass quantities done by big construction companies and contractors, big hotel chains and Housing Development Administration of Turkey (*TOKİ*). There is at least one bathroom space in every house, which includes the main bathroom fixtures (washbasin, *alafranga* toilet, bathtub or shower basin/cabin).<sup>30</sup> When the end user purchases a flat or a house, generally, the bathroom has already built by the contractor or the previous property owner. If the building is not new, renovating the bathroom and the kitchen increases the price of the flat and the possibility of its sale. A flat with a renovated bathroom indicates renovated infrastructure, probably modern and new fixtures and hygiene since the new buyers will be the first users. Thus the term 'bathroom is renovated' is one of the important features of flats for rent or sale, which is stated by the sellers in the advertisements and asked by the buyers. However, this situation might lead to a bathroom space designed according to the taste and the budget of the property owner, which probably includes mainstream fixtures and elements. When the renovated or new bathroom does not suit the new owner's taste, s/he does not prefer renovating it immediately since it requires a big budget. The new owner either waits for some years to pass so that the fixtures and elements wear out or until a problem occurs in the infrastructure such as water leak. In order to not to use a new but disliked bathroom, sometimes buyers search for non-renovated flats and renovate it --including the bathroom-- according to their taste and budget.

There are various options in regards to the selection and purchase of bathroom fixtures, elements and furniture while building, renovating or semi-renovating a bathroom. The retailer companies in the sector have showrooms in major cities displaying their products and various combinations. Figure 3.19 shows two interior views from Vitra showroom and an interior view from ECA-Serel showroom in Alsancak, İzmir. The leading companies like Vitra or Kale provides their trained

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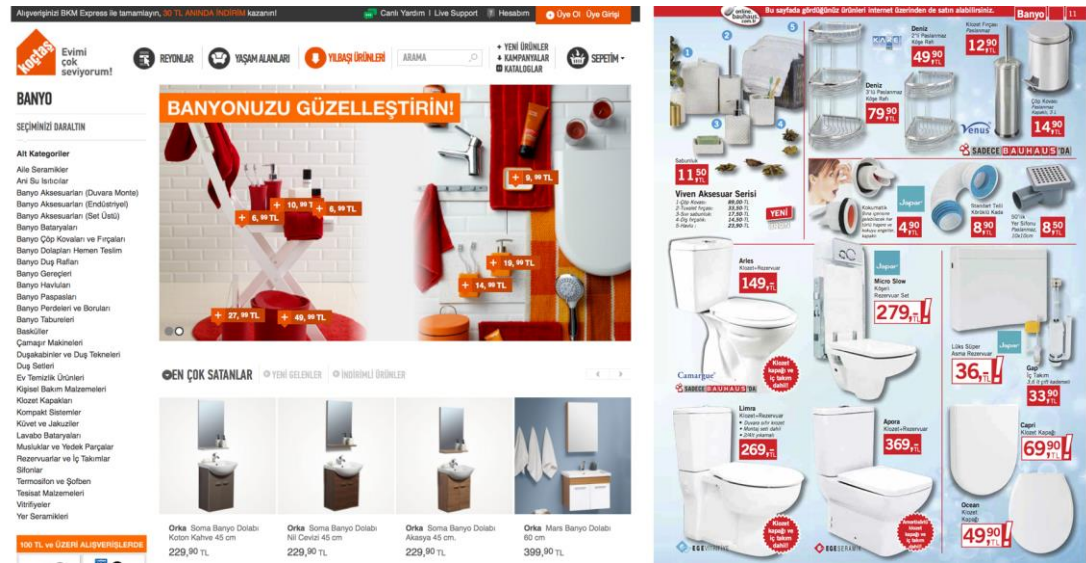
<sup>30</sup> Regarding the bathroom designs in some of the old apartment buildings, the toilet bowl is not included in the bathroom; it is located in a separate toilet room.

workmen for a certain price. Otherwise, one can hire workmen that are self-trained in this area.



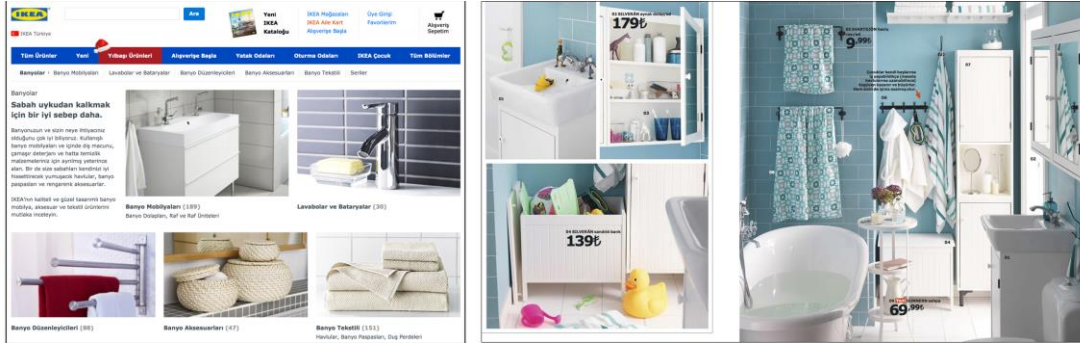
**Figure 3.19 :** Showrooms in İzmir (Source; kirazoglu.com and elmor.com.tr).

Other than company showrooms, hypermarket chains that offer home improvements and do-it-yourself goods provide bathroom fixtures, auxiliary products, accessories, infrastructure parts and bathroom furniture, such as Koçtaş and Bauhaus in İzmir. These retailing companies also provide online shopping. They sell products of the leading companies, local manufacturers and small and medium-sized enterprises. Figure 3.20 shows the screen shot of online store of Koçtaş and a page of Bauhaus 2014 catalogue.



**Figure 3.20 :** Online store of Koçtaş and 2014/20 Bauhaus catalogue.

The worldwide retailer Ikea also provides bathroom fixtures, auxiliary products, accessories and bathroom furniture in İzmir. The company displays all its products and bathroom concepts in its book like annual catalogue, through the showrooms in the store and on its online store (Figure 3.21).



**Figure 3.21 :** Online store of Ikea and 2015 Ikea catalogue.

There are also tradesmen located around districts and neighbourhoods, who sell various equipment including bathroom fixtures, auxiliary products and infrastructure parts in a limited space. Some of these tradesmen also offer construction, installation and repairment providing required workmen (Figure 3.22. Source; author's photograph).



**Figure 3.22 :** A store in İzmir sells equipment and offers construction jobs.

Similar to these tradesmen, there are so called ‘construction and architecture’ offices located around districts and neighbourhoods that design and built ready-made bathrooms, some of which employ interior architects. Although there are many interior design and architecture firms, working with interior architects for designing or renovating bathroom space is not very common in Turkey.

One of the popular bathroom styles that these tradesmen and offices offer is a concept called ‘Hilton *banyo*’.<sup>31</sup> Figure 3.23 shows the shop window and store signboard of two tradesmen in İzmir, indicating that they do Hilton *banyo* jobs among many others (Source; author’s photograph).



**Figure 3.23 :** Store signboard of two tradesmen in İzmir.

‘Hilton *banyo*’ became fashionable in the 90s in Turkey. The distinctive components of the design were wide counter with a wide mirror covering nearly one wall of the space and the undercounter washbasin (built-in sinks) with cabinets. Since this style -the undercounter basin, the wide countertop and mirror-- was first applied and widely preferred in hotel rooms, it was called Hilton *banyo* among the producers and users in Turkey. With the implication of luxury in its name, the concept was quickly accepted and become the symbol of wealth and prestige in the 1990s. Below figure shows a Hilton *banyo* style bathroom of an apartment building constructed in 1993 in İzmir (Source; author’s photograph).



**Figure 3.24 :** Hilton *banyo* style bathroom built in 1993.

<sup>31</sup> ‘Hilton bathroom’ in English, though, sometimes it is called ‘Hilton *lavabo*’, in English ‘Hilton washbasin’.

Although Hilton *banyo* style emerged as a prestige symbol, interestingly, today, the concept of Hilton *banyo* is still commonly used in various types of buildings. For instance, Figure 3.25 shows Hilton *banyo* style bathrooms built in some flats in İzmir; respectively from a rental flat renovated in 2008, a 44-year-old flat renovated in 2009 and a prestigious residential housing estate constructed in 2011 (Source; author's photographs).

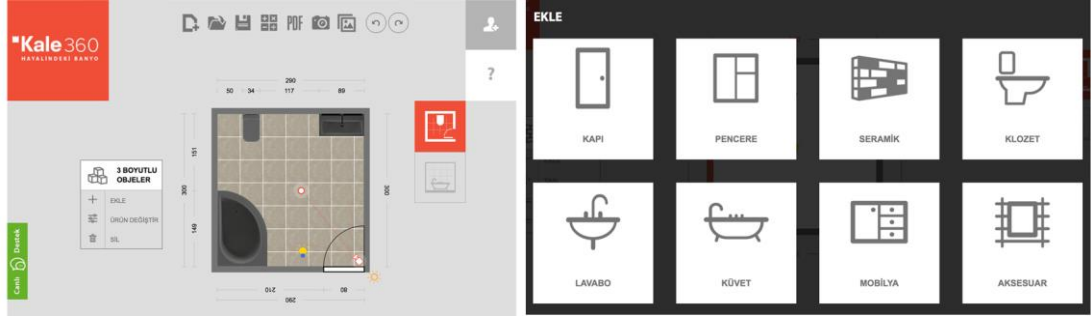


**Figure 3.25 :** Recently built Hilton *banyo* style bathrooms.

There may be many reasons of the widespread of Hilton *banyo* style and its preference by many end users. Being an accepted design solution appealing a wide range of users, having a cost advantage, the probability to be built by any carpenter/cabinet maker who is accustomed to bathroom jobs and providing flexibility and easiness in the decision phase since it is ‘tailored’ according to the preferences of the user and the dimensions of the bathroom might be some of the reasons. In addition to these, another advantage of the Hilton *banyo* is making the bathroom look bigger with its wide mirror.

Related with the demography, to build or renovate bathrooms, end users prefer one of the ways mentioned in the previous paragraphs. If the end user does not have the competence to plan and design the bathroom space by selecting the fixtures and products one by one, today, the detailed catalogues and company showrooms provide a big opportunity for him/her. They present how the bathroom space would look as a whole in real life, where the end user is provided with various options and can purchase nearly everything that is displayed. Yet more, some of the leading companies developed an online application where the user plans and designs his/her own bathroom and even calculate the whole price. Figure 3.26 shows screen shots of

Kale360 online bathroom design application where the user can design the plan of the space, select tiles, fixtures and products through the company's catalogue.



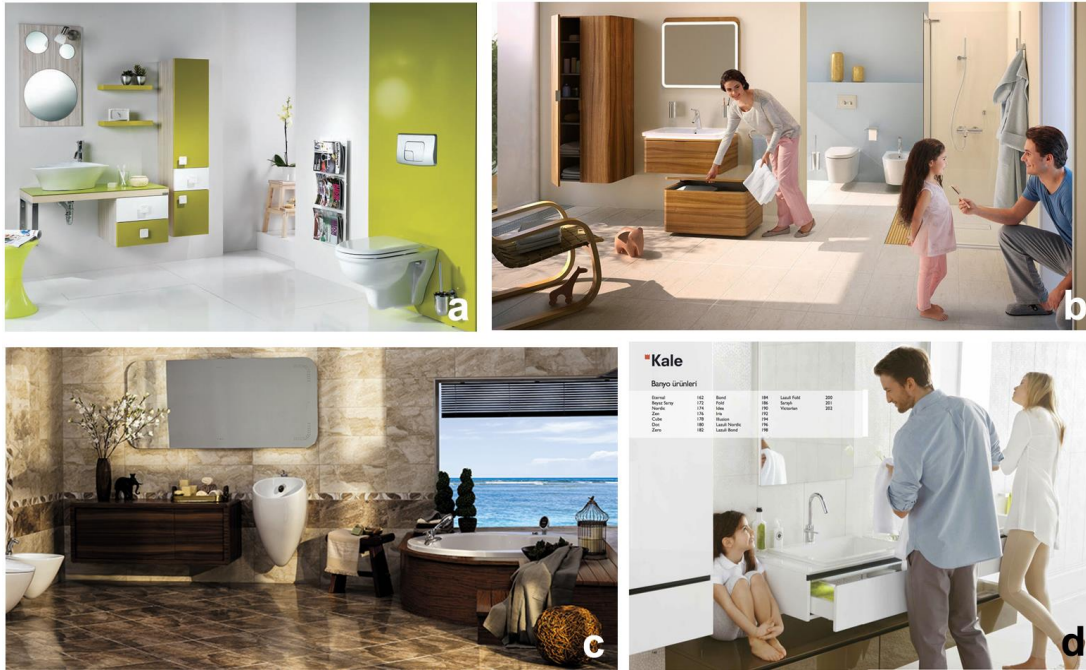
**Figure 3.26 :** Online bathroom design application for end users.

Generally, the company catalogues and brochures present all the variety of their products with technical specifications, colour and size options, as they also do through their official web pages. In these media, companies also use total bathroom images to show how products come together. All these images show the recent product trends and representation of the contemporary bathroom.

When these images<sup>32</sup> scanned, the way bathrooms are promoted emerges as the most distinctive characteristic of the contemporary bathroom. Within the images, it is observable that, the contemporary bathroom has been represented through 'themes' and 'living spaces', especially by the ceramic sanitary ware brands. Some of these lived space bathroom images are displayed in Figure 3.27; Creavit (2010), Vitra (2013), Serel (2014), and Kale (2014), respectively. It is represented as if it is the living room of the house. It reflects the user's lifestyle, promotes health, peacefulness, comfort and pleasure, and it is designed as a place to spend spare time. Such themes might have emerged as a respond to the 21<sup>st</sup> century's tiring, stressful and busy everyday life, which also eventually popularized the concept of 'wellness at home'. Related to such trends, the images show that today, the bathroom space is being thought, designed and marketed as a whole space with its every detail. The terminology 'total bathroom solutions', which is commonly used in advertisements and brochures, also supports this view.

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<sup>32</sup> The scanned company brochures, catalogues and bulletins [Eczacıbaşı (Vitra - Artema), Kale Group (Kale, Kalevit, Çanakkale Seramik, Kalebodur), Çanakçılar Seramik (Creavit), Kütahya Seramik, Ece Banyo, Ege Seramik and Serel (ECA)] were reached through company websites and they cover the years between 2009 and 2014.



**Figure 3.27 : Bathrooms as living spaces.**

The images in these media also show that regarding the sanitary ceramic fixtures white is still the dominant colour in modern bathrooms. However, from time to time, coloured sanitary ceramic fixtures, such as red and black, are seen among the models of some brands (Figure 3.28). Regarding the space, besides the commonly used light colours and tones in the bathroom space, dark colours and extraordinary colour tones -like bright tones- are also being preferred, especially on cabinet doors and ceramic tiles (Figure 3.28). Regarding the faucets chrome grey is the dominant colour.

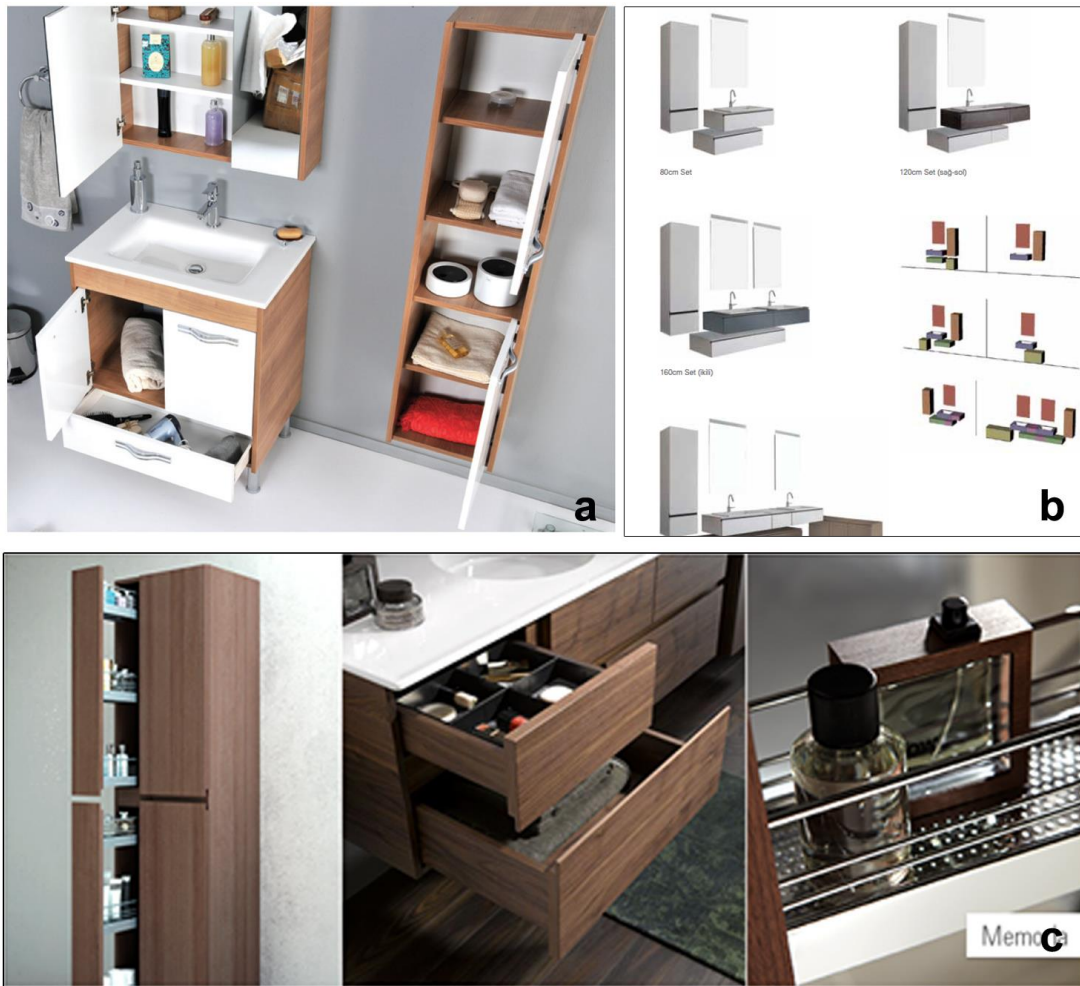


**Figure 3.28** : Coloured elements; a. Kale 2013, b & c. Creavit 2012, d. Kale 2014.

According to the scanned brochures, catalogues and bulletins, the main components of the contemporary bathroom are washbasin, toilet bowl, bidet and shower cabin with basin. Although the bathtub designs are also displayed, the number of bathroom images include shower cabin are higher than the ones with bathtub. Regarding the form, the leading style of today seems to be pure and simple geometrical forms, however, it is possible to see various kinds of design forms on the market today addressing various kinds of tastes. The users are provided with every possible options of a design, for instance, a washbasin within a sanitary ware set design can be offered as pedestal, half pedestal or wall-hung type according to the preference of the user also with the options of different sizes and cabinet units. Nevertheless, according to the scanned media, the most common design types are the bowl type washbasin, the countertop washbasin, wall-hung toilet with concealed tank, wall-hung bidet and frameless, transparent glass shower cabin among the main components.

In addition to the above, the media also show that bathroom cabinets, under the category of ‘bathroom furniture’, have become an important part of the ‘total

bathroom solutions'. The ceramic sanitary ware companies also offer cabinets and drawers within the sanitary ware series. These cabinet and drawer designs are offered in various types, colours and sizes, which are designed according to the different needs of the each individual in the family (Figure 3.29).



**Figure 3.29 :** Bathroom furniture; a. Ece Banyo 2012, b. Kale 2013, c. Vitra 2014.

Although most of the bathrooms in catalogues are spacious, some of the brands have a product segment for small spaces. The ceramic fixtures for such spaces are generally designed to fit corners and make use of the space efficiently. Figure 3.30 shows ceramic sanitary fixture designs for small bathroom spaces by Creavit (2009), Kale (2009), and Vitra (2011), respectively.

### Küçük banyolar için kalitenin köşeli hali: Creavit Corner

Banyonuz mu küçük, ferah alanlar mı tercih ediyorsunuz? İşte size Creavit'ten çok parlak bir fikir. Corner Banyo Takımı. Özel köşe lavabosu, özel köşe rezervuarı ve uyumlu banyo dolabı ile köşeleri atıl hale gelmekten kurtarıp, banyolarınızı daha ferah mekanlar haline getiriyor.



**Figure 3.30 :** Solutions for small spaces.

Another product segment that ceramic sanitary ware companies created is bathroom solutions for disabled and the elderly. Such fixtures are designed according to the special needs of the disabled and elderly users. Figure 3.31 shows designs for disabled and elderly users by Kale, Creavit and Vitra.



**Figure 3.31 :** Bathroom solutions for disabled and elderly, 2014.

At home, bathroom is the place where remarkable amount of water and energy are consumed. Today, if the pressing environmental issues all around the world are considered, it is reasonable that companies put effort on designing environment friendly products. In this manner, through the brochures, catalogues and bulletins, the sensitivity of water conservation and environmentalist approach of the brands are

emphasised with the appropriate products, especially via toilet tanks and faucets. In the catalogues and through the web sites, specifically designed icons are used to indicate the environmentalist features of the products. In fact, brands publish special brochures explaining their environmentalist approach and their strategies regarding this approach. The top row of Figure 3.32 shows the announcement of Artema receiving European Water Label (2014) and the icons for water saving, energy saving and green building certification used in their catalogues and brochures. The bottom row shows, respectively, water saving toilet tank (2009) and water-free urinal (2010) by Creavit and water saving toilet tank by Vitra (2010).



**Figure 3.32 : Environment friendly brands and products.**

Lastly, when the brochures, catalogues and bulletins are considered, the presence of the specifically designed products shows that hygiene is one of the common concerns of the sanitary ware companies today. Innovative solutions regarding hygiene in the domestic bathroom are being reflected through these media. The importance of keeping clean without touching and general and personal hygiene are emphasized with the innovative products and technologies that they had developed. Below figure exhibits some examples of hygienic products by the leading brands. The first row is an innovative toilet seat by Serel that can be removed totally and provides thorough

cleaning. The second row is an antibacterial toilet seat by Creavit (2012). The third row is a rimless toilet bowl by Vitra (2104) that prevents proliferation of harmful organisms, and the last row is a special, anti-bacterial coating that provides long-lasting hygiene by Kale (2013).



**Figure 3.33 :** Some examples of hygienic products.



#### 4. THE METHODOLOGY

In order to be formal and to create the objective researcher style, the traditional language of academic writing has been *passive voice* or *third person* which comes from the physical sciences, namely positivist approach (Oliver, 2008). Due to its nature of keeping the subject --the researcher-- distant to the study itself and being impersonal, *passive voice* has been seen superior to *active voice* in scientific language. However, recently, different views have been raised, pointing out that different disciplines and different topics might require different ways of voices or in order to be clear about which parts of the study has been done by the researcher using *active voice* is appropriate (Murray, 2011; Oliver, 2008; Phillips & Pugh, 2005). In terms of this thesis, I prefer using *active voice* which shows, as being the researcher, how difficult for me to be objective while I try to keep my distance to the study itself, due to the context of the research. Consequently, thus far, I mostly used *passive voice* or *third person* throughout the thesis. In the methodology chapter and henceforth, I prefer using *active voice* where appropriate since; (1) the methodology is suitable, (2) I want to be clear about what I have done during the study, (3) it creates a critical perspective, and (4) as Fairbairn and Winch (2011) state, it “is a matter of personal preference” (p. 172).

##### 4.1 Discussion of the Research Methods Employed in Previous Studies on Appropriation

Prior studies related to the concept of appropriation and everyday life within various disciplines have primarily adapted qualitative approach such as;

- Haumant, 1976: The study aims to find out the approaches that French city-dwellers appropriate their dwelling through. It is based on 1000 non- or semi-directed interviews collected from house and flat owners as well as tenants.

- Atasoy & Erkman, 1976: Their focus is on the appropriations performed due to the inadequacy of space. The aim of their study is to determine unsatisfied human needs through their appropriations and create spaces which could meet the needs better, since they think appropriation of space reflects the conflicts between human needs and space properties. They interviewed with 20 families in 1972 and discussed the data for architectural design.
- Bayazit et al., 1976: Their aim is to understand the privacy problems of Turkish people in their homes and to find out the interrelation between privacy behaviour of people and the appropriation of the space. Besides the interviews and observation of the house, a questionnaire of 31 items was filled with the housewives of 17 households in a working class settlement in İzmit, Turkey.
- Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981: Their extensive study (*The Meaning of Things*) aims to show the relationship between people and objects, the meanings that users give to their possessions and how they give meaning to their lives through these relationships. They have interviewed members of 82 families in contemporary urban America in 1977, in total 315 respondents. Drawing on a survey on the relations or the transactions between people and things, they show various ways of appropriations of how people give meaning to their physical surroundings, both physically and symbolically.
- Korosec-Serfaty, 1984: Her study is based on 96 semi-directed interviews with the inhabitants of rural and urban environments in France. With a phenomenological perspective, she tries to find out how the attics and cellars are used and experienced as hidden spaces of home. Through the study, appropriation of these two spaces has been revealed among other dimensions of the attic and the cellar.
- Miller, 1988: His study tries to understand the forms of appropriations employed --especially in the kitchen-- by the tenants living in a single council estate in London built in 1970s, by detecting patterns or lack of them. He conducted relatively informal interviews with 40 tenants, photographed their kitchens and observed the daily life and the environment.

- Chevalier, 1998: She examines “how people, as creative appropriators, succeed in creating their own interior décor through objects” (p. 47). As being part of this, she compares “the appropriation of the domestic interior with the garden and its natural elements” (p. 48). She conducts a series of interviews with 10 households and makes observations on gardening in Britain.
- Lupton & Noble, 2002: They consider strategies of appropriation important for the process of constructing mutually constitutive relationship between humans and material artefacts. They conduct semi-structured interviews with 40 people about their use of personal computers at work in order to investigate the meanings given to the personal computers and to find out the strategies of appropriations of these objects.
- Çağlar, 2005: In her study, she reveals how products and consumption habits create a domain for the struggle of social positions of German citizen Turkish families, both in Germany and Turkey. She interviews 20 immigrant Turkish families in Germany and gathers ethnographic data. The study shows how these families appropriate their living rooms in Turkey and Germany through decoration and organization principles including some specific furniture and objects, in order to reflect two different identities in the two countries.
- Berglund-Lake, 2008: The study tries to examine how Swedish tenants appropriated their apartments constructed after the Second World War in Sweden, to transform an unfamiliar space into a familiar place. Berglund-Lake conducts (life story) interviews with 15 people in order to get in touch with a physical environment where life is lived and to awaken people’s memories.
- Shove et al., 2007: Their book 'The Design of Everyday Life' aims to show “how things are implicated in the development, persistence and disappearance of patterns and practices of everyday life” (Shove et al., 2007, p. 3) Among others, they try to find out how we might conceptualize the materials of material culture and how objects and practices co-evolve, and how things are appropriated and used. They use a mixture of qualitative

methods including observations, interviews, and analysis of historical and contemporary documents.

The above studies show the qualitative approach --especially tools like interviews and observations-- is appropriate for studies that explore the daily lives of people. Within such studies, since the researcher tries to submerge into the everyday life; understand the everyday tasks and their reasons; reveal how people describe their worlds and their values, qualitative approach provides a deeper understanding and interpretation.

#### **4.2 The Qualitative Approach**

As I aim to find out how users appropriate the bathroom and its elements and incorporate them into their everyday routines, the study seeks the answers that are hidden in the everyday life of the bathroom and its users; hence I selected a qualitative approach as the convenient methodology for the study. In other words, the aims of the study require exploratory qualitative research which involves ethnographical focus on the domestic bathroom. I have conducted the study with a holistic approach, with the direction of an interpretive aim and with an inductive analysis as it is within all qualitative studies (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2005).

Throughout the study, the qualitative approach enabled me to understand and interpret the everyday life, to search for patterns, involve personally in cases, construct empathy and write-up descriptively as they are some of the essential characteristics of qualitative research schematized in Table 4.2.

**Table 4.1 :** Predispositions of qualitative methods adapted from Glesne, 2011.

|                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>HYPOTHESIS</b>      | Reality is socially constructed.<br>Variables are complex, interwoven, and difficult to measure.                                                                                                 |
| <b>PURPOSES</b>        | Contextualization.<br>Understanding.<br>Interpretation.                                                                                                                                          |
| <b>APPROACH</b>        | May result in hypothesis and theory.<br>Holistic and naturalistic.<br>Inductive.<br>Researcher as instrument.<br>Searches for patterns.<br>Seeks pluralism, complexity.<br>Descriptive write-up. |
| <b>RESEARCHER ROLE</b> | Personal involvement in events and cases.<br>Empathic understanding.                                                                                                                             |

Qualitative methodologies provide a framework within which people can reveal the ways in which they have organised their world, their thoughts about what is happening, about their experiences and their perceptions. This requires the researcher to watch, listen, ask, record, and examine everyday life (Miall & March, 2005). As the study is conducted with a qualitative approach, data collection methods included semi-structured interviews, observations, trace tracking, probing, and data analysis methods included transcription, breaking the texts up into segments, indexing, coding and generating concepts.

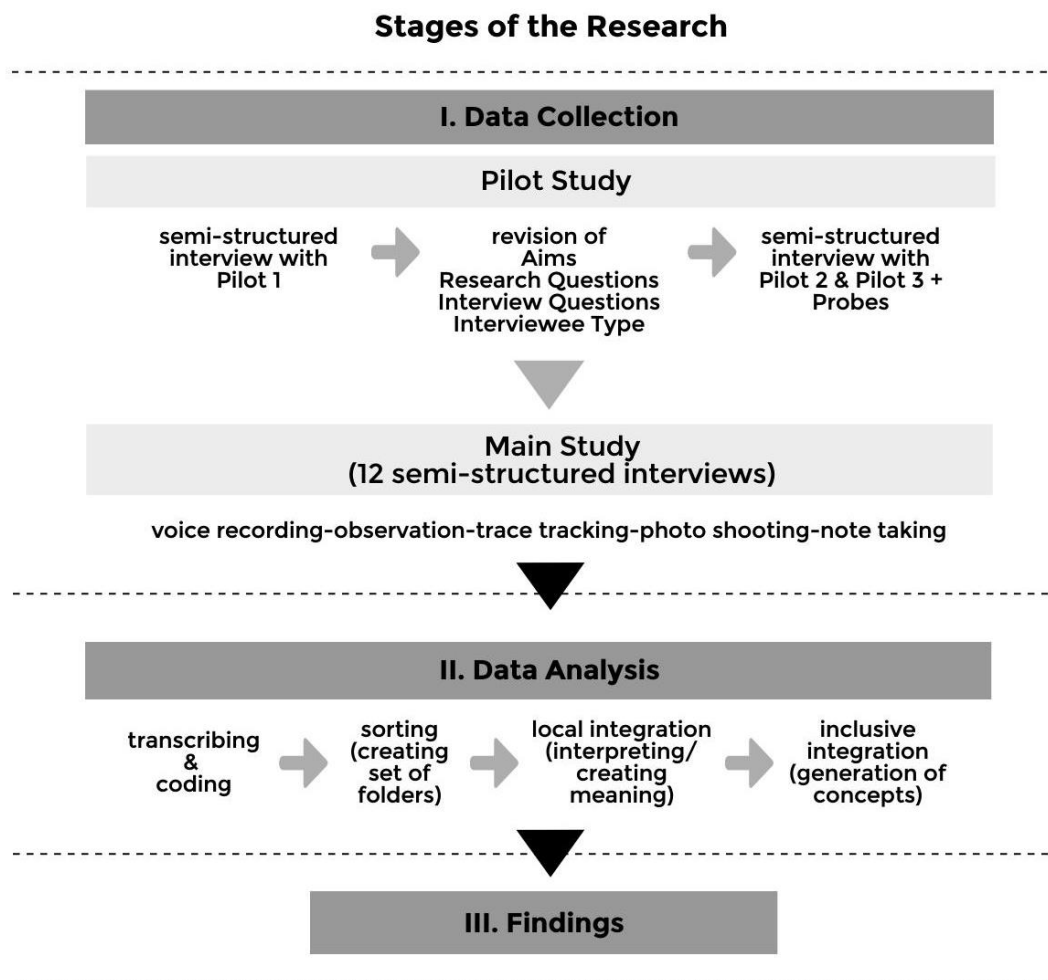
### 4.3 The Stages of the Research Study

Through the literature review, I formed the research questions<sup>33</sup> of the thesis, decided for the appropriate methodology and methods, and developed an interview format. I continued with a pilot study to test the method and the interview questions. I conducted semi-structured interviews with three interviewees as a pilot study. I also took photographs of their bathrooms. The pilot study was beneficial not only in testing the method and the interview questions, but also in other ways explained in the next subsection. After the pilot study, I continued the study with 12 semi-

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<sup>33</sup> My research questions are:  
How is the domestic bathroom used and organised in everyday life?  
What types of appropriations are performed during the usage and the organisation of the domestic bathroom?  
What are the influencing factors in performing these appropriations?  
What is the material culture of the domestic bathroom that furnishes these appropriations?

structured interviews with women who live in the urban settlements of İzmir. Finally, through the transcription of interviews and with the generalised issue-focused data analysis (Weiss, 1995), I generated four concepts and reported my analysis. Figure 4.1 shows the stages of the study. Although it illustrates data analysis subsequent to data collection, they were intertwined, as I explain in following subsections. I present more detailed information about the stages of the research in the following subsections.



**Figure 4.1** : The stages of the research.

#### 4.4 The Pilot Study

I conducted the pilot study with three semi-structured interviews, observations and probing tool. Back then, since I grounded my method on a previous study done by Morales (2007), I planned the pilot study to be conducted with families (the wife and the husband if possible) who have constructed or renovated their bathrooms within the previous five years. Before the pilot study, the aims of the thesis were, (1) to find

out how the bathroom and its elements are used, how they are experienced and appropriated according to cultural needs/habits and personal desires and (2) to find out what kinds of meanings are ascribed to the bathroom by the users (Table 4.3).

**Table 4.2 :** Aims and research questions of the study prior to the pilot study.

| Aims and Research Questions<br>Prior to the Pilot Study                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| AIMS                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | RESEARCH QUESTIONS                                                                                                                                                                      |
| To provide an ethnographic account of how bathroom and its elements (which have been changed with modernism and globalization) are used and appropriated in everyday life through the users' cultural needs/habits and personal desires. | In the domestic context;<br><br>How does the user use, experience and appropriate the bathroom and its elements in everyday life according to cultural habits and personal desires?     |
| To identify patterns in the user practices that are affected by cultural/local habits in everyday life.                                                                                                                                  | What are the factors affect this appropriation?                                                                                                                                         |
| To generate an explanatory theory which will be useful for the design practices, on the grounds of the data analysed.                                                                                                                    | How does this appropriation affects or enables the meanings ascribed to the bathroom?<br><br>What are the categories of meanings ascribed to the bathroom and its elements by the user? |

I conducted three interviews with users who live in the same apartment building in Karşıyaka-İzmir and have renovated their bathroom recently. The interviews lasted from 55 minutes to 1 hour and 15 minutes. I constituted the interview questions according to the aims of the research and by utilising my personal experiences and observations. Besides the semi-structured interviews, I observed the interviewees while they were answering the questions, while they were 'showing and telling' in the bathroom space and I observed the bathroom itself. The whole interview was digitally recorded and photographs were taken in the bathroom with the allowance of the interviewees. In addition, probing tool was used with the two of the interviewees.

The pilot interviews were consisting of three parts. The first part was aimed to get the general information about the family, the house, to learn the number of bathrooms and toilet rooms and the renovation details, if any. This part also worked as a conversation starter and warmed the atmosphere. The second part consisted of questions about the daily routines of the users of the bathroom. In general, the questions were asked them to reveal in detail for what and how they use the bathroom during the day and night. According to their answers, I elaborated some of the questions. In addition, I asked about the design and decoration decisions, the first

word comes to their mind when they think about their bathroom, the importance of the bathroom when compared to the other rooms of the house, asked them to describe their bathroom in general, to describe their bathroom only with one or two words, to describe their ideal bathroom, how they perceive the bathroom, what the bathroom means for them and how they feel in there. The last part of the interview was 'show and tell' that was carried out in the bathroom. I repeated the information revealed in the second part and this way the interviewees gave further detail about the organisation, the use and thus, the appropriation of the bathroom and its elements. Additionally, the space, its elements and organisation became the conversation openers.

The first interviewees were a couple who knew me since my childhood, hence I felt a mutual trust between them and me, and I sensed that they were responding honestly to the questions. The first and the second parts of the interview started and were completed in the guest room and the third part was continued in the bathroom. Although I was eager to interview both of them, the husband was unwilling to participate; in the end, it was only the wife (Interviewee of the pilot study 1; Pilot 1) answering the questions; she was even answering on behalf of the husband. As I understood that the wife was dominantly controlling the organisation of the house thus the bathroom, I did not put any pressure on the husband to participate; he decided to join where he felt he was contributing.

With the light of the first interview data and the experience, I decided to conduct the study not with the couples but with women only, since it was the women who organise and clean the house, and perform appropriations in the house, hence in the bathroom. Moreover, it was the women who take the renovation decision in the bathroom.

I also revised the research questions of the thesis. :

- I decided to omit the questions related to 'the meaning of the bathroom and its elements' since the interviewees were having difficulties to comprehend these questions properly and were not sure how to answer them.
- I decided to focus on the appropriation of the bathroom as I realized that bathroom enables various appropriations due to the physical inadequacies,

cultural differences, various phases of the space like the ‘everyday life bathroom’ and the ‘guest day bathroom’.

I continued the pilot study with two more interviews with women; interviewees of the pilot study 2 and 3 (See Table 4.4 for their profiles). In addition to the semi-structured interviews and observations, I conducted probing tool as an integral part of the pilot study with the interviewees of the pilot study 2 and 3 (Pilot 2 and Pilot 3) in order to probe a deeper data, however, I decided not to carry it on within the rest of the study due to the reasons explained in the next section.

**Table 4.3 :** Profiles of the interviewees attended to the pilot study.

|                       | <b>Interviewee<br/>of the Pilot<br/>Study 1</b> | <b>Interviewee<br/>of the Pilot<br/>Study 2</b> | <b>Interviewee<br/>of the Pilot<br/>Study 3</b> |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
|                       | owner-<br>occupier                              | owner-<br>occupier                              | owner-<br>occupier                              |
| <b>AGE</b>            | 64                                              | 63                                              | 66                                              |
| <b>OCCUPATION</b>     | retired                                         | retired                                         | retired                                         |
| <b>EDUCATION</b>      | university                                      | university                                      | high school                                     |
| <b>MONTHLY INCOME</b> | 2000 TL                                         | 2700 TL                                         | 1900 TL                                         |
| <b>HOUSEHOLD SIZE</b> | 2                                               | 2                                               | 2                                               |
| <b>HOUSEHOLD TYPE</b> | empty nesters                                   | empty nesters                                   | widow                                           |
| <b># of BATHROOMS</b> | 1                                               | 1                                               | 1                                               |

As a result of the pilot study, I revised and finalised my research aims and research questions (Table 4.5). I revised and finalised my interviewees’ type; I decided to interview women individually even if they are not single. I revised and finalised my interview questions, however there had been only minor changes since my pilot interview questions were very broad; I excluded some of the questions related to the previous aims of the study.

The pilot study was a useful experience for me in finalizing the method and its tools. In achieving the aims of the study, I decided to continue with semi-structured interviews and observations, which provided rich and convenient data and gave me good reasons to continue with them through the rest of the study.

**Table 4.4 :** Aims and research questions prior to and after the pilot study.

| Aims and Research Questions<br>Prior to the Pilot Study                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Revised and Finalised<br>Aims and Research Questions<br>After the Pilot Study                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>AIMS</p> <p>To provide an ethnographic account of how bathroom and its elements (which have been changed with modernism and globalization) are used and appropriated in everyday life through the users' cultural needs/habits and personal desires.</p> <p>To identify patterns in the user practices that are affected by cultural/local habits in everyday life.</p> <p>To generate an explanatory theory which will be useful for the design practices, on the grounds of the data analysed.</p> | <p>AIMS</p> <p>In the Turkish context, through the example of contemporary domestic bathroom, the thesis aims to find out the types of appropriations employed in everyday life and their influencing factors.</p> <p>With this aim, the study will also reveal the interrelation between users and the domestic bathroom space, and how the bathroom and its elements are incorporated into everyday life routine.</p> |
| <p>RESEARCH QUESTIONS</p> <p>In the domestic context;</p> <p>How does the user use, experience and appropriate the bathroom and its elements in everyday life according to cultural habits and personal desires?</p> <p>What are the factors affect this appropriation?</p> <p>How does this appropriation affects or enables the meanings ascribed to the bathroom?</p> <p>What are the categories of meanings ascribed to the bathroom and its elements by the user?</p>                              | <p>RESEARCH QUESTIONS</p> <p>How is the domestic bathroom used and organised in everyday life?</p> <p>What types of appropriations are performed during the usage and the organisation of the domestic bathroom?</p> <p>What are the influencing factors in performing these appropriations?</p> <p>What is the material culture of the domestic bathroom that furnishes these appropriations?</p>                      |

#### 4.4.1 Probing tool within the pilot study

According to the dictionary definition, probing means asking questions or making enquiries in an indirect way in order to discover things (Probe, 1991). When it is used in the design research, it suggests a self-documentation device(s) that is given or sent to the informants, asking to follow the instructions and to send it back to the researcher.

‘Cultural probes’ is the name of this specific, experimental research method designed and first used by Bill Gaver, Tony Dunne and Elena Pacenti (Gaver, Dunne, & Pacenti, 1999) in their research project called The Presence Project which aims to design novel interaction techniques to increase the presence of the elderly in their local communities. In their article, they define the method as a way for them to get to

know the aging communities and their particularities better. The project was conducted in three different communities around Europe; they sent a package to the elderly in a district of Oslo, a community near Amsterdam and a small village outside Pisa. The package -consisting of maps, postcards, a disposable camera and booklets- was specially designed for self-documentation assignments for the receivers (many of the materials were designed with inspirations from the Situationists, the Dada group, the Surrealists and more contemporary artists). The requirements were answering the casual questions on postcards, marking zones on local maps, taking particular pictures, generating a photo album and recording a media diary and then sending the package back. Instead of more traditional methods like ethnographic studies, interviews or questionnaires, they preferred cultural probes since the design brief was open, there was enough quantitative demographic data from the local sites and they approach research into new technologies from the traditions of artist-designers rather than science and engineering-based approaches. The approach was subjective and with the probes they were trying to reach ‘inspirational data’ rather than define problems. For inspiration, they indicate that they often prefer using informal analyses, chance observations, the popular press and other such ‘unscientific’ sources besides scientific theories. Through the probes they did not aim to collect an objective view of the elders’ needs, “but instead a more impressionistic account of their beliefs and desires, their aesthetic preferences and cultural concerns” (Gaver et al., 1999, p. 25). After receiving the data they did not analyse it or summarise what it reveals about the sites; their design proposals were not directly created from the data, but reflected what they have learned from the materials. As a result, the cultural probes, in their words, provided them with a rich and varied set of materials that both inspired their designs and let the researchers ground them in the detailed textures of the local cultures (Gaver et al., 1999).

After the introduction of the probing method to the ‘design world’, it was adapted and used in different studies (e.g., Gaver, Boucher, Pennington, & Walker, 2004; Hannukainen, 2005; Hemmings, Crabtree, Rodden, Clarke, & Rouncefield, 2002; Hielscher et al., 2007; Wensveen, Overbeeke, & Djajadiningrat, 2000).

#### **4.4.2 The application and the data of the probing tool**

As bathroom is a highly private part of the house and it is not easy to conduct observatory techniques in there, and also a large amount of data could be missed due to the fact that the users may find it too trivial to talk about apart from privacy issues, I decided to try the probing tool in addition to the semi-structured interviews and observation. This way, I would be able to observe what happens in the bathroom when I am not there and the data collection would be enhanced.

I asked the two Pilot interviewees to keep a ‘bathroom diary’ for seven days.

I gave Pilot 2 an A5 sized notebook and a pen and asked her to keep a ‘bathroom diary’ for seven days, consisting of the daily routine of the bathroom use, the cleaning routine, the thoughts and feelings about the bathroom or what happens in the bathroom, the unexpected incidents regarding the bathroom and the preparations made for the guests -if she makes any. In fact, I asked her to write anything comes to her mind about their bathroom and anything that she wants to write about it. She wrote ten pages adequately, mostly telling her daily routine of bathroom use (sometimes her husband’s too), cleaning routine and laundry days as a list of activities day by day and with the times. Figure 4.2 shows the translation of a small excerpt from her diary.

Bathroom Diary

13.02.2012

[...]

13.00 I soaked some woollen clothes in water in the bucket and put the bucket in the shower cabin, changed the water once, put some detergent in the new water and left for soaking again.

13.30 I used the toilet in the bathroom, wiped dry the washbasin countertop.

15.30 My husband used the bathroom for shaving.

[...]

17.02.2012

[...]

17.25 I took a bath, cleaned the shower cabin [including the glass panels of the cabinet].

22.45 I used the toilet. Brushed my teeth.

23.55 I took out my contact lenses. Wiped out the sink. Closed the window.

[...]

20.02.2012

[...]

08.20 I woke up with the earthquake, went to the bathroom with fear, washed my hands and face. I used the toilet.

09.30 I used the bathroom after the breakfast for brushing teeth. I checked the new shower hanger to see if it fits or not, I liked that it fit. I am waiting for my husband to mount it. He is out now.

[...]

**Figure 4.2 :** An excerpt from the diary of Pilot 2.

In the diary, within the list of activities, the only two extraordinary entries were waking up with fear by a small earthquake and the setup of the newly bought elements (a bin, a shower hanger and a toilet brush). In addition to this, she did not mention any feelings or thoughts about the bathroom, except indicating how she was content with the newly bought elements. It was easily noticeable from her handwriting and her writing style that she got bored time to time; the first days of the diary included longer sentences and more details than the rest of it.

After examining the written diary of Pilot 2, I decided to ask for an audio diary from Pilot 3. Audio recording was easy and less laborious than writing notes. This way, I hoped to overcome the problem of dilatoriness and getting bored. I borrowed an old-fashioned cassette voice recorder (Figure 4.3) since Pilot 3 was 66 years old and she was not very familiar with the digital products, it was going to be easier for her to use an old-fashioned cassette voice recorder. I asked her to make daily recordings for seven days regarding the same topics I gave to Pilot 2. The diary was properly kept. She tells the activities performed in the bathroom in sequence every day: her bathroom usage routine, cleaning routine and laundry days etc. Interestingly, she

once calls her routine “my bathroom adventures” and regarding the feelings she once says that she loves her bathroom very much; it is as she prefers and it is useful.

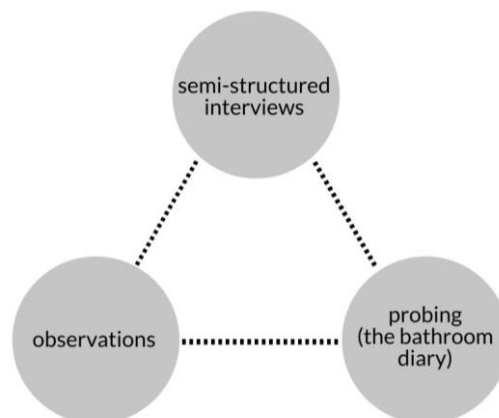


**Figure 4.3 :** The cassette voice recorder used by Pilot 2.

#### **4.4.3 The difficulties and the result of the probing tool**

The biggest difficulty was explaining the use of the probe kit to the interviewees and convincing them to accept it. When I asked them to keep a bathroom diary for a week, as I understood from their body language, they found it strange, meaningless and ridiculous, since they were not used to such a thing. Thereby, they accepted to do it reluctantly.

The data gathered from the diary of Pilot 2 was not new when compared to her interview; it was repeating the interview data and it was not contributing to my analysis. What I benefited from her written diary is that the data was corresponding with the interview data, in other words it was useful as a data triangulation (Figure 4.4). Similar to the diary of Pilot 2, the audio diary of Pilot 3 could not also go beyond being supportive to her interview data.



**Figure 4.4 :** Data triangulation scheme for the pilot study.

After the two pilot probes, I decided not to carry the probing tool on within the rest of the research since I could not get any remarkable additional information and it was uncomfortable and difficult to convince interviewees to involve in it.

## **4.5 The Main Study**

### **4.5.1 Setting**

Since I live in İzmir, Turkey and due to the accessibility reasons, I conducted the research in İzmir and chose my interviewees from İzmir.

İzmir, being on the westernmost point of Turkey (Figure 4.5), is the third biggest, third most developed city and the second largest commercial centre in Turkey. It has a population of 3.948.848 (TÜİK, 2011). Its history dates back 8500 years. It had been founded at the side of a gulf and it is the second most important seaport of Turkey. It is also the pivotal city of the Aegean region of Turkey. It is situated at the side of Aegean Sea and has an area of 12,012 km<sup>2</sup>. Its Aegean type Mediterranean climate provides hot summers and temperate winters, and 300 sunny days a year. The average temperature is 27.5°C during summer and between 12°C - 14°C during winter (“İzmir Valiliği - About İzmir”).



**Figure 4.5 :** Location of Turkey and İzmir (Source: commons.wikimedia.org).

Since I conducted the research in a specific area with limited number of interviewees, the findings are not to be generalised. However, the deep data, rich details and descriptions of the study can be transferred to different settings and can set a model for further studies.

#### **4.5.2 Interviewees**

I conducted the main study with 12 women living in urban settlements of İzmir. As I explained in the Pilot Study section, the reason I excluded husbands/men from my interviews is their unwillingness to join the interviews as I experienced during the pilot study, which also showed the dominance of women in the house. As a

traditional role, the house belongs to the women in terms of organisation, decoration, renovation, design, cleaning etc. since women has been assigned as the homemaker throughout the history (Heynen & Baydar, 2005). It is one of the main spaces at home where she finds an opportunity to express herself and compare herself with her friends. Therefore, the ownership of the bathroom (in terms of organisation, decoration, renovation, design, cleaning etc.) is mostly assumed by the wife, but not the husband, especially in Turkey. For these reasons, the study was conducted among women who are taking the duty of being ‘housewives’ alone or beside a profession.<sup>34</sup> Table 4.6 presents detailed profiles of the 12 interviewees I have interviewed, in addition to the three pilot interviewees as well.

I selected the interviewees among the urban inhabitants so that the following four conditions are provided; (i) having a permanent income, (ii) having at least one ‘modern’ bathroom in the house, (iii) having the opportunity to access the mainstream market of bathroom products, and (iv) being affected by the dominant consumption trends. This way the interviewees would be active consumers of the current bathroom market, thus they would be part of the consumption of bathroom elements to an extent. This also increases the probability of consumption, appropriation and *tactics* regarding the bathroom space.

Seidman (2006) emphasises that the aim of an in-depth interview study is to understand the experience of those who are interviewed, not to predict or to control that experience; the issue is not whether the researcher can generalize the findings to a broader population or not. As he (2006) explains, as the researcher, my task is to present the experience of the people I have interviewed “[...] in compelling enough detail and in sufficient depth that those who read the study can connect to that experience, learn how it is constituted, and deepen their understanding of the issues it reflects” (Seidman, 2006, p. 51).

Different from quantitative studies, qualitative research focuses in depth on relatively small samples that are selected purposefully, where the researcher selects information-rich cases to study in depth (Patton, 2002). Therefore, I did sample purposely since it can be said that all sampling is purposeful in qualitative research

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<sup>34</sup> The fact that the study being conducted with women does not mean that it does not represent men. On the contrary, as the findings show, men are defined and instructed by women in terms of bathroom use.

(Patton, 2002; Punch, 1998). I used purposeful random sampling (or random purposive sampling) strategy throughout the study. This sampling strategy is not representative but credible as also emphasized by Patton (2002). The word ‘random’ in my sampling strategy does not indicate a statistical concept that depends on a large number of participants since the participants must consent to be interviewed in such studies (Patton, 2002). Related to and addition to that, I used snowball sampling strategy to reach the ‘good’ interviewees; an approach for reaching data-rich participant where one leads to another. I selected the interviewees through friends and family network in order to provide a degree of social acceptance; in other words, it provided mutual trust and access to the bathroom, a highly private part of the house. Since women generally put effort to keep the bathroom clean and neat before the arrival of guests, I asked my friends to recommend their friends and relatives who would be convinced not to tidy up the bathroom prior to my arrival and whose characteristics enable them to share the information on bathroom usage openly and honestly. Once I reached the interviewee and finished the interview, I asked her for recommendation for whom to talk with among her friends and relatives, considering the above criteria. This way, I reached consent and willing to talk interviewees and rich data.

**Table 4.5 : Profiles of the interviewees attended to the study.**

|                                         |                | AGE | OCCUPATION                       | EDUCATION   | MONTHLY INCOME | HOUSEHOLD SIZE | HOUSEHOLD TYPE               | # of BATHROOMS                    |
|-----------------------------------------|----------------|-----|----------------------------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <b>Interviewee of the Pilot Study 1</b> | owner-occupier | 64  | retired                          | university  | 2000 TL        | 2              | empty nesters                | 1 with toilet (+1 toilet room)    |
| <b>Interviewee of the Pilot Study 2</b> | owner-occupier | 62  | retired                          | university  | 2700 TL        | 2              | empty nesters                | 1 with toilet (+1 toilet room)    |
| <b>Interviewee of the Pilot Study 3</b> | owner-occupier | 66  | retired                          | high school | 1900 TL        | 2              | widow w sister               | 1 with toilet (+1 toilet room)    |
| <b>Interviewee 1</b>                    | tenant         | 33  | location and commerce business   | university  | 3500 TL        | 1              | partnered                    | 1 without toilet (+1 toilet room) |
| <b>Interviewee 2</b>                    | tenant         | 30  | research assistant               | university  | 2200 TL        | 1              | partnered                    | 1 with toilet                     |
| <b>Interviewee 3</b>                    | owner-occupier | 31  | investment support office expert | university  | 4250 TL        | 1              | single                       | 1 with toilet (+1 toilet room)    |
| <b>Interviewee 4</b>                    | owner-occupier | 46  | housewife                        | elementary  | 1500 TL        | 3              | divorced w 2 adults          | 1 with toilet (+1 toilet room)    |
| <b>Interviewee 5</b>                    | tenant         | 26  | location and commerce business   | university  | 6000 TL        | 3              | partnered w 2 housemates     | 1 with toilet (+1 toilet room)    |
| <b>Interviewee 6</b>                    | owner-occupier | 33  | customer service expert          | university  | 5000 TL        | 2              | married                      | 1 with toilet                     |
| <b>Interviewee 7</b>                    | owner-occupier | 42  | academician                      | university  | 5000 TL        | 2              | married                      | 2 with toilet (+3 toilet room)    |
| <b>Interviewee 8</b>                    | owner-occupier | 39  | academician                      | university  | 10.000 TL      | 3              | married w 1 pre-teen         | 2 with toilet                     |
| <b>Interviewee 9</b>                    | owner-occupier | 38  | travel agency owner              | university  | 9000 TL        | 1              | single                       | 1 with toilet                     |
| <b>Interviewee 10</b>                   | tenant         | 49  | cleaning lady                    | university  | 3500 TL        | 4              | married w 1 adult and 1 teen | 1 with toilet (+1 toilet room)    |
| <b>Interviewee 11</b>                   | tenant         | 27  | research assistant               | university  | 2200 TL        | 1              | partnered                    | 1 with toilet                     |
| <b>Interviewee 12</b>                   | owner-occupier | 58  | retired                          | university  | 15.000 TL      | 2              | empty nesters                | 1 with toilet (+1 toilet room)    |

According to Patton (2002), there are no rules for sample size in qualitative research; the size depends on what the researcher wants to know, the purpose of the study, what is at the stake, what will be useful and have credibility and what can be done within the given time and resources. Seidman (2006) advises two criteria for deciding the number of the participants; sufficiency and the saturation of information. Firstly, the researcher should be aware of that there are sufficient numbers to reflect the range of participants “[...] that make up the population so that others outside the sample might have a chance to connect to the experience of those in it” (Seidman, 2006, p. 55). The second criterion, saturation of information, is discussed by Corbin and Strauss (2008) as not only reaching the point of no new data emerging, but it also “denotes the development of categories in terms of their properties and dimensions, including variation, and if theory building, the delineating of relationships between concepts” (p. 143). Thus, the researcher acts like a detective, following the leads of concepts and open to what might be uncovered (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

I tried to keep the characteristics of the interviewees as diverse as possible hoping that it would show how women (appropriators) from different ages, professions etc. operate different types of appropriations since appropriation may change according to the characteristics of the user, e.g., age, gender, income, beliefs, education, and according to the uses to which the product is to be put (Carrier, 1990; Ilmonen, 2004). I decided to stop doing interviews when no new data emerges, and more importantly, when I sensed that I reached a sufficient development of categories and was able to draw relationships between concepts.

All interviewees have been assured of the anonymity of their identities as a result of participating in this study. Prior to the interviews, I asked all the interviewees to sign two copies of the informed consent form that I prepared, one for me and one for them to keep, however, most of them found unnecessary to keep a copy and only signed my copy. The sample of the form in Turkish has been provided in Appendix A.

#### **4.5.3 Data collection**

The data needed for the study was to be collected with the tools of qualitative research and with an ethnographic approach.

Ethnography, otherwise called ‘cultural analysis’, focuses on the definition and analysis of cultural elements not only regarding the individual perception and behaviour, but also social behaviour, structure, mechanisms, values and norms reflecting the anthropology tradition (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2005). In other words, the focus of the ethnographer is the routine, daily lives of people; the predictable patterns of human thought and behaviour (Fetterman, 1998). Within ethnographic research, the researcher tries to understand the point of view of the participants; s/he tries to see the world from their eyes and uncover the meanings related to their actions (Pawluch, Shaffir, & Miall, 2005). Its approach has also been described as a ‘unique way of seeing’ (Wolcott, 1999).

In order to understand why people do what they do, the researcher has to be close to them rather than studying from a distance since ethnography is the study of people in naturally occurring settings or ‘fields’ by means of methods (Brewer, 2000; Pawluch et al., 2005). The power of the method is getting involved with the people being researched and collecting the data directly from first hand experience (Murchison, 2010), likewise Creswell also emphasizes that the ethnographic researcher focuses on the patterns of everyday life (Creswell, 2008). As Atkinson and Hammersley (2007) confirm that ethnographic research requires studying people’s actions and accounts in their everyday contexts rather than under conditions created by the researcher, they add that this distinctive feature of ethnography enables various kinds of data gathering tools and calls for relatively ‘unstructured’ data collection.

With ethnographic tools, it is important that the researcher continuously and elaborately keeps recording the data so that s/he can determine the most valuable ones since it is impossible to decide without collecting all of it (Murchison, 2010). This way, the researcher can apply an inductive approach as “ethnography as a method almost has to be inductive” (Murchison, 2010, p. 190). The method facilitates in-depth study by focusing on generally fairly small-scale. The analysis of data involves interpretation of the meanings, functions, and consequences of human actions followed by the production of mostly verbal descriptions, explanations, and theories (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007). Consequently, it can be said that the ethnographic researcher tells a story about the experiences of the participants by interpreting them (Vanderstoep & Johnston, 2009).

However doing an ethnographic research in the bathroom is extremely limited, since it is nearly impossible to observe people while using the bathroom. Due to such limitations, researchers need to use innovative research tools while researching the bathroom and its practices (Şalgamcıoğlu, 2014).

Due to the reasons that bathroom is highly private part of the house and the practices in it might highly be private, I am not able to study people in their natural settings, or study their actions in the bathroom space. However, with an ethnographic approach, I conducted the last part of the face-to-face, semi-structured interviews in the bathroom and asked the interviewees to ‘show and tell’ where it was possible. This way I believe the study converges to ethnographic studies to an extent.

To sum up, I used face-to-face, semi-structured interviews as the main tool for gathering data; one type of the most widely used tools of data generation in the social sciences (Gubrium & Holstein, 2001). As Baker (2004) indicates that it is better to describe interviewing as data ‘making’ or data ‘generation’ rather than data ‘collection’ since the data is generated from the gathered information. Addition to the semi-structured interviews, I used observation and trace tracking tools.

#### **4.5.3.1 Semi-structured interviews**

As being one of the commonly used tools of qualitative studies, semi-structured interviews are based on the use of an interview guide which is constructed of open-ended questions that follow certain topics in a particular order (Bernard, 2006). Semi-structured interviews are broader and more free allowing the inquiry to go further and/or deeper when compared to structured ones (Fontana & Frey, 2005). This type of interview leaves the researcher to follow the reactions of the interviewee and change the direction of the interview according to the interviewee’s statements if it is needed. The semi-structured type of interview is important for the qualitative researcher since “it gives access to people’s meaning-endowing capacities and produces rich, deep data that come in the form of extracts of natural language” (Brewer, 2000, p. 66).

The weakness of semi-structured interviews is the limited number of interviewees that the researcher can reach with the aim of in-depth analysis. This implies that, for this study, the women interviewed are by no means representative of all the women in Turkey. Nonetheless, the data generated through the relatively small number of

detailed interviews might be more valuable than a large quantitative database because of the deep data, rich details and descriptions.

In addition to the above, the tool has its difficulties and one of them is transcribing the interview in order to permit analysis. Transcribing is a time-consuming activity; it is about a ten to one ratio of time to actual talk which means I need 600 minutes (10 hours) to transcribe the 60 minutes interview which sometimes took longer (Ives, 1995) and in the end, the researcher faces with a big amount of data.

I also specifically faced some difficulties to overcome during the interviews. I felt that some of the interviewees were a bit tense in the beginning of the interviews and tried to give the 'right' answers as if there were any. When I felt that, I stopped the interview, although I had explained it in the beginning, I repeated that, on no account, they will be judged by their answers and there were no 'right' or 'wrong' answers. I added that, their honest answers were important and valuable for my research. Therefore, in order to make them feel comfortable, I sometimes asked questions which were not related to my research questions in order to chat and make them get used to the occasion.

I conducted the interviews face-to-face, in the interviewees' houses and in their bathrooms. Before starting to ask the questions, I explained the research briefly and indicated that I would like to learn their routine of bathroom usage; the use of bathroom in their everyday lives. I emphasized that, although some of the answers of my questions are so obvious, their responses were still important for the research.

By evaluating the results of the pilot interviews and considering the aims of the research, I reconstituted my interview questions. The interviews were organised around three main parts (Table 4.7). The first part of the interview was the general introduction aiming to learn the demographic data; household type, household size, age, education, income, number of rooms, bathrooms and toilets, (if there had been any) renovations done in the bathroom, its date and cost. This part also enabled a warming between the interviewee and me.

The second part of the interview was targeted to establish an understanding of the daily routines of the bathroom. Interviewees were asked to define their daily routine and use of the bathroom and its elements (toilet, sink, bathtub/shower cabin, cupboards, white goods etc.) in as much detail as possible so that I could understand

what kind of activities they perform in the bathroom. I also inquired the cleaning routine of the bathroom that way I started to learn about the decisions related to the organisation of the place. I tried to learn if there were any particular activities like dying hair, washing small carpets or rugs in the bathtub, ablution etc. Besides the activities, related to the next part of the interview, I started to ask questions about the design of the bathroom and -if there had been any- renovations in the bathroom. It was important for me to understand how the renovation decisions have been taken and the reasons of -if any- unrealized renovation decisions. I tried to reveal their thoughts and feelings about the space in terms of its function, comfort and visual quality. Lastly I asked them, with their reasons, to define their ideal bathroom and/or the renovations they would like to do.

In the last part, I asked them to continue in the bathroom so that they could show what they are telling and the space can be useful for opening conversations. Moving the interview to the bathroom also provided a change and broke the monotonicity of the interview. Considering the routines and the activities of the interviewee, I tried to focus more narrowly on the representation and the appropriation of the space. I tried to understand the relation of the interviewee with the space by asking questions about their needs and what the bathroom is providing, and tried to see if there were any struggles between the desired bathroom and the daily use. I also tried to elaborate the issues emerged in the previous part of the interview.

**Table 4.6 :** The parts of the interview, the aims and the scope of the questions.

|                                                  | <b>AIMS</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | <b>SCOPE of the QUESTIONS</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Part 1 –</b><br>General Introduction          | to get the demographic data.<br>to warm the atmosphere.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | household type, household size, age, education, income, number of rooms, bathrooms and toilets, renovations done in the bathroom                                                                                                    |
| <b>Part 2 –</b><br>Understanding the User        | to understand the daily routine of the bathroom.<br>to understand how much the bathroom fulfil the needs.<br>to learn about the decisions related to the organisation of the place.<br>to understand how the renovation decisions have been taken<br>to reveal the thoughts and the feelings about the space in terms of its function, comfort and visual quality. | the routine and the particular activities performed<br>the cleaning routine<br>the design (decisions) of the bathroom and the renovations<br>the ‘ideal’ bathroom and/or the renovations they would like to do, with their reasons. |
| <b>Part 3 –</b><br>‘Show & Tell’ in the Bathroom | to broke the monotonicity of the interview.<br>to use the bathroom as a conversation opener<br>to observe the bathroom.<br>to learn the relation of the user with the space by utilising ‘show and tell’ tool.<br>to focus more narrowly on the representation and the appropriation of the space.                                                                 | the relation between their needs and what the bathroom provides<br>the struggle (if there are any) between the desired bathroom and the daily use.<br>elaboration of the issues emerged in the previous part of the interview.      |

During the interviews, I start asking the questions according to learn women’s activities first and then ask about family members if it was appropriate, however, they sometimes gave the information related to the family members without me asking it or started to answer the questions with the information related to the family members as the below excerpts show. Such a reaction was good in terms of creating a friendly chat atmosphere.

Q- How long do you spend on the toilet?

Int. 6- My husband spends a lot in there. There are magazines, newspapers over there, he reads them. Every morning, every day, he stays for like half an hour. I am not that systematic. Mine takes maximum 10 minutes.

Q- How long do you spend in the shower?

Int.4- My son, God, he takes long showers! My daughter’s and my showers take between 10-20 minutes.

Although it is one of the features of the semi-structured interviews, I spent effort to keep the track of my questions list. From time to time, interviewees jump to another topic while answering a question I asked. In such situations, I always continued with the topic they started. However, I took a note on my sheet and where appropriate I went back to the skipped topic.

In addition to the above, I sometimes repeated the same question during different phases of the interview in order to receive more information or enable her to add things that she remembers later.

The interviews lasted 45 minutes to 1.5 hours which were digitally recorded. The interviews were supported by the notes I took during the interviews and the photographs I took of the bathroom and its elements with the allowance of the interviewee. The interview guide in English is provided in Appendix B and the transcription of the interview done with Interviewee 6 in Turkish is provided in Appendix C. After the interviews, I gave each interviewee a bar of soap as a symbolic ‘thank you’ gift for their participation and time (Figure 4.6).



**Figure 4.6 :** The soap bars given to the interviewees as a thank you gift.

#### **4.5.3.2 Observations**

To study stuff, we need ourselves to be where stuff is. Right there, in the living room, the bathroom, the bedroom and the kitchen. This is where most of modern life is lived.

(Miller, 2010, p. 109)

Stake (2010) describes observation as the information that can be seen directly by the researcher or heard or felt and indicates that observation methods need to be made particular to the situation. As it is understood from its name, it requires watching the life of the people studied. Considering my research and its topic, it is nearly

impossible for me to research the interviewees in their natural environment; they were not observed during their actual use of the bathroom space, rather they were asked to describe their actions in the bathroom and observed during this ‘show and tell’. In other words, I tried to understand the invisible via the visible. Besides, I observed the interviewees themselves any time possible during the interview; observing the facial expressions, gestures and body language helps me to interpret what they say in the interview (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007). I recorded these valuable clues by taking notes as much as possible during the observation and interview, or right after the interview. In this way, the data from each tool elucidated the other.

The observation of the bathroom space was conducted within the presence of the interviewee. Within the third part of the interview, as the interview was conducted in the bathroom, I observed both the interviewee and the bathroom since most of the parts of the interview were being carried out as ‘show and tell’. I kept the observation during the interview. I observed the bathroom of the interviewee as a designed and organised space by the interviewee in order to be informed about the elements of the space, the organisation of the space and the appropriations. Afterwards, I photographed the bathroom and its elements with the allowance of the interviewees. I considered these photographs as visual ethnographic data, which also converges this study to ethnographic studies.

#### **4.5.3.3 Trace tracking**

In addition to semi-structured interviews and observations, trace tracking was used to understand the interaction between the user and the bathroom and its elements when I was not able to observe it. Where possible, I physically examined the fixtures and the products to find out if users have left on any traces. I used these traces as conversation openers within the interview and they also gave clues about the habits and behaviours of the interviewees. Furthermore, the data gained from trace tracking was useful for the evaluation of the interviewee’s statement given during the interview.

#### **4.5.4 Data analysis**

The data of my study involved transcription of digitally recorded interviews, photographs of the bathrooms and my field notes. In order to decide on the proper

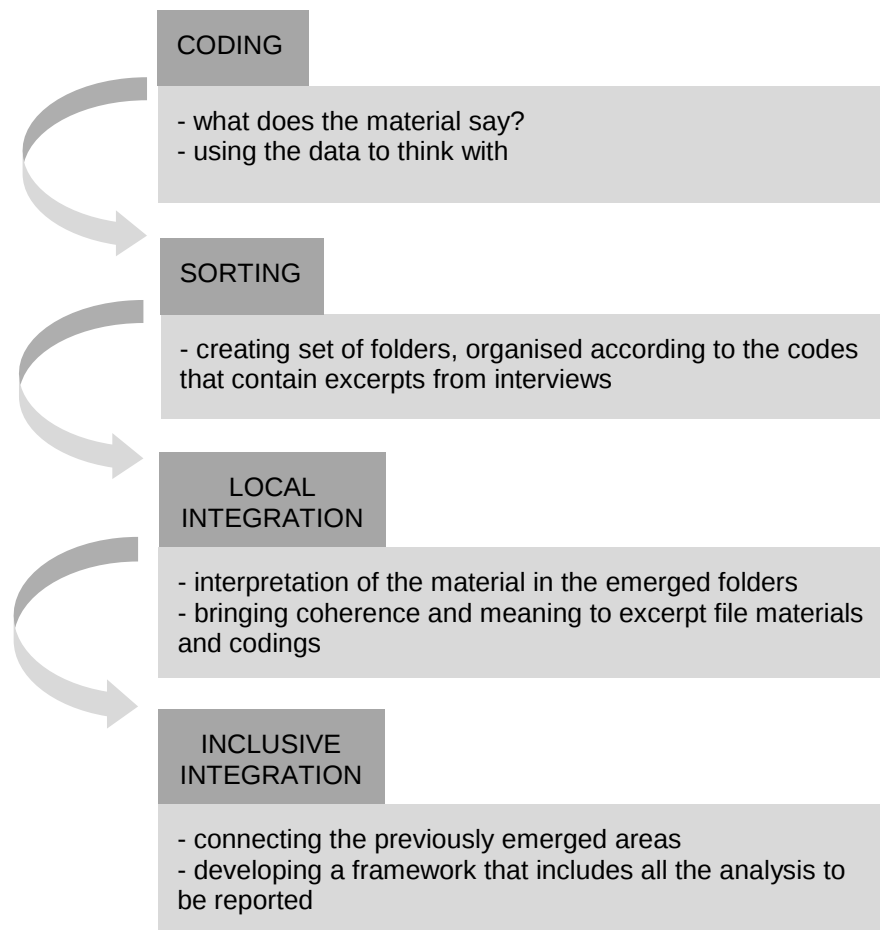
analysis tool, I followed up the book ‘Learning from Strangers: The Art and Method of Qualitative Interview Studies’ by Robert S. Weiss (1995). He identifies four different approaches to analyse and report interviews depending on focusing on issue or cases, and the intended level of generalisation.<sup>35</sup>

I used (generalised) issue-focused analysis<sup>36</sup> to analyse the transcription of the interviews. Issue-focused analysis has four distinct analytic processes, which are coding, sorting, local integration and inclusive integration (Weiss, 1995). Weiss’s description of coding is no different than the coding process of ‘ethnographic data analysis’: “The idea in coding is to link what the respondent says in his or her interview to the concepts and categories that will appear in the report” (1995, p. 154). How the researcher codes the interview excerpts depends on his/her theoretical assumptions, the aim of the research and research questions. “The codings of the material in an excerpt file constitute a statement of what we believe the material tells us” (Weiss 1995, p. 158). The second step, sorting, provides a set of folders, organised according to the codes that contain excerpts from interviews. These folders of material will be interpreted during the third step, which Weiss (1995) calls local integration. During this step, the researcher tries to organise and integrate his/her observations and understandings; this way the researcher brings “coherence and meaning to excerpt file materials and codings” (Weiss 1995, p. 160). The last step, inclusive integration, connects the isolated areas of analysis, which result from local integration, into a single coherent story. With this last step, Weiss (1995) points out that, the researcher develops a framework that includes all the analysis to be reported which, in the end, leads to some general conclusion. Below figure shows the steps of the data analysis.

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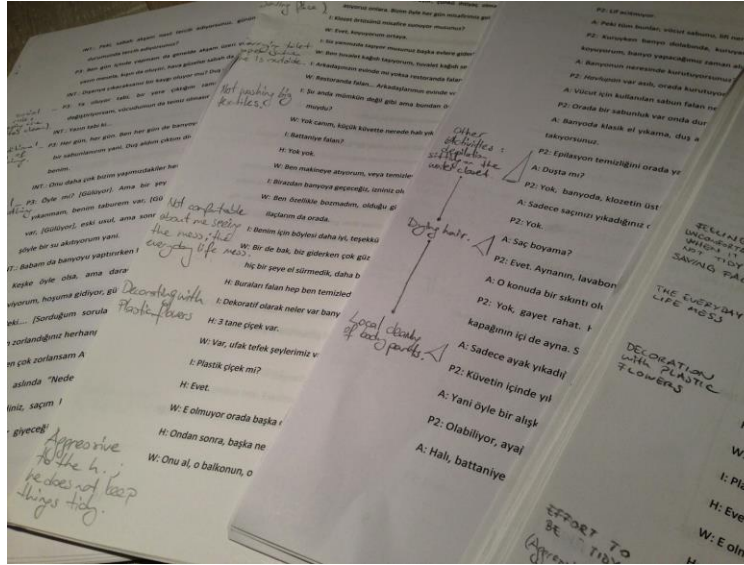
<sup>35</sup> According to Weiss (1995, p. 152), the analysis can be ‘issue-focused’ or ‘case-focused’. In addition, it can remain on the ‘level of the concrete’ or be at the ‘level of the generalised’. ‘Issue-focused analysis’ deals with issues as they are learned about from respondents while ‘case-focused analysis’ deals with the respondents themselves in other words with particular respondents. If the analysis and reporting remain on the level of respondents’ reports, it is called ‘level of the concrete’. If the analysis and reporting is generalised from the respondents’ reports, it is called ‘level of the generalised’.

<sup>36</sup> Weiss (1995) notes that Bob Blauner (1987) names issue-focused analysis as ‘thematic’ analysis.



**Figure 4.7 :** The steps of data analysis.

I started the analysis of the data right after the very first interview since my data analysis tool requires doing so. I transcribed the recorded data. To be able to take notes on the transcribed text, I set the word processor margin to a wide value and the line spacing to 1.5. In order to break the text up into codes, I took notes on the margins while reading, explaining what is happening in the text (Figure 4.8). These notes were not only the facts about the given information but they were also my opinions, thoughts and comments.



**Figure 4.8 :** Taking notes on the margins while reading.

At this point, I was thinking about the material, in other words, using the data to think with (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007; Weiss, 1995). For instance, on the same page, I have written the following notes for different information: Being tidy for guests, small towels in a basket for guests, she is being ashamed of the daily tools around, body language-laughing and taking away things. Analysing the text right after the interview also let me remember and consider the emotional responses as well, such as, the body language, the laughter or the tone of voice of the interviewee.

This reading and note taking exercise required more than reading once, which let me use the data to think with. With the first interview text, the coding of the data started to appear. I continued with the interviews and to work on the transcription texts which let to re-reading of the texts; making continuously comparison between the notes and codes of the transcription texts. When I realized that repetitive codes started to emerge, I started to sort the codes and excerpts into more abstract level in order to generate the potential concepts. I used Microsoft Excel software to sort and organise the excerpts, notes, codes and the generated concepts (Figure 4.9). Mainly, I took notes on the excerpts' transcriptions; these notes are grouped and formed the codes; similar codes and codes that can be merged came together and created set of folders; I interpreted these emerged folders and created connection between them in order to generate the concepts. Figure 4.10 presents a sample relation between excerpts, notes, codes and generated concepts.

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Figure 4.9 : Microsoft Excel screen shot during analysis.

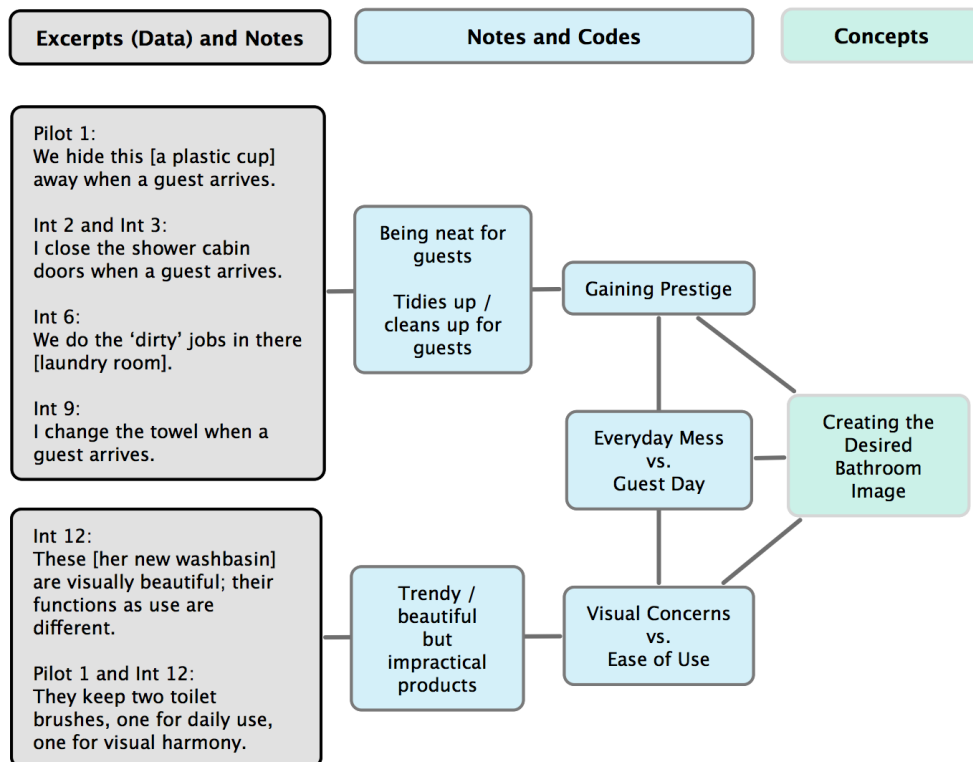


Figure 4.10 : A sample relation between excerpts, notes, codes and concepts.

In qualitative research that is carried out with interviews, data analysis process is not a separate stage than rest of the research (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007; Brewer, 2000; Murchison, 2010). It begins with the pre-fieldwork phase and continues

through to the process of writing, thus the analysis of data feeds into research design and data collection (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007).

During the analysis of the interview transcriptions, I studied the photographs and the field notes as well. They were both contributory and supplementary to the interview transcriptions. The field notes were consisting of my notes about the answers and the emotional reactions of the interviewees, such as laughing, getting nervous or shy, which I was able to write down while I was alone in the bathroom or right after the interview. These notes were useful during all the steps of the transcription analysis. The photographs were mostly useful while creating the material culture and sorting the types of appropriations employed in the bathroom. They were also useful in emphasising the findings result from the analysis of interviews.

#### **4.6 Limitations**

Since the activities performed in the bathroom are considered to be very private in Turkish culture and for people living in Turkey, I was predicting that it was not going to be easy for the interviewees to ‘chat’ about such topics with a stranger; they would be unwilling to talk or would not tell the truth. I overcame this problem by selecting the interviewees through friends and family network in order to provide a degree of social acceptance and by using the snowball sampling strategy explained previously. I explained them that their honesty was crucial for the study and tried to form a relation on trust, assuring them of the anonymity of their identity within the each phase of the study. Still, since we might be regarded as a conservative society, when I asked them about the activities performed in the bathroom, I did not expect them to tell me some certain activities, for instance activities related to the intimacy between couples, though one interviewee did.

Regardless of its privacy or intimacy, the information that the interviewees provided through the interviews might be considered as limited since it is always possible that the interviewees do not tell the truth or do only tell some parts of the truth. This might have let to the situations that I could not fully see or learn the reasons of some activities, acts or appropriations. I should note that, in such situations, the explanations I made for those reasons are limited to my interpretations grounded on my theoretical background.

Other limitation of the study was the women's effort of keeping the bathroom always clean and neat prior to the arrival of strangers and guests. This would give rise to the cleaning of and tidying up the bathroom before my arrival, which might prevent me to observe the 'daily life condition' of the bathroom. I tried to overcome this problem by explaining the importance of the observation of the 'daily life condition' of the bathroom on the phone, or face to face before arranging the interview date and time. With the snowball sampling strategy explained previously, I managed to reach the women who would not mind leaving the bathroom as it is, prior to my arrival. However, despite my efforts, few bathrooms looked cleaned and a bit 'prepared' for the interview. In such situations, I carried the usual data collection procedure, because, this was still helpful for the study since it showed the 'pretentious' side of the contemporary bathroom.

Another limitation was the limited data gathered from tenant interviewees. I realized that the tenant interviewees are not as flexible as the owner-occupier interviewees in terms of performing appropriations in the bathroom. For the sake of not damaging the house and not making a deal out of it between them and their owner-occupier, they even do not drive a nail or stick a holder on the wall. Although such limitations seemed to be reducing the data I receive, it actually provided another type of data; appropriations performed within limited opportunities. Additionally, such data gave me clues about the desired bathroom and the desired appropriations to fulfil the needs since it is less probable for a tenant interviewee to renovate the bathroom.

Lastly, I would like to mention the difficulty of researching within someone's own cultural context. In terms of culture, it was difficult for me to perceive what I observe as new or unordinary since I --the researcher-- and the interviewees have been brought up in the same culture. In order to see, understand and interpret deeply within the observation tool, it is important for the researcher to separate him/herself from the culture h/she observes, otherwise the data gathered might be perceived insignificant since it will all seem ordinary and normal. Throughout the field study and the analysis part, I tried to de-familiarize myself from what I observed and found, however I should admit that, probably, I have managed to do it to a certain extent; a complete foreign researcher would read the same data differently than a local, in some ways.



## **5. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS**

This chapter presents the findings and discuss them in the following order:

- Interviewee Profiles
- Contemporary Bathroom Practices
- Material Culture of the Contemporary Bathroom
- Key Concepts of the Contemporary Bathroom
- Appropriations Performed in the Contemporary Bathroom
- Influencing Factors in Performing Appropriations
- Strategies of Appropriations to Overcome the Struggle in the Bathroom

### **5.1 Interviewee Profiles**

All the interviewees (including the pilot study and the main study) live in different districts in İzmir, however, as I explained before, I conducted the three pilot interviews in the same apartment building. Table 5.1 shows the profile and Table 5.2 shows the age span of all the interviewees. All the women I interviewed take on the role of being the ‘woman of the house’ except Interviewee 5; she shares the flat with two female housemates. All the interviewees live in apartment flats except Interviewee 7; she lives in a three-storey house with a garden. Of the interviewees, only one is high school graduate and one is elementary school graduate; the rest is university graduate. They all have at least one bathroom with toilet in their homes except Interviewee 1; her bathroom design does not include the toilet bowl, the toilet room is near the bathroom. The following sections display detailed information about the interviewees, and the general view and basic layout of their bathrooms.

**Table 5.1 :** The profile of the interviewees, including the pilot and main study.

|                                         |                | AGE | OCCUPATION                       | EDUCATION   | MONTHLY INCOME | HOUSEHOLD SIZE | HOUSEHOLD TYPE               | # of BATHROOMS                    |
|-----------------------------------------|----------------|-----|----------------------------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <b>Interviewee of the Pilot Study 1</b> | owner-occupier | 64  | retired                          | university  | 2000 TL        | 2              | empty nesters                | 1 with toilet (+1 toilet room)    |
| <b>Interviewee of the Pilot Study 2</b> | owner-occupier | 62  | retired                          | university  | 2700 TL        | 2              | empty nesters                | 1 with toilet (+1 toilet room)    |
| <b>Interviewee of the Pilot Study 3</b> | owner-occupier | 66  | retired                          | high school | 1900 TL        | 2              | widow w sister               | 1 with toilet (+1 toilet room)    |
| <b>Interviewee 1</b>                    | tenant         | 33  | location and commerce business   | university  | 3500 TL        | 1              | partnered                    | 1 without toilet (+1 toilet room) |
| <b>Interviewee 2</b>                    | tenant         | 30  | research assistant               | university  | 2200 TL        | 1              | partnered                    | 1 with toilet                     |
| <b>Interviewee 3</b>                    | owner-occupier | 31  | investment support office expert | university  | 4250 TL        | 1              | single                       | 1 with toilet (+1 toilet room)    |
| <b>Interviewee 4</b>                    | owner-occupier | 46  | housewife                        | elementary  | 1500 TL        | 3              | divorced w 2 adults          | 1 with toilet (+1 toilet room)    |
| <b>Interviewee 5</b>                    | tenant         | 26  | location and commerce business   | university  | 6000 TL        | 3              | partnered w 2 housemates     | 1 with toilet (+1 toilet room)    |
| <b>Interviewee 6</b>                    | owner-occupier | 33  | customer service expert          | university  | 5000 TL        | 2              | married                      | 1 with toilet                     |
| <b>Interviewee 7</b>                    | owner-occupier | 42  | academician                      | university  | 5000 TL        | 2              | married                      | 2 with toilet (+3 toilet room)    |
| <b>Interviewee 8</b>                    | owner-occupier | 39  | academician                      | university  | 10.000 TL      | 3              | married w 1 pre-teen         | 2 with toilet                     |
| <b>Interviewee 9</b>                    | owner-occupier | 38  | travel agency owner              | university  | 9000 TL        | 1              | single                       | 1 with toilet                     |
| <b>Interviewee 10</b>                   | tenant         | 49  | cleaning lady                    | university  | 3500 TL        | 4              | married w 1 adult and 1 teen | 1 with toilet (+1 toilet room)    |
| <b>Interviewee 11</b>                   | tenant         | 27  | research assistant               | university  | 2200 TL        | 1              | partnered                    | 1 with toilet                     |
| <b>Interviewee 12</b>                   | owner-occupier | 58  | retired                          | university  | 15.000 TL      | 2              | empty nesters                | 1 with toilet (+1 toilet room)    |

**Table 5.2 :** Age span of the interviewees, including the pilot and main study.

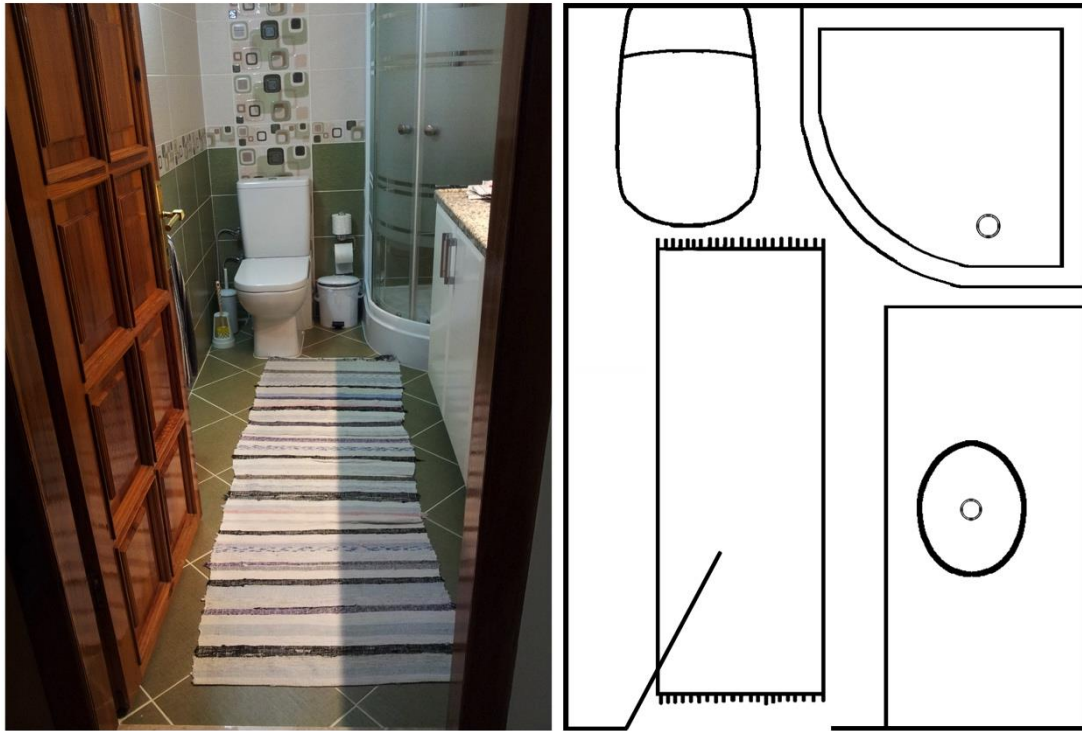
| Age Group | Number of Interviewees |
|-----------|------------------------|
| 25-29     | 2                      |
| 30-34     | 4                      |
| 35-39     | 2                      |
| 40-44     | 1                      |
| 45-49     | 2                      |
| 50-54     | 0                      |
| 55-59     | 1                      |
| 60-64     | 2                      |
| 65-69     | 1                      |

#### **5.1.1 Interviewee of the pilot study 1: Pilot 1 (age 64)**

Pilot 1 lives in Karşıyaka. She lives in the apartment where my childhood was spent and she knows me since my childhood. As I mentioned before, this acquaintance provided me social acceptance. She was willing to help me, open their bathroom space for my research and talk about it. She is 64 years old; she is a university graduate and a retired high school teacher. She lives with her husband. Her husband is 67 years old; he is a university graduate and a retired high school teacher as well. Their only daughter lives in another city in Turkey. Their monthly income is 2000 TL. They are owner-occupiers and the flat has 4 rooms,<sup>37</sup> 1 kitchen, 1 bathroom with toilet (*alafranga* type) and 1 toilet room (*alafranga* type). The building is 28 years old and they moved in 26 years ago as the first owners. They completely renovated the bathroom in 2009, including the toilet room. Figure 5.1 shows the general view and layout of her bathroom. Table 5.3 displays the persona of Pilot 1.

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<sup>37</sup> In Turkey, the number of the rooms of flats and houses are described as 3+1, 2+1 etc. The number before the plus indicates bedrooms, living rooms or study rooms. The number after the plus indicates the biggest room at home referred as '*salon*' (guest room) in Turkish. Traditionally, it is the most important room of the house since it is where the guests are being hosted. Some families prefer not using the *salon* during their everyday life; they reserve it for the guests and it is only used when guests arrive (See Ayata, 1988). Some use it both as a living room and a guest room. Throughout the study, the room numbers will be given as a total number.



**Figure 5.1 :** General view and layout of bathroom – Pilot Study 1.

**Table 5.3 : Persona of the interviewee of the pilot study 1.**

|                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Pilot #1 – age 64 (born in 1947)</b><br> | <b>Background Information</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Empty Nester</li> <li>– Lives in Karşıyaka</li> <li>– Owner-occupier</li> <li>– Retired high school teacher</li> <li>– University graduate</li> <li>– Monthly income is 2000 TL (in total)</li> <li>– The flat has 4 rooms, 1 kitchen, 1 (renovated) bathroom with <i>alafranga</i> type toilet and 1 (renovated) toilet room (<i>alafranga</i> type)</li> </ul> |
| Bathroom Use Scenario                                                                                                        | <p>Frequent use of the toilet, long durations of toilet use, long baths.</p> <p>Solves crossword puzzle, watches TV on the toilet.</p> <p>Uses the toilet also during night.</p> <p>Prefers to sit while bathing.</p> <p>Performs ablution at 5 times a day.</p> <p>Doing the laundry/washing machine.</p> <p>Soaking stained/white clothes in water.</p>                                                                               |
| Cleaning of the Bathroom                                                                                                     | <p>Daily cleaning and wiping tools.</p> <p>Wipe dries the counter and the mirror frequently.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Frustrations related to Bathroom                                                                                             | <p>Remaining water drops on the counter.</p> <p>Hard water spots and stains on</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• the mirror</li> <li>• the shower cabin glass walls</li> <li>• on the faucet</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| Types of Appropriations                                                                                                      | <p>Utilitarian appropriations</p> <p>Social appropriations</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Extension of the Bathroom                                                                                                    | <p>Yes: Closed balcony and drawers in a room.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| Desires/Ideal Bathroom                                                                                                       | <p>Spacious shower stall with a jacuzzi.</p> <p>TV, stereo set, plants.</p> <p>An extra toilet room for her use only.</p> <p>Parent's bathroom.</p> <p>A special fixture for ablution.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |

### 5.1.2 Interviewee of the pilot study 2: Pilot 2 (age 62)

Pilot 2 is my mother. She lives in Karşıyaka in the apartment flat where I used to live until the year 2009. She is 62 years old; she is a university graduate and a retired high school teacher. She lives with her husband. Her husband is 63 years old; he is a university graduate and a retired high school teacher as well. Their son lives in another city in Turkey and their daughter lives in Karşıyaka. Their monthly income is 2700 TL. They are owner-occupiers and the flat has 4 rooms, 1 kitchen, 1 bathroom with toilet (*alafranga* type) and 1 toilet room (*alafranga* type). The building is 28 years old and they moved in 26 years ago as the first owners. They completely renovated the bathroom in 2011, including the toilet room. Figure 5.2 shows the general view and layout of her bathroom. Table 5.4 displays the persona of Pilot 2.



**Figure 5.2 :** General view and layout of bathroom – Pilot Study 2.

**Table 5.4 : Persona of the interviewee of the pilot study 2.**

|                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Pilot #2 – age 62 (born in 1951)</b><br> | <b>Background Information</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Empty Nester</li> <li>– Lives in Karşıyaka</li> <li>– Owner-occupier</li> <li>– Retired high school teacher</li> <li>– University graduate</li> <li>– Monthly income is 2700 TL (in total)</li> <li>– The flat has 4 rooms, 1 kitchen, 1 (renovated) bathroom with <i>alafranga</i> type toilet and 1 (renovated) toilet room (<i>alafranga</i> type)</li> </ul> |
| Bathroom Use Scenario                                                                                                        | <p>Frequent use of the toilet, short durations of toilet use.</p> <p>Partial body cleaning.</p> <p>Sits on a foldable seat during baths.</p> <p>Doing the laundry/washing machine.</p> <p>Soaking stained/white clothes in water.</p> <p>Wiping the body parts with wet wipes in a rush.</p>                                                                                                                                            |
| Cleaning of the Bathroom                                                                                                     | <p>Daily cleaning and wiping tools.</p> <p>Wipe dries the bathroom stall after every shower.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Frustrations related to Bathroom                                                                                             | <p>Various noises coming through the light well.</p> <p>Clutter.</p> <p>Finger prints on the mirror.</p> <p>Fallen hair.</p> <p>Remaining water drops on the counter.</p> <p>Hard water spots and stains on</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• the mirror</li> <li>• the shower cabin glass walls</li> <li>• the faucet</li> <li>• tiles</li> </ul>                                                                           |
| Types of Appropriations                                                                                                      | <p>Utilitarian appropriations</p> <p>Social appropriations</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Extension of the Bathroom                                                                                                    | Yes: Closed balcony and drawers in a room.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Desires/Ideal Bathroom                                                                                                       | Listening to music in the bathroom.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |

### 5.1.3 Interviewee of the pilot study 3: Pilot 3 (age 66)

Pilot 3 lives in Karşıyaka, in the apartment where I used to live until the year 2009. She is 66 years old; she is a high school graduate and she is a retired civil servant. Her husband passed away in 2008. They used to live alone. Now, she lives alone, however, most of the time, her sister stays with her during weekdays. She is 57 years old. Her monthly income is 1900 TL and they share some of the house expenses. She is owner-occupier and the flat has 4 rooms, 1 kitchen, 1 bathroom with toilet (*alafranga* type) and 1 toilet room (*alafranga* type). The building is 28 years old. She and her husband bought the flat and moved in in 2003. They completely renovated the bathroom in 2003, including the toilet room. Recently, she has done minor changes such as changing the shower cabin and adding some wall cabinets in the bathroom. Figure 5.3 shows the general view and layout of her bathroom. Table 5.5 displays the persona of Pilot 3.



**Figure 5.3 :** General view and layout of bathroom – Pilot Study 3.

**Table 5.5 : Persona of the interviewee of the pilot study 3.**

|                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Pilot #3 – age 66 (born in 1946)</b><br> | <b>Background Information</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Widow</li> <li>– Lives in Karşıyaka</li> <li>– Owner-occupier</li> <li>– Retired civil servant</li> <li>– High school graduate</li> <li>– Her sister stays with her during weekdays</li> <li>– Monthly income is 1900 TL</li> <li>– The flat has 4 rooms, 1 kitchen, 1 (renovated) bathroom with toilet and 1 (renovated) toilet room (<i>alafranga</i> type)</li> </ul> |
| Bathroom Use Scenario                                                                                                        | <p>Sits on a plastic seat, uses a plastic bucket to fill and pour the water with a cup while bathing.</p> <p>Long durations of baths.</p> <p>Performs ablution at 5 times a day.</p> <p>Uses the toilet also during night.</p> <p>Doing the laundry/washing machine.</p>                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Cleaning of the Bathroom                                                                                                     | <p>Daily cleaning and wiping tools.</p> <p>Gets help from a cleaning lady, however, she cleans the bathroom herself.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Frustrations related to Bathroom                                                                                             | <p>Hard water spots and stains on the metal trash bin.</p> <p>Humidity.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| Types of Appropriations                                                                                                      | <p>Utilitarian appropriations</p> <p>Social appropriations</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Extension of the Bathroom                                                                                                    | <p>Yes: Closed balcony.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| Desires/Ideal Bathroom                                                                                                       | <p>Listening to music.</p> <p>Closed spaces to keep laundry basket, plastic washbasin, buckets etc.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |

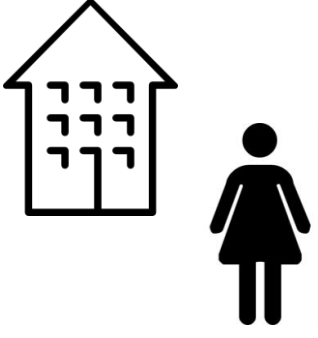
#### 5.1.4 Interviewee 1 (age 33)

Interviewee 1 lives in Karşıyaka. She lives in an apartment flat. She is 33 years old; she is a university graduate and works in a private company in location and commerce business. She lives alone but her partner stays at her place time to time. Her monthly income is 3500 TL. She is a tenant and the flat has 4 rooms, 1 kitchen, 1 bathroom without and 1 toilet room (*alafranga* type). She guesses the age of the building as about 30 and she moved in 1.5 years ago. The bathroom was renovated right before she moved in, though the toilet room was not. Figure 5.4 shows the general view and layout of her bathroom. Table 5.6 displays the persona of Interviewee 1.



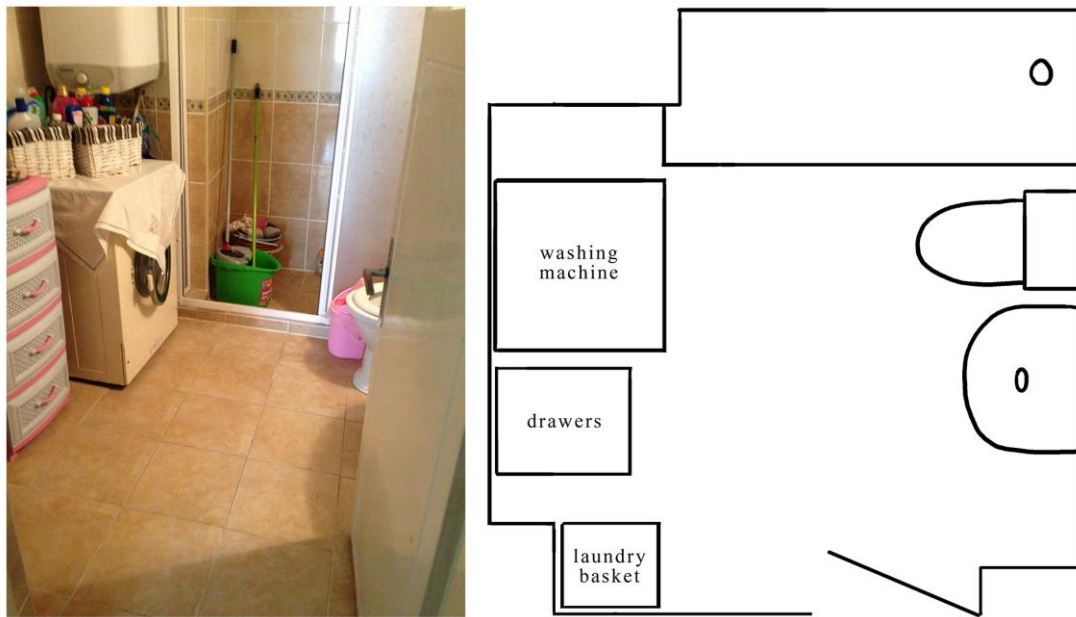
**Figure 5.4 :** General view and layout of bathroom – Interviewee 1.

**Table 5.6 : Persona of Interviewee 1.**

|                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p><b>Interviewee #1 – age 33<br/>(born in 1980)</b></p>  | <p><b>Background Information</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Partnered</li> <li>– Lives in Karşıyaka</li> <li>– Tenant</li> <li>– Works in a Private Company in Location and Commerce Business</li> <li>– University graduate</li> <li>– Her boyfriend stays at her place time to time</li> <li>– Monthly income is 3500 TL</li> <li>– The flat has 4 rooms, 1 kitchen, 1 (renovated) bathroom without toilet and 1 toilet room (<i>alafranga</i> type)</li> </ul> |
| Bathroom Use Scenario                                                                                                                      | <p>Listens to music while showering.<br/>Quick showers.<br/>Uses smart phone on the toilet.<br/>Doing the laundry/washing machine.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Cleaning of the Bathroom                                                                                                                   | <p>Gets help from a cleaning lady.<br/>She cleans once in 10 days.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Frustrations related to Bathroom                                                                                                           | <p>Clogged up showerhead due to the hard water.<br/>Hard water spots and stains on the faucet.<br/>Ineffective suction cup hooks.<br/>The electric heater being in the shower cabin.<br/>Limitations due to being a tenant.<br/>Neighbours noises coming through the window.<br/>Smells coming from the pipes.</p>                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Types of Appropriations                                                                                                                    | <p>Utilitarian appropriations<br/>Tenants' appropriations<br/>Social appropriations</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Extension of the Bathroom                                                                                                                  | <p>Yes: An unoccupied room.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| Desires/Ideal Bathroom                                                                                                                     | <p>Bathroom with a toilet.<br/>Extra toilet room.<br/>Cabin for the washing machine or a laundry room.<br/>Spacious, bright bathroom space with natural light.<br/>A space to enjoy water rather than a depot for detergents.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |

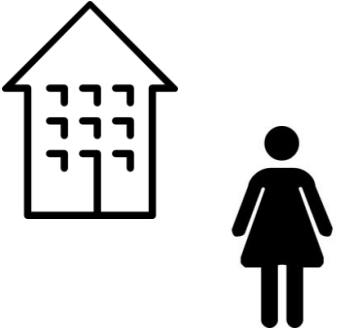
### 5.1.5 Interviewee 2 (age 30)

Interviewee 2 lives in Güzelyalı. She lives in an apartment flat. She is 30 years old; she is a university graduate and works as a research assistant in a state university. She lives alone but her partner stays at her place time to time. Her monthly income is 2200 TL. She is a tenant and the flat has 2 rooms, 1 kitchen and 1 bathroom with toilet (*alafranga* type). She says the age of the building is probably between 16 and 20, and she moved in two years ago. The bathroom was already renovated before she moved in. Figure 5.5 shows the general view and layout of her bathroom. Table 5.7 displays the persona of Interviewee 2.



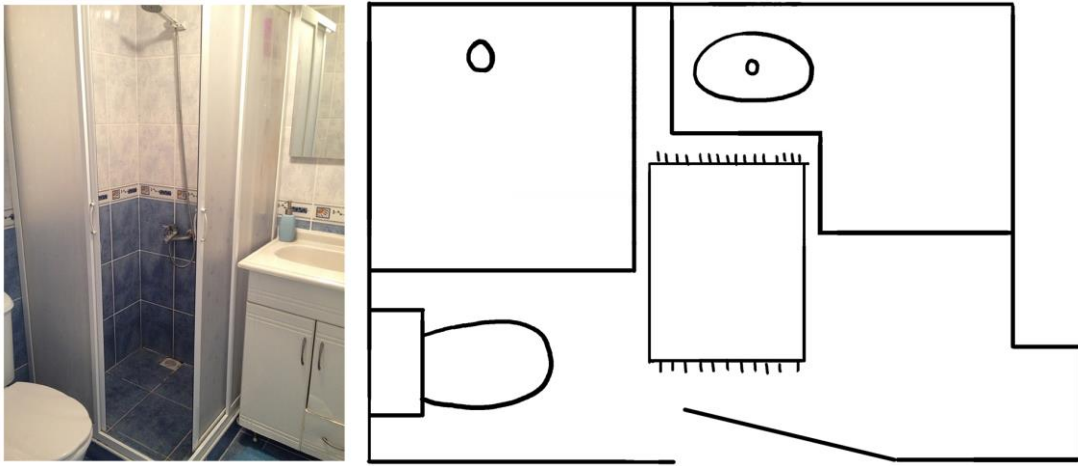
**Figure 5.5 :** General view and layout of bathroom – Interviewee 2.

**Table 5.7 : Persona of Interviewee 2.**

|                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p><b>Interviewee #2 – age 30<br/>(born in 1983)</b></p>  | <p><b>Background Information</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Partnered</li> <li>– Lives in Güzelyalı</li> <li>– Tenant</li> <li>– Research Assistant in a State University</li> <li>– University graduate</li> <li>– Her boyfriend stays at her place time to time</li> <li>– Monthly income is 2200 TL</li> <li>– The flat has 2 rooms, 1 kitchen, 1 (renovated) bathroom with <i>alafranga</i> type toilet</li> </ul> |
| Bathroom Use Scenario                                                                                                                      | <p>Performs ablution during shower.<br/>Long showers or baths.<br/>Loves to sign in the shower.<br/>Long duration of toilet use.<br/>Reading, smoking, using smart phone, laptop computer on the toilet.<br/>Doing the laundry/washing machine.<br/>Depot for all bathroom and cleaning related things.</p>                                                                                                                              |
| Cleaning of the Bathroom                                                                                                                   | <p>Cleans at weekends.<br/>Washes its floor.<br/>Pours bleach into the toilet every day.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Frustrations related to Bathroom                                                                                                           | <p>Slippery surface of acrylic shower basins.<br/>Feels claustrophobic in small shower stalls.<br/>Hard water spots and stains on the shower cabin walls and door.<br/>Ineffective suction cup hooks.<br/>Limitations due to being a tenant.<br/>Humidity.</p>                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Types of Appropriations                                                                                                                    | <p>Utilitarian appropriations<br/>Tenants' appropriations<br/>Social appropriations</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Extension of the Bathroom                                                                                                                  | No.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| Desires/Ideal Bathroom                                                                                                                     | <p>Extra toilet room.<br/>Light colours, white, bright and well-planned space, no tiles, wood flooring, wallpapered, many mirrors, big cupboards.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |

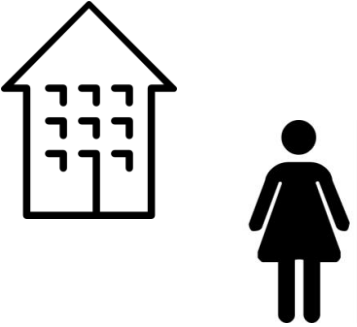
### 5.1.6 Interviewee 3 (age 31)

Interviewee 3 lives in Bostanlı. She lives in an apartment flat. She is 31 years old; she is a university graduate and works as an investment support office expert in a regional development agency. She is single and lives alone. Her monthly income is 4250 TL. She is a owner-occupier and the flat has 3 rooms, 1 kitchen, 1 bathroom with toilet (*alafranga* type) and 1 toilet room (*alaturka* type). The building is 30 years old, and she bought the flat and moved in five years ago. The bathroom was renovated right before she moved in by the previous owner-occupier, though the toilet room was not and she did not renovate it either; she uses it as a depot. Figure 5.6 shows the general view and layout of her bathroom. Table 5.8 displays the persona of Interviewee 3.



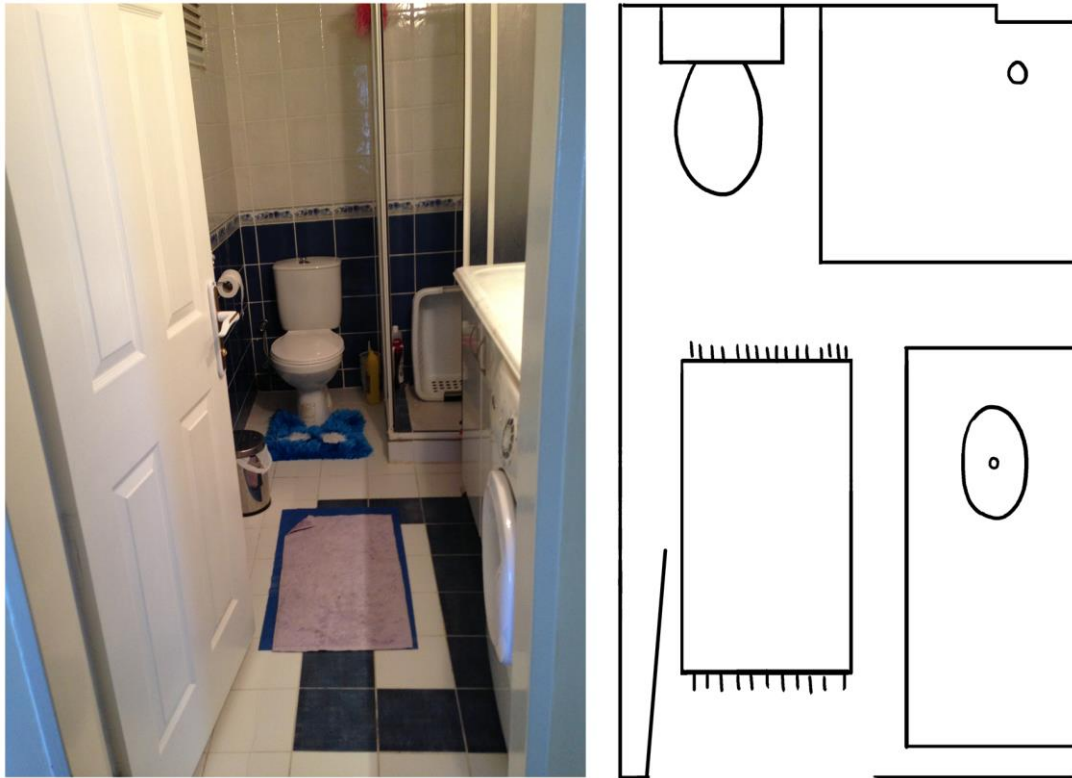
**Figure 5.6 :** General view and layout of bathroom – Interviewee 3.

**Table 5.8 : Persona of Interviewee 3.**

|                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p><b>Interviewee #3 – age 31<br/>(born in 1982)</b></p>  | <p><b>Background Information</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Single</li> <li>– Lives in Bostanlı</li> <li>– Owner-occupier</li> <li>– Works as an Investment Support Expert in a Regional Development Agency</li> <li>– University graduate</li> <li>– Monthly income is 4250 TL</li> <li>– The flat has 3 rooms, 1 kitchen, 1 (renovated) bathroom with <i>alafranga</i> type toilet and 1 toilet room (<i>alaturka</i> type)</li> </ul> |
| Bathroom Use Scenario                                                                                                                      | <p>Quick showers.<br/>Listens to music and sings during showers.<br/>Use of smart phone and reading on the toilet.<br/>Doing the laundry/washing machine.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Cleaning of the Bathroom                                                                                                                   | <p>Cleaning the toilet bowl once in 3 days.<br/>Practical cleaning practices/tools especially for toilet bowl.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Frustrations related to Bathroom                                                                                                           | <p>Fallen hair on the floor mat.<br/>Hair on the drains.<br/>Spots on the mirror.<br/>Bathroom noises being heard from her bedroom.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Types of Appropriations                                                                                                                    | <p>Utilitarian appropriations<br/>Social appropriations</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Extension of the Bathroom                                                                                                                  | <p>Yes: Closed balcony and toilet room.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Desires/Ideal Bathroom                                                                                                                     | <p>Sound insulation.<br/>Spacious, light colours, daylight, real plants, forest scented, shower and bathtub, no toilet bowl.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |

### 5.1.7 Interviewee 4 (age 46)

Interviewee 4 lives in Evka 3. She lives in an apartment flat. She is 46 years old; she is an elementary school graduate and she is a housewife. She is divorced with two adults, a son (22) and a daughter (18). Her monthly income is 1500 TL. She is a owner-occupier and the flat has 4 rooms, 1 kitchen, 1 bathroom with toilet (*alafranga* type) and 1 toilet room (*alafranga* type). She guesses the age of the building as 15, and they moved in 4 years ago. The bathroom and the toilet room were new when they moved in and nothing has been changed since then. Figure 5.7 shows the general view and layout of her bathroom. Table 5.9 displays the persona of Interviewee 4.



**Figure 5.7 :** General view and layout of bathroom – Interviewee 4.

**Table 5.9 : Persona of Interviewee 4.**

|                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p><b>Interviewee #4 – age 46</b><br/>(born in 1967)</p>  | <p><b>Background Information</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Divorced &amp; has two children; a son (22) and a daughter (18)</li> <li>– Lives in Evka 3</li> <li>– Owner-occupier</li> <li>– Housewife</li> <li>– Elementary School graduate</li> <li>– Monthly income is 1500 TL</li> <li>– The flat has 4 rooms, 1 kitchen, 1 bathroom with <i>alafranga</i> type toilet and 1 toilet room (<i>alafranga</i> type)</li> </ul> |
| Bathroom Use Scenario                                                                                                                      | <p>Performing ablution during the day.<br/>Performing ablution during shower.<br/>Smokes on the toilet.<br/>Soaking stained clothes in water.<br/>Doing the laundry/washing machine.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Cleaning of the Bathroom                                                                                                                   | <p>Cleans on Mondays.<br/>Quick cleaning every other day.<br/>Cleans after his son.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Frustrations related to Bathroom                                                                                                           | <p>Fallen hair.<br/>Hard water spots and stains on the shower cabin walls and door.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Types of Appropriations                                                                                                                    | <p>Utilitarian appropriations<br/>Social appropriations</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| Extension of the Bathroom                                                                                                                  | <p>Yes: A cabinet in a room.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Desires/Ideal Bathroom                                                                                                                     | <p>Shower cabins with massage jets.<br/>A storeroom space in the bathroom.<br/>Useful space, many cupboards.<br/>Shiny surfaces.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |

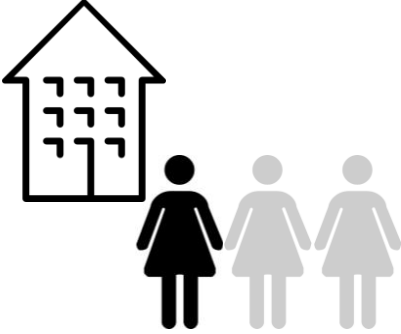
### 5.1.8 Interviewee 5 (age 26)

Interviewee 5 lives in Bornova. She lives in an apartment flat. She is 26 years old; she is a university graduate and works in a private company in location and commerce business. She lives with her two female housemates (26 and 27 years old). They are all partnered and, from time to time, their partners stay at their place. The total income of the house is about 6000 TL. They are tenants and the flat has 4 rooms, 1 kitchen, 1 bathroom with toilet (*alafranga* type) and 1 toilet room (*alafranga* type). She does not know the age of the building. She moved in 1.5 years ago. She does not know the renovation history of the bathroom but she knows that nothing has been changed since she has moved in. Figure 5.8 shows the general view and layout of her bathroom. Table 5.10 displays the persona of Interviewee 5.



**Figure 5.8 :** General view and layout of bathroom – Interviewee 5.

**Table 5.10 : Persona of Interviewee 5.**

|                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p><b>Interviewee #5 – age 26<br/>(born in 1987)</b></p>  | <p><b>Background Information</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Lives with two female housemates; (26 and 27 years old)</li> <li>– Lives in Bornova</li> <li>– Tenant</li> <li>– Works in a Private Company in Location and Commerce Business</li> <li>– University graduate</li> <li>– Monthly income is 6000 TL (in total)</li> <li>– The flat has 4 rooms, 1 kitchen, 1 bathroom with <i>alafranga</i> type toilet and 1 toilet room (<i>alafranga</i> type)</li> </ul> |
| Bathroom Use Scenario                                                                                                                      | <p>Frequent use of the toilet.<br/>Listens to music if not in a rush.<br/>Partial bathing; washing body parts.<br/>Soaking white clothes in water.<br/>Washing bras by hand in plastic washbasin.<br/>Doing the laundry/washing machine.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Cleaning of the Bathroom                                                                                                                   | <p>Once in 15 days.<br/>They do the cleaning all together; bathroom is her share.<br/>Pours bleach everywhere in the bathroom for cleaning.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Frustrations related to Bathroom                                                                                                           | <p>Untidiness.<br/>Spots on the mirror.<br/>Dust on the counter.<br/>Hair on the shower drain.<br/>Shower cabin doors left open.<br/>Bathroom noises being heard from her bedroom.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Types of Appropriations                                                                                                                    | <p>Utilitarian appropriations<br/>Tenants' appropriations<br/>Social appropriations</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Extension of the Bathroom                                                                                                                  | <p>Yes: Closed balcony.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Desires/Ideal Bathroom                                                                                                                     | <p>Music.<br/>Shower cabins with massage jets.<br/>Useful bathroom.<br/>Cupboard sets/systems.<br/>Big washbasin, wide mirror.<br/>No laundry related things.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |

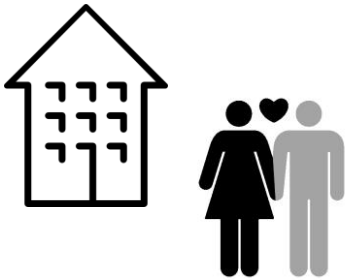
### 5.1.9 Interviewee 6 (age 33)

Interviewee 6 lives in Göztepe. She lives in an apartment flat. She is 33 years old; she is a university graduate and works in a private company as customer service expert. She lives with her husband. Her husband is 33 years old; he is a university graduate and he is a civil engineer. They are newly weds. Their monthly income is 5000 TL. They are owner-occupiers and the flat has 4 rooms, 1 kitchen, 1 bathroom with toilet (*alafranga* type) and 1 laundry room. She says the building is 25 years old and they bought the flat and moved in one year ago. They completely renovated the house thus the bathroom right before they moved in. They also converted the *alaturka* type toilet room into a laundry room during renovation. Figure 5.9 shows the general view and layout of her bathroom. Table 5.11 displays the persona of Interviewee 6.



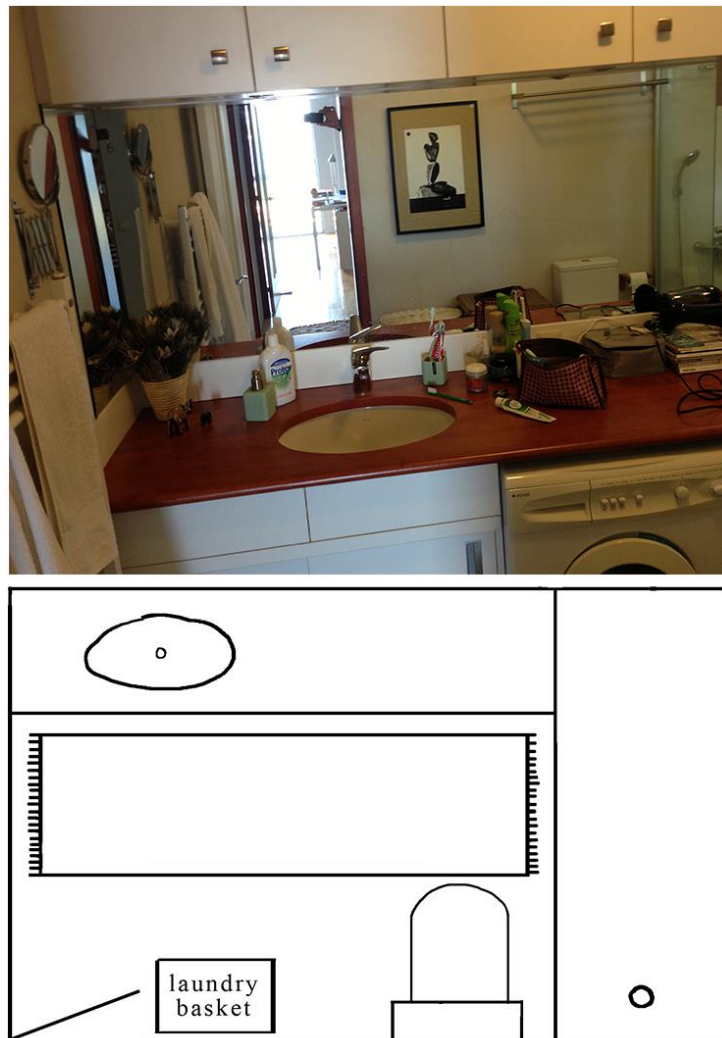
**Figure 5.9 :** General view and layout of bathroom – Interviewee 6.

**Table 5.11 : Persona of Interviewee 6.**

|                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p><b>Interviewee #6 – age 33<br/>(born in 1980)</b></p>  | <p><b>Background Information</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Newlyweds</li> <li>– Lives in Göztepe</li> <li>– Owner-occupier</li> <li>– Works in a Private Company as Customer Service Expert</li> <li>– University graduate</li> <li>– Monthly income is 5000 TL (in total)</li> <li>– The flat has 4 rooms, 1 kitchen, 1 (renovated) bathroom with <i>alafranga</i> type toilet and 1 (renovated) laundry room</li> </ul> |
| Bathroom Use Scenario                                                                                                                      | <p>Partial bathing; washing body parts.<br/>Listening to music during shower.<br/>Using smart phone on the toilet.<br/>Reading on the toilet.<br/>Facial care, hair care.<br/>Soaking/washing clothes in water in plastic washbasin.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| Cleaning of the Bathroom                                                                                                                   | <p>Once in 15 days.<br/>Gets help from a cleaning lady.<br/>She cleans the spots on the mirror.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Frustrations related to Bathroom                                                                                                           | <p>Untidiness.<br/>Hard water spots and stains on the transparent shower cabin walls.<br/>Wet floor. Wet floor mat.<br/>Hot in summer.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Types of Appropriations                                                                                                                    | <p>Utilitarian appropriations<br/>Social appropriations</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Extension of the Bathroom                                                                                                                  | <p>Yes: The laundry room.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Desires/Ideal Bathroom                                                                                                                     | <p>Double washbasin.<br/>Jacuzzi.<br/>Vintage porcelain washtub.<br/>Bamboo bench.<br/>Urinal.<br/>Toilet space should be divided by a wall/screen.<br/>Real plants.<br/>Books and magazines.<br/>A big window and day light<br/>Music</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                   |

#### 5.1.10 Interviewee 7 (age 42)

Interviewee 7 lives in Urla. She lives in a three-storey house with a garden. She is 42 years old; she is a university graduate and works as an academician in a state university. She lives with her husband and they have a dog. Her husband is 44 years old; he is a university graduate and he is an insurer. Their monthly income is 5000 TL. They are owner-occupiers and the house has 6 rooms, 1 kitchen, 2 bathrooms with toilet (*alafranga* type) and 3 toilet rooms (*alafranga* type). The building is about 10 years old. Her father has completely redesigned the interior of the house two years ago and they moved in right after the renovation. Figure 5.10 shows the general view and layout of the bathrooms. Table 5.12 displays the persona of Interviewee 7.



**Figure 5.10 :** General view and layout of bathroom – Interviewee 7.

**Table 5.12 : Persona of Interviewee 7.**

|                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p><b>Interviewee #7 – age 42<br/>(born in 1971)</b></p>  | <p><b>Background Information</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Married</li> <li>– Has a Dog</li> <li>– Lives in Urla</li> <li>– Owner-occupier</li> <li>– Works as an Academician in a State University</li> <li>– University graduate</li> <li>– Monthly income is 5000 TL (in total)</li> <li>– The three-storey house has 6 rooms, 1 kitchen, 2 bathrooms with <i>alafranga</i> type toilet and 3 toilet rooms (<i>alafranga</i> type)</li> </ul> |
| Bathroom Use Scenario                                                                                                                      | <p>Likes to spend time in the bathroom, like a living room.<br/>Short durations of shower.<br/>Frequent use of toilet.<br/>Long durations of toilet use.<br/>Make up.<br/>Washes the dog once in a year in the shower cabin.<br/>Uses the plastic washbasin for stained clothes.<br/>Doing the laundry/washing machine.</p>                                                                                                                                         |
| Cleaning of the Bathroom                                                                                                                   | <p>Gets help from a cleaning lady.<br/>Brushes the toilet after use.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Frustrations related to Bathroom                                                                                                           | <p>Wet floor mat.<br/>Residues in the washbasin.<br/>Humidity.<br/>Using the bathroom right after someone's shower.<br/>Hearing others' bathroom noises.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Types of Appropriations                                                                                                                    | <p>Utilitarian appropriations<br/>Social appropriations</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Extension of the Bathroom                                                                                                                  | <p>Yes: A cabinet and toilet room.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Desires/Ideal Bathroom                                                                                                                     | <p>A bathroom for her use only.<br/>Or, double washbasin, double shower cabin in one bathroom space.<br/>A special space for the house cleaning tools.<br/>Laptop/Tablet computer stand.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |

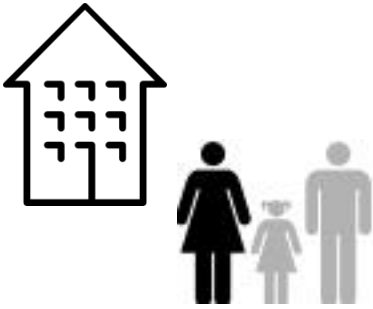
#### 5.1.11 Interviewee 8 (age 39)

Interviewee 8 lives in Narlıdere. She lives in an apartment building. She is 39 years old; she is a university graduate and works as an academician in a state university. She is married and has a 10-year-old daughter. Her husband is 41 years old; he is a university graduate. He is an industrial engineer, works as a manager in a plant. Their monthly income is about 10.000 TL. They are owner-occupiers and the house has 4 rooms, 1 kitchen and 2 bathrooms with toilet (*alafranga* type). The building is seven years old. They are the first owners of the flat and they have not changed anything in the bathrooms since they have moved in, but she says that they are eager to do some renovation in the bathrooms. Figure 5.11 shows the general view and layout of the bathrooms. Table 5.13 displays the persona of Interviewee 8.



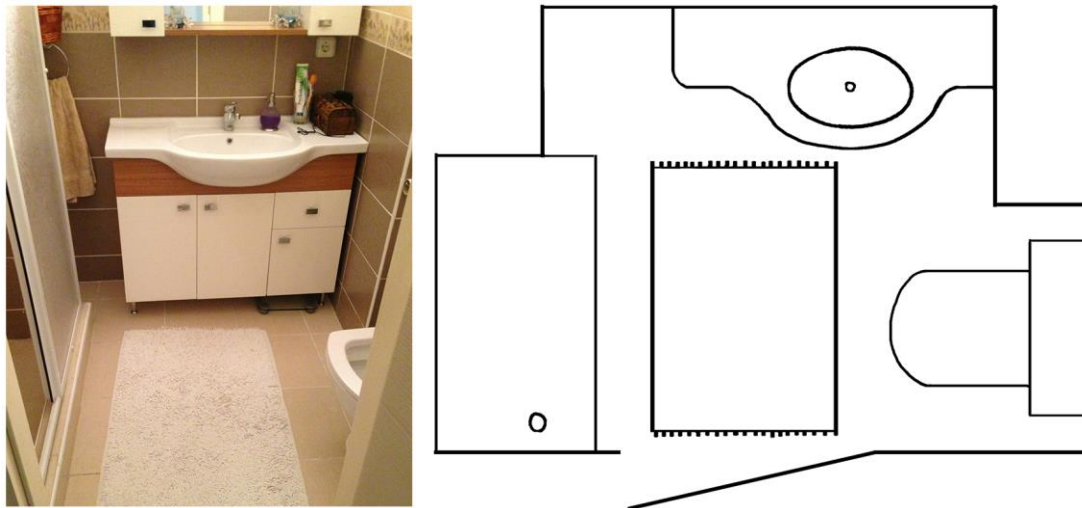
**Figure 5.11 :** General view and layout of bathroom – Interviewee 8.

**Table 5.13 : Persona of Interviewee 8.**

|                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p><b>Interviewee #8 – age 39</b><br/>(born in 1974)</p>  | <p><b>Background Information</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Married with 10-year-old daughter</li> <li>– Lives in Narlıdere</li> <li>– Owner-occupier</li> <li>– Works as an Academician in a State University</li> <li>– University graduate</li> <li>– Monthly income is 10.000 TL (in total)</li> <li>– The flat has 4 rooms, 1 kitchen, 2 bathrooms with toilets (<i>alafranga</i> type)</li> </ul> |
| Bathroom Use Scenario                                                                                                                      | <p>Partial cleaning of the body.<br/>Sometimes sings in the shower<br/>Long durations of toilet use.<br/>Reads magazine on the toilet.<br/>Washing the daughter and playing with her.<br/>Hair care, hair dye.<br/>Uses the plastic washbasin for stained clothes.<br/>Doing the laundry/washing machine.</p>                                                                                                             |
| Cleaning of the Bathroom                                                                                                                   | <p>Gets help from a cleaning lady.<br/>Cleans the shower cabin after 3-4 uses.<br/>Cleans her husbands' toilet once every other day.<br/>Pours bleach into the toilets every other day.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Frustrations related to Bathroom                                                                                                           | <p>Wet floor mat and wet foot towel.<br/>In-organisation.<br/>Disharmony.<br/>Décor elements getting dusty.<br/>Drying the bathrobes.<br/>Low quality fixtures, materials and infrastructure.<br/>The bad smells and cigarette smell coming through the window.</p>                                                                                                                                                       |
| Types of Appropriations                                                                                                                    | <p>Utilitarian appropriations<br/>Social appropriations</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Extension of the Bathroom                                                                                                                  | <p>Yes: The balcony.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Desires/Ideal Bathroom                                                                                                                     | <p>No thresholds, zero-level elevation, inclined floor and wide floor drains.<br/>Double washbasin and double shower cabin in one bathroom space. Taking shower simultaneously.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |

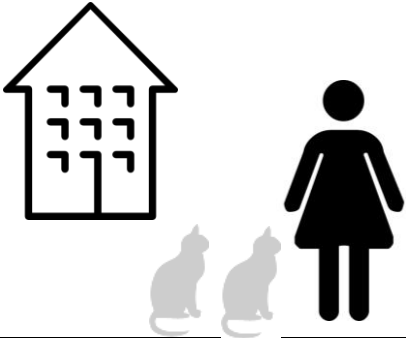
### 5.1.12 Interviewee 9 (age 38)

Interviewee 9 lives in Bahçelievler. She lives in an apartment building. She is 38 years old; she is a university graduate and owns a travel agency. She is single. She lives with her two cats. Her monthly income is about 9000 TL. She is owner-occupier and the house has 3 rooms, 1 kitchen, 1 bathroom with toilet (*alafranga* type) and 1 laundry room. The building is 25 years old. She bought the flat about two months ago. For that period her brother lived in the flat. Then he moved out since he was getting married. Interviewee 9 moved in 15 days ago. She has not done any changes to the flat since the previous owner of the house has renovated the flat (including the bathroom) before she bought it. The *alaturka* toilet room was converted to a laundry room and she uses it that way as well. Figure 5.12 shows the general view and layout of her bathroom. Table 5.14 displays the persona of Interviewee 9.



**Figure 5.12 :** General view and layout of bathroom – Interviewee 9.

**Table 5.14 : Persona of Interviewee 9.**

|                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p><b>Interviewee #9 – age 38</b><br/>(born in 1975)</p>  | <p><b>Background Information</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Single</li> <li>– Has two cats</li> <li>– Lives in Bahçelievler</li> <li>– Owner-occupier</li> <li>– Owns a Travel Agency</li> <li>– University graduate</li> <li>– Monthly income is 9000 TL</li> <li>– The flat has 3 rooms, 1 kitchen, 1 (renovated) bathroom with <i>alafranga</i> type toilet and 1 (renovated) laundry room</li> </ul> |
| <p>Bathroom Use Scenario</p>                                                                                                               | <p>Quick showers, every morning and every evening.<br/>Make-up.<br/>Washes the cats once in 4 months in the shower cabin.<br/>Long duration of toilet use.<br/>Reads book, magazines on the toilet.<br/>Cats drink water from the washbasin faucet every morning.<br/>Charging the mobile phone.</p>                                                                                                                       |
| <p>Cleaning of the Bathroom</p>                                                                                                            | <p>Gets help from a cleaning lady.<br/>Cleans the toilet every other day.<br/>Vacuums the bathroom floor every evening due to cats.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <p>Frustrations related to Bathroom</p>                                                                                                    | <p>Seats in the bathing area.<br/>Others' hair in the drain.<br/>Shower cabin doors left open.<br/>Floor drain being in sight.<br/>Low water pressure.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <p>Types of Appropriations</p>                                                                                                             | <p>Utilitarian appropriations<br/>Social appropriations</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <p>Extension of the Bathroom</p>                                                                                                           | <p>Yes: Laundry room and drawers in a room.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <p>Desires/Ideal Bathroom</p>                                                                                                              | <p><i>Hamam</i>.<br/>Big counter with cupboards, double washbasin and double mirror.<br/>Wall-hang cupboards.<br/>A comfort spot for make-up.<br/>Everything related to cleaning should be able to be located in the bathroom space neatly, even the drying rack and ironing board.</p>                                                                                                                                    |

### 5.1.13 Interviewee 10 (age 49)

Interviewee 10 lives in Yeşilyurt. She lives in an apartment building. She is 49 years old; she is a university graduate but she has never performed her chemical engineering profession; she works as a cleaning lady. She is married and has one teen daughter (16) and one adult son (25). Her husband is 53 years old, he is elementary school graduate and he is self-employed. Their monthly income is about 3500 TL. They used to own the flat they are now living, however, due to the financial problems, they had to sell the flat, but continued to live in it as tenants. The house has 4 rooms, 1 kitchen, 1 bathroom with toilet (*alafranga* type) and 1 toilet room (*alafranga* type). She is not certain about the age of the building but she says she moved in in 1987 and the flat was new. Three or four years ago, the new owner of the flat renovated the bathroom due to the plumbing problem, though she is not content with the result. She says the wife of the owner renovated it according to her taste and the renovation has not been done in accordance with what they agreed on, even the wall tiles. Figure 5.13 shows the general view and layout of her bathroom. Table 5.15 displays the persona of Interviewee 10.



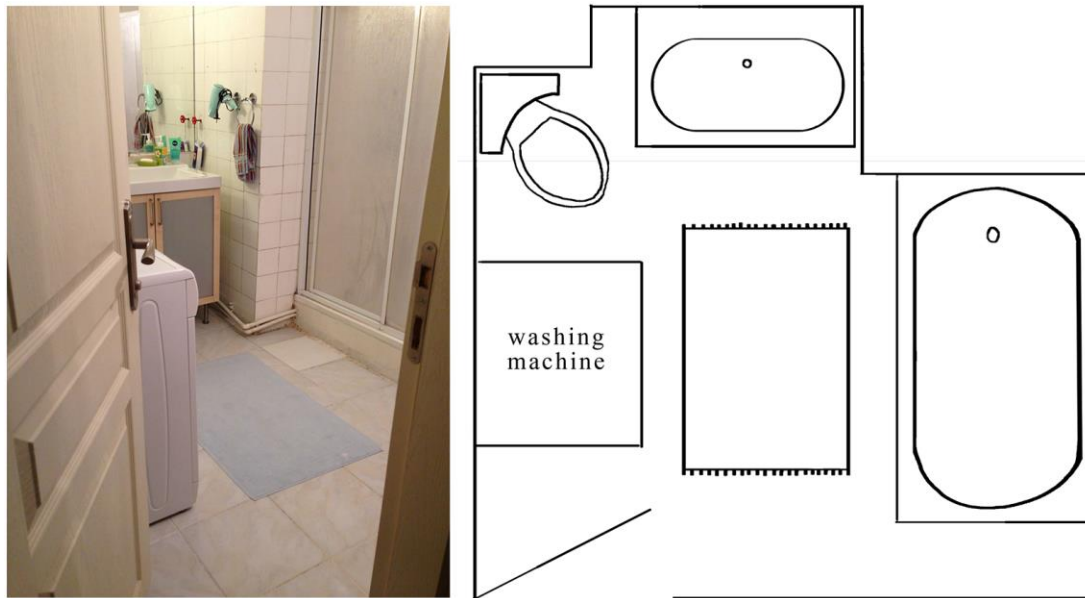
**Figure 5.13 :** General view and layout of bathroom – Interviewee 10.

**Table 5.15 : Persona of Interviewee 10.**

|                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p><b>Interviewee #10 – age 49</b><br/><b>(born in 1964)</b></p>  | <p><b>Background Information</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Married with two children; one daughter (16) and one son (25)</li> <li>– Lives in Yeşilyurt</li> <li>– Tenant</li> <li>– Works as a Cleaning Lady</li> <li>– University graduate; but she has never performed her chemical engineering profession</li> <li>– Monthly income is 3500 TL (in total)</li> <li>– The flat has 4 rooms, 1 kitchen, 1 (renovated) bathroom with <i>alafranga</i> type toilet and 1 toilet room (<i>alafranga</i> type)</li> </ul> |
| Bathroom Use Scenario                                                                                                                              | <p>Showers in the evenings.<br/>Quick showers.<br/>Doing the laundry/washing machine.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Cleaning of the Bathroom                                                                                                                           | <p>Obsessed with its cleaning.<br/>Cleans in the evenings.<br/>Tidies up after others, if needed.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| Frustrations related to Bathroom                                                                                                                   | <p>Shower cabin doors left open.<br/>Low quality fixtures.<br/>Untidiness.<br/>Clutter.<br/>Nice looking but useless tools/elements.<br/>Voices coming through the window.<br/>Sewage smell.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Types of Appropriations                                                                                                                            | <p>Utilitarian appropriations<br/>Social appropriations</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Extension of the Bathroom                                                                                                                          | <p>Yes: Cellar, balcony and drawers in a room.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Desires/Ideal Bathroom                                                                                                                             | <p>Hilton bathroom/washbasin.<br/>Cupboards.<br/>White.<br/>Stylish tiles.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |

#### 5.1.14 Interviewee 11 (age 27)

Interviewee 11 lives in Üçkuyular. She lives in an apartment flat. She is 27 years old; she is a university graduate and works as a research assistant in a state university. She is single, however, her partner stays at her place time to time. Her monthly income is 2200 TL. She is tenant. The flat has 3 rooms, 1 kitchen and 1 bathroom with toilet (*alafranga* type). She thinks that the age of the building is between 20-25. She moved one year ago. The house has been renovated but not the bathroom. She says only the washbasin looks like it has been changed. She calls the bathroom the worst room of the flat. Figure 5.14 shows the general view and layout of her bathroom. Table 5.16 displays the persona of Interviewee 11.



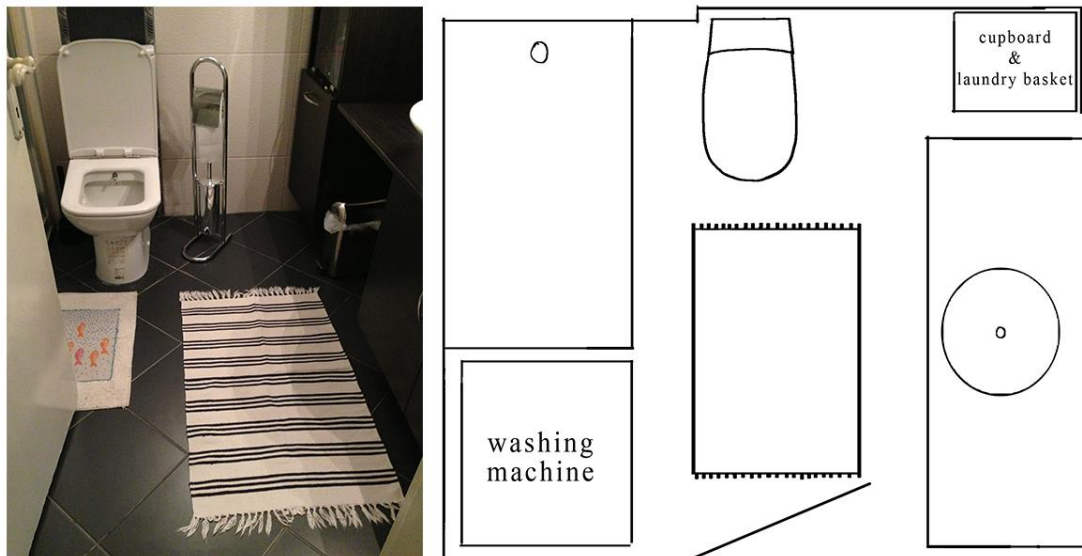
**Figure 5.14 :** General view and layout of bathroom – Interviewee 11.

**Table 5.16 : Persona of Interviewee 11.**

|                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p><b>Interviewee #11 – age 27<br/>(born in 1986)</b></p>  | <p><b>Background Information</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Partnered</li> <li>– Lives in Üçkuyular</li> <li>– Tenant</li> <li>– Research Assistant in a State University</li> <li>– University graduate</li> <li>– Her boyfriend stays at her place time to time</li> <li>– Monthly income is 2200 TL</li> <li>– The flat has 3 rooms, 1 kitchen, 1 bathroom with <i>alafranga</i> type toilet</li> </ul> |
| Bathroom Use Scenario                                                                                                                       | <p>Prefers showering in the evenings.<br/>Partial body cleaning.<br/>Listens to music while showering.<br/>Long durations of toilet use.<br/>Using smart phone on the toilet.<br/>Reading on the toilet.<br/>Hair care.<br/>Doing the laundry/washing machine.</p>                                                                                                                                                           |
| Cleaning of the Bathroom                                                                                                                    | <p>Cleans the washbasin 3 days in a week.<br/>Brushing the toilet bowl every day or every other day.<br/>Takes the fallen hair in the shower drain after every shower.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Frustrations related to Bathroom                                                                                                            | <p>Urine drops on the floor around the toilet bowl.<br/>Fallen hair in the shower drain.<br/>Soot coming from the funnel.<br/>Limitations of being a tenant.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Types of Appropriations                                                                                                                     | <p>Utilitarian appropriations<br/>Tenants' appropriations<br/>Social appropriations</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| Extension of the Bathroom                                                                                                                   | <p>Yes: A cabinet in a room.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Desires/Ideal Bathroom                                                                                                                      | <p>White or light colours.<br/>Space around the toilet bowl.<br/>Music.<br/>Spacious shower cabin.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |

### 5.1.15 Interviewee 12 (age 58)

Interviewee 12 lives in Göztepe. She lives in an apartment flat. She is 58 years old; she is a university graduate and retired bank manager. She is married. Her husband is 58 years old and university graduate as well. He is a ship captain; he spends half of the year at home and half abroad/on the sea. They have two adult sons who leave on their own. The monthly income is about 15.000 TL. They are owner-occupiers. The flat has 4 rooms, 1 kitchen, 1 bathroom with toilet (*alafranga* type) and 1 toilet room (*alafranga* type). She uses the toilet room as a depot. She thinks that the age of the building is between 20-25. They moved in in 2000. She completely renovated the bathroom in 2007. Her husband was abroad during the renovation period, but her son helped her. She says, during the renovation, they had too many problems regarding the infrastructure and plumbing system, she also complains about the incompetence of the plumbers and repairmen. Due to all these, she says, a type of continuous construction situation occurred even after the renovation. Figure 5.15 shows the general view and layout of her bathroom. Table 5.17 displays the persona of Interviewee 12.



**Figure 5.15 :** General view and layout of bathroom – Interviewee 12.

**Table 5.17 : Persona of Interviewee 12.**

|                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p><b>Interviewee #12 – age 58</b><br/>(born in 1955)</p>  | <p><b>Background Information</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Empty Nester</li> <li>– Lives in Yeşilyurt</li> <li>– Owner-occupier</li> <li>– Retired Bank Manager</li> <li>– University graduate</li> <li>– Monthly income is 15.000 TL (in total)</li> <li>– The flat has 4 rooms, 1 kitchen, 1 (renovated) bathroom with <i>alafranga</i> type toilet and 1 toilet room (<i>alafranga</i> type)</li> </ul> |
| Bathroom Use Scenario                                                                                                                       | Partial body cleaning.<br>Doing the laundry/washing machine.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Cleaning of the Bathroom                                                                                                                    | Practical, daily cleaning tools.<br>Cleans the shower drain after every shower.<br>Wipes the washbasin after every use.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| Frustrations related to Bathroom                                                                                                            | Residues in the washbasin.<br>Hard water spots and stains.<br>Dust.<br>Untidiness.<br>Unskilled workmen.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| Types of Appropriations                                                                                                                     | Utilitarian appropriations<br>Social appropriations                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Extension of the Bathroom                                                                                                                   | Yes: Toilet room, cellar, drawers in a room.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Desires/Ideal Bathroom                                                                                                                      | Bigger bathroom, minimum 20 meter square.<br>Window looking outside not light well.<br>Jacuzzi apart from shower cabin.<br>Real plants.<br>Décor elements.<br>Small massage platform made of marble.<br>Light colours, bright space.<br>Wood flooring.<br>Music.                                                                                                                                                              |

## 5.2 Contemporary Bathroom Practices

According to the data I gathered through the inquiries, my interviewees and their family members perform the following practices in their bathrooms:

- Applying lotion/cream on the body, face
- Bathing
- Brushing hair
- Brushing teeth
- Cleaning the bathroom
- Cleaning oneself after urination/defecation
- Cleaning make-up
- Cleaning some household products
- Cleaning the cleaning products: plastic bucket, plastic washtub, mop, brush, cloth, sponge
- Defecating
- Doing a facial
- Doing laundry: by washing machine, by hand
- Drinking tea/coffee
- Drying: towels, bathrobe, clothes, underwear, wiping cloths, cleaning cloths
- Drying hair
- Dying hair
- Epilation (women)
- Following news/social media: through smart phone, laptop computer, tablet computer
- Getting rid of the dirty water during the cleaning of the house
- Giving a bath to children
- Giving a bath to pets
- Keeping dirty laundry
- Lighting candle
- Listening to music
- Looking at the mirror
- Masturbation
- Performing ablution
- Playing games: through mobile phone, through smart phone

- Putting on and taking off contact lenses
- Putting on make-up
- Reading: book, magazine, newspaper, comics
- Shaping hair
- Shaving legs, face, hair (women and men)
- Showering
- Singing
- Smoking
- Soaking white clothes/stained clothes in water
- Solving crossword puzzle
- Spraying room odour
- Storing: detergents, spares, cleaning products, cleaning cloths, water, cosmetics, personal care products
- Surfing the internet: through smart phone, laptop computer, tablet computer
- Talking on the phone
- Taking clean water during the cleaning of the house
- Using laptop computer, tablet computer
- Urinating
- Vomiting
- Washing only the body
- Washing feet
- Washing hair
- Washing hands, mouth, face
- Watching TV
- Wiping body parts with wet wipes
- Weighing oneself

A space is defined with the activities performed in that space and the objects related with these activities. Since the contemporary ‘bath-room’ embodies the idea of bathing, activities related to body cleaning are the main ones that the space itself comprises. Besides body cleaning, activities related to elimination, personal care, ablution, house care, children care, pet care and storage are some of the other main

activities performed by my interviewees. Following sections give details about these activities.<sup>38</sup>

### 5.2.1 Cleaning the body

It comes as no surprise that all the interviewees perform showering/bathing in the bathroom, but in their own ways and for their own reasons. When I asked the interviewees to tell their reasons for having a shower, it was not easy for them to articulate their reasons for this taken for granted activity:

Int.12- It is a habit in a way. I don't have reasons; I get in the shower when I feel the need. As I said, it is related with habits, I get in [the shower] the instant I feel uncomfortable.

According to the answers, the reasons for having a shower or a bath vary from feeling dirty to feeling tired. While generally feeling dirty and/or sweaty have been declared to be the reasons to clean the body, the data also shows that sometimes the motivation behind the urge to be clean is being physically around the people at work, or friends, mainly being in public. Most of the interviewees indicated that they and their partners have a shower before going out and/or going to work:

P.1- Sure, I certainly have a shower before going out. Husband- We do it in order not to smell bad to others.

Int.10- The aim of my husband is to go out clean and decent.

Int.12- My husband never goes out without having a shower and never gets in the bed without having a shower as well.

Other than that, some women indicated that they have a shower after doing some work at home (e.g. cleaning or cooking), especially during summer.

According to the data, the weather affects the reasons and the frequency of the showers.<sup>39</sup> All the interviewees acknowledged that their shower routine is affected by the weather conditions; some told that going out in the summer means having a shower when they come back home, most of them told that they take showers more

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<sup>38</sup> A table showing the distribution of these activities among the interviewees is presented in Appendix D.

<sup>39</sup> The average maximum temperatures (°C) in İzmir in summer between years 1954 and 2013: June 30.8, July 33.2, August 32.8. The average minimum temperatures (°C) in İzmir in summer between years 1954 and 2013: June 20.0, July 22.6, August 22.5. <http://www.dmi.gov.tr/veridegerlendirme/il-ve-ilceler-istatistik.aspx?m=IZMIR>

frequently in the summer than in the winter, and some told that in the winter, in order not to catch a cold, they do not prefer morning showers before going out for work.

The answers of the interviewees reflect that the relationship between water and people varies; while some interviewees prefer having a shower to relax when they feel ill, tired or have a headache, some avoid showers in such situations. Although, not all the interviewees specifically indicated that they like having shower or being under the water, only one interviewee indicated that she does not like being under the water much. Some justified showering with the feeling of regeneration, as it is something more than cleaning. Only one interviewee told that she has shower after sexual intercourse and she sometimes takes shower only to masturbate, and one interviewee told that in the past, she cried in the shower once or twice. Besides, Interviewee 7 and Interviewee 8 have shower after defecation since they do not use the nozzle of the toilet bowl.

Consequently, the interviewees use the water and the showering activity for various purposes, however, it is obvious that people use the water to alter a situation; from dirty to clean, from tired to relax, from feeling bad to feeling good etc. In this sense, the expression of Interviewee 7 explains the reason of having shower in general;

Int.7- To get rid of sweat, cleaning, to wake up... In order to pass from one phase to another.

The data also shows that, apart from the reasons, the way of having a shower or a bath also varies among interviewees. For instance, while Pilot 1, Pilot 2 and Pilot 3 prefer sitting while bathing, the rest prefer standing (Table 5.18). The ages of Pilot 1, Pilot 2 and Pilot 3 and their partners might be seen as the reason of 'sit and bath', since they are all over the age 60, but as they state, they have always preferred sitting while bathing in their lives.

**Table 5.18 : Ways of bathing of all the interviewees.**

| Interviewee # (age) | Way of Bathing |        |
|---------------------|----------------|--------|
|                     | Sits           | Stands |
| P. 1 (64)           |                |        |
| P. 2 (63)           |                |        |
| P. 3 (66)           |                |        |
| Int. 1 (33)         |                |        |
| Int. 2 (30)         |                |        |
| Int. 3 (31)         |                |        |
| Int. 4 (46)         |                |        |
| Int. 5 (26)         |                |        |
| Int. 6 (33)         |                |        |
| Int. 7 (42)         |                |        |
| Int. 8 (39)         |                |        |
| Int. 9 (38)         |                |        |
| Int. 10 (49)        |                |        |
| Int. 11 (27)        |                |        |
| Int. 12 (58)        |                |        |

Although they stand while they are having a shower at their own bathrooms, Interviewee 6 and Interviewee 11 say that, due to the bathroom setting, they sit and bath when they stay at their parents' houses as they used to do in the past, and they both say they like it but they do not long for it today. Such cases might be related to the feelings of nostalgia or might be due to the easy-going personalities since they do the opposite at their own places. For example, although she is easy with sit and bath, Interviewee 6 has not designed their bathroom convenient for 'sit and bath'. She and her husband prefer standing while having a shower in the shower cabin. She says it is more practical and most of the time they are in a rush to go out or catch up with something.

Furthermore, Interviewee 12 also indicates that, before the renovation of their bathroom, she used to mix the water in a plastic bucket and sit on a plastic stool in the bathtub time to time and have long baths by pouring water with a cup, but now she stands while having a shower in the shower cabin and prefers going to *hamam* on a regular basis.<sup>40</sup>

Apart from having a bath or a shower, from time to time, some interviewees wash only their hair, only their body or only feet (Table 5.19). There are various reasons

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<sup>40</sup> According to Ürer's (2002) study there are 11 *hamams* in operation in İzmir in 2002.

for the partial body cleaning. For instance, Interviewee 4 and Interviewee 5 wash only hair during cold weather (in winter), but rarely. Interviewee 5 says that they (she and her housemates) bend over the bathtub to wash their hair only. The son and the daughter of Interviewee 11 wash only hair to shape it, by bending over the washbasin.

**Table 5.19 : Partial body cleaning (includes family members).**

| Interviewee # (age) | Partial Body Cleaning |           |           |
|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|
|                     | Hair Only             | Body Only | Feet Only |
| P. 1 (64)           |                       |           |           |
| P. 2 (63)           |                       |           |           |
| P. 3 (66)           |                       |           |           |
| Int. 1 (33)         |                       |           |           |
| Int. 2 (30)         |                       |           |           |
| Int. 3 (31)         |                       |           |           |
| Int. 4 (46)         |                       |           |           |
| Int. 5 (26)         |                       |           |           |
| Int. 6 (33)         |                       |           |           |
| Int. 7 (42)         |                       |           |           |
| Int. 8 (39)         |                       |           |           |
| Int. 9 (38)         |                       |           |           |
| Int. 10 (49)        |                       |           |           |
| Int. 11 (27)        |                       |           |           |
| Int. 12 (58)        |                       |           |           |

As to washing only the body, most of the women's reason is to save time when they are in a rush since drying and/or shaping hair takes time:

Int.8 (39): [I do wash only my body] if I am to go out immediately, if the weather is cold, if my hair is done, since shaping hair is a problem for me.

The practice of washing only the body is not performed only in winter, but also in the hot summer days of İzmir. Women say that they feel the need to shower frequently during summer, but if their hair is shaped recently they do not want to spoil it. Further, some of them believe that washing frequently is not good for the hair; therefore, they do not wash their hair in every shower. As they mostly indicate, their partners (men) do not have such concerns and they can have quick showers at all times, as a matter of fact, through the interview data, it occurs that partners (men) of my interviewees spend less time in the shower.

Addition to the above reasons, one of the interviewees washes only her body after having sex at night and after defecation since she does not like to use the nozzle of the toilet bowl.

Apart from these, as a substitute for showering, Pilot 2 wipes her body parts (armpits, neck etc.) with wet wipes if she has no time for showering and she needs to go out right off.

The last partial body cleaning practice that the data reveals is washing only the feet which the interviewees associate with the need to cool the body in hot weather, with the fresh feeling it gives before going to bed or to clean the feet in summer after arriving home, since sandals or flats are mostly worn by women.

The interview questions also included if they sing and/or listen to music during shower. The data shows that children of the families (the daughters of Interviewee 4 and Interviewee 10) like to sing and/or listen to music during shower, and some interviewees under age 40 as well (Table 5.20). They listen to music via smart phones. Deriving from the statements of my interviewees, considering the practice of listening to music in the shower, the smart phones have replaced the conventional radio.

**Table 5.20 :** Listening to music/singing in the shower (includes family members).

| Interviewee # (age) | Music in the Shower |                    |
|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
|                     | Singing             | Listening to Music |
| P. 1 (64)           |                     |                    |
| P. 2 (63)           |                     |                    |
| P. 3 (66)           |                     |                    |
| Int. 1 (33)         |                     |                    |
| Int. 2 (30)         |                     |                    |
| Int. 3 (31)         |                     |                    |
| Int. 4 (46)         |                     |                    |
| Int. 5 (26)         |                     |                    |
| Int. 6 (33)         |                     |                    |
| Int. 7 (42)         |                     |                    |
| Int. 8 (39)         |                     |                    |
| Int. 9 (38)         |                     |                    |
| Int. 10 (49)        |                     |                    |
| Int. 11 (27)        |                     |                    |
| Int. 12 (58)        |                     |                    |

### 5.2.2 On the toilet

Using the toilet for urination and defecation is one of the main activities performed in the bathroom. Since the *alafranga* toilets in Turkey are produced with the integrated nozzle (the traditional cleansing element for toilet use), cleaning after urination/defecation with water via that nozzle is the termination activity of using the toilet. Although I did not specifically ask about the use of the nozzle during the interviews, as I mentioned before, Interviewee 7 and Interviewee 8 indicated that they do not use the nozzle for cleaning.

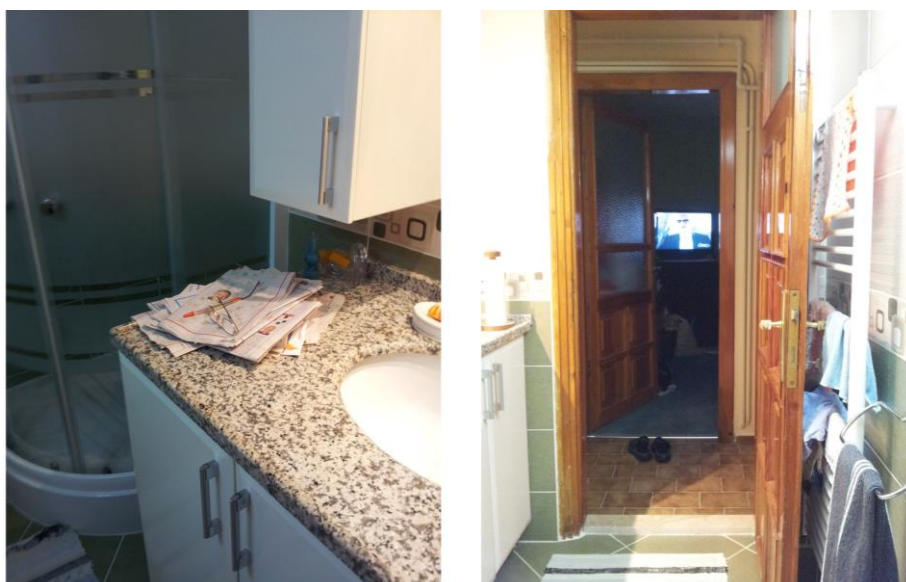
Using toilet paper for cleaning and/or drying after urination/defecation is also common activity, since, as I have seen, all interviewees locate toilet paper roll nearby their toilets, either on a toilet roll holder or on another surface.

All the interviewees have at least one *alafranga* type toilet at their houses. The data revealed that most of the interviewees and/or their partners sit for long durations (more than 10 minutes) on the toilet. These interviewees do some secondary activities while on the toilet in order to pass time, for self-entertainment or pleasure. Considering today's information technology, it is a common habit to take smart phones along the toilet. While sitting on the toilet, most of the interviewees and/or their partners prefer keeping their smart phone with them to follow social media, news or to play games since they spend long time (more than 10 minutes) on the toilet. Other than that, as Table 5.21 shows, some prefer reading printed material, some prefer smoking and some just quickly get in and out:

**Table 5.21 : Secondary activities on the toilet (includes family members).**

| Interviewee #<br>(age) | While on the Toilet            |                |                                  |                         |                                    |                                        |         |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|---------|
|                        | Solving<br>Crossword<br>Puzzle | Watching<br>TV | Reading<br>(Printed<br>Material) | Using<br>Smart<br>Phone | Taking<br>along<br>Mobile<br>Phone | Using<br>Laptop/<br>Tablet<br>Computer | Smoking |
| P. 1 (64)              |                                |                |                                  |                         |                                    |                                        |         |
| P. 2 (63)              |                                |                |                                  |                         |                                    |                                        |         |
| P. 3 (66)              |                                |                |                                  |                         |                                    |                                        |         |
| Int. 1 (33)            |                                |                |                                  |                         |                                    |                                        |         |
| Int. 2 (30)            |                                |                |                                  |                         |                                    |                                        |         |
| Int. 3 (31)            |                                |                |                                  |                         |                                    |                                        |         |
| Int. 4 (46)            |                                |                |                                  |                         |                                    |                                        |         |
| Int. 5 (26)            |                                |                |                                  |                         |                                    |                                        |         |
| Int. 6 (33)            |                                |                |                                  |                         |                                    |                                        |         |
| Int. 7 (42)            |                                |                |                                  |                         |                                    |                                        |         |
| Int. 8 (39)            |                                |                |                                  |                         |                                    |                                        |         |
| Int. 9 (38)            |                                |                |                                  |                         |                                    |                                        |         |
| Int. 10 (49)           |                                |                |                                  |                         |                                    |                                        |         |
| Int. 11 (27)           |                                |                |                                  |                         |                                    |                                        |         |
| Int. 12 (58)           |                                |                |                                  |                         |                                    |                                        |         |

- Pilot 1 solves crossword puzzles and watches the TV by keeping the bathroom door open. She says, during the bathroom renovation, she arranged the location of the toilet bowl such that she can watch the TV while on the toilet (Figure 5.16).



**Figure 5.16 : The crossword puzzles and the view of the toilet of Pilot 1**

- Interviewee 1 says that she does not spend much time on the toilet in general, and she did not have the habit of reading on the toilet, however, due to the Gezi Protests<sup>41</sup> and related events, now she takes along her smart phone on the toilet in order not to fall behind the news, and inevitably she stays longer now. She comments on her own activity: “Constant internet, information etc., everything is in front of us, when I go to the toilet I unplug the phone from charger, maybe we don’t want to be parted from [the information], I wonder, can it be due to loneliness? Is the break of the flow of the information uncomfortable?”
- Interviewee 2 takes her laptop computer or mobile phone or a magazine or a book to read on the toilet for this activity, which sometimes takes an hour, and she sometimes smokes on the toilet.
- Interviewee 3 says she sometimes has to stay long and she used to read comics, however, now she takes her smart phone with her to follow the news about the Gezi Protests.
- Interviewee 4 likes to smoke on the toilet.
- Interviewee 5 does not spend long time on the toilet but her partner does; he takes whatever he can such as tablet computer, smart phone or a magazine. Besides, one of her housemates smokes on the toilet and for this reason she uses the second toilet in the house not the one in the bathroom.
- Interviewee 6 and her husband both read and use smart phone on the toilet, but she indicates that he stays longer.
- The toilet activity is very important for Interviewee 7. She likes to think of the bathroom as a living room or a reading room: “After the breakfast, my husband leaves and my big time in the bathroom starts, I sit on the toilet. Like a living room, everybody knows about it, at least 10 or 15 minutes pass, sometimes it takes half an hour.” She stays long and she reads magazines, newspapers, uses laptop computer, tablet computer or smart phone. She indicates that the things she reads must not be ‘heavy’ stuff like the news or

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<sup>41</sup> The interviews were held during summer 2013, which corresponds to the Gezi Protests started on 31 May 2013 and went on for months spreading through the whole country.  
<http://www.bianet.org/english/youth/147428-a-graphic-history-of-the-gezi-resistance>

academic articles, otherwise her mind starts to think deeply and her bowel activity slows down. She prefers reading stuff that does not require too much focus of the mind such as the tabloid press or decoration magazines. She arranges the drawers in the bathroom such that she can use as a stand for her lap top computer (Figure 5.17).



**Figure 5.17 :** The toilet setting of Interviewee 7.

- Interviewee 8 reads magazine on the toilet regardless of the time she spends there; "I always take a magazine with me... It [her bathroom] feels like, a little space, a place for sort of solitude, under the cosy light, looking the decoration magazines constantly, a dream world... Looking at the same things again and again..." Her 10-year-old daughter does her homework, reads books or sometimes paints. Her husband only takes his mobile phone in case he needs to make a business related call.
- Interviewee 9 has to spend long time on the toilet due to constipation problem, since her doctor advises to do so. In order not to get bored she reads magazines, books or comics.
- Interviewee 10 says that only her husband and 25-year-old son stay long on the toilet. Her son reads newspaper on the toilet and her 16-year-old daughter takes her phone with her.
- Interviewee 11 used to play games on her old mobile phone but after owning the smart phone, she says she stays longer. She plays games, follows the news or social media through the smart phone. She also says that she and her partner read books or comics time to time.
- Interviewee 12 used to stay long in order to overcome her constipation problem, she used to read books or magazines, but since she does not have

the problem anymore she does not stay long and does not read anything on the toilet anymore. She says that sometimes, her husband reads newspaper on the toilet.

### **5.2.3 Personal care**

Other than the practices related to body cleaning and toilet use, the bathroom is used for personal care (grooming and beautification). The data shows that it is generally used for dying hair, hair care (drying, brushing, shaping), body care (applying creams/lotions, moisturizing, weighing oneself), doing facial (cleaning, applying masks, moisturising), make-up and epilation/shaving (Table 5.22). However, the realisation of these activities is directly related with the dimensions, physical condition, infrastructure and/or the organisation of the bathroom space. For instance, Interviewee 1 does not perform the activities that require good lighting like facial hair removal or applying facial in the bathroom, similarly, Interviewee 9 complains about the lighting of the bathroom, which does not enable her do the make-up comfortably; for now she does her make-up in the bedroom but she is planning to change the lighting in the bathroom. Similarly, Interviewee 3 does not prefer to perform the personal care activities in the bathroom due to the small dimensions of the space. Conversely, Interviewee 6 prefers the bathroom for such activities since the lighting is very good and there is a magnifying mirror.

**Table 5.22 : Personal care activities (includes family members).**

| Interviewee # (age) | Personal Care |                                                |                                          |        |         |                       |                                 |
|---------------------|---------------|------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|--------|---------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
|                     | Dying Hair    | Hair Care<br>(Drying/<br>Brushing/<br>Shaping) | Body Care<br>(Moisturising<br>/Weighing) | Facial | Make-up | Epilation/<br>Shaving | Putting on<br>Contact<br>Lenses |
| P. 1 (64)           |               |                                                |                                          |        |         |                       |                                 |
| P. 2 (63)           |               |                                                |                                          |        |         |                       |                                 |
| P. 3 (66)           |               |                                                |                                          |        |         |                       |                                 |
| Int. 1 (33)         |               |                                                |                                          |        |         |                       |                                 |
| Int. 2 (30)         |               |                                                |                                          |        |         |                       |                                 |
| Int. 3 (31)         |               |                                                |                                          |        |         |                       |                                 |
| Int. 4 (46)         |               |                                                |                                          |        |         |                       |                                 |
| Int. 5 (26)         |               |                                                |                                          |        |         |                       |                                 |
| Int. 6 (33)         |               |                                                |                                          |        |         |                       |                                 |
| Int. 7 (42)         |               |                                                |                                          |        |         |                       |                                 |
| Int. 8 (39)         |               |                                                |                                          |        |         |                       |                                 |
| Int. 9 (38)         |               |                                                |                                          |        |         |                       |                                 |
| Int. 10 (49)        |               |                                                |                                          |        |         |                       |                                 |
| Int. 11 (27)        |               |                                                |                                          |        |         |                       |                                 |
| Int. 12 (58)        |               |                                                |                                          |        |         |                       |                                 |

Interviewee 8 does her hair care and dyes her hair in their bigger bathroom rather than the parent's bathroom in their bedroom, which she loves and calls 'mine'. While 'her' bathroom has a pedestal washbasin, the bigger bathroom has a big countertop where she can put her hair care and hair dying tools, which makes the space useful for her for such activities.

The data also shows that the interviewees who use contact lenses use the bathroom as a hygienic space to put on and take off their lenses.

Considering all the personal care (grooming and beautification) activities done in the bathroom, it can be said that the contemporary bathroom space acts as a backstage where one prepares him/her self to the outer world as Interviewee 10 states:

Q- Do you apply make-up in the bedroom or in the bathroom?

Int.7 (42)- In the bathroom, bathroom... It is more like a work place for me, a place for that type of work...

#### 5.2.4 Ablution

Apart from being a 'work place' where one works to get ready for the external world, for some interviewees, bathroom is also a space to get ready for praying activity, in

other words, to get ready for the inner world. As the below table displays, Pilot 1, Pilot 3 and Interviewee 4 perform ablution in the bathroom at least once in every day. Ablution is an Islamic procedure that requires washing hands, arms, face and feet with clean, streaming water before praying. Since the bathroom is the resource of the clean, streaming water, the interviewees use the washbasin and/or the shower cabin to perform ablution.

**Table 5.23 :** Interviewees who perform ablution in the bathroom.

| Interviewee<br># (age) | Ablution |
|------------------------|----------|
| P. 1 (64)              |          |
| P. 2 (63)              |          |
| P. 3 (66)              |          |
| Int. 1 (33)            |          |
| Int. 2 (30)            |          |
| Int. 3 (31)            |          |
| Int. 4 (46)            |          |
| Int. 5 (26)            |          |
| Int. 6 (33)            |          |
| Int. 7 (42)            |          |
| Int. 8 (39)            |          |
| Int. 9 (38)            |          |
| Int. 10 (49)           |          |
| Int. 11 (27)           |          |
| Int. 12 (58)           |          |

### 5.2.5 House care

Considering the interview answers, using the bathroom space as a clean water resource and a dirty water drainage area during cleaning, doing laundry (washing/drying/stain removing), cleaning the cleaning products, cloths, brushes, sponges and cleaning some household products can be counted as house care practices performed in the contemporary bathroom.

The bathroom space becomes an important, strategic room when it is cleaning time in the house. It is the space to fill the buckets and/or mop buckets with clean water, discarding dirty water, and to wash, squeeze and sometimes dry the cleaning cloths, brushes and/or sponges. It is also the main space for doing the laundry. All interviewees, except Interviewee 6 and Interviewee 9, have their washing machines in their bathrooms. The exceptions have a separate laundry room where the washing machine is installed and laundry related products are kept.

None of the interviewees dries laundry in the bathroom; they prefer drying them indoors in a room, or outdoors in a balcony. None of them use a drying machine. Some of them prefer drying some of the small clothes such as bras, panties or socks in the bathroom on the towel radiator (Table 5.24). Interviewee 6 says that she does not like hanging out underwear outdoors:

Int.6 (33): I have this thing, I cannot hang out the clothes [she means underwear] outside in the balcony, completely outdoors, there is the closed balcony, I dry the clothes there, only I see them, I hang out the clothes and stuff there. If I did not have such a space, I would hang out the clothes here [in the bathroom], because I do not like the clothes to be seen outside.

Similarly, Interviewee 4 dries all her and her daughter's underwear in the bathroom due to privacy reasons; she says she inherited this habit from her mother. Like many of the findings of the study, this confirms that culture, thus everyday habits, is learned from our ancestors (Hofstede, 2001; Inglis, 2005; Proto, 2004).

**Table 5.24 :** The laundry related activities performed in the bathroom.

| Interviewee #<br>(age) | Laundry in the Bathroom            |                                           |                                           |                         |
|------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
|                        | Doing Laundry<br>(Washing Machine) | Washing Sensitive/Wool<br>Clothes by Hand | Soaking Stained/White<br>Clothes in Water | Drying Small<br>Clothes |
| P. 1 (64)              |                                    |                                           |                                           |                         |
| P. 2 (63)              |                                    |                                           |                                           |                         |
| P. 3 (66)              |                                    |                                           |                                           |                         |
| Int. 1 (33)            |                                    |                                           |                                           |                         |
| Int. 2 (30)            |                                    |                                           |                                           |                         |
| Int. 3 (31)            |                                    |                                           |                                           |                         |
| Int. 4 (46)            |                                    |                                           |                                           |                         |
| Int. 5 (26)            |                                    |                                           |                                           |                         |
| Int. 6 (33)            |                                    |                                           |                                           |                         |
| Int. 7 (42)            |                                    |                                           |                                           |                         |
| Int. 8 (39)            |                                    |                                           |                                           |                         |
| Int. 9 (38)            |                                    |                                           |                                           |                         |
| Int. 10 (49)           |                                    |                                           |                                           |                         |
| Int. 11 (27)           |                                    |                                           |                                           |                         |
| Int. 12 (58)           |                                    |                                           |                                           |                         |

As the above table shows, another culturally inherited habit or practice is soaking white and/or stained clothes in water before laundry day. The interviewees who perform this activity use a plastic bucket or a washtub, but Interviewee 4 uses the

washing machine to keep the white clothes soak in water, she uses the plastic washtub for stained clothes.

The shower cabin or the bathtub does not only function as the spaces to clean the body but also to clean the ‘things’ in the house (Table 5.25). For instance, before the renovation, Pilot 2 used to use her bathtub to soak the tulles in water and wash them. Interviewee 1 washes the refrigerator shelves and the filter of the kitchen hood in the shower cabin. Interviewee 2, and similarly Interviewee 6, uses the shower cabin to wash the plastic trash bins in the kitchen. Interviewee 4 used to use the bathtub in their previous house as if it is a big washtub as Pilot 2 used to do. When they moved to their present flat, they used the shower cabin to clean the window screens for once. Interviewee 8 washes their plastic lampshade, plastic stools, birdcage and the filter of the vacuum cleaner in the shower cabin or in the bathtub (Figure 5.18). Interviewee 9 washes her cats’ litter boxes once in every week.

**Table 5.25 :** Cleaning household items in the shower cabin or the bathtub.

| Interviewee #<br>(age) | Cleaning<br>Household<br>Items in the<br>Shower<br>Cabin/Bathtub |
|------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| P. 1 (64)              |                                                                  |
| P. 2 (63)              |                                                                  |
| P. 3 (66)              |                                                                  |
| Int. 1 (33)            |                                                                  |
| Int. 2 (30)            |                                                                  |
| Int. 3 (31)            |                                                                  |
| Int. 4 (46)            |                                                                  |
| Int. 5 (26)            |                                                                  |
| Int. 6 (33)            |                                                                  |
| Int. 7 (42)            |                                                                  |
| Int. 8 (39)            |                                                                  |
| Int. 9 (38)            |                                                                  |
| Int. 10 (49)           |                                                                  |
| Int. 11 (27)           |                                                                  |
| Int. 12 (58)           |                                                                  |



**Figure 5.18 :** The vacuum cleaner is washed and left to dry in the bathtub.

### 5.2.6 Giving bath to children and pets

The interviews show that the domestic bathroom does not belong to the adults only; the children of the families use the bathroom in their own way or with the help of their parents. Among the interviewees, only Interviewee 8 has a child that needs an adult's help for bathing. She tries to give a bath to her 10-year-old daughter once in three days in their parents' bathroom in the shower cabin. She says if she takes a bath alone, she stays too long and uses too much water, since she has fun. She states that while she gives a bath to her daughter, the shower cabin thus the bathroom turns into a playground:

Q- Do you sing in the shower?

Int. 8 (39)- Sometimes. If it is Melis<sup>42</sup> [her daughter] and me, we go crazy. Games, stories...

The interview data shows that the shower cabin or the bathtub is not only for cleaning the human body and the objects at home, but also for cleaning pets, such as dogs and cats. For instance, Interviewee 7 gives a bath to their dog once in the winter in the shower cabin. Similarly, Interviewee 9 gives a bath to her two cats once in four months with the help of a plastic bucket and a plastic cup (*maşrapa*) in the shower cabin (Table 5.26).

---

<sup>42</sup> In order to make the data anonymous, all the names in the excerpts are replaced by pseudo names.

**Table 5.26 :** Interviewees who give bath to their pets in the bathroom.

| Interviewee #<br>(age) | Giving a<br>Bath to<br>Pets |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| P. 1 (64)              |                             |
| P. 2 (63)              |                             |
| P. 3 (66)              |                             |
| Int. 1 (33)            |                             |
| Int. 2 (30)            |                             |
| Int. 3 (31)            |                             |
| Int. 4 (46)            |                             |
| Int. 5 (26)            |                             |
| Int. 6 (33)            |                             |
| Int. 7 (42)            |                             |
| Int. 8 (39)            |                             |
| Int. 9 (38)            |                             |
| Int. 10 (49)           |                             |
| Int. 11 (27)           |                             |
| Int. 12 (58)           |                             |

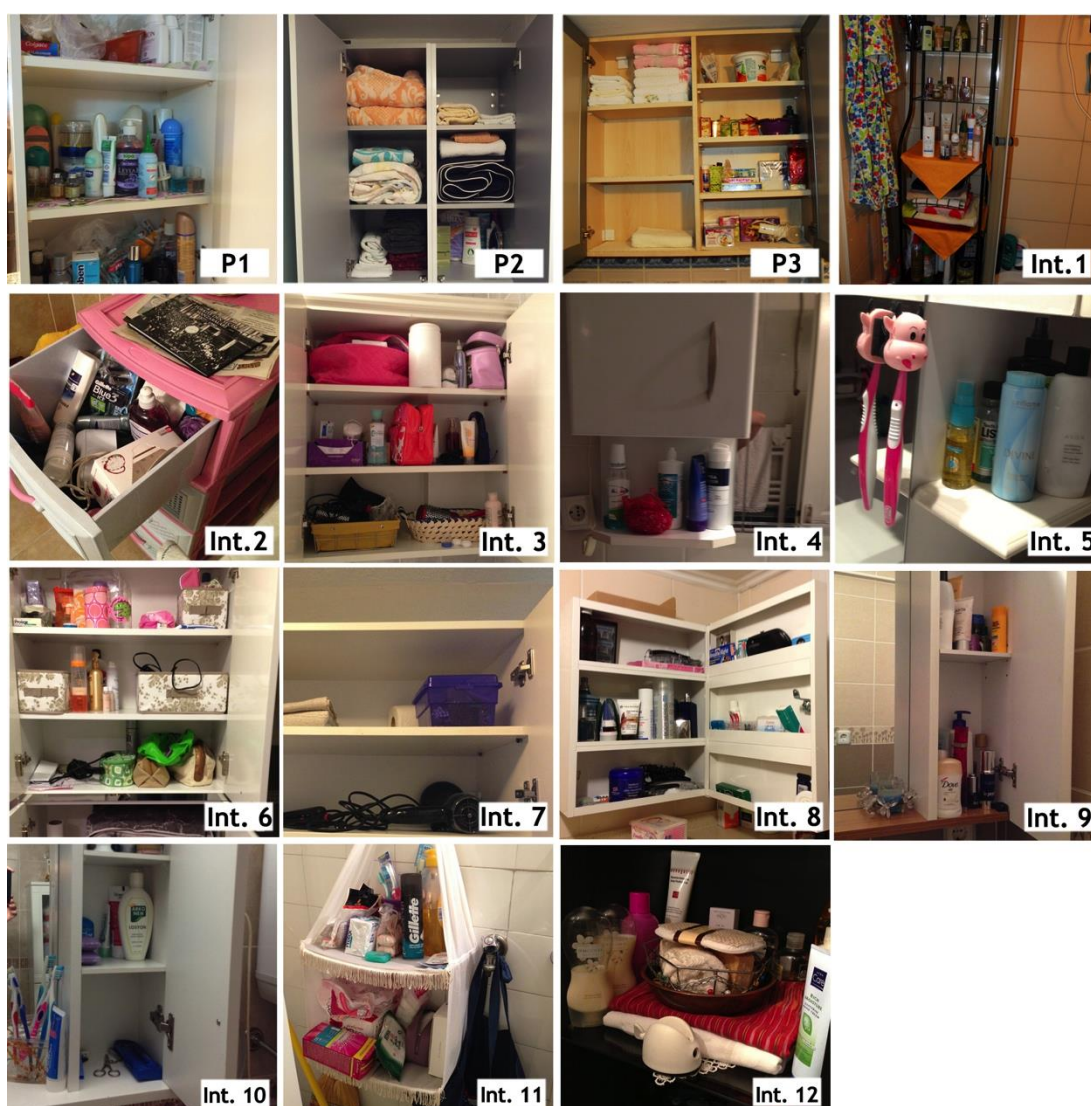
### 5.2.7 Storing

Besides the main uses, the contemporary bathroom is also used to store the products related to these main uses, such as, laundry detergents, spares (toilet papers, paper towels, soaps, detergents, towels, cleansing products etc.), house cleaning products (detergents, mops, buckets, cloths, sponges, brushes etc.) and cosmetics and personal care products. The data shows that way of storage and/or the amount of storage depends on the dimensions of the space, the presence of the cabinets and the aesthetics concerns. While some interviewees do not mind filling up the cabinets with products, tools and spares, some do. They say that they do not like clutter in the cabinets. The photographs show that, generally the cabinets above the washbasin level are used to keep personal care products and towels, and the ones below it are used for detergents and other cleaning products (Figure 5.19 and Figure 5.20).<sup>43</sup> This practice supports the view that things that are associated with high value are stored above the floor level, in upper cabinets, and yet, less important or less valued things are generally stored in the cabinets close to the floor (Dolmaz, 2009).

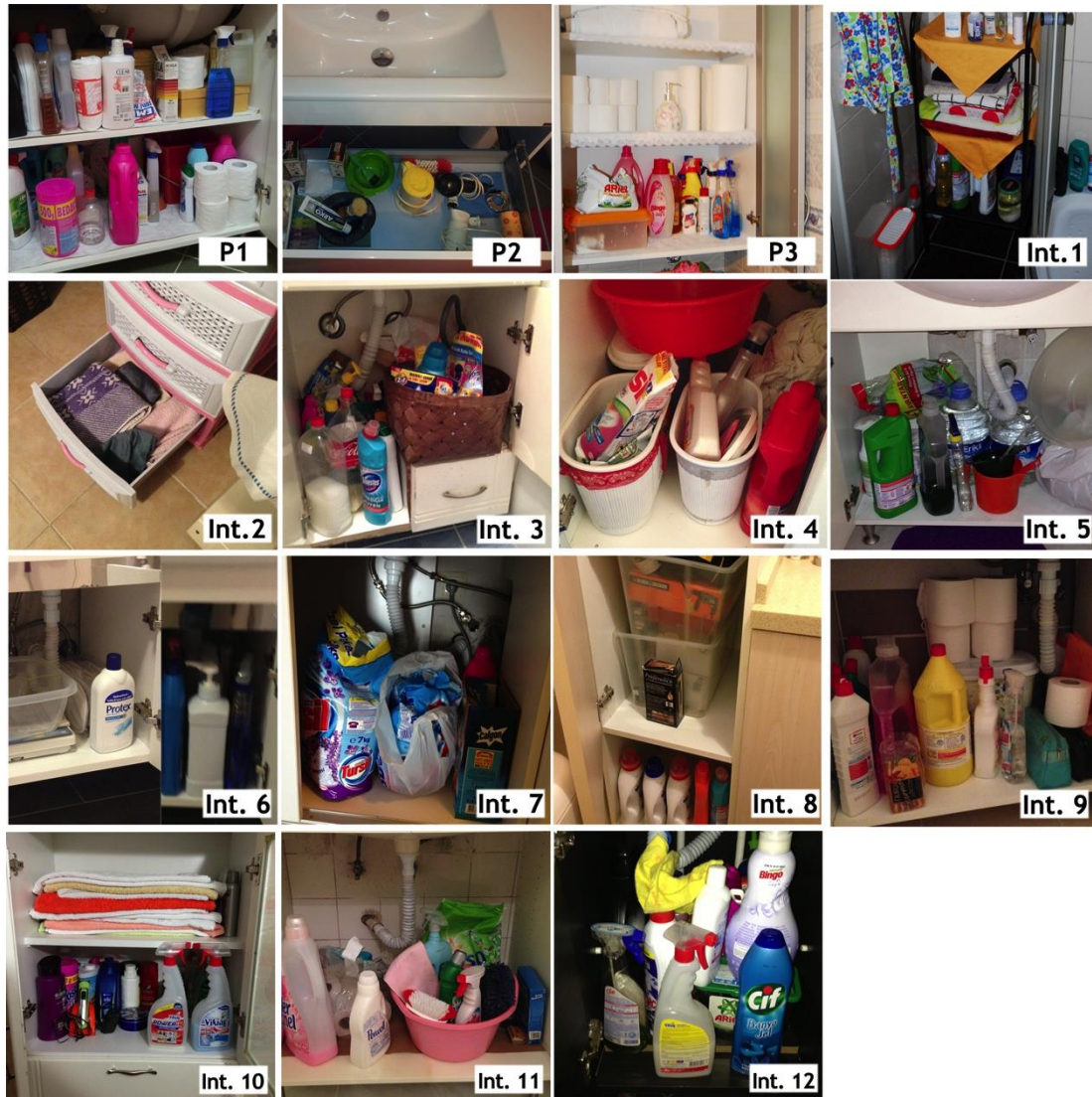
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<sup>43</sup> The photographs of the inside of the upper cabinets of Interviewee 4 and Interviewee 5 are missing because, Interviewee 4 did not want me to photograph the inside of upper cabinets, and I forgot to photograph the inside of the upper cabinets of Interviewee 5. However, according to my observations and their statements the upper cabinets consist of personal care products.

Among the interviewees, some of the tenants do not have upper cabinets in the bathroom. They have substitute products such as shelves or drawers. Interviewee 1 (tenant) uses a metal shelf that she bought since there are no cabinets in the bathroom. She uses the upper shelves for personal care products and towels, the lower shelves for detergents. Similarly, Interviewee 2 (tenant) does not have any cabinets in her bathroom except the plastic chest of drawers she bought. She uses the top drawers for personal care products and lower drawers for towels. She keeps the detergents on top of the washing machine. Interviewee 11 (tenant) does not have any upper cabinets in her bathroom as well. She uses a fabric shelf that her mother sewed for her personal care products (Figure 5.19).



**Figure 5.19 :** The upper bathroom cabinets of all the interviewees.



**Figure 5.20 :** The lower bathroom cabinets of all the interviewees.

As it is seen in Figure 5.20, Pilot 2, Pilot 3, Interviewee 2 and Interviewee 10 do not have lower cabinets in their bathrooms. However, they show similar practices within the rest of the interviewees. The only lower storage of Pilot 2 is a big drawer below the washbasin and she thought of keeping the detergents in it, but she worries that the drawer might be damaged since they are big and heavy. She keeps the detergents in the balcony. Pilot 3 uses the bottom shelf of one of her upper cabinets for some detergents. As I explained in the above paragraphs, Interviewee 2 keeps towels in the lower drawers; she keeps all her detergents on top of the washing machine. Interviewee 10 keeps some of the detergents in the bottom shelf of her self-standing cabinet. The bottom shelf of her cabinet is designed as laundry bin. Her laundry detergents stand on the floor, beside the washing machine.

Apart from the things stored in the cabinets, some interviewees keep the spares or house cleaning tools (buckets, mops etc.) in the bathroom in sight while some try to hide away them wherever possible. As it is displayed in the Table 5.27, Interviewee 2 uses the shower cabin to keep the cleaning tools. Interviewee 4 keeps them between the shower cabin and the washbasin, but she sometimes put them in the shower cabin, especially when guests arrive. Interviewee 11 keeps such tools in the bathroom, but not in the shower cabin, in sight. She says there is no other place that she can put them (Figure 5.21).

**Table 5.27 :** Distribution of storage; cleaning tools and water as a safety stock.

| Interviewee #<br>(age) | Storage                                                   |                                          |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
|                        | Keeping<br>Cleaning<br>Tools in<br>the<br>Shower<br>Cabin | Keeping<br>Water as<br>a Safety<br>Stock |
| P. 1 (64)              |                                                           |                                          |
| P. 2 (63)              |                                                           |                                          |
| P. 3 (66)              |                                                           |                                          |
| Int. 1 (33)            |                                                           |                                          |
| Int. 2 (30)            |                                                           |                                          |
| Int. 3 (31)            |                                                           |                                          |
| Int. 4 (46)            |                                                           |                                          |
| Int. 5 (26)            |                                                           |                                          |
| Int. 6 (33)            |                                                           |                                          |
| Int. 7 (42)            |                                                           |                                          |
| Int. 8 (39)            |                                                           |                                          |
| Int. 9 (38)            |                                                           |                                          |
| Int. 10 (49)           |                                                           |                                          |
| Int. 11 (27)           |                                                           |                                          |
| Int. 12 (58)           |                                                           |                                          |



**Figure 5.21 :** Bucket-wringer set and cleaning tools in the bathroom in sight.

Another practice related to storage is keeping water as a safety stock in the bathroom. Interviewee 2, Interviewee 4 and Interviewee 5 keep water in PET bottles in the bathroom, to use for the toilet and daily use in case of water cut (Table 5.27 and Figure 5.22).



**Figure 5.22 :** Keeping water in the bathroom as a safety stock.

### 5.3 Material Culture of the Contemporary Bathroom

The ‘stuff’ in the bathroom space, reflects a part of the lifestyle of the people using that bathroom, in other words, a part of their *whole way of life*. It shows how their use practices and habits are reflected to the material world.

The material culture of the bathroom also consists of the elements that enable or disable the appropriation of it. The features and the design of the products in the bathroom affect the presence and the type of the appropriation.

In this section, I display what is in the bathroom of my interviewees in general. The following list is created according to my observations, the photographs I took and the interview data (the distribution of the main elements in the bathrooms of all the interviewees are displayed in Appendix E):

Air freshener sprays  
Antiques  
Artwork  
Baskets (decorative/utilitarian)  
Bathrobe  
Bathroom drain cover (accessory)  
Bathroom scale  
Bathtub  
Books (not necessarily kept in the bathroom)  
Brush (cleaning)  
Bucket and wringer set  
Cabinets (plastic/wood)  
Candle (decorative/utilitarian)  
Cigarette (not necessarily kept in the bathroom)  
Cloths (cleaning)  
Cologne  
Comics magazines (not necessarily kept in the bathroom)  
Contact lens solution and case  
Cosmetics (various)  
Cotton buds  
Cotton pads  
Countertop  
Decorative trinkets/soaps  
Deodorant  
Door stop  
Drawers  
Drying cloths (for mirror/countertop/washbasin)  
Dustpan  
Electric fan (ventilation)  
Electric storage heater  
Electric toothbrush  
Faucet (washing machine/washbasin/shower/bathtub)  
Glass wiper (for shower cabin walls)

Gloves (cleaning/dying hair)

Guest towel (not necessarily kept in the bathroom)

Hair comb/brush (various)

Hair curl machine

Hair dryer

Hair dye tube, brush and bowl

Hair straightening machine

Hair spray

Hanging organiser

Heel file

House cleansing detergents

- Liquid detergents
- Spray detergents
- Bleachers
- Cream detergents

Hygienic pads

Instant electric heater

Jewellery

*Kese*

Laptop computer (not necessarily kept in the bathroom)

Laundry basket

Laundry bin

Laundry detergents

- Powder detergents
- Liquid detergents
- Capsule/Tablet detergents
- Stain removers
- Softeners
- Bleachers
- Water softener powder

Laundry detergent container (powder) (customised)

*Lif*

Lighter

Lightning products  
Liquid hand soap  
Liquid hand soap dispenser  
Magazine rack  
Magazines (not necessarily kept in the bathroom)  
Make-up tools (various)  
*Maşrapa* (for ablution/for pouring water during bathing)  
Mat  
Mobile phone (not necessarily kept in the bathroom)  
Mop  
Mouthwash  
Nail polish  
Nail polish remover  
Newspapers (not necessarily kept in the bathroom)  
Over door clothes hanger  
Paper towel  
Paper towel holder  
Pedestal mat (toilet pedestal)  
Perfume  
PET bottles (for stocking safety water)  
Plastic washtub (*leğen*)  
Plastic bucket (for bathing)  
Plastic bucket (for house cleaning)  
Plastic flowers  
Radiator panel  
Razor  
Seat (to sit while bathing/showering)  
Shampoo  
Shaving gel  
Shaving mirror  
Shower basin  
Shower cabin  
Shower gel

Shower hanger  
Shower head  
Slippers  
Smart phone (not necessarily kept in the bathroom)  
Soap bars (for body and hair)  
Sponge (cleaning)  
Tablet computer (not necessarily kept in the bathroom)  
Tea light candle (utilitarian)  
Toilet bowl with integrated nozzle (*alafranga* type toilet)  
Toilet brush  
Toilet lid cover  
Toilet paper  
Toilet paper holder  
Toothbrush  
Toothbrush holder  
Toothpaste  
Towel hooks  
Towel radiator  
Towel ring  
Towels (face/hand/foot/body)  
Trash bin  
Vinegar (for cleaning the lime scale)  
Wall mirror  
Washbasin (Pedestal/Undercounter/Countertop/Vanity)  
Washing machine  
Washing machine cover fabric  
Wet wipes  
Whisk broom  
Window opening to the light well  
Window opening to the outside  
Wiping cloths

Domestic bathrooms (with kitchens and toilet rooms) are classified under the ‘wet area’ (*ıslak zemin*-wet floor) in terms of architecture. For the bathroom, this indicates

that the space is durable to water use and/or it has a floor drain. These features are provided with floor and wall tiles, water resistant ceramic grout and a drain separate than the shower drain. This is the common property of all the bathrooms of my interviewees. However, the bathroom of Interviewee 7 has a minor difference; it does not have wall tiles. It has been designed by the interviewees' architect father who has specifically did not use tiles on the bathroom walls and did not use common bathroom tiles on the floor. The walls of the bathroom (including the shower cabin walls) are left painted and the floor (including the shower cabin floor) is covered with 60x60 centimetres outdoor tiles (Figure 5.23). No shower basin has been preferred for the design, and she says she does not like the acrylic shower basins; she likes to step on the tile stone and feel it while showering. The walls of the shower cabin have been covered with waterproof clear coat in order to be sustainable. As Interviewee 7 says, she is very content with the design, since she wants the bathroom look like any room of the house. That is why she hangs artwork on the bathroom wall and keeps antique furniture in the space. With these design characteristics, her bathroom differs from the other interviewees' bathrooms and the common bathroom design pattern in Turkey. Nevertheless, all the bathrooms of all the interviewees show the common features of wet area in the house.

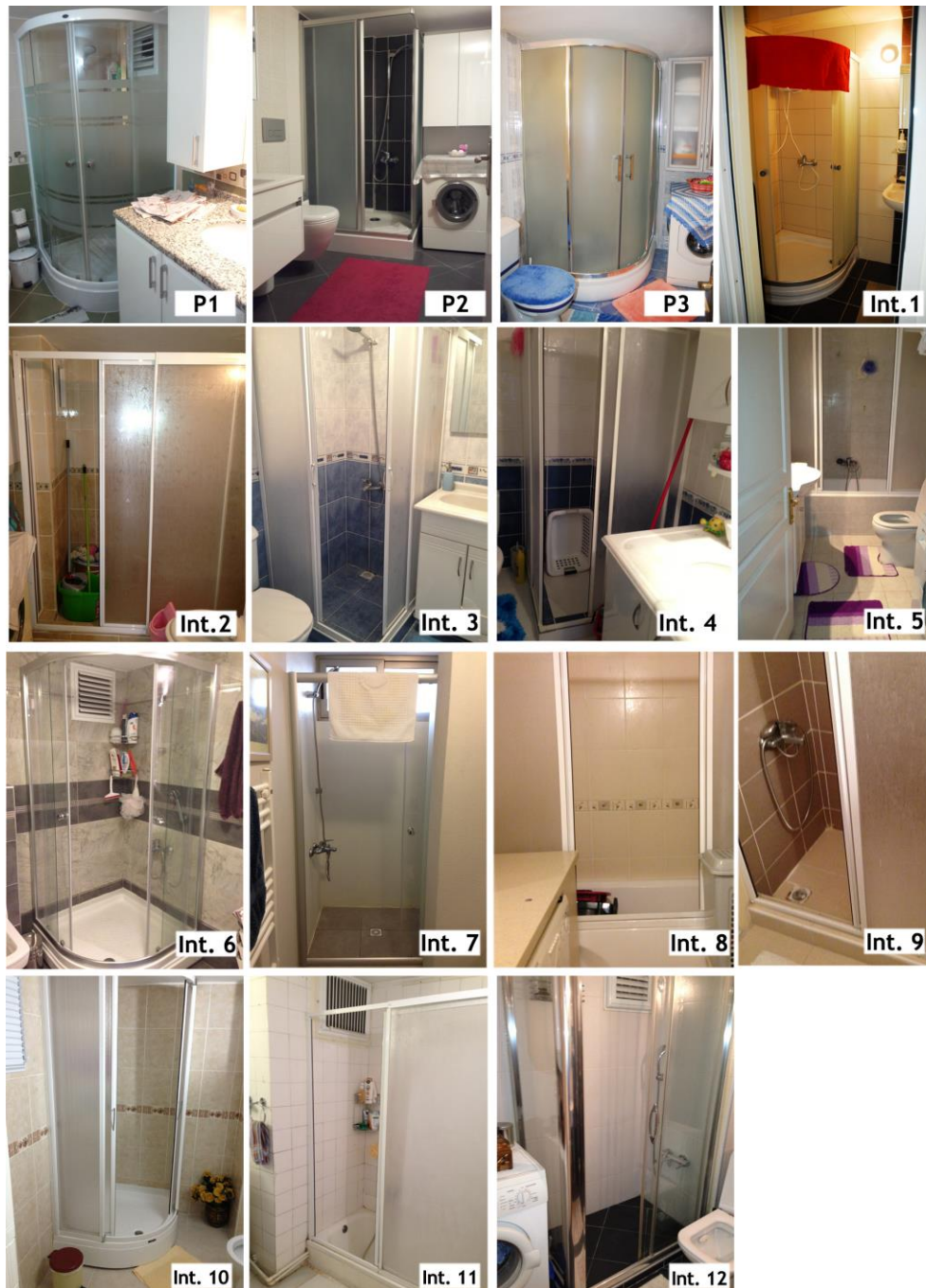


**Figure 5.23 :** The floor tiles, the wall and the shower of Interviewee 7.

### 5.3.1 Main elements

#### 5.3.1.1 Shower basin/bathtub

One of the main common characteristics of all the interviewees' bathrooms is, not surprisingly, that they have a reserved place to clean the body (shower or bathtub) as it is seen in Figure 5.24. Table 5.28 displays the distribution of bathtubs, acrylic shower basins and solely shower cabins.



**Figure 5.24 :** The bathing area of all the interviewees.

**Table 5.28 :** The equipment list of bathing areas of all the interviewees.

|                |                                | BATH         |         |              |                |                |           |
|----------------|--------------------------------|--------------|---------|--------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|
|                |                                | Shower Basin | Bathtub | Shower Cabin | Shower Curtain | Bathing Bucket | Bath Seat |
| TENANT         | Int.1                          |              |         |              |                |                |           |
|                | Int.2                          |              |         |              |                |                |           |
|                | Int.5                          |              |         |              |                |                |           |
|                | Int.10                         |              |         |              |                |                |           |
|                | Int.11                         |              |         |              |                |                |           |
| OWNER-OCCUPIER | P.1                            |              |         |              |                |                |           |
|                | P.2                            |              |         |              |                |                |           |
|                | P.3                            |              |         |              |                |                |           |
|                | Int.3                          |              |         |              |                |                |           |
|                | Int.4                          |              |         |              |                |                |           |
|                | Int.6                          |              |         |              |                |                |           |
|                | Int.7                          |              |         |              |                |                |           |
|                | Int.8                          |              |         |              |                |                | *         |
|                | Int.9                          |              |         |              |                |                |           |
|                | Int.12                         |              |         |              |                |                |           |
|                | * for her 10-year-old daughter |              |         |              |                |                |           |

As it is seen in the above table, regardless of having a bathtub or shower basin, all the interviewees use a cabin. This indicates that, the shower curtain, the popular product of the 1980s and 1990s, might have lost its popularity to the cabin today.<sup>44</sup> Due to hygienic reasons, starting from the end of the 1980s, shifting from the shower curtain to the cabin has been encouraged by designers and architects (Bayraktar, 1989, April).

Among the shower cabin users, some have acrylic shower basins (Pilot 1, Pilot 2, Pilot 3, Interviewee 1, Interviewee 6, Interviewee 8 and Interviewee 10), and some prefer no base (Interviewee 2, Interviewee 3, Interviewee 4, Interviewee 7, Interviewee 9 and Interviewee 12). Acrylic shower base has been referred as ‘trendy’

<sup>44</sup> According to the comparative inventory study of Bilgin (2009), which includes face-to-face questionnaires with 66 dwellings (apartment flats) in the centre of İzmir, %69 of the flats had shower cabin in 2007 while there was none in 1979.

or ‘modern’ when compared to no base shower cabins by some of the no base users. In the no basin case, the cabin is installed directly on the floor tiles. Considering the interviews, this type of installation might be due to various reasons, such as, the assumption of acrylic base being slippery, the elevated walls of some types which make it difficult to get in and out, occupation of space or aesthetical preferences. Apart from these, as I have observed, cost might be the main driver of such decisions of landlords and sellers while they renovate the bathroom.

Pilot 1, Pilot 2, Pilot 3 and Interviewee 12 are all owner-occupiers and they have removed the bathtubs and installed shower cabins during renovation, recently. After many years of using bathtub, they preferred shower cabins since they say that it became difficult to use due to their ages. In addition, some state that the bathtub is difficult to clean which might be regarded as one of the burdens of aging.<sup>45</sup>

Interviewee 6 is also an owner-occupier and when they bought the flat they renovated it totally, including the bathroom. The old bathtub was replaced with a shower cabin. She thinks that the shower cabin is more appropriate to their lifestyle since she relates it with quick showers, and the bathtub with relaxed, long baths without rush.

As being another owner-occupier among the interviewees, Interviewee 8 has two bathrooms, one with shower basin and one with bathtub. The bathrooms were new and designed this way when they bought it.

Of the tenant interviewees, Interviewee 5 and Interviewee 11 have bathtubs. Considering the material of their bathtubs, they look older than 20 years, which might mean their landlords have not bothered any renovation regarding the bathing area in the bathroom.

### **5.3.1.2 *Alafranga* type toilet**

Another main characteristic of my interviewees’ bathrooms is the presence of the toilet bowl in other words *alafranga* type toilet, however, only Interviewee 1’s toilet is not in the bathroom; it is in the toilet room near the bathroom. Figure 5.25 shows the toilets in the bathroom of all the interviewees.

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<sup>45</sup> According to the comparative inventory study of Bilgin (2009), which includes face-to-face questionnaires with 66 dwellings (apartment flats) in the centre of İzmir, %85 of the flats had bathroom with a tub in 2007 while %100 had bathtub back in 1979.



**Figure 5.25 :** The toilets of all the interviewees.

As the above figure and below table show, none of the bathrooms have *alaturka* toilet, since it is not common to have *alaturka* toilet in the bathroom space.<sup>46</sup> As it is mentioned in the previous chapters, *alaturka* toilets are kept as the secondary options within the toilet rooms in the apartments, but lately, they are being converted to *alafranga* types within renovations. For instance, Pilot 1, Pilot 2 and Pilot 3 changed their *alaturka* toilets in the toilet rooms to *alafranga* toilets. In fact, husband of Pilot 2 was contently using the *alaturka* toilet until the renovation. According to her statement he did not want it to be converted, however, she insisted since it was difficult for her to clean it. Interview 6 transformed the *alaturka* toilet room into

<sup>46</sup> According to the comparative inventory study of Bilgin (2009), which includes face-to-face questionnaires with 66 dwellings (apartment flats) in the centre of İzmir, all of the flats had *alafranga* toilet both in 1979 and in 2007.

laundry room when they bought the flat. Similarly, the *alaturka* toilet room of Interview 9 was transformed into laundry room by the seller.

**Table 5.29 :** Distribution of the toilet types.

|                |        | TOILET in the Bathroom  |                        |       | TOILET ROOM            |             |       |  |
|----------------|--------|-------------------------|------------------------|-------|------------------------|-------------|-------|--|
|                |        | Toilet Bowl with Nozzle | <i>Alaturka</i> Toilet | Bidet | <i>Alaturka</i> Toilet | Toilet Bowl | Bidet |  |
| TENANT         | Int.1  |                         |                        |       |                        |             |       |  |
|                | Int.2  |                         |                        |       |                        |             |       |  |
|                | Int.5  |                         |                        |       |                        |             |       |  |
|                | Int.10 |                         |                        |       |                        |             |       |  |
|                | Int.11 |                         |                        |       |                        |             |       |  |
| OWNER-OCCUPIER | P.1    |                         |                        |       |                        |             |       |  |
|                | P.2    |                         |                        |       |                        |             |       |  |
|                | P.3    |                         |                        |       |                        |             |       |  |
|                | Int.3  |                         |                        |       |                        |             |       |  |
|                | Int.4  |                         |                        |       |                        |             |       |  |
|                | Int.6  |                         |                        |       |                        |             |       |  |
|                | Int.7  |                         |                        |       |                        | 3           |       |  |
|                | Int.8  |                         |                        |       |                        |             |       |  |
|                | Int.9  |                         |                        |       |                        |             |       |  |
|                | Int.12 |                         |                        |       |                        |             |       |  |

All of the *alafranga* toilets examined during the study are pedestal type toilets except Pilot 2's; hers is a wall hung type toilet. Besides, only the toilet tanks of Pilot 2 and Interviewee 6 are in-wall hidden toilet tank (Figure 5.25).

The data also shows that *alafranga* toilet types are not only preferred in bathrooms but also in the toilet rooms (Table 5.29). Only Interviewee 3 has an *alaturka* type toilet in her toilet room, but she uses this toilet room as a mini depot (Figure 5.26).



**Figure 5.26 :** The *alaturka* style toilet room/depot of Interviewee 3.

As I mentioned before, all the *alafranga* toilets of my interviewees have the integrated nozzle, some of which can be seen in Figure 5.25. Apart from the nozzle, all the interviewees locate toilet paper roll nearby their toilets, either on a toilet roll holder or on another surface. Below figure shows the location of the toilet rolls in all the interviewees' bathrooms (The photo of Interviewee 1 is from her toilet room since she does not have a toilet in the bathroom). As it is seen, except Interviewee 11, all the toilet rolls are being used with a toilet holder. Interviewee 11 uses the tap to hang the toilet roll since she says it is practical concerning its reach and usage.



**Figure 5.27 :** The toilet rolls and the toilet holders.

Below figure shows the location of the toilet rolls in the second bathroom of Interviewee 7 and Interviewee 8, which are used solely by their husbands. The interviewees do not know the reason of their husbands not using toilet paper holder, however Interviewee 8 guesses the reason as the height of the counter being more appropriate for his husband rather than the location of the toilet paper holder, since her husband is tall (This issue is also discussed in section 5.4.1.3).



**Figure 5.28 : Displaced toilet rolls.**

As Table 5.29 also shows, none of the bathrooms or the toilet rooms have bidet in it. However, some of the interviewees indicated that they would make use of a bidet in the bathroom, but for various reasons. For instance, Interviewee 7 says:

I do not like the nozzle, I do not use it, due to that, I shower very frequently. But sometimes, one does not want to have a shower in the winter; bidet would be good maybe...I forgot the nozzle when I went to America, and I could not get used to it when I came back.

Similarly, Pilot 1 and Interviewee 9 consider bidet as a useful product in the bathroom but to wash the feet. Pilot 1 says, bidet or a similar product would be useful for ablution, but if the bathroom were bigger.

### **5.3.1.3 Washbasin**

The other main product of the contemporary bathroom is the washbasin. It is the product where the users wash their hands, face, arms, feet (for ablution), hair, brush their teeth, shave (men) etc. Table 5.30 shows the distribution of the washbasin types, followed by a list of types.

**Table 5.30 :** Distribution of the washbasin types.

|                |        | WASHBASIN           |                           |                         |                     |
|----------------|--------|---------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
|                |        | Standard (Pedestal) | Undercounter (w Cabinets) | Countertop (w Cabinets) | Vanity (w Cabinets) |
| TENANT         | Int.1  |                     |                           |                         |                     |
|                | Int.2  |                     |                           |                         |                     |
|                | Int.5  |                     |                           |                         |                     |
|                | Int.10 |                     |                           |                         |                     |
|                | Int.11 |                     |                           |                         |                     |
| OWNER-OCCUPIER | P.1    |                     |                           |                         |                     |
|                | P.2    |                     |                           |                         |                     |
|                | P.3    |                     |                           |                         |                     |
|                | Int.3  |                     |                           |                         |                     |
|                | Int.4  |                     |                           |                         |                     |
|                | Int.6  |                     |                           |                         |                     |
|                | Int.7  |                     |                           |                         |                     |
|                | Int.8  |                     |                           |                         |                     |
|                | Int.9  |                     |                           |                         |                     |
|                | Int.12 |                     |                           |                         |                     |

- Five of the interviewees have pedestal washbasin otherwise called standard washbasin (Figure 5.29).



**Figure 5.29 :** The pedestal washbasins.

- Five of the interviewees have undercounter type washbasin with cabinets (Interviewee 8 has one pedestal washbasin in her parent's bathroom and one undercounter type in their master bathroom). With a big countertop and a wide mirror, undercounter type washbasin is one of the elements of the *Hilton lavabo* concept, which is mentioned in Chapter 3. Among the interviewees, the bathrooms of Pilot 1, Interviewee 4 and Interviewee 7 are the closest to the *Hilton lavabo* concept in terms of style (Figure 5.30).



**Figure 5.30 :** The undercounter washbasins.

- Only Interviewee 12 has countertop washbasin; the popular design of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Figure 5.31). She has renovated her bathroom in 2007 and preferred countertop washbasin in her bathroom. Oppositely, Pilot 1 decided not to have countertop washbasin in her bathroom during renovation in 2009, after considering it as difficult to use due to the possible splash of the water drops on the countertop.



**Figure 5.31 :** The countertop washbasin of Interviewee 12.

- As Figure 5.32 shows, five of the interviewees have vanity style washbasin with cabinets, which can be considered as a product in between pedestal washbasin and *Hilton lavabo* concept. It is advantageous to the pedestal washbasin since it has surfaces around the sink and has integrated cabinets below. With these features it can be considered as the compact version of the undercounter washbasin or *Hilton lavabo*.

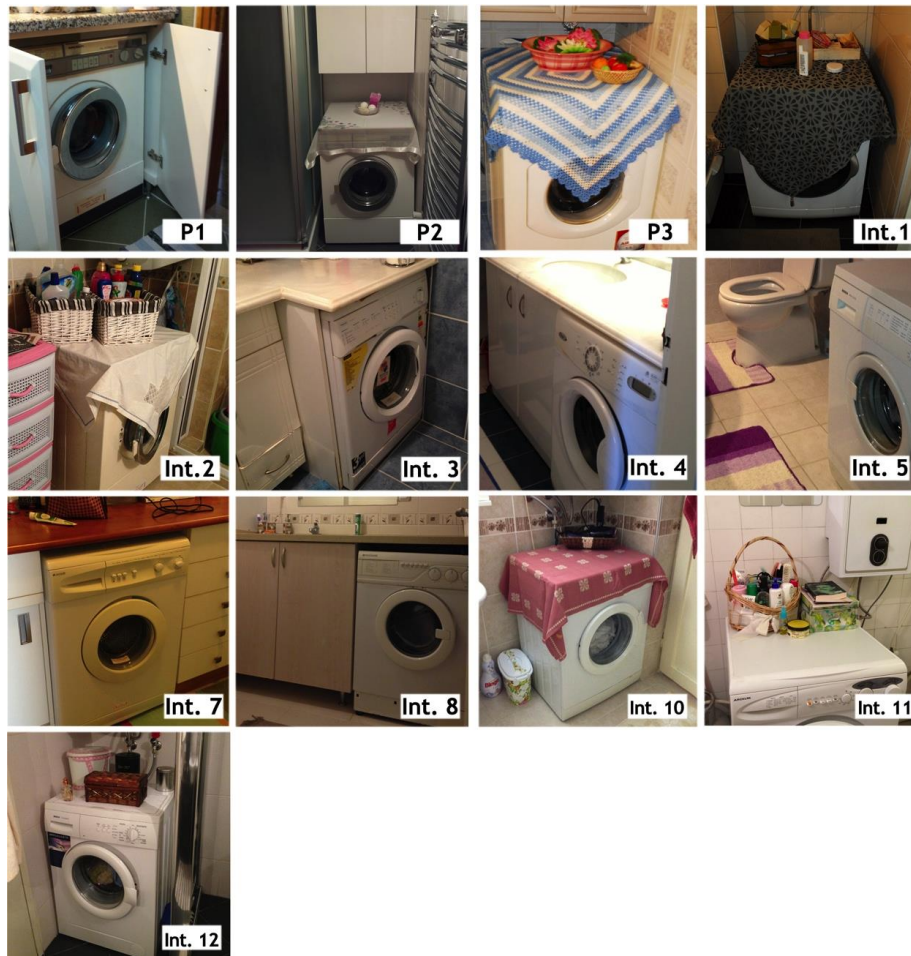


**Figure 5.32 :** The vanity type washbasins.

#### 5.3.1.4 Washing machine

Apart from the ‘fixtures’ of the contemporary bathroom, the washing machine and its peripheral elements can be counted as one of the main products of the domestic bathroom space. Washing machine is generally considered as the main element of the domestic bathroom in Turkey since a separate laundry room is not common among apartment plans, and as long as it is not out of necessity, it is not installed in the kitchen.

Except Interviewee 6 and Interviewee 9, all of the interviewees have washing machines in the bathroom and do the laundry there (Figure 5.33). As I mentioned before, Interviewee 6 and Interviewee 9 have laundry rooms; the toilet rooms have been converted into laundry rooms due to the small dimensions of their bathrooms and the washing machines are installed in there (Figure 5.34).



**Figure 5.33 :** The washing machines in the bathrooms.



**Figure 5.34 :** The washing machines in the laundry rooms.

During the interviews, I realized that washing machine cover fabric is part of the material culture of the bathroom as well (Figure 5.33). If the washing machine is not placed under the counter or if it is not in the laundry room, its top is covered with a fabric according to the taste of the woman of the house. When I asked the

interviewees the reason of using a washing machine cover, I received various answers. Pilot 2 (62) and Pilot 3 (66) put forward decoration related reasons. Interviewee 1 (33) finds the washing machine very 'machine' and very white, and disruptive. She says she somehow hides it with the cover. Interviewee 2 (30) covers the washing machine since she thinks it is old and ugly. Interviewee 10 (49) says: "How should I know?" She has different colours and types of covers, for instance she likes to use the light coloured, lacework, but she stopped using it since the family members make it dirty.

According to Livingstone's (1992) study, women consider domestic technologies as part of their everyday life; they state the role of that technology in their daily routine and its contextual meaning, rather than its pure function. Similarly, Lupton and Noble's (2002) study shows that women tend to decorate or domesticate their workplace; they are seen as 'decorators' when compared to men. Following these views, the practice of covering the washing machine with fabric can be considered as women's domestication of technology since they try to make spaces personal and comfortable for everybody (Davies, 1996).

Although their washing machines are in their bathrooms and in sight, Interviewee 5 and Interviewee 11 do not use washing machine cover fabric. The reason why Interviewee 5 is not using cover fabric might be the fact that she is sharing the house with two housemates. Probably, none of them feels any ownership of the house, thus the bathroom. The reason why Interviewee 11 is not using cover fabric might be the fact that she thinks the bathroom is the worst room in the flat in terms of visual quality, thus she might not have the motivation to make it better with such enhancements.

Table 5.31 shows the presence of the main laundry elements in the bathroom and in the laundry room, including the washing machine. The customised detergent container column indicates a behavioural pattern among the interviewees, which is using the powder laundry detergent in a preferred container rather than its original packaging (this issue is discussed in section 5.3.8).

**Table 5.31 :** The presence of the main laundry elements.

|                |        | LAUNDRY in the BATHROOM |             |       |                    |                                | LAUNDRY ROOM    |             |       |                    |                                |
|----------------|--------|-------------------------|-------------|-------|--------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|-------------|-------|--------------------|--------------------------------|
|                |        | Washing Machine         | Laundry Bin | Dryer | Laundry Detergents | Customised Detergent Container | Washing Machine | Laundry Bin | Dryer | Laundry Detergents | Customised Detergent Container |
| TENANT         | Int.1  |                         |             |       |                    |                                |                 |             |       |                    |                                |
|                | Int.2  |                         |             |       |                    |                                |                 |             |       |                    |                                |
|                | Int.5  |                         |             |       |                    |                                |                 |             |       |                    |                                |
|                | Int.10 |                         |             |       |                    |                                |                 |             |       |                    |                                |
|                | Int.11 |                         |             |       |                    |                                |                 |             |       |                    |                                |
| OWNER-OCCUPIER | P.1    |                         |             |       |                    |                                |                 |             |       |                    |                                |
|                | P.2    |                         |             |       |                    |                                |                 |             |       |                    |                                |
|                | P.3    |                         |             |       |                    |                                |                 |             |       |                    |                                |
|                | Int.3  |                         |             |       |                    |                                |                 |             |       |                    |                                |
|                | Int.4  |                         |             |       |                    |                                |                 |             |       |                    |                                |
|                | Int.6  |                         |             |       |                    |                                |                 |             |       |                    |                                |
|                | Int.7  |                         |             |       |                    |                                |                 |             |       |                    |                                |
|                | Int.8  |                         |             |       |                    |                                |                 |             |       |                    |                                |
|                | Int.9  |                         |             |       |                    |                                |                 |             |       |                    |                                |
|                | Int.12 |                         |             |       |                    |                                |                 |             |       |                    |                                |

The above table also shows that none of the interviewees have dryers, neither in the bathroom nor in the laundry room. They prefer hanging out the clothes on a clothes dryer rack in a room or in a closed balcony, or on the clothesline in balcony. Some prefer drying underwear on the towel radiator panel in the bathroom as I explained in section 5.2.5.

## 5.3.2 Auxiliary elements

### 5.3.2.1 *Lif* and *kese*

*Lif* and *kese* are the common elements of traditional body cleaning in Turkey. According to the extensive Cleaning Guide prepared by the Foundation of Turkish Consumers Protection and Education (**Temizlik Rehberi [Pamphlet]**, n.d.) the use of natural *lif* or sponge is recommended during shower, and *kese* is advised not to be used more than once or twice in a week depending on the skin type. *Lif* is foamed

with a soap bar or shower gel, rubbed on the body and thus the dirt is removed. Rubbing the body with *kese* removes the dead skin layer of the body and it is generally not preferred in every shower.

The data shows that all the interviewees have *lif* and/or *kese* hung or tucked in the body cleaning area or hung to dry in another place. Figure 5.35 shows the presence of *lif* and/or *kese* of all the interviewees except Pilot 2 and Interviewee 12. The *lif* of Pilot 2 is not hung in the shower cabin since they have not bought a shower hanger yet; the *lif* is dried and put in the cabinet in the bathroom. Interviewee 12 says she uses *lif* but it seems like it was not in the bathroom in sight while I was taking photos.



**Figure 5.35 :** The *lif* and/or *kese* in the bathrooms.

### 5.3.2.2 Bathing seat, bathing bucket and *maşrapa*

Although they are not being used by all of the interviewees today, according to the interviews, bathing seat, bathing bucket and *maşrapa* can be considered as part of the material culture of the bathroom. Three of the interviewees use bathing seat and one

uses bathing bucket while bathing. Among them, Pilot 1 (64) is in search of a new, proper plastic seat for their new shower cabin, however, they have not found yet. They are not using any bathing bucket. Pilot 2 (62) had a folding seat mounted on the wall but they do not use bathing bucket, either (Figure 5.36). Pilot 3 (66) prefers a plastic stool, a bathing bucket and a plastic cup (which she thinks is worn out and she does not want me to see and photograph it), a way of bathing similar to the traditional bathing practice performed in *hamams* (Figure 5.36). According to her statement, Pilot 2 (62) used to bath the same way Pilot 3 baths when she had the half seated bathtub. Later, she has given up the bathing bucket, used only the showerhead but kept sitting on the half seated tub. Now she sits on the folding seat while bathing with the showerhead.



**Figure 5.36 :** Bathing seat of Pilot 2 and bathing seat and bucket of Pilot 3.

*Maşrapa* is, originally, a copper cup with a handle that is used by women to pour water into the copper washtub (*leğen*) while washing clothes, which dates back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Öztürk, 2009). It was useful in transferring water from one point to another. Today, its plastic version is common among households and it is considered as a practical tool for pouring water. During the interviews, I did not ask especially if the interviewees have a *maşrapa* or not, however, the transcriptions and photographs show that five of the interviewees use *maşrapa* in their bathrooms or toilet rooms (Figure 5.37). It is used during the cleaning of the bathroom/house, to pour water for ablution, to pour water while washing the pets and to water the plants in pots.



**Figure 5.37 :** Plastic *maşrapas* of some of the interviewees.

### 5.3.2.3 The glass wiper

All the interviewees who has transparent glass shower cabin, has glass wiper in the bathroom, in fact in the shower cabin (Figure 5.38). With the presence of these types of shower cabins, the glass wiper has become part of the material culture of some bathrooms. Although, the shower cabin of Pilot 3 is made of frosted glass, she wipes off the walls with a glass wiper after shower.

The interviewees who use glass wiper prefer keeping it in the shower cabin, but Pilot 3 (66) likes to put in the wall cabinet after it dries.



**Figure 5.38 :** Glass wiper of some of the interviewees.

### 5.3.2.4 The customised detergent container

Through my observations, I realised that 11 of my interviewees buy the powder laundry detergents and put the packaging in or pour the powder into various rigid containers (Figure 5.39). These customised detergent containers provide rigidity and water resistance when compared to the original nylon packaging. It is also used when a big volume of detergent is bought in order to be economic; an amount of powder is poured into the customised container and refilled when necessary and thus, the big nylon packaging is kept out of sight. They are kept in various spaces, for instance, on

the bathroom floor, on top of the washing machine, in the bathroom cabinet or in the laundry room.

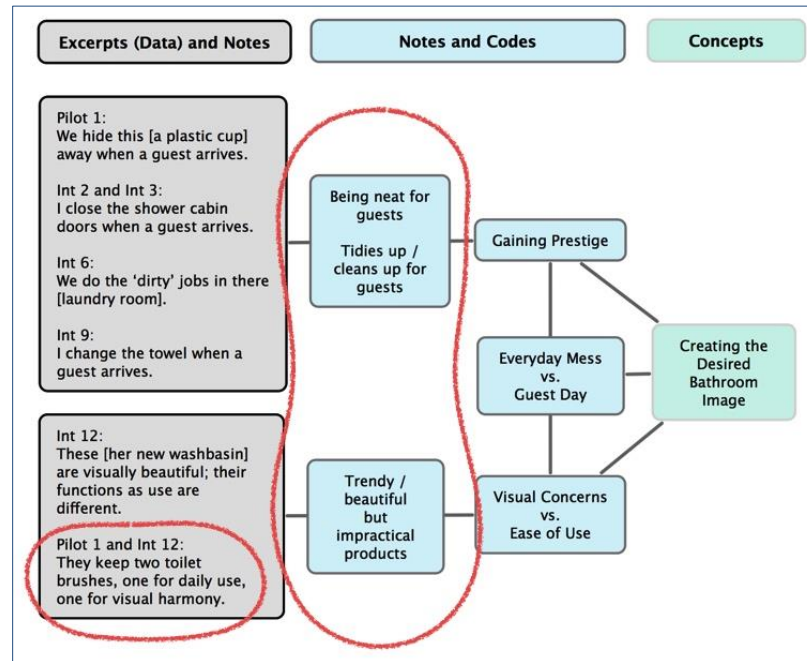


**Figure 5.39 :** The customised detergent containers.

It is observable in the above photographs that a specific type of cylindrical plastic container with lid has become common among the interviewees. One interviewee says that it is sold as ‘detergent box’ in stores. A cup is also placed in the container to take the required amount of powder. Some of the interviewees use the measuring cup included in powder detergent/water softener powder packages and some use a glass or a Turkish tea glass (For instance Interviewee 2 uses a Turkish tea glass as seen in the above figure).

#### 5.4 Key Concepts of the Contemporary Bathroom

As I explained in Chapter 4, by applying issue-focused analysis method to the interview transcriptions, repetitive codes emerged and I was able to sort the codes and excerpts into more abstract level in order to generate the potential concepts. Figure 5.40 shows a sample of excerpts, notes and codes that generate a final concept. This sample shows how less abstract codes and notes (shown in circles) are generated into more abstract concepts.



**Figure 5.40 :** The steps of concept generation.

**Table 5.32 :** The codes and the concepts emerged through the data.

| CONCEPTS     | 1. The dominance of women on the organisation, management and cleansing of the bathroom                                                                                                                                                              | 2. Creation of the desired bathroom                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 3. Variation in performing activities                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 4. Creation of the extension of the bathroom                                      |
|--------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>CODES</b> | <p>using the first person possessive suffix</p> <p>making the renovation and modification decisions by themselves</p> <p>controlling the members of the family in terms of usage and organisation</p> <p>cleaning the bathroom/having it cleaned</p> | <p>cleaning/wiping after every use (daily cleaning)</p> <p>the emphasis on cleanliness, hygiene and tidiness</p> <p>handling daily cleaning tools</p> <p>special treatment to guests</p> <p>everyday bathroom versus guest day bathroom</p> <p>trendy but not useful products</p> | <p>traditional ways and tools of bathing (having plenty of time)</p> <p>practical ways and tools of bathing (being in a hurry)</p> <p>performing ablution</p> <p>having children changes the activities</p> <p>variety in cleaning practices</p> <p>variety in toilet use practices</p> | <p>the need of more cupboards, cabinets</p> <p>the need to use an extra space</p> |

With this method I generated four key concepts regarding the bathroom space and its use:

- (1) *The dominancy of women on the organisation, management and cleansing of the bathroom*, referring to the domination of the women on the bathroom usage, its organisation and cleaning,
- (2) *Creation of the desired bathroom*, referring to the pretentious side of the bathroom, in other words the image women wish to create,
- (3) *Variation in performing activities*, referring to the various use practices and differences in use and cleaning practices, and
- (4) *Creation of the extension of the bathroom*, referring to the physical incompetency of the space and its elements.

Table 5.32 presents these concepts and the codes that generated these concepts. The following sections and subsections discuss them along with excerpts from the interviews.

#### **5.4.1 The dominancy of women on the organisation, management and cleansing of the bathroom**

One of the distinct emerging concepts of the interview data is the female domination in the bathroom in terms of organisation, usage, renovation, decoration and cleaning. This concept also supports the outcome of the pilot interviews.

Throughout the history, home had always been woman's domain, as she has been called the 'homemaker'. While the traditional role of man was to go out work, woman's was to stay at home. Staying and making home required various jobs such as organising, cleaning, cooking, taking care of kids, shopping. Studies show that women still do more domestic work than men, even in dual-career families (Chapman, 1999; Saegert, 1980). Therefore, it is no surprise that the contemporary bathroom, as being one of the important spaces of the contemporary home, is also organised and managed by the woman of the house.

During the interviews, nearly all of the interviewees implied or indicated that they have the control on the bathroom space in terms of usage, organisation, cleaning etc.

My interviewees --married, partnered,<sup>47</sup> widow and single women-- revealed it either by their everyday life routines, or by their choice of words or by telling how they had decided the renovation decisions and what they want to change within the design of the bathroom. In other words, none of the married or partnered women answered as “This is something my husband/partner deals with” to the questions of “What is the cleaning routine of the bathroom?” or “Where do you keep the towels/detergents/toilet papers?”

The codes that came together and created this concept are:

- Using the first person possessive suffix
- Making the renovation and modification decisions by themselves
- Controlling the members of the family in terms of usage and organisation
- Cleaning the bathroom/having it cleaned

#### **5.4.1.1 Using the first person possessive suffix**

Using the first person possessive suffix while talking about the bathroom and its elements was one of the common patterns within most of the interviewees such as ‘my bathroom’, ‘my detergents’, ‘my washing machine’ or ‘my towels’ which is the indicator of attachment and ownership, as illustrated in the following extracts:

P.2 (63, owner-occupier): Right now *my* cleaning materials are not in the bathroom, because *my* cupboards are not many; I reduced the size of *my* cupboards.

P.3 (66, owner-occupier): I rub *my* toilet bowl and *my* washbasin, I have *my* brush to clean the washbasin, I wash *my* rugs and *my* coverings.

Int.1 (33, tenant): If *my* bathroom were larger, I would hide it in a cupboard but with the fabric covering *my* washing machine turned into a shelf actually. [...] I have *my* big rug on the floor.

Int.2 (30, tenant): The washbasin rubbing brush was placed in *my* buckets, I threw it away few days ago; it was worn out.

Int.3 (31, owner-occupier): I have *my* Domestos [a popular bleach brand] and I have *my* hygienic cleaning wipes.

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<sup>47</sup> I use ‘partnered’ to refer an interviewee with a boyfriend who stays at her place from time to time.

Int.4 (46, owner-occupier): Think about it, if *my* cupboard were bigger, I would not put *my* towels in one of the rooms [...] if there was a little place, you can put your Vileda [a popular floor cleaning set brand includes a mop and a special bucket] and buckets in there.

Int.10 (49, tenant): Generally, *my* bathroom is clean.

Int.12 (58, owner-occupier): *My* house might be dusty but *my* kitchen and *my* bathroom are always neat.

According to Bilgin (2009), the use of the first person possessive suffix indicates the attachment to the tangibles and the tendency for personalization (Bilgin, 2009). As it is seen in the above excerpts, interviewees are not only attached to the space itself, but also to the peripheral stuff such as detergents, buckets, cupboards etc. One would argue that tenants would not use the term ‘my bathroom’ since they do not actually own the place, however, above excerpts show that it makes no difference whether the woman is a tenant or an owner-occupier.

#### **5.4.1.2 Decision makers**

According to Marcus’s study (1997), regarding the heterosexual couples, when it is time for making decisions about the house, it is not always necessarily the woman who make the decisions; couples sort issues out through negotiation, in a process of give-and-take. However, in my study, the data shows how women take the control while making decisions or left alone to make decisions during a modification or a renovation in the bathroom. As a matter of fact, yet, it is the women who decide if it is time for a renovation/change or not. The transcripts show that all the design decisions of the renovated bathrooms were mainly made by women. This bond between women and the interior design or the decoration of the house can be related with various facts. According to Campbell (2005) romanticism --as a notion distant to reality and real experiences-- is related with consumption and frequently used in consumption culture, especially in advertisements. He claims that the aesthetical responsibility of the house, including furniture and clothes, mainly belongs to the women since women have been in such positions that are compatible with romantic values over 200 years.

Martin (1984) argues that woman as being the homemaker not just deals with the domestic chores but also creates the “intangible ‘style’ of the home and the family”

(p. 32). The house, thus the woman of the house, guards “all the elements of consumption through which the class identity or the life-style of the family is defined and displayed” (Martin, 1984, p. 32). Women are more active than men in terms of creating a home aesthetics thus an aspirated lifestyle by searching, designing, deciding, placing furniture, interior design, décor elements, products etc.

In addition to the above, as I derive from the interviewees’ statements, the reason of renovation decisions being taken by women relies also on some practical reasons. The design and the organisation of the bathroom affect the cleaning practices of the woman, thus her everyday routine who spend more time in the bathroom than man. Following excerpts of Pilot 1 and Pilot 2 show how cleaning habits, routines and practices affect their renovation decisions and the choice of the products they buy:

P.1 (64, owner-occupier, married): The countertop washbasins [*çanak lavabo*]; they are the trend of this year, but I did not prefer it; every use would leave water drops [on the countertop] consistently, how would I wipe it all the time?

P.2 (63, owner-occupier, married): The bathroom is small, I wanted to create a wider space, in order to prevent anything to bother me around, to make the cleaning easy I chose the wall hung cupboards.

Among the interviewees, Pilot 1, Pilot 2, Interviewee 6 and Interviewee 12 have renovated their bathrooms in the last 6 years. According to their statements, Pilot 1 and Pilot 2 decided to renovate the bathroom and the toilet room in spite of the objections of their husbands. Both of their husbands were not involved in the decision taking process during the renovation, in terms of organisation, design, colour, style etc. Pilot 2 says, once or twice, she had to ask him to drive her to the stores and somehow forced him to share his opinions about the products displayed in there. As I mentioned before, the main objection of the husband of Pilot 2 was converting the *alaturka* toilet into *alafranga* type. Since he was very content to use *alaturka* type toilet, he objected it to be converted. However, the wife changed it since she finds it unhygienic and difficult to clean. Her choice of words also indirectly explains her renovation decisions, “Right now my cleaning materials are not in the bathroom, because my cupboards are not many; I reduced the size of my cupboards” which shows that ‘she’ decided the size and the number of the new cupboards in the bathroom.

As Interviewee 6 says, her husband left her the main pattern and colour of the bathroom to decide:

For instance, Mert left me the thing to decide, you decide he said, the tiles, I picked them, the bathroom, I mean I picked it. Afterwards, I showed Mert, he said OK. He left the choice to me. The shower cabin, the washbasin and stuff we picked together. Mert picked the lightings, they are all Mert's taste, I could not decide it because.

Her following statements show how her decisions affected the renovation result:

- We put the washing machine to another space, I wanted a comfortable bathroom, I wanted the bathroom to be a bit roomy, after all it is already not very big.
- [...] the glasses of the shower cabin are glass, I mean transparent, I wanted that a lot, [...].

Interviewee 12 does not specifically indicate that she was the decision maker of the renovation process, however, since her husband was away due to his profession, she and her son took care of the renovation. She says, the colour was picked by her son and the countertop washbasin [*çanak lavabo*] was picked by her. When her husband was back from his trip, she says that he criticised the colour of the bathroom, since it was dark. He also criticised the design of the washbasin, since it was difficult to use due to the possible splash of the water drops on the countertop. While she accepts the fault of the washbasin design, she says she liked the washbasin back then, since it was the trending design.

It is also no surprise that the decisions related to bathroom design and décor are made mainly by the women, since, with the ideals of modernisation in Turkey, the modern home, thus the modern kitchen and the modern bathroom, was implied as the important domain of the modern Turkish woman (Baydar, 2002; Bozdoğan, 2001; Nalbantoğlu, 1998). In time, they become the areas where she shows her skills and distinguishes herself in terms of many things including design and décor.

#### **5.4.1.3 Controlling the members of the family**

In the comedy-drama movie *About Schmidt* (Payne & Taylor, 2002) the main character, 66 year-old, recently retired Warren Schmidt suddenly loses her sweet, elderly wife for whom he has lost affection. Feeling alone in the well organised, tidy, delicately decorated but empty house, in one scene, we see him getting prepared to urinate in the bathroom. Just about to sit on the toilet bowl, he suddenly decides to

urinate standing and afterwards he urinates all over the place rather than the toilet bowl. The scene shows, in a humorous way, how the husband revolts against her wife's rules around the house, after 42 years of obedience, including her insistence that he sits while urinating.

Similar to the above plot, most of my interviewees ask their partners to clean and tidy up after use, in order to reduce their cleaning workload in the bathroom. In other words, they also show their dominancy on the bathroom by controlling men. They define a use practice for their partners and ask them to follow it, which includes cleaning after use, being organised and tidy in the bathroom. If the woman is not content with the usage of the man, she mostly intervenes after he leaves the bathroom and sometimes it causes a rise of the tension between the couple. Pilot 1, for example, complained about her husband's usage and cleaning of the bathroom during the interview whenever possible:

It has to be wiped, I cannot always do it due to my illness, he cannot do it properly, leaves the half dirty, his eyes do not function well after all. [...] Well, sure, the mirror, for instance, I wipe it dry each time I enter the bathroom, after every ablution, his eyes do not function well after all, splashes the water all over the place. [...] [Showing the inside of the cupboard] For instance, he did not put this [a detergent bottle] in its right place since I did not take care of it.

According to Martin (1984) woman creates a servant out of herself by creating and recreating the order in the house. She has to maintain her "chosen patterns" (Martin, 1984, p.30). As she decides the place of the entire household;

She finds a fit and proper place for all the furniture, ornaments, moveable equipment, cooking utensils, cleaning equipment, stored food, clothing etc. which the household contains. She presides over the ritual ordering, tidying cushions, stacking shelves, decreeing that the colander belongs here not there, that china teacups and not pottery mugs are appropriate to this rather than that occasion, that cupboards are cleaned in this rota and linen folded in that way (Martin, 1984, p. 30).

While Pilot 1 was criticizing her husband's flawed bathroom usage and cleaning skills right beside him, Interviewee 6 was more cautious when I asked her if her husband uses the bathroom neatly. This contrast might be due to the different duration of marriages; Pilot 1 is married more than 35 years, yet Interviewee 6 is

married only for a year. She smiled, hesitated to answer for a second, wanted to be sure that his husband is at the back room and does not hear her talk:

Hmmm, what to say, does he hear? Well, I am irritated when he leaves the bathroom [shower] with wet feet, the bathroom floor gets wet, it dries though but still. [...] I keep a foot towel on the floor in front of the shower cabin, otherwise he steps on the bathroom rug right after shower and it takes time for the rug to dry.

[wiping the transparent glass shower cabin with the glass wiper after every use] It needs to be done after every use but he does not want to do it, he does not like to do it but I do it, at least if you wipe it right after shower it stays clean longer, it is only this that I have him do but it does not work.

Douglas (2000) states that “There is no such thing as absolute dirt: it exists in the eye of the beholder” (p. 2). In support of this view, women and men show differences regarding the perception of a clean and tidy bathroom. It is a common fact that while it is clean and tidy enough for men it is not for women, and women are very aware of this difference.<sup>48</sup> While for men, a bathroom is a place where you shower and evacuate, a place that does not have any other than a practical function, for women it has been more than that. This difference puts pressure on women to face a difficult situation as they indicate during the interviews; clean and tidy bathroom is important for them. I understand that the state of the bathroom in terms of cleanliness, tidiness and visual harmony shows how the woman is good at being a ‘woman’, in other words it is a means of prestige among other women and gaining social respect from guests since being always ready for the unexpected guests is a common practice in Turkey. In order to achieve this, women not only control their husbands but they also need to tidy up after their children:

Int.4 (46, housewife, divorced w 2 teens): It is only me cleaning the bathroom. [...] If my son uses the bathroom, I definitely get in right after he gets out, willingly or unwillingly.

Int.10 (49, cleaning lady, married w 1 adult and 1 teen): Well, they [the husband and the kids] mess it [the bathroom] up, my husband takes his socks off and leaves them on the corner, there is the laundry bin, he does not open its lid and put them inside, I

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<sup>48</sup> For how conflicts over tidiness at home result in tensions, even break ups between couples, see *Becoming partners: Power struggles in making a home together in House as a Mirror Self* by Marcus (1997).

warned the other day, do I have to bend down and take them, now, he does not leave them any more. The kids, they use their towels and leave them in their rooms, other than that they are not that messy. [...] When someone uses the bathroom I definitely get in and tidy it up after him/her.

P.2 (63, retired, married): Since the toilet room has also been renovated, our bathroom stays clean for a longer time; my husband uses the toilet room, he only showers in the bathroom.

In the final example, the woman is content with the solution of separate toilets; the husband always uses the toilet room rather than the toilet in the bathroom. Although it is again her who cleans both the toilet room and the bathroom, she is glad that he uses the bathroom only for showering so that the bathroom stays clean for a longer time. She even arranged his shaving environment:

P.2 (63, retired, married): We have renovated the toilet room too, it has its mirror, cupboard, I thought he could shave there, but its lighting is not very well, I realized that he cuts his face sometimes, I then told him to shave in the bathroom, I put his shaving stuff in the bathroom, now he shaves in the bathroom.

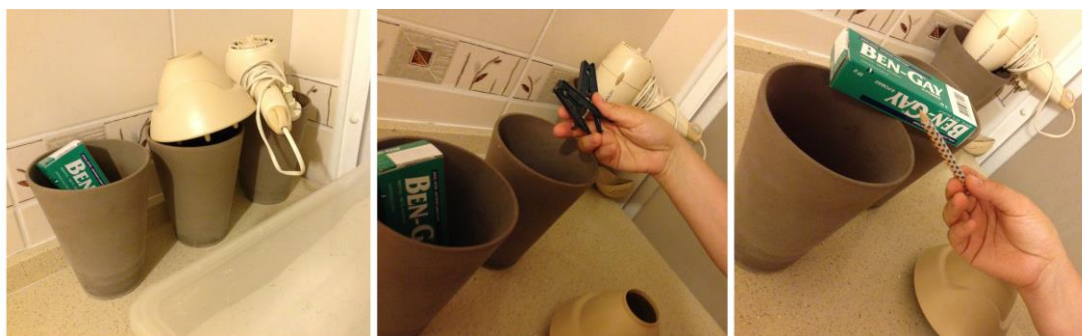
Interviewee 7 says that she only changes the towels in her husband's bathroom. However, in order to keep his bathroom counter visually as she likes, she leaves a box and some beauty products with attractive packaging in her husbands' bathroom counter. During the 'show and tell', she organised them as the way she prefers while telling me that she wants him to put the unattractive packages in the box and leave the nice packages on the counter (Figure 5.41):

I leave these here to see nice things when I come here. I like to see nice things with nice colour, nice thing, as an object, especially bathroom is a mechanical place, hygienic business, you do business there, it is not living room, I want it to be nice to stay there.



**Figure 5.41** : Interviewee 7 organising the counter of his husband's bathroom.

Interviewee 8 put three ceramic plant pots on the counter of her husband's bathroom and told him to put his stuff in them rather than leaving here and there. She says he sometimes does, sometimes does not. During the 'show and tell' she realised that there are relevant and irrelevant things in the pots such as her hair dryer and its parts, a heat rub that her husband used recently, cloth pegs, a can tab, a nail and a pencil of her daughter's (Figure 5.42).



**Figure 5.42 :** Interviewee 8 showing what is inside in the pots on the counter.

As I explained before, during my observations, I realised that the husbands of Interviewee 7 and Interviewee 8 do not use the toilet paper holder; they keep the toilet paper roll on the counter (see section 5.3.2 and Figure 5.28). I understand that Interviewee 7 and Interviewee 8 do not put pressure on their husbands about this issue. It is obvious that this habit of men do not create any discussion between couples thanks to the separate bathrooms.

At first glance, not replacing the toilet roll might seem due to practical reasons, however, the underlying reason might be men's propensity to leave the dirt related tasks to their wives. As Chapman (1999) explains, since historically removing dirt has been regarded as low-status activity; in profession life dirty aspects of work are delegated to others, and similarly within domestic work, the tasks related with cleaning are mainly delegated to women. In this case, toilet paper can be regarded as one of the main tools to clean the bodily waste and replacing its roll might make men feel undertaking the dirty work. Another statement of Interviewee 8 also supports this claim. She says that her husband likes his toilet bowl clean but he never cleans it; he lets her know when it is dirty and asks her to clean it.

Undertaking the cleaning practices at home might be perceived as powerlessness; however, according to Martin (1984) housework --including cleaning-- "[...] confers a form of domestic power on women which is so 'natural' and habitual that

we have largely ceased to recognise its existence, though its consequences reverberate through the gender and generational tensions in the family” (pp. 20-21). With regard to Martin (1984), Chapman (1999) also insists that housework is a way of gaining power at home via the knowledge gained through cleaning and tidying the house. He (1999) describes two ways to gain the power in the domestic sphere; first, the person who cleans the house (the women in our cases) gathers knowledge about the members of the family, and second, she gets to define the standards of order and comfort in the house. One example to the former is, from time to time, Interviewee 4 realises that the pattern and the order in the bathroom has changed in a certain way, thus she understands that her daughter washed only her hair by bending over the washbasin.

Eventually, keeping the household tidy and clean, in other words in order, involves the role of policing or the practice of control, especially over the members of the family (Martin, 1984).

#### **5.4.1.4 Cleaning the bathroom/having it cleaned**

As I mentioned in the above paragraphs, keeping the bathroom clean and tidy is important for my interviewees. Though, each of them has their way of cleaning routine and own understanding of cleansing. They either do it themselves or have someone come and do it periodically. Eight of the interviewees get help for the cleaning of the house thus the bathroom, while the others prefer doing it themselves. However, although she gets help for the cleaning, Pilot 3 does not let the cleaning lady clean the bathroom since her shower cabin is new and she worries that she might unintentionally damage the products by using corrosive type cleaning detergents.

Regardless of who cleans the bathroom, the woman of the house manages the bathroom cleaning either by cleaning it or by finding someone to clean it, and by checking if it is cleaned properly and/or by providing the proper cleaning tools and detergents to the cleaning lady.

#### **5.4.2 Creation of the desired bathroom**

The second concept occurred through the data is the attempt of the women to create the desired bathroom image. Derived from the interviews, the desired bathroom

image, generally and mainly, is related with the clean and tidy image of the space. Most of my interviewees indicated that that they feel unrelaxed if the bathroom is dirty and/or untidy.

Douglas (2000) explains that dirt is related with disorder and naturally we are urged to keep our environment in order:

As we know it, dirt is essentially disorder. There is no such thing as absolute dirt: it exists in the eye of the beholder. [...] Dirt offends against order. Eliminating it is not a negative movement, but a positive effort to organise the environment. [...] In chasing dirt, in papering, decorating, tidying we are not governed by anxiety to escape disease, but are positively re-ordering our environment, making it conform to an idea. There is nothing fearful or unreasoning in our dirt-avoidance: it is a creative movement, an attempt to relate form to function, to make unity of experience (p. 2).

Following Douglas (2000), one can argue that the attempt of women to keep the bathroom space clean and tidy all the time, reflects the urge for order which is related with feeling safe and secure in an environment. As Martin (1984) states, “Women are the guardians of order, thus home becomes essentially female territory, and the male must learn tactics of escape and evasion. Yet home is also the source of nurture and of all the intangible meaning which goes with order” (p. 34).

This effort of cleanliness and tidiness indicates another meaning among women. What the bathroom means to women is also tied up with social status. They desire that their guests perceive their bathrooms as clean and tidy, thus consider the bathroom as a means of gaining social respect among other women in terms of being a ‘woman’.

In addition to being tidy and clean, my interviewees try to create the desired bathroom in accordance with their tastes. They try to express their selves in the environment, either with the details of interior design, the décor, or the products they purchase. Because, consciously or semi-consciously, the appearance of products derives from the image that the individual desires to create about him/herself (Moles, as cited in Bilgin, 2009). In this way, the bathroom becomes an expression of aesthetic taste, as Pilot 2 expresses it: “I did not want too much ornament on the wall tiles, I wanted them to suit my age, both classical and tasteful” (63, owner-occupier, married).

The codes that came together and created this concept are:

- The emphasis on cleanliness, hygiene and tidiness - Cleaning/wiping after every use (daily cleaning) - Handling daily cleaning tools
- Everyday bathroom versus guest day bathroom – special treatment to guests
- Trendy but useless products

#### **5.4.2.1 The emphasis on cleanliness, hygiene and tidiness - Cleaning/wiping after every use (daily cleaning) - Handling daily cleaning tools**

[How do you want your bathroom to be perceived?]

P.2 (62): Clean! The bathroom being clean has an affect on my personality. What they will ascribe to me is important for me.

The three codes in this section are interlaced and refer to the desire to keep the bathroom space tidy and clean at all times.

By analysing the data, I understand that women feel responsible for the bathroom hygiene and it is important for them to keep the bathroom clean, which are directly related to the perception of hygiene in the society:

Int.2 (30): I, for instance, might not clean the house, but I clean the kitchen, the bathroom. These places must be clean.

Int.10 (49): It is OK if I do not clean the balconies, we do not use them a lot... We are 4, we might have diseases, it might contaminate, I have a daughter. Generally, my bathroom is clean, I clean it in the evenings, the bathroom feels very important to me, it should be more sterile than the house, I always wash it, I tidy up the floor and things. I cannot always wash it, I have a job, I mop it though, I come home tired.

Int.12 (58): My house might be dusty, but my kitchen and my bathroom are always neat.

In order to keep the bathroom clean, women perform various practices, such as continuously wiping the fixtures or surfaces and/or cleaning the space very often which is indicated by most of the interviewees:

P.1 (64, married): Well, sure, the mirror, for instance, I wipe it dry each time I enter the bathroom, after every ablution [...] I wipe the washbasin everyday, with a sponge.

P.2 (62, married): After taking shower, since the hardness level of the water is very high, it leaves stains, and the soap also... This thing, what is it called, the wiper, the one who takes the shower wipes the walls and the shower cabin after shower, and after

that, I wipe dry the base of the cabin with its towel [...] I sometimes can't be bothered to wipe it dry, then I leave it for the other day.

P.2 (62, married): I brush the toilet bowl every day.

P.3 (66, widow): I clean the washbasin and the toilet bowl everyday.

Int.2 (30, partnered): I try to pour bleach into the toilet bowl every night.

Int.7 (42, married): I brush the toilet after each time I use it.

Int.8 (39, married): Before getting to bed, I do the *Klorak* [a popular bleach brand in İzmir] to the toilets, both of them, it stays over night, after all when it is flushed...

Pilot 1 is one of the women who apply the daily cleaning and wiping practice in the bathroom regularly. According to her statement, since she and her husband perform ablution five times a day, she feels the need to wipe dry the mirror, the countertop, the floor tiles around the toilet bowl and around the shower cabin many times every day, and although her husband helps with the wiping, she claims that he can not do it properly since he got old and his eyes are weaker.

In the second example above, Pilot 2 tells how she gives importance to keep the shower cabin glass walls clear and attractive, which turns out to be a common practice among my interviewees. Since the hardness level of the water is high in İzmir, except Interviewee 7, all of the interviewees complain about the hard water spots and stains rather on the shower cabin walls, tiles, on the countertops or on the faucets, which make them uncomfortable. This geographical effect on cleaning, results in women improve special solutions. For instance, Pilot 2 bought a glass wiper to wipe down the glass walls of the shower cabin that has been offered by the manufacturer. All interviewees indicated that they simply spray down the inside of the shower cabin and tiles right after shower. Apart from that, similar to Pilot 2, most of them use a glass wiper to get rid of the remaining drops (which turn into hard water stains) after shower, especially if the glass walls are completely transparent. Married women also ask their husbands to wipe of the glass cabin after shower, yet some men refuse to do it. Unlike these interviewees, with the case of Interviewee 7, the one who decides to buy and use a glass wiper is not the wife but the husband. She thinks that, after they moved in, he somehow heard that it was a good idea to use a glass wiper to keep the glass cabins clear and clean. Since the house was newly built he bought one and kept using it for a while but in time he gave up. She is, on the

other hand, easy with the hard water stains; “I am not aware of it, the water spots and stuff do not bother me.”

Based on the interviews and on my personal observations, using glass wiper to clean shower cabin was not a common cleaning practice in the past, unless the transparent glass shower cabins become popular in Turkey. Once the women realized that it takes extra work to keep the transparent glass shower cabins as attractive as it is displayed in the manufacturer’s showroom, they discovered that the glass wiper is a practical solution and the idea spread by word of mouth. Similarly, using vinegar to clean the hard water spots is also spread by word of mouth after transparent glass shower cabins became popular.

Such practices related to cleaning also spread through social media, says the Consumer and Market Knowledge Director Özlem Badak at Procter & Gamble Turkey. She states that women in Turkey take the hygiene issue very seriously, in fact it becomes a competition among them; being successful at cleaning or knowing how to clean best are important among women. Related with this issue, she adds that women generally like to try various combinations and solutions regarding the cleansing products and practices. Once they find a successful recipe, they like to share through Internet forums, personal blogs or social media (Ö. Badak, personal communication, September 16, 2014).

Being clean sometimes forces the interviewees to give up the things they like. For instance, some of the interviewees indicated that for washing hands they like to use soap bars instead of liquid soaps, however, they do not use it since keeping both the surface of the soap bar and the soap dish clean and dry takes time and energy.

Derived from the data, women who have a weekly or biweekly cleaning lady come to their houses are less concerned with daily cleaning than others. However, as it is mentioned in the above excerpts, most of the interviewees placed emphasis on the importance of the cleanliness of the bathroom space. They indicate that they try to clean the bathroom and its fixtures as often as possible on a regular basis, which can be every day, every other day or three times in a week. Regardless its period, it implies that keeping the bathroom clean is one of the important indicators of being good at being a ‘woman’. Some of the interviewees stated that it would not be very important if the balconies are dirty or the rooms are dusty, however, it is significant

that the bathroom (and the kitchen) should be clean in all times. It can be messy, however, it has to be clean, meaning no dust on any surface, brushed toilet, cleaned washbasin, wiped shower cabin, wiped mirror, no fallen hair on the floor, in the washbasin and on the counter. This also shows the perception of hygiene among women in the society, which is related to the excessive use of bleach during the cleaning of the bathroom.

Bleach is so popular in Turkey that the brand names have evolved into generic. During the interviews, nearly all of the interviewees used the two popular brand names instead of the actual name of the cleanser. Özlem Badak (Consumer and Market Knowledge Director at Procter & Gamble Turkey) says, according to their research, the consumption of bleach is higher than the consumption of laundry detergents in Turkey. She also stresses that the frequent use of bleach among women also affects the cleaning detergent market in Turkey. It decreases the need of various types of detergents since women create their own recipes with bleach. They combine it with a specific cleaning detergent that they like most or with dish detergents, automatic dishwasher detergents, laundry detergents, vinegar etc. She also indicates that waiting over night after pouring or dripping bleach onto a surface is also a way of cleaning with bleach that women created (Personal communication, September 16, 2014). This habit has also been stated by some of my interviewees as it is seen in the following excerpts.

The notion of using too much bleach has been assigned to a female character in one of the very popular Turkish sitcoms broadcast on TV, *Yalan Dünya* (Figure 5.43. Source; <http://www.kanald.com.tr/YalanDunya/Oyuncular/>). The female character Servet (performed by Füsün Demirel) who insistently uses too much bleach around the house, sometimes get a bit high due to the substances inside the cleanser. She has been defined as the *alaturka* mother referring to the stereotypical Turkish mother.



**Figure 5.43 :** The *alaturka* mother character in the sitcom *Yalan Dünya*.

Although it is a fact that using bleach during cleaning is common among elderly Turkish woman, the interview data shows that young women see bleach as one of the main cleanser of bathroom cleaning as well. The perception of hygiene in a society is subjected to cultural transmission and transferred through generations:

Int.1 (33): Although not in detail, I clean the washbasin, the toilet bowl and the shower floor with Domestos [a popular bleach brand].

Int.2 (30): I try to pour bleach into the toilet bowl every night.

Int.3 (31): I have my Domestos [a popular bleach brand], to be practical I pour it into the toilet bowl and I leave it, go do my other things, when I need the toilet I come back, I brush if needed, then I flush, I say the toilet is cleaned.

Int.5 (26): I like using bleach very much, it feels cleaner, I pour bleach everywhere [in the bathroom].

The above statements of Interviewee 2 and Interviewee 3 show that they use the bleach as a ‘daily cleaning tool’. During the interviews, I came across many ‘daily cleaning tools’. Some of these practical tools are being used right after using the bathroom space, for instance a toilet brush. For some interviewees, these practical tools are part of their daily cleaning/wiping routine, on the other hand, some use once or twice in a week.

The daily cleaning tools may include cloths, sponges, brushes, spray detergents, bleach bottles etc. Through my observations and the interviews, I realised that some of the interviewees keep these tools at reach in the bathroom, but out of sight. The general habit is keeping the daily cleaning tool with one or two detergents at reach, preferably in the cabinet under the washbasin, if there is one. Apart from that they are also kept, displayed or hidden in some specific places. These tools help to maintain or sustain the desired image of the bathroom space, however, they mostly

stay in the background; they are considered as threats to the desired image that women wish to create.

For instance, Pilot 1 (64) uses a sponge to clean the washbasin, wiping cloths to wipe dry the mirror and the floor tiles, daily and quickly. After using them, she squeezes the sponge between the bars of the towel radiator and hangs the wiping cloths on that radiator. The radiator is located behind the door, hence provides a hidden place for the cloths while the door is open (Figure 5.44).



**Figure 5.44 :** Wiping cloths hang on the towel radiator of Pilot 1.

The daily cleaning tool of Pilot 2 (62) is a small, white wiping cloth that stays on the washbasin surface (Figure 5.45). In contrary to most of the interviewees, Pilot 2 keeps the cleaning cloth in sight; right on the top of the shelved washbasin. She is not trying to hide it because she sewed the cloth herself with the aim of a wipe cloth that would suit the washbasin and the bathroom, and would always stay there without creating any disturbance; without damaging the desired bathroom image so that she will always be able to dry the water drops on the surface and maintain the desired image of the washbasin:

[What is this cloth for?] After washing my hands and face, I wipe the topside of the washbasin. [Does it always stay here?] Well, if it is clean it is always here, if it has no stains on it, if it is not wet.



**Figure 5.45 :** Daily cleaning tool of Pilot 2.

The daily cleaning tool of Pilot 3 (66) is a brush. She uses it to clean the washbasin at least once in every day. After using it, she does not want to put it in the cabinet since it is wet. By laying down the wet brush on the taps behind the washing machine, she hides it and leaves it to dry (Figure 5.46):

Look, this is the brush I mentioned, taps here, after I brush the washbasin, I can not put it in the cabinet since it gets wet, so I put it here, it is both disguised and out of sight.



**Figure 5.46 :** The hidden brush of Pilot 3.

Similar to most of the interviewees, Interviewee 1 (33) uses a toilet paper roll as a daily cleaning tool. Most of the interviewees tell that when they see fallen hair or dust in the bathroom, they use a sheet of toilet paper to get rid of them quickly. They also use a sheet of toilet paper to take the hair in the shower drain after showering.

Interviewee 1 does not have a toilet in her bathroom; however, she keeps a toilet paper roll hung on the washing machine tap for cleaning the fallen hair around (Figure 5.47).



**Figure 5.47 :** Toilet paper roll to clean fallen hair.

Interviewee 3 (31) says that, in the past, she used to drip bleach onto toilet paper and wipe the toilet seat and the lid of the trash bin with it when she feels the need. Now, instead of that, she uses disposable hygienic cleaning wipes for such purposes and keeps them in the bathroom drawer (Figure 5.48).



**Figure 5.48 :** Hygienic cleaning wipes for practical cleaning.

Interviewee 6 (33) did not indicate any daily cleaning tools. She says that she does not do much daily cleaning; she leaves it for the cleaning lady coming once in 15 days, except wiping the glass shower cabin with the glass wiper. However, she says she sometimes uses a glass cleansing spray detergent and newspaper to clean the mirror if she is bothered with the splashes on the mirror:

If there is too much [dirt], sometimes the mirror, like tooth paste, this type of stuff may be on the mirror surface, if it bothers me a lot, sometimes, I wipe it myself, with newspaper and *Camsil* [a glass cleaner brand].

As I explained before, Interviewee 7 (42) is easy with the everyday mess and hard water spots in the bathroom. However, she indicates one thing that can be called her daily cleaning tool; a brush or a sponge to clean the washbasin. After using it, she locates the wet tool in such a way that it contacts nothing physically and dries there out of sight (Figure 5.49). However, she also indicates that in the winter, to prevent humidity in the cabinet, the tool is first percolated on the countertop and afterwards put in the cabinet:

There may be residual in the washbasin after brushing teeth or something, I can not stand that, I want to do something about it immediately, therefore, there is something below the washbasin [in the cabinet], just for that, there is a sponge, sometimes a brush, and a cleanser. Just to clean it immediately. I place it very nicely in the cabinet, exactly for to dry... There is a basket, I place it inside that basket carefully, it touches nothing, and I leave the cabinet empty, to prevent the crowd, moisture is awful and I hate it. I hate when things stay wet. But in the winter I leave it on the countertop, when it totally dries I put it back in the cabinet.



**Figure 5.49 :** Washbasin cleaning tools.

Interviewee 10 (49) has the most special way to hide away the daily cleaning tool. She tucks the cleaning cloth and the detergent bottle in the mould cavity of the pedestal washbasin, which is completely out of sight: “I have the habit of hiding away things, keeping them out of sight” (Figure 5.50).



**Figure 5.50 :** Hiding the cleaning tools.

The last example for daily cleaning tools is the way Interviewee 12 (58) cleans her washbasin after every use. With a high motivation of visual concern, she collects the free refresher wipes<sup>49</sup> and wipes her washbasin after every use with one of them, so that she maintains a clean and smooth washbasin surface (Figure 5.51). She defines this as a way she has developed in order not to brush the washbasin all the time. She keeps the refresher wipe sachets in a decorative basket on the washing machine:

[...] even the soap residue leaves stains in the inner surface of the washbasin. Brushing always does not happen, I developed a way in my opinion, you know the refresher wipe sachets, they give plenty of them in the restaurants we go, I stock them in a basket, I mean you can buy them for 1 lira either, but I take one of the stocks, after every use of the washbasin, I wipe it like that, it smells cologne, fragrant, and looks spotless as well. I developed something like this [laughs].



**Figure 5.51 :** Cleaning the washbasin with refresher wipes after use.

<sup>49</sup> Serving refreshing towel sachets free in restaurants and cafes has been a common practice in big cities in Turkey for the last 15 years.

#### 5.4.2.2 Everyday bathroom versus guest day bathroom – special treatment to guests

The two codes, everyday bathroom versus guest day bathroom and special treatment to guests, are related each other and result in the transformation of the ‘everyday bathroom’ to ‘guest day bathroom’.

After the pilot studies I realised that the domestic bathroom has two sides; one is the ‘everyday bathroom’ and the other is the ‘guest day bathroom’. When I continued with the main study, this code kept emerging within the interview transcriptions. It is a well-known fact that hospitality in Turkey is an important characteristic of the culture. Especially showing appreciation to the guests at home is important. With regards to this appreciation, what the woman of the house provides and does not provide indicate the success in being a ‘woman’.

In one of his studies, Sencer Ayata (1988) analyses the use of *salon* (guest room) in Turkish households in the 1980s. *Salon* was (and still is in some households) a reserved room for guests, which was not open for the use of the family in daily life. It was kept closed in order to keep it clean and prevent any harm to the precious furniture and accessories within. According to Ayata’s (1988) study, there was a tension between *salon* (guest room) and the rest of the house. While *salon* was created with the motives of consumption trends and the images of modernity, the rest of the house was reflecting informality and images of tradition. He also considers *salon* as the space where the so-called attributions of the assigned roles of being ‘the woman of the house’ are displayed. It becomes the space where women are monitored by other women in terms of these standards and a competition among women arises out of this.

Similar to the position of *salon* in Ayata’s analysis, my findings show that, today, contemporary bathroom is a place where women show their appreciation to the guests and exhibit some of the requirements of their assigned roles. Keeping the bathroom clean and tidy at all times is part of their role.

The bathroom is the place where mainly the ‘dirty business’ is being taken care of, such as elimination, showering, cleaning, laundry etc. It might have a busy routine during the day and night, depending on the household type and size. However, the data shows that bathroom space has two faces; one face indicates the things that can

be displayed and the other face indicates the things that must be hidden. In other words, it is both a private and a public space. The public side should display cleanliness and order. Most of the interviewees try to hide the traces of the private side of the space by some preparations prior to the guests' arrival. It is also important for them that their guests should perceive the bathroom space as clean and comfortable. A clean and tidy bathroom becomes the source of pride for the woman of the house. This also explains why some of the interviewees continuously clean the bathroom and its elements; they feel the need to keep the space clean all the time in case of an arrival of a guest without a notice.

The most common pattern among my interviewees is providing a clean, separate towel for the guests, which is also common among many homes in Turkey. Some of the interviewees say that they provide paper towel roll for their guests, but if the guest stays over night, then a fabric towel is provided. Interviewee 12 provides a paper towel for her young guests, but fabric towel for the elderly. Some say that they only renew the present towel rather than providing a separate one.

All of the interviewees (some say if it is someone special) told that they check the toilet and washbasin, and clean them quickly before the arrival of a guest. Tidying up, wiping the mirror, dusting, taking the fallen hair, closing the shower cabin doors, taking away the cleaning cloths, taking away the foot towel on the floor are some of the preparations of my interviewees.

Such preparations change according to the household size, for instance, while Interviewee 12 was doing many things in the past when they were four in the house, now, she says, she does nothing since she lives alone. She implies that it is easy to keep the bathroom clean all the time since she leaves alone.

Hiding away some of the stuff in the bathroom before the arrival of a guest, is related with two things; privacy and keeping the desired bathroom image. For instance, while hiding away hygienic pad or shaving razor (of the women) is related with privacy, hiding away the plastic cup (*maşrapa*) used for ablution is related with the maintainability of the desired image, as Pilot 1 indicates:

P.1 (64): Actually it [*maşrapa*] does not suit there [the countertop] but we have to use it.

[Do you take it away when a guest comes?]

P.1: Yes of course [laughs].

Similarly, considering me as a guest, prior to my arrival, Pilot 3 had put away her plastic cup that she pours water during bathing since she thinks it is very much worn out. After every bath time, she also locates her plastic bathing stool and bathing bucket in such a position that the bathroom door blocks them (Figure 5.52).



**Figure 5.52 :** Placing the bathing tools behind the door.

Similar to the mind-set of reserving *salon* to guests (Ayata, 1988), some of the interviewees reserve the toilet room for their guests. Having a toilet room (other than the toilet in the bathroom) in the house brings an advantage to the women in terms of keeping a clean toilet space for the guests. Asking the family members not to use the toilet room provides an always-clean toilet room reserved for guests. By doing this, guests are kept away from the privacy of the bathroom space as well, which shows similarity with keeping the formal guests separate from the informality of the house by having them in *salon* (Ayata, 1988).

Sometimes having a guest means making sacrifices. Interviewee 8 (39) says that if overnight guests will arrive, she completely cleans the master bathroom in advance and the whole family reserves it to the guests to make them feel at home. She provides their possible needs by putting towels, soap bars and glass to put their toothbrush on the counter. She says; “I repeatedly tell them, this place is yours, we are not using it, I want them feel comfortable.”

Serving options for the guests is another way of showing hospitality. For instance, some of the interviewees tell that they always keep both a soap bar and liquid soap around the washbasin to provide options for the guests.

### 5.4.2.3 Trendy but impractical products

In an interview in 1989, Kira brings on the attractive bathroom advertisements that present stylish bathroom elements that would not work safely or properly (Davidsen, 1989). Today this issue might still be valid. During the interviews, some of the interviewees indicated that the new, attractive especially trendy products look good in the bathroom catalogues and in the showrooms; however, they are not as useful or practical as they seem.

For instance Pilot 1 (64) keeps two toilet brushes beside her toilet bowl in the bathroom. After using the metal one for sometime, she decided to buy the plastic one, since it was difficult to clean the first one. She is very content with the plastic one, says she uses it everyday, keeps both of them in sight; however, she takes away the plastic one before the arrival of a guest. In a similar way, Interviewee 10 (49) complains about the ‘fancy’ toilet brushes. Since she works as a cleaning lady, she experiences the ‘nice looking’ type toilet brushes in the houses that she goes for cleaning. She says that they buy the common plastic toilet brush in the end: “I know from the houses I go [for cleaning], there stands the fancy thing, they definitely buy one of these [the common plastic brush, eventually], a useful thing must be bought. It is very expensive but what will I do with it if it does not clean?” Like Pilot 1, Interviewee 12 (58) also keeps two toilet brushes near the toilet; one plastic and one metal. She finds the metal one difficult to take out of its cover and difficult to clean both the brush and the cover. Different than Pilot 1, she does not take away the plastic one for guests.

Pilot 1 also criticises the transparent glass shower cabin that shows the hard water stains. They have it mounted during the renovation; “We bought it since it is trendy but the glass, it is really very useless.” A paradox arises out of this. The trendy and ‘nice’ looking cabin bought for the new bathroom with a certain amount of budget is not being used for purposes other than showering, although they need to use it during ablution. Hardness level of the water and the feature of the product create a contradiction between the investment in the product and its use frequency.

Interviewee 6 (33) also preferred a transparent glass shower cabin for her new bathroom since she likes it and wanted it a lot. Although she did not regret for it or

did not complain about the cleansing, as I mentioned in section 5.4.1.3, she applies a special cleaning practice for it.

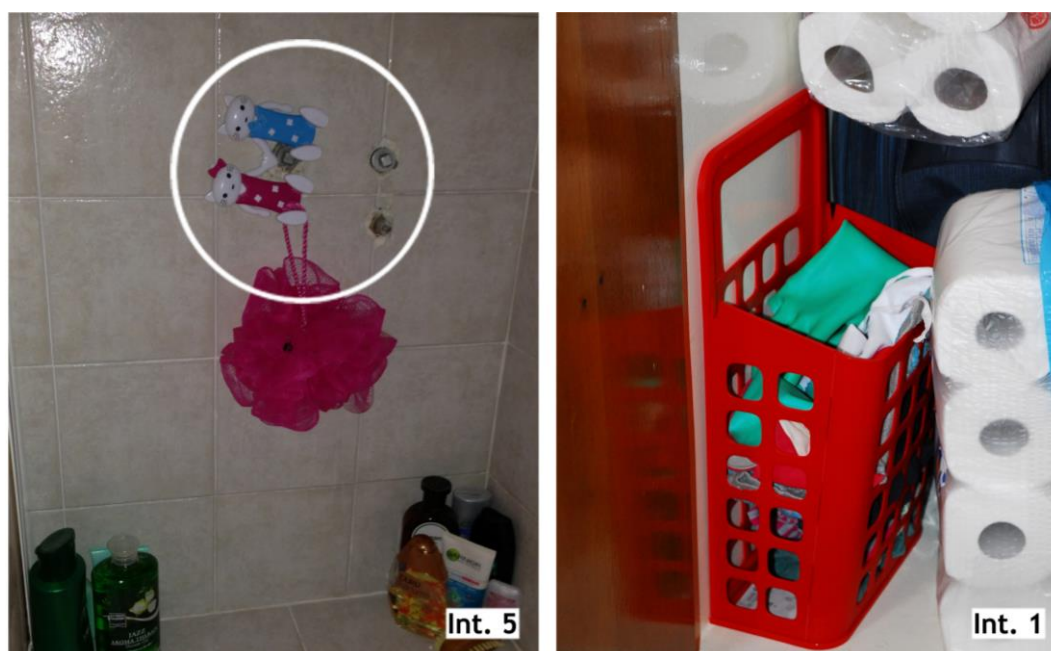
During the renovation, Pilot 1 also realised that the countertop washbasin designs are trendy, but she refused to have it in the bathroom since, in her opinion, it would be very difficult to use due to possible splash of the water drops on the counter. She thinks it looks nice, but for the people at their age it is not useful. Interviewee 12 (58) experiences the problem that Pilot 1 expresses. Although she did not actually complain about it, she accepted that her cleaning workload increased with the presence of the countertop washbasin. She finds it visually beautiful. She implies that since her two sons have left the house and her husband comes home for the half of the year, not much water splash on the counter. Although I did not ask her to do, during the interview, she tried to equate the usage qualities of all washbasin types by explaining the inferiority of other types of washbasins. This example confirms Baudrillard's assumption of the future of form as absolutism of forms; "only the form is called for, only the form is read, and at the deepest level it is the functionality of forms that defines 'style'" (2002, p. 54).

Pilot 2 (62) says, after renovating the bathroom, she started to look for matching and useful peripheral elements for the space such as, toilet brush, trash bin and shower hanger. She says she bought a nice looking toilet brush which its cover was made of ceramics but she broke it accidentally, and now she uses her previous plastic toilet brush which she thinks very easy to use and clean (Figure 5.53). Apart from that, she indicated that she specifically does not want a metal trash bin, since its surface displays the water spots a lot. Likewise, Pilot 3 (66) was using a metal trash bin, however, she got tired of wiping the water drop stains on its lid and in the end she replaced it with a plastic one (Figure 5.53).



**Figure 5.53 :** Easy to use and clean plastic products.

Some of the interviewees complained about the self-adhesive products. For instance, Interviewee 5 (tenant, 26) and her flatmates tried to stick a fun hook on the bathtub wall in order to hang their *lifs*, but it did not work out (Figure 5.54). Similarly, Interviewee 1 (tenant, 33) says she does not want to drive a nail on the walls. She wanted to hang a self-adhesive basket on the toilet room wall to put the magazines and spare toilet papers, however, the adhesives did not work out and eventually she gave up (Figure 5.54). In a like manner, Interviewee 4 (46) stuck a self-adhesive towel hook on the wall; she says it fell off many times, finally she gave up hanging a towel on it but left the hook there on the wall.



**Figure 5.54 :** Non-sticky self-adhesive hook and plastic basket.

As I mentioned in Chapter 3, one of the trendy bathroom fixture of the century is the wall hung type toilet bowls. Although, it is not indicated as an impracticality or

uselessness of the product, Pilot 2 has encountered a problem related to this type of toilets. During renovation, she preferred wall hung toilet bowl for their new bathroom in order to ease the floor cleaning. Now, she thinks that the toilet bowl has been mounted a bit high, thus her feet hardly touch the floor when she sits on it.

#### **5.4.3 Variation in performing activities**

The third concept occurred through the data is the variation in performing activities in the bathroom. This concept --as it is understandable from its title-- shows there are various ways of carrying out the same or similar practice among different users.

The codes that came together and created this concept are:

- Traditional ways and tools of bathing – practical ways and tools of bathing
- Performing ablution
- Having children changes the activities
- Variety in cleaning practices
- Variety in toilet use practices

##### **5.4.3.1 Traditional / practical ways and tools of bathing**

Through the interviews, it appears that during bathing or showering the elderly interviewees prefer sitting while the younger interviewees prefer standing.

Pilot 1 (64) and her husband (67) used to sit on a plastic seat in their previous bathtub, now they have replaced it with an acrylic shower basin and shower cabin in order to get in and out easily. For the new shower cabin they are planning to buy a proper plastic seat, but they have not able to find one yet. The wife says, she is now used to it but they definitely need to get one.

Pilot 2 (62) and her husband (63) used to sit on their seated bathtub, now they have replaced it with an acrylic shower basin and shower cabin. They like sitting while bathing. While selecting the shower cabin, the manufacturer suggested a wall-mounted seat and they liked it. She says they are contently using it. She adds that she also uses it to put on her feet while she is standing, so that she does not have to bend down to clean her legs and feet.

Pilot 3 (66) likes to bath in a similar way to traditional bathing in *hamams*. She has an acrylic shower basin and shower cabin, which she replaced recently. For bathing, she sits on a plastic stool, puts a plastic bucket in front of her under the shower faucet, mixes the water in the bucket and uses a plastic cup to pour the water on her body. In order not to slip, she uses a non-slipper mat in the shower cabin. After bathing, she puts --in a way hides-- them behind the bathroom door, covering with a fabric matches the rest of the bathroom (Figure 5.55).



**Figure 5.55 :** Bathing stool and bucket of Pilot 3; during and after bathing.

These three interviewees say that they do not understand the practice of ‘having a shower’, which, for them, sounds like getting the body under the water and then getting out. They all indicated that during a bath, they definitely soap their body and shampoo their hair at least once. Similarly, Interviewee 12 (58) considers ‘shower’ something to get rid of the dust of the day; she does not see it as a proper body cleaning. In the past, she sometimes sit on a plastic stool in their previous bathtub and had long baths, exactly the same way as Pilot 3 does now; but now she stands while having a shower in the shower cabin and prefers going to *hamam* once in 15 days.

The data shows that younger interviewees do not prefer sitting while bathing. Some of them related the ‘sit and bath’ concept to having plenty of time and some of them related ‘standing while bathing’ to being practical. They mostly implied that they do

not have time for long baths. They either have a shower before going out in the morning or after coming from work in the evening.

All of the interviewees use *lif* and/or *kese* --the main elements of the traditional bathing-- while having a shower. All of them use *lif* and soap bar or shower gel in every shower except Interviewee 7 (42) and Interviewee 10 (49); they tell that they do not use *lif* in every shower. *Kese* is used seldom among interviewees, i.e. once in a week or two weeks.

#### 5.4.3.2 Performing ablution

Among the interviewees, Pilot 1 (64), Pilot 3 (66) and Interviewee 4 (46) perform ablution in the bathroom at least once in every day. Performing ablution requires briefly washing the hands, mouth, face, arms and feet in this order. According to the rules of Islam, the number of the ablution activity might change from one to five times a day.

Performing daily ablution in bathroom in Turkey generally requires raising the feet above the washbasin, which can be seen as ‘invention of a new’ use of the washbasin (Figure 5.56).



**Figure 5.56 :** Washing feet during ablution (drawn by the author).

For ablution, Pilot 1 and her husband wash their hands, arms and face in the washbasin. However, they cannot raise their feet above the washbasin, thus they raise their feet above the toilet bowl and pour water with a plastic cup (*maşrapa*) which rests on the counter all the time. They do not use the shower cabin for the ablution since the hardness level of the water in Izmir is very high and hard water stains are formed on the glass doors if it is not wiped afterwards. Pilot 1 says it needs to be wiped off after every ablution, otherwise she feels uneasy about it, but she does not

feel like doing it since it is too much work for her age, so they are using the toilet bowl for washing the feet to perform ablution.

Pilot 3 (66) and Pilot 4 (46) prefer using the washbasin to perform all the parts of the ablution. They both say that they are able to raise their feet above the washbasin, but if there is a time comes that they cannot raise it they would use the shower cabin.

#### **5.4.3.3 Having children changes the activities**

Having children changes the practices related to the bathroom in terms of use and/or cleaning.

For instance, Interviewee 4 (46) is divorced with an 18-year-old daughter and a 22-year-old son. Having children affects her bathroom practices in terms of cleaning. She says that generally too much hair falls in the bathroom especially after her son shaves. She always cleans the bathroom after her son.

Interviewee 8 (39) is married and has a 10-year-old daughter, Melis. Interviewee 8 always uses the parents' bathroom and her daughter does the same. She guesses that since the pedestal washbasin in the parents' bathroom is more appropriate for them in terms of dimension, Interviewee 8 and her daughter both prefer using the parents' bathroom. She also gives baths to Melis in the shower cabin in the parents' bathroom. Melis sits on a small stool in the shower cabin and Interviewee 8 gives her a bath by standing. She says they sing songs, play games, tell stories during the bath. They were keeping her bathing toys until recently; she says she would play with them again if she brings them back. There is a red cabinet on the wall of the parents' bathroom full of nail polishes which all of them belong to Melis.

Interviewee 10 (49) is married and has a 16-year-old daughter and a 25-year-old son. Similar to Interviewee 4, having children increases the cleaning workload of Interviewee 10 as well. She gives examples of tidying up the space after the children use and cleaning the fallen hair. Having children also requires some space in the cabinets for their personal care tools; her daughter puts her hair care tools and her son puts his shaving tools in the cabinets in the bathroom. She also told that all of them lock the door during bathroom use but when her daughter gets in the bathroom for showering, all the family members are being noticed about it, and they do not let her lock the door to be able to intervene in case of an emergency.

#### **5.4.3.4 Variety in cleaning practices**

As I explained before, all of the interviewees are concerned with the cleaning of the bathroom space. However, according to the interviews, elderly interviewees are more concerned with the cleaning of the bathroom than the younger interviewees. While elderly interviewees are keen on performing continuous wiping and/or cleaning, I found out that younger interviewees are less concerned with it. Especially the ones who are getting help for the cleaning.

#### **5.4.3.5 Variety in toilet use practices**

As I mentioned in the section 5.3.2, all of the interviewees use *alafranga* type toilet with integrated nozzle --the traditional cleaning element of toilet use. Although I did not ask if they use the nozzle in the toilet or not during the interviews, Interviewee 7 and Interviewee 8 stated that they do not prefer using it.

The data shows that, among the interviewees and their partners who spend long durations on the toilet, younger interviewees and their partners have the habit of taking along mobile phone, smart phone, lap top computer or tablet computer when compared to the elderly.

#### **5.4.4 Creation of the extension of the bathroom**

The fourth concept occurred through the data is the creation of an extension of the bathroom. The codes that came together and created this concept are:

- The need of more cupboards, cabinets
- The need to use an extra space

I will cover the codes under this concept together since they are very close in terms of practices.

##### **5.4.4.1 The need of more cupboards, cabinets and an extra space**

Through the interviews and my observations, I realised that all the interviewees are in need of more cupboards or cabinets and/or an extra space to put the elements related to the bathroom use. They need such spaces because, either their bathrooms are small in dimension, or they want to keep some types of elements out of sight. Some of these elements are cleaning detergents, laundry detergents, laundry bin, laundry basket, various types of cleaning cloths, plastic buckets, mops, bucket and

wringer sets, plastic washtubs, brushes, sponges, spare towels, bathtubs, spare toilet paper rolls and spare paper towel rolls. These elements constitute the backstage of the contemporary bathroom and create a problem of storage. All the interviewees (except Interviewee 2) created an extra space which I call ‘extension of the bathroom’ in order to store these tools and elements as shown in Table 5.33. This extension is a spatial/storage continuation of the bathroom. From the point of view of public-private opposition, it is the part of the private side of the bathroom space where disorder is acceptable, unless it is hidden from the public.

Interviewee 2 (30, tenant) did not create an extension of the bathroom since the bathroom is big and her house is small. She keeps all related tools and elements in the bathroom space. The shower cabin space is also big enough to keep the cleaning tools such as buckets, cloths, bucket and wringer set etc. She says she keeps them in the shower cabin all the time, even while having a shower. They do not get wet since there is enough space for them and for her. She thought of putting them behind the bathroom door and keeping them out of sight, however the hand towel is hung right above that place and the probability of the towel falling onto them annoys her. She solves her cabinet problem by buying a plastic chest of drawers and by using the top surface of the washing machine as a shelf. She also makes use of the space between the washing machine and the wall. However, she states that a cabinet to put the detergents and the plastic cleaning tools would be good.

Similarly, Interviewee 11 (27, tenant) also keeps all of the bathroom related elements and tools in the bathroom space. The bathroom extension of Interviewee 11 comprised only of spare towels that are kept in a cabinet in one of the rooms. Like Interviewee 2, her bathroom is also big enough to keep all the related elements and tools in there. She says she is not bothered with the presence of these tools: “Why would I hide them, they are in use, obviously.” She also says she would put these tools in if she had a cabinet, but then she hesitates since she thinks the bucket and wringer set would make a smell if they are wet.

During the interviews some of the interviewees hesitated to show the extensions of their bathrooms since they think these spaces are not organised and managed for a stranger or a guest to see. For instance, Pilot 3 (66) did not want me to photograph her balcony and Interviewee 6 (33) was surprised with my request to see the laundry room: “Are we going to look there as well? Oh, very bad [laughs].”

**Table 5.33 :** The extensions of the bathrooms and their contents.

|                                     |                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Pilot 1 (64, owner-occupier)        | closed balcony & drawers in a room       | cleaning detergents<br>laundry detergents<br>cleaning cloths<br>plastic bucket<br>plastic washtub<br>plastic laundry basket<br>spare stuff related to the bathroom use<br>spare towels |
| Pilot 2 (62, owner-occupier)        | closed balcony & drawers in a room       | cleaning detergents<br>laundry detergents<br>cleaning cloths (in a plastic cabinet) plastic bucket<br>plastic washtub<br>spare stuff related to the bathroom use<br>spare towels       |
| Pilot 3 (66, owner-occupier)        | closed balcony                           | cleaning detergents<br>laundry detergents<br>cleaning cloths<br>laundry basket<br>plastic washtub<br>bucket and wringer set<br>spare stuff related to the bathroom use                 |
| Interviewee 1 (33, tenant)          | unoccupied room                          | plastic bucket<br>plastic washtub<br>cleaning cloths<br>bucket and wringer set<br>floor brush<br>spare stuff related to the bathroom use                                               |
| Interviewee 2 (30, tenant)          | ----                                     | ----                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Interviewee 3 (31, owner-occupier)  | closed balcony & toilet room             | plastic bucket<br>plastic washtub<br>bucket and wringer set<br>floor mats<br>mop                                                                                                       |
| Interviewee 4 (46, owner-occupier)  | a cabinet in a room                      | spare toilet paper rolls<br>spare towels                                                                                                                                               |
| Interviewee 5 (26, tenant)          | closed balcony                           | plastic washtub<br>bucket and wringer set                                                                                                                                              |
| Interviewee 6 (33, owner-occupier)  | laundry room                             | cleaning detergents<br>laundry detergents<br>cleaning cloths<br>plastic bucket<br>plastic laundry bin<br>bucket and wringer set<br>spare stuff related to the bathroom use             |
| Interviewee 7 (42, owner-occupier)  | a cabinet & toilet room                  | cleaning detergents<br>cleaning cloths<br>plastic bucket<br>bucket and wringer set<br>floor brush<br>whisk broom                                                                       |
| Interviewee 8 (39, owner-occupier)  | balcony                                  | cleaning cloths<br>plastic washtub<br>plastic bucket<br>bucket and wringer set                                                                                                         |
| Interviewee 9 (38, owner-occupier)  | laundry room & drawers in a room         | laundry detergents<br>laundry bin<br>bucket and wringer set<br>plastic dustpan<br>spare towels                                                                                         |
| Interviewee 10 (49, tenant)         | cellar & balcony & kitchen cabinets      | cleaning cloths<br>cleaning detergents<br>bucket and wringer set<br>spare stuff related to the bathroom use                                                                            |
| Interviewee 11 (27, tenant)         | a cabinet in a room                      | spare towels                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Interviewee 12 (58, owner-occupier) | toilet room & cellar & drawers in a room | cleaning detergents<br>cleaning cloths<br>laundry baskets<br>plastic washtub<br>bucket and wringer set<br>spare stuff related to the bathroom use<br>spare towels                      |

## 5.5 Appropriations Performed in the Contemporary Bathroom

The data displayed and discussed until here indirectly reveals most of the appropriations performed in the bathroom. They show how the interviewees and the family members embrace the bathroom space and its elements in order to incorporate them into their everyday routine. In other words, they show how the interviewees and the family members make do with the space; how they negotiate the systems and structures of everyday life; how they make the bathroom space their own and create a spatial identity; how they make the bathroom space more suitable or convenient for their needs; how they actualize their own potentiality; how creative they are.

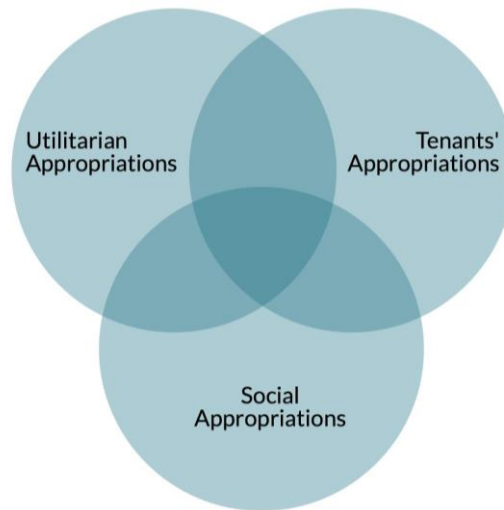
As this study sees an analogy between de Certeau's (1984) *tactics* and appropriations in everyday life, I consider these appropriations as the *tactics* (of the weak) operated by my interviewees against the *strategies* (of the strong); users' *tactics* against the given domestic bathroom space, against the mechanisms that control everyday life and produce products for the consumption in the bathroom, against the mainstream bathroom products/designs, against the dominant consumption patterns or against the pre-defined modern bathroom images. With these *tactics*, bathroom space is transformed, redefined and reproduced by its users.

The data enabled me to classify the types of appropriations employed in the bathroom under three groups:

1. Appropriations done by adding function(s) to and/or changing function(s) of an object/space (utilitarian appropriations).
2. Appropriations employed by tenants for handling the rules of the landlords (tenants' appropriations).
3. Appropriations towards the construction of the territory of the self via decoration/interior design and management (social appropriations).

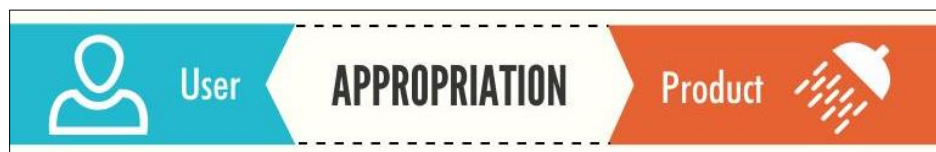
Although I have classified the types of appropriations under three groups, I should indicate that the boundaries between these groups are not very sharp. A type of appropriation under one group can be evaluated under another group as well, since the groups are interlaced. I categorise appropriations that may fall under more than one group in the most significantly related one. Below figure shows the three types

of appropriations performed in the domestic bathroom as a set diagram and their relation with each other.



**Figure 5.57 :** Types of appropriations.

As it is mentioned before, appropriation is a two-way relation (Figure 5.58). As users appropriate their surroundings and products, in the same way, products and surroundings can appropriate the users' behaviour and practices through everyday use (Ilmonen, 2004). This may result in modifications in practices or additions of minor practices to the everyday routine. For instance, if one slips and almost fall while getting in and out of the bathtub for once, after this incident, s/he would be more careful about it and starts to hold something while getting in/out or starts using slippers or a non-slipper mat or have the bathtub removed. The slippery surface of the bathtub appropriates the taken for granted, everyday use practice routine of its user. After a while, the modified use practice becomes the everyday routine itself.



**Figure 5.58 :** Two way-relation between user and product.

The research data shows that some of the products in the bathroom space appropriate the interviewees' practices. For example, the transparent shower cabin appropriates the practices of the users (especially women) such that they possess a glass wiper, keep it at hand in the bathroom and use it after every shower.

Similarly, newly mounted bathroom fixtures discipline the users to act carefully during both use and cleaning. For example, the renovated bathrooms of my interviewees appropriate their use and cleaning practices which result in not using the shower cabin for ablution due to the prospective water spots, wiping down the glass doors with glass wipers, wiping dry the water drops on the counter and the mirror daily or after every use, thereby keeping wiping cloths at hand, not letting the cleaning lady clean the new fixtures, using vinegar for cleaning in stead of detergents and wiping the washbasin after every use.

Not only tangibles appropriate the users, intangibles such as water, electricity or fresh air might appropriate the users as well. One of the common examples to the intangibles appropriating the users is related with water, humidity and fresh air. Nearly all of my interviewees keep the window in the bathroom, shower cabin doors and bathroom doors open after having shower in order to prevent humidity in the bathroom space. They carry on a settled routine which consists of closing the window before shower (otherwise neighbours can hear/see them through the light well),<sup>50</sup> having shower, opening the window after shower, keeping the shower cabin doors open, and keeping the bathroom doors open for a while.<sup>51</sup> This way some practices have been added to the initial practice of ‘having shower’.

Some interviewees indicate that they try to keep the bathroom doors always open for to be sure that the bathroom dries properly. However, some of them have trouble with keeping the bathroom door open and use a detergent bottle as door stopper, in other words, the resistance of the door hinge modifies the users’ practices towards using a stopper.

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<sup>50</sup> Except Interviewee 7, all the interviewees have a window in their bathrooms opening to the light well of the buildings. The bathroom window of Interviewee 7 opens to open air since it is a house not an apartment flat.

<sup>51</sup> With the change in the Municipality Construction and Road Law in 1953 (*2290 sayılı Belediye Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu*), in order to fit the maximum number of flats in a limited space, the bathrooms started to be placed in the building plans as their windows opening to the building’s chimney pipe or the narrow light well as opposed to before (Cengizkan, 2002). Previously, it was a construction obligation that bathrooms should have a window directly opening to the open air which helps the space to ventilate, have natural light and prevent unwanted smells and especially humidity. However, with the change in the 1953 law, bathrooms in apartment flats have become poor in air circulation.

Other services like electricity or water appropriate the interviewees as well. Power cuts make interviewees keep candles in the bathroom and water cuts make interviewees keep water as a safety stock in the bathroom.

#### **5.5.1 Appropriations done by adding function(s) to and/or changing function(s) of an object or the space (utilitarian appropriations)**

The strongest motivation for utilitarian appropriations is the lack of resources (Brandes & Erlhoff, 2006). According to the data of this study, *tactics* under this category are done in order to,

- overcome the impracticality/inefficiency of an object or the space,
- enhance the potential of an object or the space,
- solve a problem practically, or
- satisfy a need practically.

These types of appropriations show the hidden potential of the bathroom elements and the bathroom space, and they also show a level of creativity (Parsons, 2009; Sanders, 2006c; Suri, 2005). In other words, these types of *tactics* are the tricks of the everyday life of the bathroom. They are mostly performed to encounter with the limited options on the market or the dominant consumer practices. Users appropriate the ‘given’ bathroom space whose limits are described and defined by the dominant mechanisms and consumption trends. However, as Graumann (1976a) argues, whether and how a space is appropriated depends less on its physical characteristics, more on the individual's capacities and skills. Although this type of appropriations might seem like a series of stereotypical practices, they are the conflicts between the tendency of being active and passive; they are the dynamism aimed to exhibit an identity (Bilgin, 1990).

A common *tactic* among the interviewees is using the top of the washing machine as a shelf and thus, adding a function to it. Since a washing machine takes up about 0.3-meter cube space in the bathroom, its 0.36-meter square smooth top surface becomes attractive for some users to be used as a shelf, because it is already there and it is handy. Some interviewees use the top surface of the washing machine as a functional shelf while some use it only to display some decorative objects (Figure 5.59 and 5.60).



**Figure 5.59 :** Appropriation of the washing machine as a functional shelf.



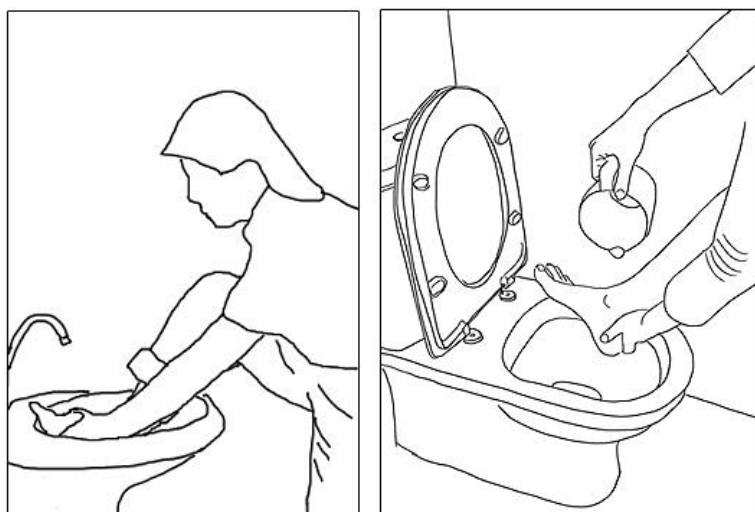
**Figure 5.60 :** Appropriation of the washing machine as a decorative display.

Although the washing machines of Interviewee 3 and Interviewee 8 are located under the counter, they use the top surface as hiding space. Interviewee 3 tucks a comics magazine to read on the toilet and Interviewee 8 tucks a dust brush in the space between the counter and the top of the washing machine (Figure 5.61).



**Figure 5.61 :** Using the in between space for hiding stuff.

Another appropriation under this section is related with the task of performing ablution, which is an example to the conflict between human needs and space properties (Atasoy & Erkman, 1976). As I explained before, performing ablution requires briefly washing the hands, mouth, face, arms and feet in this order. In order to perform the action practically, two of my interviewees lift their feet above the washbasin, and one of them lifts above the toilet bowl and pours water onto them (Figure 5.62). They all add a function to the washbasin and the toilet bowl.



**Figure 5.62 :** Usage of washbasin and toilet bowl during ablution (drawn by the author).

The reason of such appropriation is obviously the absence of a product specifically designed for this practice in the contemporary bathroom. Except the plastic cup *maşrapa*, I have not observed any peripheral elements to ease the process of ablution in the contemporary bathroom. This may occur due to various reasons. First of all the leading sanitary ware companies might hesitate launching a product that is designed specifically for religious activities with the thought that it may damage their ‘modern’ brand image (Er & Akay, 2001). Although Turkey is a secular country, the

leading sanitary ware companies might not want to be considered as if they are launching products for a specific social group. In order to create a global market opportunity as well, designers design and name the products so that it is called partial bathing unit rather than ablution unit (Er & Akay, 2001). For instance, in 2010, Vitra has launched a double washbasin called Family Series (Figure 5.63. Source; <http://www.etsm.org.tr/etsm/index.php?r=collection/view&id=514>). On its web site, it is being promoted as a washbasin for crowded families especially with children, and it is indicated that with the option of the specially designed seat, it provides a new solution for foot care.



**Figure 5.63 : Vitra Family Series.**

Although these might be the initial purposes of the design, some resellers and users on the social media are introducing the product as ablution washbasin since its design features enable it practically. For instance, the news of the newly built residency of the Chairperson of Turkish Parliamentary have been published with the headline ‘Ablution washbasin is included in the residency of the Chairperson of Turkish Parliamentary’ in 2014, with the photograph of a bathroom showing the Vitra Family Series double washbasin (Figure 5.64. Source: <http://www.ensonhaber.com/tbmm-baskanlik-konutunda-abdest-lavabosu-da-var-2014-09-18.html>).



**Figure 5.64 : Vitra Family Series, the residency of the Chairperson of Turkish Parliamentary.**

There are inventors, entrepreneurs and small and middle-sized enterprises that design ablution units for domestic use. When I searched through the patents in Turkey with the keyword ‘ablution’, I found 13 design ideas legally protected between the years 2007 and 2014. In addition, with the keyword ‘foot wash’ I found five more. However, none of them belong to the leading sanitary ware companies. It is a fact that since such manufacturers and entrepreneurs have limited production capacities and limited access to the dominant distribution channels, their products do not meet the expected consumer rates, thus do not become widespread. Moreover, the arguable quality of the design might be the other reason of falling short in being widespread. Therefore, it appears to be an unfulfilled area of design and entrepreneurs and designers keep proposing solutions for the practice of ablution in the domestic bathroom and exhibiting them in design/innovation fairs. The images on the left in Figure 5.65 show an ablution washbasin designed by a businessman from Istanbul, departing from his own personal experience ([www.abenlavabo.com](http://www.abenlavabo.com)). The small washbasin inserted in the main washbasin cabinet slides on a sled and enables the person to sit and perform ablution. The image in the middle in Figure 5.65 shows the plastic bucket-like product ‘AY-YIKA’ (shortening of ‘foot wash’) designed by a businessman who imports electrical hand tools ([ay-yika.com](http://ay-yika.com)). The product is fixed to the plumbing system in the bathroom and the water comes through its tap. The image on the right in Figure 5.65 shows news on the online version of the daily newspaper Zaman, with the headline ‘Turkish inventors are in invention fair’ in 2012. The news is about an industrial designer team exhibiting their products in the first Innovation Turkey fair, including an ablution unit, which took them five years to develop ([http://www.zaman.com.tr/cumaertesi\\_turk-mucitler-icat-fuarinda\\_2002001.html](http://www.zaman.com.tr/cumaertesi_turk-mucitler-icat-fuarinda_2002001.html)).



**Figure 5.65 :** Various ablution units.

Another appropriation under this category is turning the shower cabin into a ‘sit and bath’ place. This type of appropriation can be related either with habits or ageing

problems (Şalgamcıoğlu, 2014). Either way, it adds a function to and enhances the potential of the shower cabin and satisfies the need of ‘sit and bath’ practically (Figure 5.66).



**Figure 5.66 :** Appropriation of the shower basin and cabin.

Accepting that the showers are to be used standing, the way parents wash their children in the shower cabins can be considered as appropriation. Interviewee 8 keeps a plastic stool in their parents’ bathroom where she gives her 10-year-old daughter Melis baths (Figure 5.67). Melis sits on the stool in the shower cabin while she stands and gives her a bath. In addition, as mentioned before, during these bath sessions, they also appropriate the shower cabin, thus the bathroom, through play.



**Figure 5.67 :** Bathing stool for children.

The number of bathing stools in the bathroom department on Koçtaş<sup>52</sup> online store gives a clue on the common use of such stools in the bathrooms and the appropriation of the space. As of December 19, 2014, there are 18 bathing stools in the bathroom department. There are 10 best selling bathroom products in the bathroom department. Two of them are shower cabins, two of them are ceramic washbasins and six of them are bathing stools which are displayed in the below figure.



**Figure 5.68 :** Six bathing stools among the 10 best selling bathroom products on Koçtaş online store.

Besides the above appropriations, cleaning the household objects and washing pets and their accessories in the shower cabin/bathtub also alter the initial purpose of the shower cabin/bathtub, and enhance their affordances.

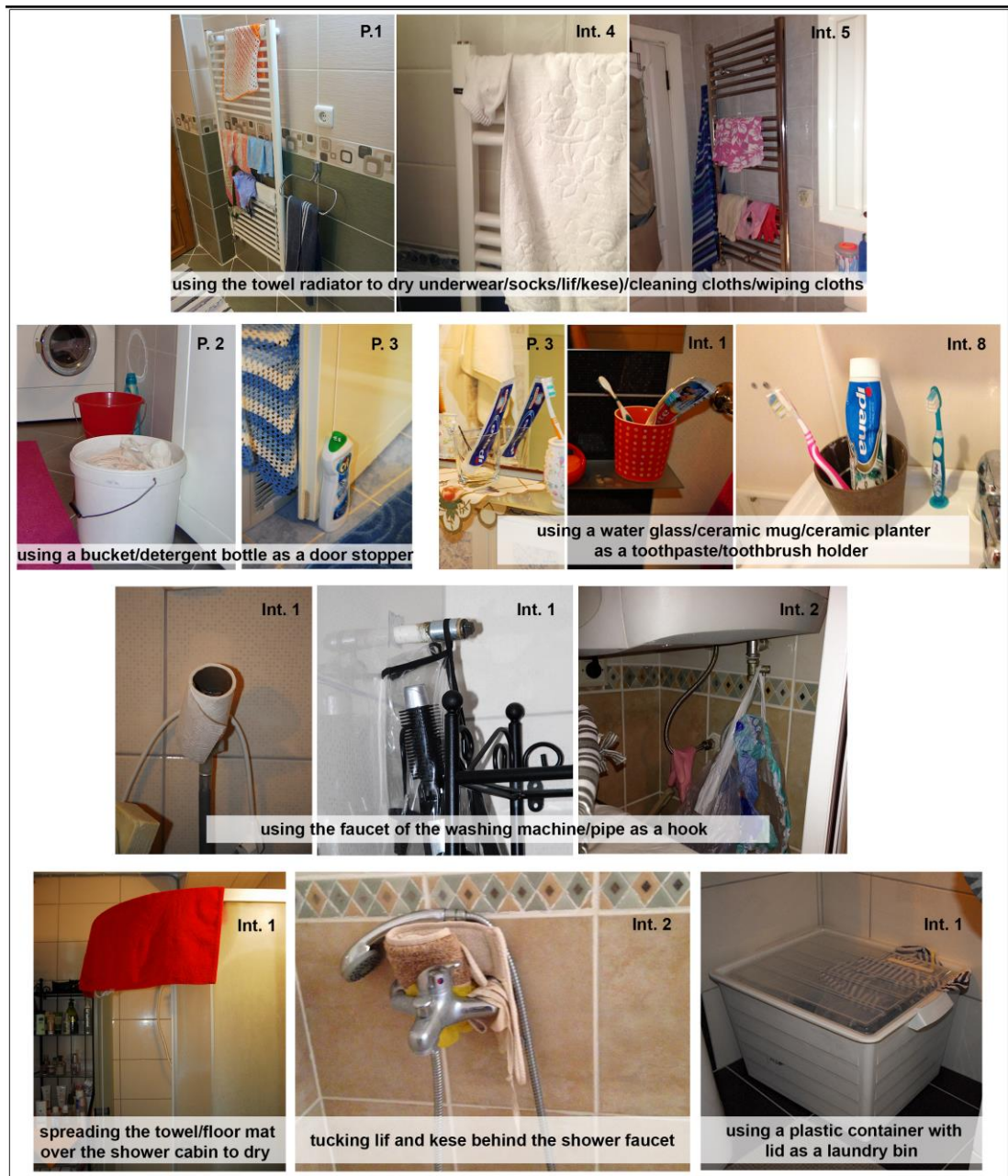
Another function related *tactic* common among the interviewees is using various plastic containers with lids for storing powder detergents. Due to the flexible structure of the powder detergent packages, most of the interviewees prefer to pour the detergent into a rigid container with a lid, which provides water resistance, practicality during use and prevents the unwanted spillage of the powder. With the spread of this practice among women, such plastic containers gain the function of being powder detergent containers (Figure 5.69).

<sup>52</sup> Hypermarket chain that offers home improvements and do-it-yourself goods also provides bathroom fixtures, auxiliary products, accessories, infrastructure parts and bathroom furniture.

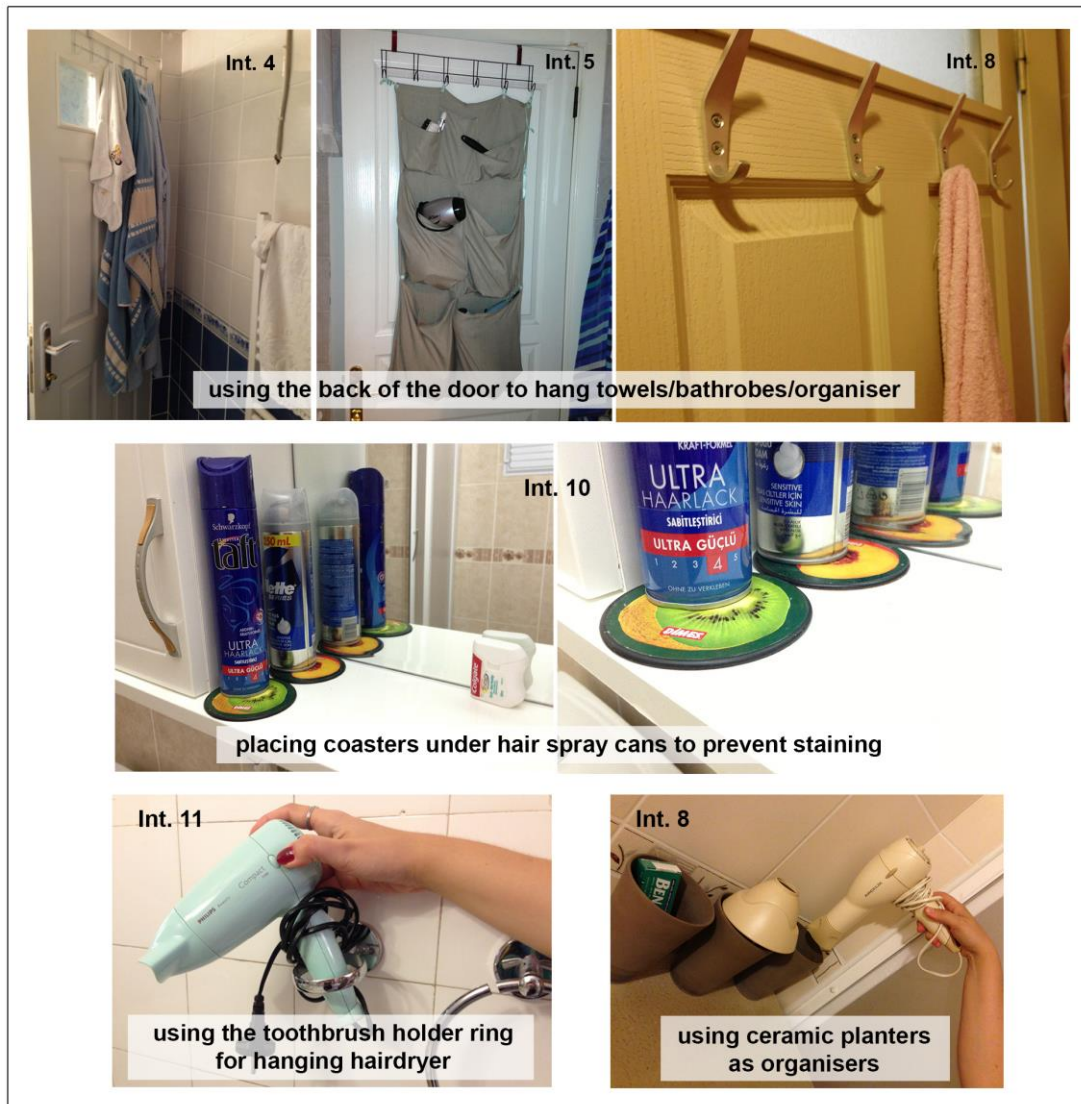


**Figure 5.69 :** Appropriation of containers as powder detergent containers.

In addition to the appropriations displayed until here, there are also less common, various appropriations employed by the interviewees under this category. These appropriations are done by changing the initial purpose of objects, in order to solve a problem or satisfy a need practically in the contemporary bathroom. Figure 5.70 and 5.71 show these appropriations with their explanations.



**Figure 5.70 :** Various appropriations.



**Figure 5.71 :** Various appropriations.

The data shows that, interviewees not only change the context of things but they also sometimes change the context of the space itself through some practices and/or some objects. Most of the time, in order to perform an unrelated practice, interviewees bring unrelated objects in the bathroom. By bringing such objects, it might be said that the interviewees make these objects part of the material culture of the bathroom, relate them through their practices, however, temporarily. Among the interviewees, some turn the bathroom space into a place to read, to follow the news, to work, to linger or to entertain themselves, and some use it as a storage space while some try to convert it into a living room-like space. These appropriations are carried out by various ways, such as, solving crossword puzzle on the toilet, watching TV by leaving the bathroom door open, reading magazines/books/comics/newspaper on the toilet, following the news and social media through smart phones on the toilet,

listening to music through smart phones, using a lap top computer on the toilet, playing games with children while giving a bath to them, smoking on the toilet, masturbating in the shower, using the countertop as a workbench, keeping the cleaning tools in the shower cabin, using various types of decoration elements in the space etc. Below figure shows the magazine rack of Interviewee 6, the decor elements on the counter of Interviewee 7 and the lap top computer setting of Interviewee 7, respectively.



**Figure 5.72 :** Appropriating the space.

### **5.5.2 Appropriations employed by tenants for handling the rules of landlords (tenants' appropriations)**

As the type of appropriation might differ according to the characteristic of its appropriator (Carrier, 1990; Ilmonen, 2004), during the interviews, I realised that tenant interviewees carry out some specific appropriations when compared to the owner-occupier interviewees. Being a tenant differs than being an owner-occupier in terms of the modifications one can do in the house, thus in the bathroom. There are factors that restrict the appropriation of a dwelling and being a tenant is one of them; tenants have to comply with some regulations that landlords set up, and such regulations limit their appropriations of space (Atasoy & Erkman, 1976; Chombart de Lauwe, 1976; Haumont, 1976). Thereby, the analogy between the concept of appropriation and the concepts of de Certeau (1984) does best fit within this category. In other words, the appropriations of the tenants are the *tactics* of the weak as opposed to the *strategies* of their householders.

The tenant interviewees tend to intervene the design of the bathroom as little as possible since either they are not allowed to, or they do not want to talk to the landlords for demands or they are already fed up with the rejections from the

landlords. Five of my interviewees are tenants and I realised that they carry out some of the appropriations in order to make do and get by within the present conditions in the bathroom.

Not to drill the wall tiles or drilling as little as possible is one of the common rules that my tenant interviewees face with. In order to deal with this rule, the tenant interviewees carry out *tactics* such as hanging things on the walls by vacuum cup suction and double-sided mounting tapes, using idle nails or hook-like things that are already on the walls and tucking *lif/kese* behind the shower faucet. Below figure shows the suction cup hooks of Interviewee 1, and valve and faucet hooks of Interviewee 11, respectively.



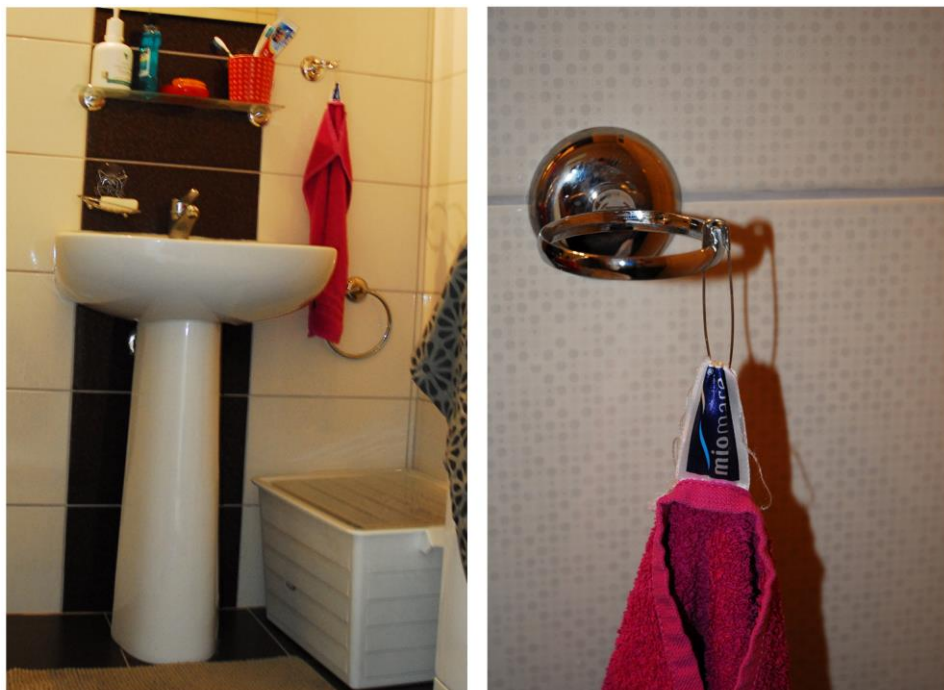
**Figure 5.73 :** Appropriations by tenants.

Unfortunately, according to their statements, not all these appropriations work properly, which sometimes leads them to give in and accept the existing conditions. For instance, both Interviewee 1 and Interviewee 5 mentioned that self-adhesive products do fall after a while. Below figure shows the failed self-adhesive hook of Interviewee 5 and her housemates. They bought it to hang their *lifs*, however, the adhesive did not work and finally they hung it on the pipe as it is seen in the figure.



**Figure 5.74 :** Failed self-adhesive hook of Interviewee 5.

The special way that Interviewee 1 hangs the towel is an interesting *tactic* against the dominant situation. Since the towel ring beside the washbasin is fixed close to the ground, she uses the toothbrush holder to hang the towel via a safety pin (Figure 5.75).



**Figure 5.75 :** Hanging towel via safety pin.

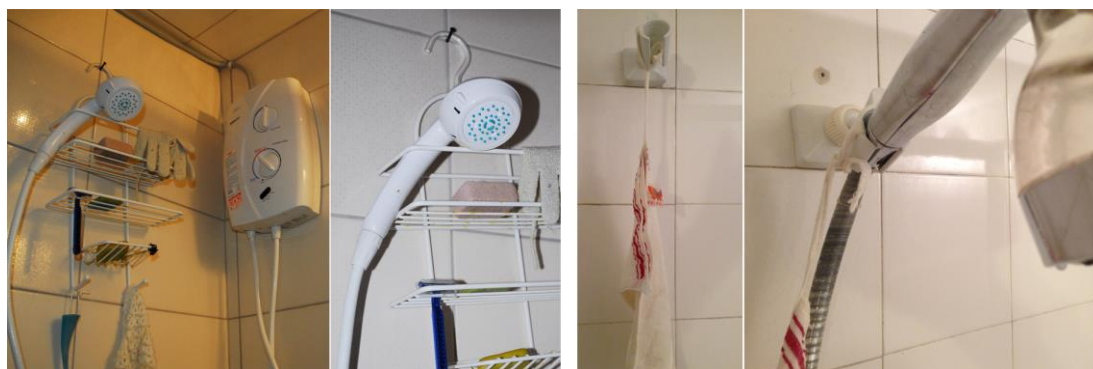
According to my observations, I understand that due to being temporary inhabitants of the house, tenants do not prefer spending money on something that they cannot

take with them when it is time to move out. The metal self-standing shelf, the plastic chest of drawers, the over door hanger, the white self-standing cupboard and the hand-made fabric rack in Figure 5.76 are the mobile storage solutions that tenant interviewees generate, and they show how the tenants appropriate the bathroom space since they have not been provided with the necessary storing units in the space.



**Figure 5.76 : Mobile storing solutions.**

In addition to the above, two of the interviewees perform a similar appropriation to a similar problem they are having. One hangs the hand shower on the shower hanger since it does not fit in the hand shower holder, while the other narrows the hand shower holder with the rope of her *kese*, otherwise the hand shower stays loose in the hand shower holder (Figure 5.77).



**Figure 5.77 : Fixing the shower holder.**

### **5.5.3 Appropriations towards the construction of the territory of the self via decoration, interior design and organisation (social appropriations)**

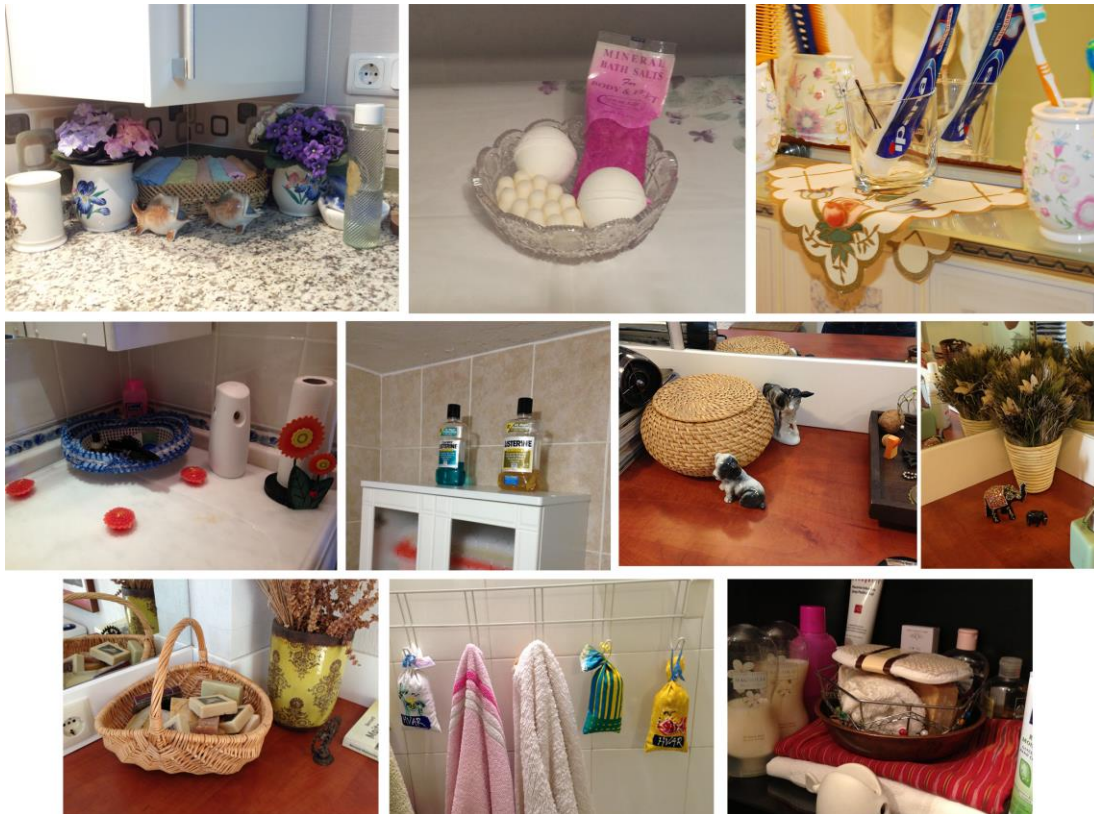
Personalising our environment with the desired artefacts, goods and décor elements creates a personal domain and a ‘territory of the self’ (Nippert-Eng, 2010). It is a way of marking of space. However, it is not only related with the artefacts. According to Graumann (1976a), appropriation of space is not essentially about appropriation of

objects but of meanings; modes of relating to things are appropriated. Such appropriations result in the emergence of the 'soul' of the space since the inhabitants impregnate the space with their beings, with their way of dwelling-in (Ekambi-Schmidt, as cited in Barilleau & Lombardo, 1976). According to Chombart de Lauwe (1976), it is a way of communication;

The appropriation of space is not an isolated act. It is social in essence for the objects and their arrangement in space are message-bearers. Appropriation of space is communication. It is deeply marked by social relationships, the whole of social structures, the ideologies (p. 30).

Graumann (1976a) thinks that personalisation of space is part of psychological perspective of appropriation and it is performed through furnishing rooms, decorating, marking, gardening, distribution of personal items, making space habitable by reshaping it. According to the data of this study, in order to construct a territory, interviewees apply various appropriations related to the decoration, interior design and the organisation of the bathroom space for aesthetic purposes. Deciding what to 'display' and what to 'hide', and when, are the main mechanisms of this type of appropriations. This way, the appropriators project themselves, their desires and inner feelings on the products and on the space (Ilmonen, 2004). It should also be remembered that this projection is mutual; an individual appropriates the space according to his/her identity, however, s/he also grasps his/her identity through the appropriation of it (Thornberg, 1976). It is also important to remember that appropriation of space arises from the closeness that the appropriator feels to that space (Bilgin, 1990); therefore, in terms of social appropriations, tenant interviewees might perform less appropriation than the owner-occupier interviewees. However, no type of appropriation is more important or less important than the other; they show the effort of the appropriator (Bilgin, 1990).

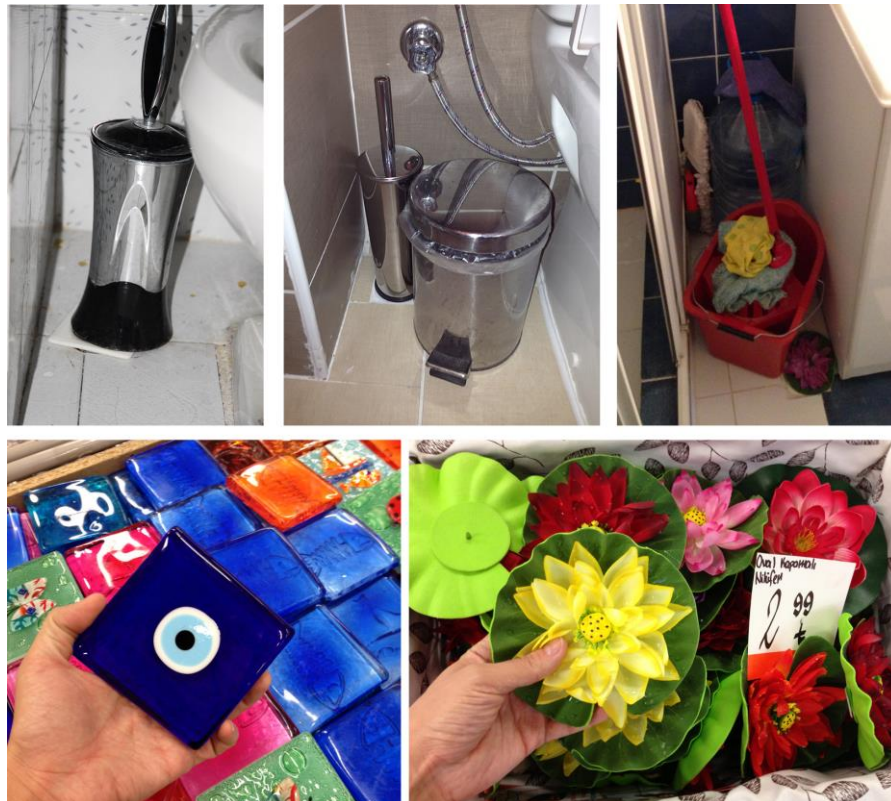
As I explained before, some of my interviewees 'hide' the washing machine under a fabric, and display some objects on it. They display some décor elements including baskets, soaps and fake flowers. Some also display such objects on the mirror shelves or on the counter (Figure 5.78).



**Figure 5.78 :** Displaying décor elements.

As I discussed in the section 5.4.2.3, some of the interviewees keep two toilet brushes and hide the practical but ‘ugly’ looking toilet brush prior to the arrival of a guest, since it does not match the décor of the bathroom.

Another *tactic* to hide the ‘ugliness’ or disharmony in the bathroom is covering the bathroom floor drain plate. While some of the interviewees hide it with the toilet brush since it is near the toilet bowl, one covers it with fake plastic flowers that are specifically designed for this purpose. Apart from the plastic flowers, I also observed that square blocks made of glass are also provided on the market in a wide range of variety. The first row of Figure 5.79 shows the drain covering *tactics* of Interviewee 1, Interviewee 9, and Interviewee 4, while the second row presents the glass blocks and plastic flowers in the market.



**Figure 5.79 :** Covering the floor drain plate.

Keeping the colour harmony between the bathroom fixtures and its elements and accessories is another appropriation under this group. Purchasing or knitting matching floor mats, knitting/sewing matching washing machine covers, finding and purchasing matching towels, purchasing matching, proper accessories and even thinking, searching and deciding about these issues are part of this appropriation. This way, the bathroom is appropriated by deciding what and how to be displayed.

Another appropriation under this group is always keeping the cabin doors of the shower stall/bathtub closed, especially if there is a guest in the house. According to the statements of my interviewees, closing the cabins that have frosted glass doors provides privacy or keeping some of the cleaning products out of sight or hiding the 'bad' looking, old bathtub. However, closing the cabins that have transparent glass doors does not maintain privacy, on the contrary it creates an exposition. Baudrillard (2002) argues that glass, as being one of the new materials of the modern world, is a material that displays everything behind it but prevents touching. It provides a transmission through its transparency and blocks it at the same time, where you can see but cannot touch. With this perspective of view, the transparent shower cabin displays an intimacy and privacy where the gaze enjoys the exhibit, but feels

excluded due to the glass walls. Closing the cabins that have transparent glass doors sustains the desired integrity of the product and the space.

Using the space between the walls and washing machine, the countertop and washing machine or simply behind the doors to hide stuff is another *tactic* under this group. Such spaces are generally used to hide the detergent bottles, cleaning buckets, brushes, spare stuff and other cleaning tools; stuff that the interviewees do not want to display (Figure 5.80).



**Figure 5.80 :** Using in between spaces to hide stuff.

Among the interviewees, the most common appropriation related to ‘display’ and ‘hide’ is creating an extension of the bathroom, which is using a room, a balcony, a cupboard, a cellar, or a toilet room to store the bathroom related elements, tools, spares and products. The reason of this may be considered as mainly having a small bathroom or lacking of cabinets in the bathroom, however, it is also related with the fact that women want to keep these backstage tools of the bathroom in the backstage, thus maintain the desired bathroom image and create the territory of the self. Below figure shows the bathroom extensions of the interviewees, however, it should be noted that not all of the interviewees allowed me to photograph their bathroom extensions.



**Figure 5.81 :** Extensions of the bathrooms.

Interviewees do not only hide or display products, but they also try to ‘hide’ unwanted smells and ‘display’ desired smells by using soaps, candles, air freshener sprays, automatic scent sprays and by having mounted electric ventilation. This is another example to the appropriation of intangibles in the bathroom.

## 5.6 Influencing Factors in Performing Appropriations

The study shows that there are various influencing factors in performing the appropriations in the domestic bathroom. The factors might be related with the physical attributes of the space, personal and social characteristics of the user. However, as it is seen in the below table, one factor might affect more than one type of appropriations. Since the boundaries between the types of appropriations are fuzzy

and interlaced, its influencing factors may be many and vary as well. Below table shows the influencing factors in performing these appropriations and the type of appropriations influenced.

**Table 5.34 :** Influencing factors in performing appropriations.

|                                   | Utilitarian Appropriations | Tenants' Appropriations | Social Appropriations |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| Impracticality                    | X                          | X                       |                       |
| Insufficient Capabilities         | X                          | X                       |                       |
| Infrastructure Problems           | X                          | X                       |                       |
| Physical Limitations              | X                          | X                       |                       |
| Physical Problems                 | X                          | X                       |                       |
| Physical Needs                    | X                          | X                       |                       |
| Inefficiency                      | X                          | X                       |                       |
| Regulations                       |                            | X                       |                       |
| Need of Physical Safety           | X                          |                         |                       |
| Desire to Keep Clean & Attractive | X                          |                         | X                     |
| Self-entertainment                | X                          |                         | X                     |
| Need of Privacy                   | X                          |                         | X                     |
| Desire to Mark of                 |                            |                         | X                     |
| Desire to Personalize             | X                          |                         | X                     |
| Desire for Visual Harmony         |                            |                         | X                     |
| Desire to Display & Hide          | X                          |                         | X                     |

## 5.7 Strategies of Appropriation to Overcome the Struggle in the Bathroom

Women, as being the homemakers, have always been responsible for taking care of the home and family. As this study also shows, domestic bathroom is one of the places at home where the domestic chores are performed. Thus, it becomes one of the key spaces through which modern woman is defined. It is the space where bodily cleaning, laundry and house cleaning are done. While she carries out these tasks daily, as the interviews confirm, she also desires to keep the bathroom space clean and tidy since it is one of the signs of being good at being a ‘woman’. This conflict might bring about a struggle in the bathroom. As the data shows, women try to overcome this struggle in the bathroom by employing some types of appropriations consisting of a range of activities or systems.

I derived two major strategies of appropriations employed by women in order to overcome the struggle in the contemporary domestic bathroom:

#### I. Decoration

#### II. Management

Most of the practice patterns and appropriations I described until here constitute these two strategies. For instance, the strategy of decoration includes all the decisions and uses of décor elements, trinkets, floor mats, toilet seat cover fabrics, washing machine covers and products that create colour harmony. It is a way of domestication of the bathroom space, including its fixtures and elements.

The strategy of management includes the appropriations related to cleaning, wiping, hiding, displaying, creating an extension of the bathroom, organising, checking the practices of other family members, controlling the work of the cleaning lady, enhancing the space and its elements through modifications, renovations and scanning the market for better products.

According to Baudrillard (2002) the modern dweller does not only dwell in the dwelling; s/he is an interior designer and an ambience designer. S/he monitors every possible mutual relation between the objects and their roles by controlling the space. Thus, he argues that the modern individual does not consume objects but dominates, controls and orders them, and finds him/herself manipulated by a system while playing his/her part. Baudrillard (2002) concludes by explaining the relation between the world of consumption and the world of desires. He claims that consumption has no longer anything to do with the needs. The world of desires --which is implicit in objects and always disappoints the individual-- keeps that consumption alive. Thus, the desires transfer its “existential dynamic to the systematic and limitless acquisition of consumption's sign-objects” (Baudrillard, 2002, p. 204). This makes consumption appear like a reason to live in order to continue the way it works. “The very will to live, fragmented, disappointed, signified, is condemned to repeat itself and repeatedly abolish itself in a succession of objects” (2002, p. 204). Therefore, Baudrillard finds the approach that considers consumption as reasonable or normal due to the list of needs as a naive moralism. Today, modern bathroom can be regarded as one of the prestigious spaces and a place for investment (Bilgin, 2009). According to Cengizkan with the 1990s, the bathroom became the object of

consumption that consumes the objects of consumption, due to the increase in consumerism in the society and the domination of the reductive market economy. Considering the bathroom space, the relation between consumption and desires is confirmed by the statement of Interviewee 8:

It is one of the places where I constantly dream, to renovate, one of the spaces of desire. Oh, I should by this, oh, I will buy a floor mat, oh, I will renew this... Actually it is a consumption driver... A place that I constantly think about, and there is no guarantee that I will be satisfied. It will be fed with the desire for the new, the motivator of needs... The kitchen is its friend... For the woman the bathroom is one of the prestigious spaces. You yourself... Wow, she has a super wonderful bathroom, it is one of the places where she becomes integrated... One is the kitchen, the other is the bathroom and other one is the guest room [*salon*].

As a conclusion, with these two major strategies of appropriations women try to control the struggle or the tension between the everyday side and the pretentious side of the contemporary bathroom. While the everyday side uncovers the traces and gives hints of the various activities related to the intense use, conversely, the pretentious side tries to hide all the activities related to getting rid of dirt and bodily elimination. The pretentious side welcomes the outsiders as if the bathroom is totally new. Therefore, these strategies of appropriations are kept alive by the monitoring system between women and the dynamics of desires and consumption.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

The study was set out to find out, through contemporary domestic bathroom, the types of appropriations performed in everyday life and their influencing factors. Through this aim, the study has also sought to reveal the interrelation between users and the domestic bathroom space, and how the bathroom and its elements are incorporated into everyday life routine. It asked the following research questions:

- How is the domestic bathroom used and organised in everyday life?
- What types of appropriations are performed during the usage and the organisation of the domestic bathroom?
- What are the influencing factors in performing these appropriations?
- What is the material culture of the domestic bathroom that furnishes these appropriations?

To find out the answers, mainly, semi-structured, face-to-face interviews were conducted with 15 urban dwellers (woman only) in İzmir. My interviewees' accounts are not necessarily representative, but they have provided insight into the use and appropriation of the domestic bathroom space. Therefore, this study has not aimed to produce a theoretical convergence.

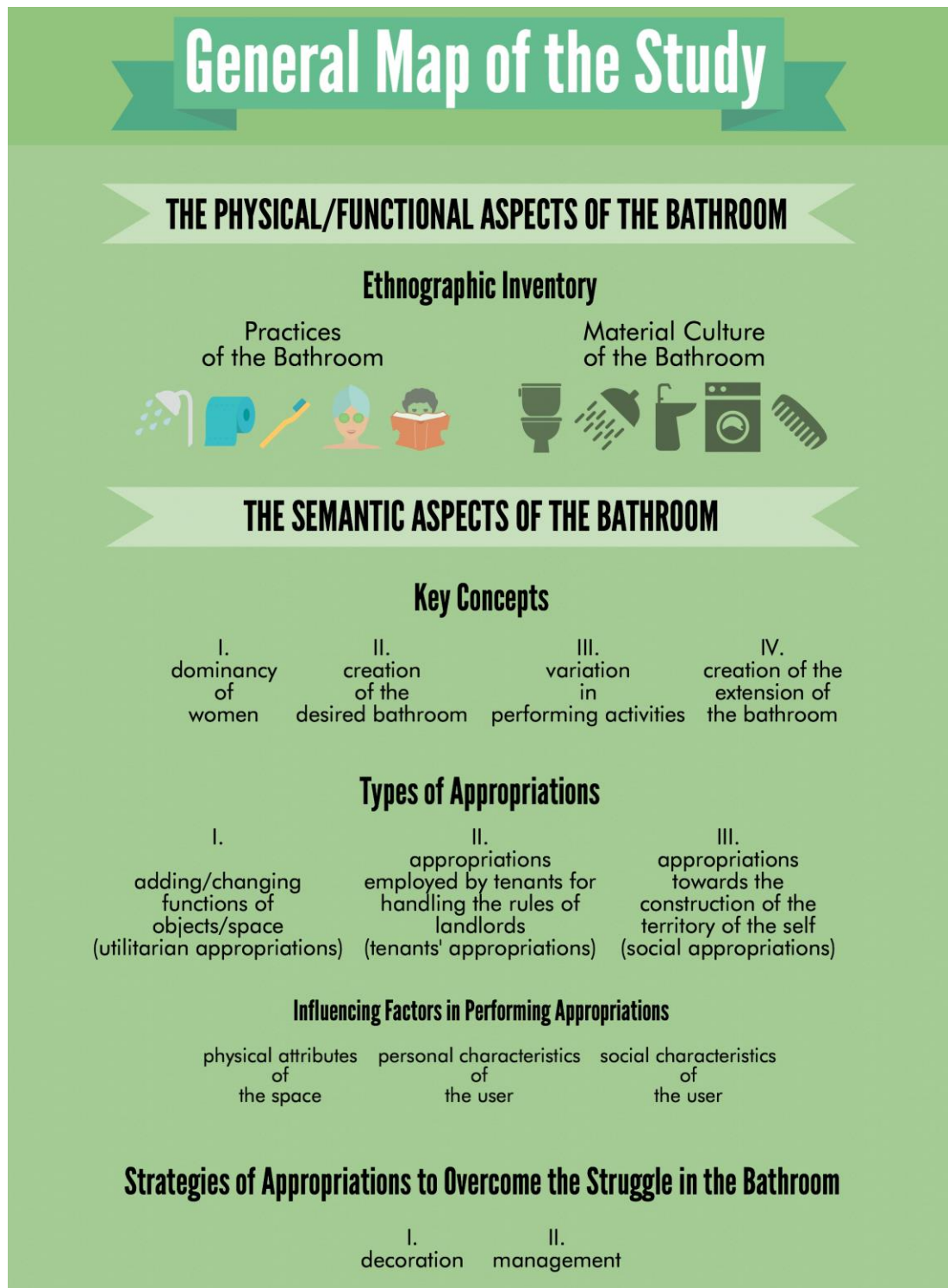
The conceptual framework of the study has been drawn within the concept of culture, everyday life, material culture, appropriation and their relation to industrial design. The study has regarded the user as the active and creative agent of everyday life. With this perspective, it has emphasized the importance of appropriations in everyday life, as it is one of the daily tools of the user, and focused on the subjective experiences of the bathroom space. The study has presented an analogy between the concept of *tactic* (de Certeau, 1984) and the appropriation in the bathroom. In other words, it has regarded the appropriations performed in the bathroom as *tactics*

operated against the given space, dominant consumption patterns and bathroom trends in the urban everyday life.

Previous chapter has presented and discussed the findings in the following order:

- Contemporary Bathroom Practices
- Material Culture of the Contemporary Bathroom
- Key Concepts of the Contemporary Bathroom
- Appropriations Performed in the Contemporary Bathroom
- Influencing Factors in Performing Appropriations
- Strategies of Appropriations to Overcome the Struggle in the Bathroom

Deriving from these findings, a general map of the study is displayed in Figure 6.1. It shows the two dimensions of the bathroom; (i) the physical/functional aspects, and (ii) the semantic aspects. While the ethnographic inventory (practices and material culture) represents the physical/functional aspects of the bathroom, key concepts, appropriations, their influencing factors and strategies of appropriations represent the semantic aspects of the bathroom. Here the word semantic is not related with 'product semantics', rather it indicates the intangible side of the bathroom such as the meaning(s) of the practices and appropriations, thus the space.



**Figure 6.1 :** General map of the study.

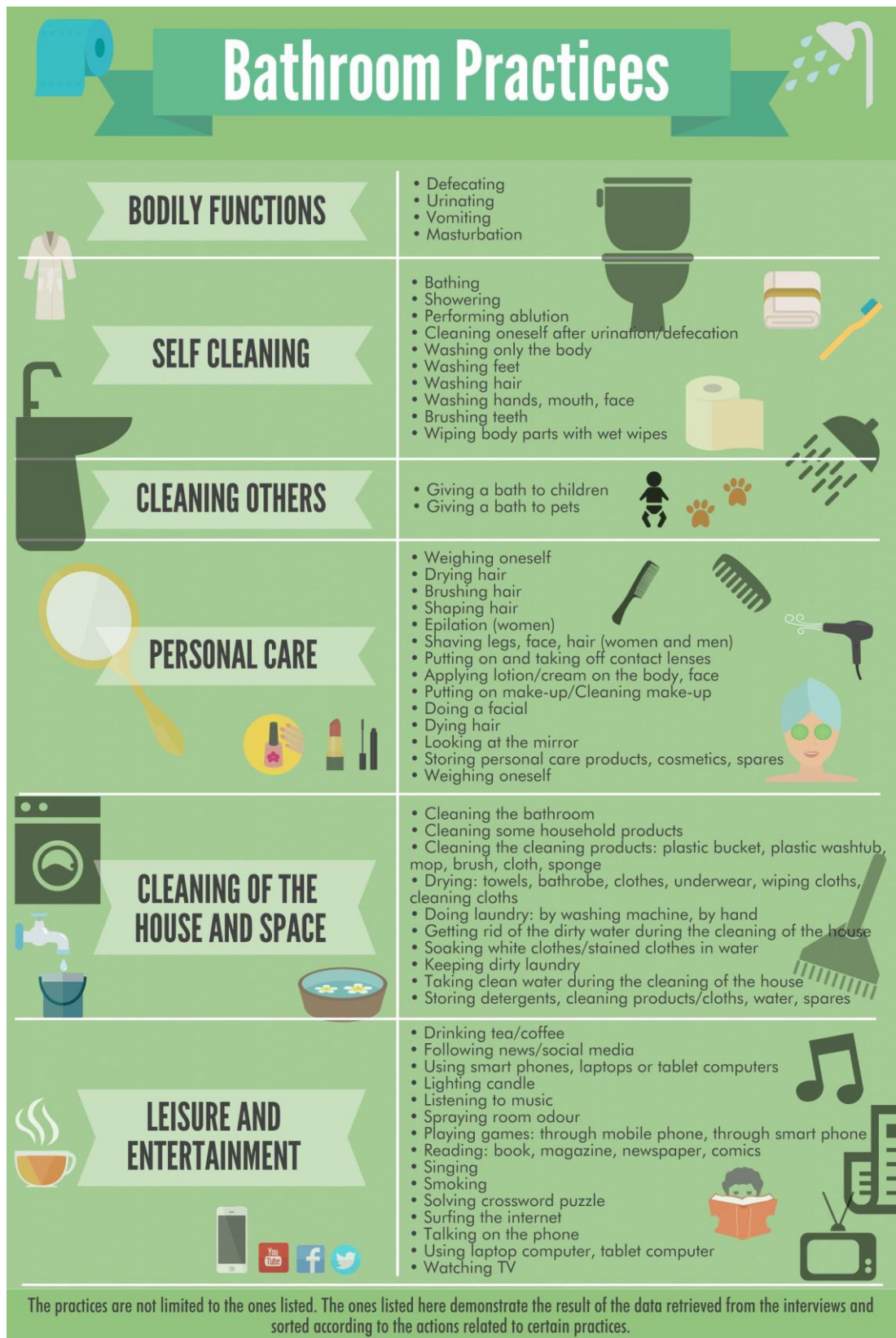
### 6.1 The Physical/Functional Aspects of the Bathroom

First of all, without the aim of generalisation, the study created an inventory of practices employed in the contemporary domestic bathroom in the Turkish context. These practices can be categorised under the groups of bodily functions, self-

cleaning, cleaning others, personal care, cleaning of the house and leisure and entertainment as displayed in Figure 6.2.

This account of usage shows that the bathroom space is a quite busy place of home and takes on various roles according to the practices performed in there. The study is important not only because it shows the practices we already know and take for granted, but also the ones that we did not know. Fundamentally, the bathroom provides the space and products to satisfy basic bodily needs like elimination and cleaning. Additionally, it becomes a playground with children, the main domain for house care, a subtle space for sexual satisfaction and the backstage of our social life where we prepare our appearance. Besides, the bathroom has a spiritual side. It is the space where one can be in solitude and even dream. This especially happens while showering/bathing or using the toilet. All these practices have implications on bathroom design. With the advances in technology, it is obvious that the contemporary bathroom has changed through decades in terms of the quality of comfort, thus satisfies the various needs of the changing society. However, the study shows that conventional bathroom designs have still domains to be improved when all these everyday life practices are considered.

Moreover, the inventory of practices shows that the contemporary bathroom has a sacred side as well. It is the place where people get prepared for praying. However, in order to perform ablution, users try to internalise the bathroom elements, thus the space, through some appropriations, since the bathroom elements contradict with the practice of ablution. Such a practice can be a source of inspiration for designers to generate innovative solutions in the bathroom regarding the local context.



**Figure 6.2 : Bathroom practices.**

Lastly, presenting the material culture of the bathroom has shown what enables or disables the appropriation of it. Figure 6.3 displays the elements of the bathroom regarding this study.



**Figure 6.3 :** Bathroom elements.

Being the extension of the inventory of practices, the account of the material culture makes visible that contemporary bathroom still includes the initial sanitary ware elements of the modern bathroom, which are ceramic washbasin and ceramic toilet bowl. The other two initial elements of the modern bathroom, bidet and bathtub, are not as popular as they once were. Although bidet is still displayed in the advertisements and catalogues, it is not being preferred at homes. As for bathtubs, they are being transformed to shower basins and shower cabins, especially by the owner-occupiers. Including the sanitary ware elements, the material culture of the bathroom and appropriations performed in there are interrelated, such as culture-specific objects or decor elements, which enable the appropriations of the space and its elements.

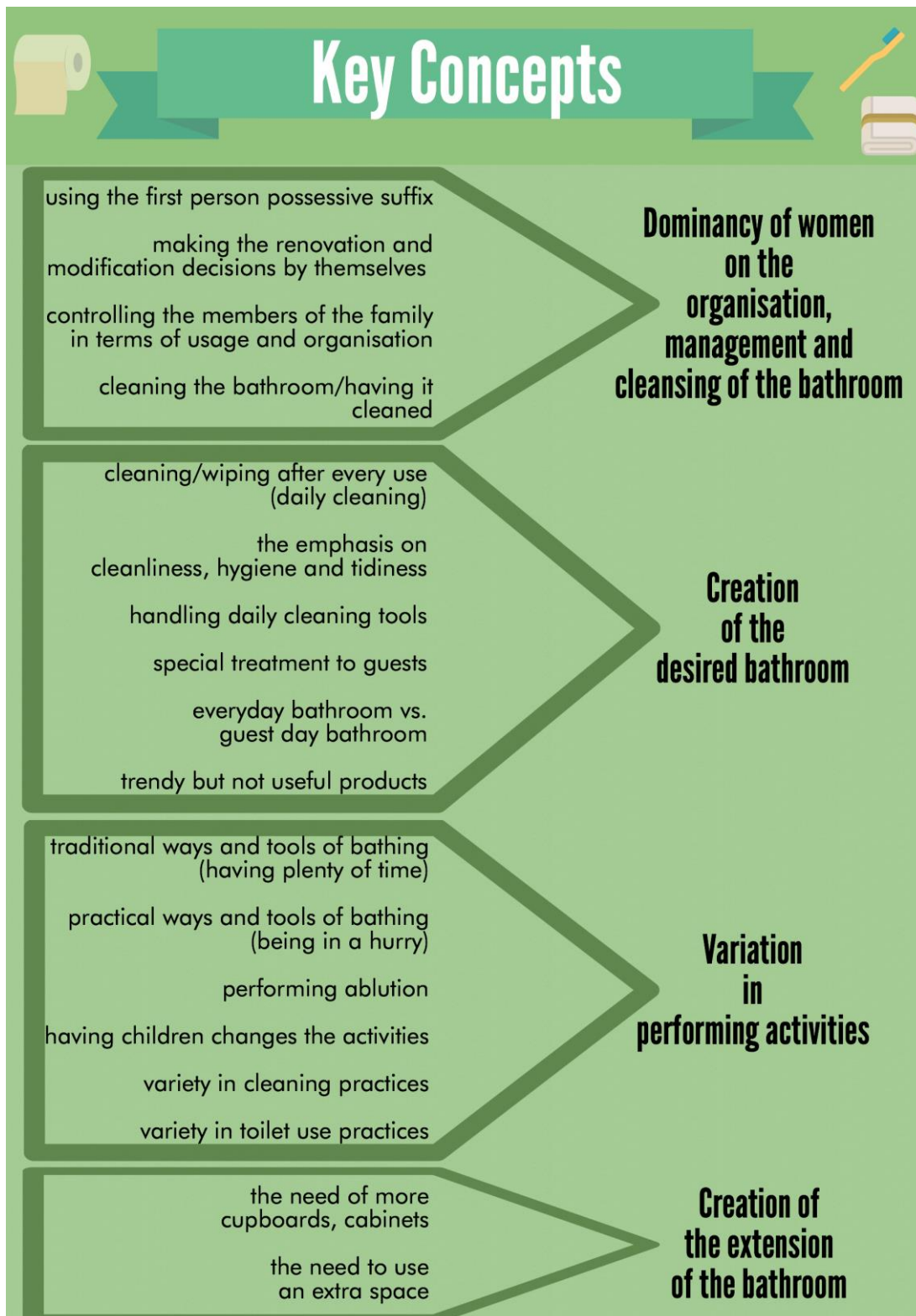
As a conclusion, the study has shown that there are some patterns of specific use and organisations in the bathroom, which may be or not be related to the local culture and habits. Bathroom space might embody contradictions between its elements and these cultural habits that require specific ways of doing and tools

## **6.2 The Semantic Aspects of the Bathroom**

I have generated four key concepts regarding the domestic bathroom. These concepts are:

- (i) there is a dominancy of women on the organisation, management and the cleansing of the bathroom,
- (ii) there is a pretentious side of the contemporary bathroom and women try to create and maintain this side through the desired bathroom image on their minds,
- (iii) there is a variation in performing activities considering the various use and cleaning practices, and
- (iv) due to the physical incompetency of the bathroom space, women create an extension of the bathroom.

Figure 6.4 displays the codes that lead to the key concepts of the study.



**Figure 6.4 :** The key concepts derived from the data.

As it is confirmed in the interviews, bathroom space is one of the domains that women own and display their skills, besides the kitchen. The study shows that within everyday life, the bathroom space is used for various reasons intensely and women try to keep it tidy and clean at all times so that she can be prepared for the guests that

come without a notice. Bathroom being messy and dirty is unacceptable among women and it is something to be ashamed of. Thus, among women, the bathroom became an agency to be inspected and evaluated. Being aware of the monitoring, women try to realise the desired bathroom image on their minds and pay attention to anything that might damage this image. The fundamental tools to create this image are tidiness and cleanliness. The side tools are creating visual harmony with accessories, hiding away products that disturb the visual harmony and displaying specific products only for their visual quality, especially prior to guests' arrival. With all these, women, as a type of denial, try to organise the contemporary bathroom as if the 'dirty business' is not being done in there. This way the bathroom looks similar to the bathroom images in catalogues or magazine advertisements as if no one has used it before, especially on the guest days. This shows the pretentious side of the contemporary bathroom. In other words, the contemporary domestic bathroom embodies some contradictions such as clean/dirty, tidy/untidy and private/public. Therefore, how women use and organise the contemporary bathroom, and how they desire to expose it may be an important input for designers and architects since it implies many use patterns within various layers in everyday life of the bathroom.

The study has shown that regardless of the status of the user, regarding the bathroom elements thus the total image, there is a resemblance or homogeneity between the studied bathrooms. The use practices or the reasons behind these elements might be different, but what is displayed is similar. In a way, the specific practices performed in there are concealed with the displayed modern bathroom images, which might be regarded as an entailment to being 'modern' and an urban dweller. Women trying to create and maintain the ideal, modern bathroom image can be considered as one of the dominant policies of modernity. Part of this process includes following the new designs, consumption trends and the market. This unity, which initially started with Westernisation and modernisation in Turkey, shows the power of the created and imposed --and still dominant-- modern bathroom image.

Regarding the third concept, the variation in performing activities in the bathroom, parallel to the inventory of practices, the study shows that bathroom is a space where various activities are performed in various ways. Thus, bathroom constitutes spatiality that each family uses its own way. Today conventional bathroom designs are still not flexible enough to perform these various uses such as sitting and bathing,

giving children bath, performing ablution and spending time on the toilet with ease and comfort. These cultural constraints and the differences in usages can be source of inspiration for new products for the designers and sanitary ware companies.

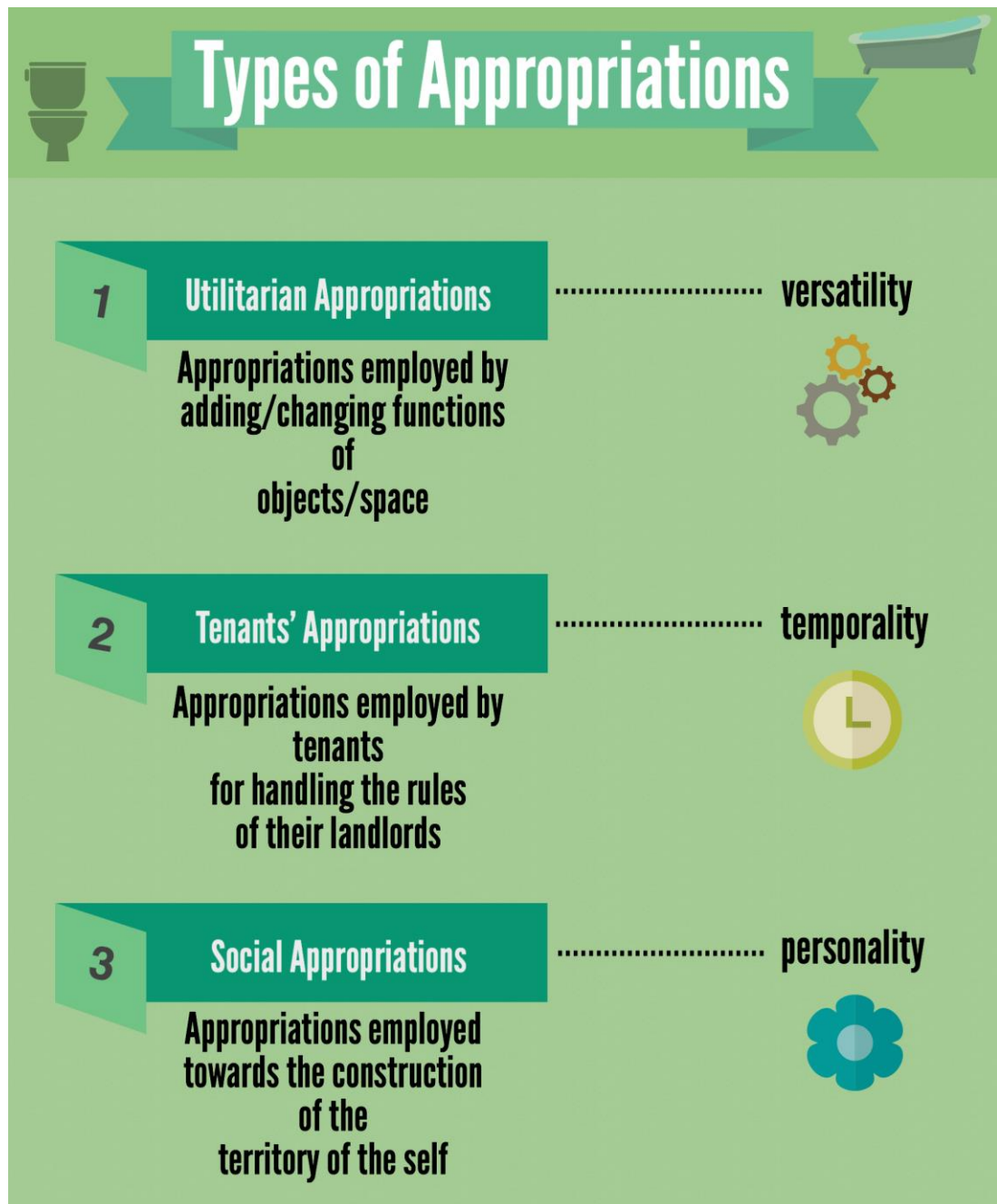
Another source of inspiration may be the inefficiency of storage regarding the conventional bathroom designs as the fourth key concept confirms. The study shows that better solutions are needed for the storage of cleaning tools/products, laundry tools/products, towels or spare products. According to the findings of the study, women need storage solutions to store bathroom related tools and products in order to sustain the pre-defined image of the modern bathroom. This issue should not only draw the attention of designers but also architects since such solutions can be considered within the plan of a bathroom. In addition, as the findings show, the problem of humidity should also be taken into account since it also affects where to store which product/tool.

The study has shown that the modern individual (the user) may be restricted with the dominant powers of everyday life; however, s/he is not passive and shows her/his resistance with appropriations, in other words *tactics*.

Starting from the literature chapters, the study has shown that we appropriate the 'modern' bathroom since its first appearance in Turkey. With the affect of modernisation and Westernisation, cultural contradictions has occurred in everyday life. Since, initially, the adaptation of the modern bathroom was not conveyed according to the considerations of the local context, the culturally foreign fixtures of the modern bathroom were being appropriated according to the cultural habits and practices. The 'old' habits and practices were being applied on the 'new' forms.

The findings of the study reveal three types of appropriations that allow passages between each other (Figure 6.5):

- (i) utilitarian appropriations,
- (ii) tenants' appropriations, and
- (iii) social appropriations.



**Figure 6.5 :** Types of appropriations derived from the data.

These appropriations, in general, show that everyday life in the bathroom and its routines are creative and freeing. The users reproduce the everyday life in the bathroom, which is defined by the dominant consumption trends and mechanisms. Although the constraints of everyday life seem to limit the user, it serves opportunities at the same time. Thus, everyday life and the cultural context direct the user in terms of performing appropriations and if the designer knows how to read these data, it will turn into a rich source for him/her. They indicate the potential of the space and its elements, and can inspire designers.

Utilitarian *tactics* --appropriations employed by adding/changing functions of objects/space-- show the creativity of the users. They are mostly related with the inadequacy of the space, the various actions performed in the bathroom, thus the quick shifts between these actions. They indicate the reproduction, integration, completion and versatility in the bathroom.

Similarly, *tactics* common among tenants --the appropriations in order to handle the rules of their landlords-- show how tenants make do and get by with the present conditions. These actions show how users manage to adapt the bathroom space and its elements into their everyday routine and make them better fit their needs without permanent changes. They indicate the temporality in the bathroom.

Social appropriations --appropriations employed towards the construction of the territory of the self-- support one of the key concepts derived from the data; women own the bathroom in terms of its use and organisation. Women create an environment in the bathroom through products and décor elements that they want to display. This way they try to project their inner desires that is fed by the desired bathroom image that they want to create. This type of appropriations indicates the reflection of identity, life-style or personality in the bathroom.

There are various factors that influence the performance of these appropriations. These factors can be grouped as:

- (i) physical attributes of the space,
- (ii) personal characteristics of the user, and
- (iii) social characteristics of the user.

However, performing a type of appropriation might be motivated by more than one factor. The most common influencing factors are related with the deficient physical qualities of the bathroom space and the creation of the desired bathroom image.

While the users appropriate the bathroom, the conditions of the space might also appropriate the users' practices, since it is a two-way relation. The tangible and intangible elements of the bathroom space shape users' daily routines.

The data also reveals two major strategies of appropriation employed by the women in order to overcome the everyday bathroom and desired bathroom struggle in the contemporary bathroom:

- (i) decoration, and
- (ii) management.

These two major strategies of appropriations show that women try to sustain the pretentious side of the contemporary bathroom while the everyday bathroom is used to its utmost limits. They regard the bathroom as a representation of personality value, as one of the basis for the assertion of self-identity.

### **6.3 Contribution to Knowledge**

This study provides insight into how the concept of appropriation applies in the specific case of bathrooms. It does this in the Turkish context. I have conducted this limited study through a limited number of bathroom users, however, the data generated through the relatively small number of detailed interviews might be more valuable than a larger quantitative database because of the deep data, rich details and descriptions. The detailed findings of this study can be input for quantitative studies regarding the bathroom space, which might be conducted with bigger sampling sizes.

By focusing on the appropriations performed in the bathroom, the study shows the importance of appropriations for industrial design research. Appropriations in everyday life might uncover the creativity of the users, reflect users' identities or show how they intervene their environment to meet their needs. These interactions are important for industrial design research because placing the user and his/her experiences in the centre of design research enables a better understanding of people, their values, lifestyles thus of society, which in the end could provide better product development processes and better products. The study can also stimulate the involvement of appropriations in potential user research studies on bathroom space and use.

The appropriations employed in the bathroom, especially the utilitarian appropriations, do not only show the difference between what is needed and what is provided. They have shown the user-artifact interactions, their contexts and reasons in the domestic bathroom. As Kim and Lee (2014) show, if professional designers are provided with such data, they can be immersed in actual context, recognise the daily actions, and apply interaction analogies into new designs. Designers could be able to use such observed interactions. However, the domestic bathroom is a private

domain and its everyday interactions might be difficult for the designers to observe. To this end, this study, albeit limited, has presented an account of interactions, context and reasons regarding the contemporary domestic bathroom, which can be a resource both for researchers and professionals.

This study has also shown that it is important for designers to consider the social appropriations performed in the bathroom. The bathroom is not only appropriated to enhance its physical qualities, but also to create a territory of the self. As the modern individual, regardless of class, stylize her/his life and expresses her/his taste through outfit, house, furniture, decoration, car etc., s/he applies it in the bathroom as well, through various levels and ways. The bathroom can be flexible enough to enable such appropriations otherwise it might not be transferred from a space to a place. Professional designers can also consider such social needs while designing a bathroom, besides the utilitarian ones.

By considering the use practices, patterns of organisations and appropriations of the contemporary bathroom, designers can try to create a local design identity that can direct bathroom design, which in the end might lead to the creation of bathroom designs that can be more adoptable in the Turkish market. However, regardless of the design, the proliferation of such design depends on various factors. Firstly, the sanitary ware market is mainly driven by the procurement in mass quantities done by big construction companies. The primary criteria of such companies will probably be the price and creation of the accustomed look of the ‘modern’ bathroom. Although the end user would like to have locally designed bathroom, the construction companies might not prefer it. Thus, the effect of the end user is quite little in terms of determining the dominant trend. Secondly, due to the settled practices, habits and the dominant ‘modern’ bathroom image pervaded in decades, end users might also doubt to construct an ‘atypical’ design. People would feel safe using the approved and accustomed designs. Regarding all these factors, designers can suggest more flexible bathrooms by designing peripheral products rather than making major changes in the accustomed ceramic sanitary ware designs. This way, the basic but undermined needs of the users might be satisfied without radical changes.

I have displayed and discussed all my findings in the previous chapter. When I reach here and step back to see the findings from a more general point of view, I have comprehended that all the practices --including appropriations-- are the generators of

my derived concepts. In order to display this dense relationship, I have drawn a diagram showing the relations between the emerged four concepts, appropriations and practices, which is presented in Appendix F. This diagram can be useful input for the bathroom studies that put people, practices and everyday life in the centre of focus.

As I borrowed the analysis method from social sciences, I tried to sort my notes and codes into more abstract levels, and I generated concepts as final findings (Figure 6.4). However, the note taking and coding part of the analysis method created a useful input for design research, which I could not anticipate. This data might be useful and valuable for any design research on bathroom since they are less abstract. In other words, these notes (some of which are shown in the diagram in Appendix F) and codes (shown in Figure 6.4) are valuable as a design input for designers to be used for idea generation. This methodological mechanism might create a tool to design products or services that set off from users' behaviour and values. This way the study contributes to knowledge by showing how the borrowed analysis method can be useful for design research.

Lastly, this study not only contributes to the knowledge of practice-based studies but also to the theoretical studies. Cultural studies in design benefit from social sciences like sociology or anthropology, however the results of such studies are difficult to read and apply for design practice. This study has tried to show how these domains can compromise. It suggests a model to understand the everyday life in the contemporary bathroom.

#### **6.4 Suggestions for Future Research**

As the study has shown that the domestic bathroom is one of the significant domains of home and designing a bathroom should not be taken for granted, continuous study in this area is essential. As I mentioned before, the findings are not to be generalized. The findings of the study can be replicated with other participants in the same cultural context or on other population in different cultural context. This study involved only the women live in urban settlements. A study done in rural areas might reach different findings both within the same or different cultural context.

The aim and the questions of the study called for in-depth interviews. The inventory of practices and appropriations that the study has revealed were generated with face-to-face, semi-structured interviews, which both the interviews and their analysis took time. Within the limited time and resources, I conducted 15 interviews in a specific cultural context, which makes the findings culture-specific. How culture affects these bathroom practices and the appropriations employed in there requires further research, which can provide insights for new product developments regarding industrial design. This study also sets a model for further studies to be done in different cultural contexts in the world, since bathroom is a culture specific space.

Since appropriation may change according to the appropriator; the study has tried to reach as diverse characteristics of interviewees as possible. This attempt led to the interviewees with a slight different socio-economic status. Future studies can take this one step further and do comparison by conducting research among users who have different socio-economic status.

With a different perspective, not the user but the bathroom space can be regarded as the appropriator/a persona, and the study can be conducted the other way around. Different bathrooms having different characteristics would cause different appropriations to be realized by the users. The study can be conducted by selecting the bathroom types purposely not the users.

With the aim of creating data for the material culture studies, more detailed inventory studies can be conducted.

Conducting the research with the whole family can be one of the suggestions regarding the methodology for future studies. In addition, more effective probes can be designed since it is not possible for the researcher to observe the bathroom when s/he is not there. With an approach of visual ethnography, all the family members can be asked to take photographs for a certain period of time, this way, different perspectives from different users would be received.

Lastly, without the aim of generalisation, this limited study has shown that women own and thus appropriate the bathroom in terms of organisation, management and cleaning. As discussed in detail, a significant amount of the acts of appropriations are related to the sustaining of the cleanliness of the space and activities that can be tied to stereotypical gender roles associated to women. This phenomenon incorporates a

paradoxical situation in itself, such that whether women own the space as part of this internalised gender role assigned to them or not is the subject of a more focused inquiry, beyond the aims of this study. Another future subject can be the relationship of everyday life studies and these internalised gender roles; as how everyday life is loaded with normalised ideological behaviour related to bathroom activities.



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## **APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX A:** Informed Consent Form (in Turkish)

**APPENDIX B:** Interview Topics and Questions (translated in English)

**APPENDIX C:** Transcription of the Interview with Interviewee 6 (in Turkish)

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## APPENDIX A: Informed Consent Form (in Turkish)

**İSTANBUL TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ**  
**ENDÜSTRİ ÜRÜNLERİ TASARIMI BÖLÜMÜ**  
Mimarlık Fakültesi, Taşkışla, 34437 İstanbul  
Tel: 90 212 2931310 (2332)

### **GÜNDELİK HAYATTA BANYONUN DÖNÜŞÜMÜ: TÜRKİYE'DE MODERN BANYONUN VE ELEMANLARININ KÜLTÜREL ANALİZİ**

Sayın .....

Bu araştırmanın amacı, kullanıcı odaklı bir yaklaşımla, kullanıcıların –özellikle kadınların- ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için, modern banyoyu ve onun elemanlarını gündelik hayatlarına nasıl dahil ettiklerini ve nasıl dönüştürdüklerini incelemektir. Araştırmanın sonuçları, Türkiye’de, kullanıcıların banyolarını nasıl kullandıklarını ve organize ettiklerini gösterecek, uzun vadede de, Türkiye’deki kullanıcıların ihtiyaçlarına daha uygun banyo tasarımlarının oluşumuna katkıda bulunacaktır.

Araştırma, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, Endüstri Ürünleri Tasarımı Bölümü’nde yürütülen, *Gündelik Hayatta Banyonun Dönüşümü: Türkiye’de Modern Banyonun ve Elemanlarının Kültürel Analizi* başlıklı doktora çalışmasının bir parçası olarak Öğretim Görevlisi Aysun Aytaç tarafından gerçekleştirilmektedir. Araştırmacı ile yapacağınız görüşmenin ilk kısmında, katılımcı olarak katınız, günlük banyo kullanımınız ile ilgili mülakata katılıp sorulan sorulara yanıt vermeniz şeklinde olacaktır. Görüşmenin ikinci kısmı ise, mülakat sırasında öne çıkan konuların banyonuzda tespit edilmesi ve banyonuzun araştırmacı tarafından gözlemlenmesi ve belgelenmesi şeklinde gerçekleşecektir.

Araştırma sonuçları, Aysun Aytaç’ın doktora tezinin tamamlanmasında ve diğer akademik yayın ve sunuşlarında kullanılacaktır.

#### **KATILIMCI HAKLARI**

- Bu çalışmaya katılımım tamamen gönüllüdür. Katılmama, dilediğim sorulara yanıt vermeme veya araştırmanın herhangi bir evresinde araştırmadan çekilme hakkım saklıdır.
- Araştırmanın tanımı, kapsamı ve amaçlarını okudum. Araştırmacıya, amaç ve araştırma ile ilgili soru sorma fırsatım oldu.
- Bu belgenin bir kopyası tarafıma verilmiştir.
- Katılımcı olarak, kimliğimin gizli tutulması şartı ile, hakkımda elde edilecek verilerin, tezde ve araştırma ile ilgili akademik yayınlarda kullanılmasına izin veriyorum.
- Katılımcı olarak, kimliğimin gizli tutulması şartı ile, araştırmacıya benimle yapılan mülakattan alıntılar yapmasına izin veriyorum.  
( ) Evet ( ) Hayır
- Katılımcı olarak, kimliğimin gizli tutulması şartı ile, araştırmacıya evimde çektiği fotoğraflardan alıntılar yapmasına izin veriyorum.  
( ) Evet ( ) Hayır
- İmzam, yukarıdaki tüm bilgileri ve maddeleri okuduğum ve bu araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğim anlamına gelir.

İsim: \_\_\_\_\_ İmza: \_\_\_\_\_ Tarih: / / 2013



## **APPENDIX B: Interview Topics and Questions (translated in English)**

These are the topics and questions of my semi-structured interviews. It should be noted that since it was a semi-structure interview, most of the time, the order of the topics changed, some topics were expanded or some questions were added/discarded according to the flow of the interview.

### **Part 1**

#### **Demographics**

Tenant or householder?

Household size and type/Who are they?/Years of Birth

Education/Occupations/total income

Numbers of Rooms/Bathrooms/Toilet Rooms

Type of toilets in the Bathrooms and Toilet Rooms

The age of the building/When did they move in?

Renovation(s) done to the bathroom(s) and/or toilet room(s)? If yes when? How much did it cost?

### **Part 2**

#### **Everyday Routine**

The routine of the bathroom use, from morning till going to bed (all the family members'). Toilet, sink, shower, laundry etc.

Uncommon/extraordinary practices performed in the bathroom:

Make-up/dying hair/personal care/washing big textiles in the bathtub/washing big objects in the bathtub or shower cabin/ablution/soaking the white clothes, stained clothes in water/drying clothes/bathing kids/bathing pets/how about the other members of the family?

Bathroom Joy?

Shower or bath? The periods, routines? Durations? When is it preferred, morning, evening? Sit & bath or stand & bath? Shower gel? Soap bar? Usage of *lif*, *kese*?<sup>53</sup> How many times do you soap? How many times do you shampoo your hair? Partly cleaning the body? Singing? Listening to music? How did you bath when you were living in your parents' house? What is changed after leaving your parents' house?

Why do you take a shower or a bath?

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<sup>53</sup> *Lif* and *kese* are bath wash cloths that are common elements of traditional body cleaning in Turkey.

Are you content with the bathing solution in your bathroom?

Toilet Joy?

The periods, routines? Durations? WC Joy? Reading? Mobile Phone? Smart Phone? Laptop computer?

Washbasin routine? Soap bar? Liquid soap?

The general routine of the husband/male partner? Shaving? Does he use the bathroom cleanly?

The cleaning routine of the Bathroom? Big cleaning day? Daily cleaning? If there are any, where are the daily cleaning products/tools kept?

Cleaning/wiping after every shower?

If there is a shower cabin, any problem with the hard water stains on the glass walls/doors of the cabin?

In order to find out if there is an extension of the bathroom: What is stored where?

Spare detergents, cleaning tools, spare soaps, toilet paper rolls, etc.? How do you dry wet towels? Where do you dry cleaning tools and wet cleaning cloths after cleaning?

What are the furniture/objects in the bathroom? What is in the cupboards in the bathroom?

If it is renovated: Who decided and how? How the design decisions were taken? Did they work with an interior designer or a designer? Why, why not?

Humidity problem? Is there a window in the bathroom? Do you do anything special in order to prevent humidity, especially after showers?

Privacy: Does the window bother you during the use of the bathroom? Do you keep it open or closed? Do you lock the bathroom door? Is there a window on the bathroom door?

Would you prefer the toilet to be separate than the bathroom space?

What kind of interventions do you do to the bathroom before the arrival of guests?

Suppose that you now learned that guests are coming in an hour, what would you do, regarding the bathroom? Quick cleaning? Changing the towels? Putting paper towels? ...

How do you want your bathroom to be perceived by your guests? In what ways it is important and not important that how your bathroom looks?

Decoration? Colours? Harmony?

Do you like your bathroom? Do you find it useful? Any problems? Anything that bothers you? Air ventilation, lighting, sound isolation, practicality, space...

Imagine that there are no space limitations, no budget limitations; anything is possible. How would you describe your ideal bathroom?

**Part 2**

**Show & Tell**

Continues in the bathroom.



## **APPENDIX C: Transcription of the Interview with Interviewee 6 (in Turkish)**

### **Interview with Interviewee 6**

Interview Duration: 57.41 min.

Date of the interview: 07.07.2013

Location: Hatay, İzmir

Household Size: 2

Household Type: Married

Age: Wife 33 (1980) - Husband 33 (1980)

Education: University

Professions:

Wife: Customer service expert in a private company

Husband: Civil engineer, owns a construction company

Income: 5000 TL/month

# of Bathrooms: 1

# of Toilet Rooms: 0

In order to make the data anonymous, all the names in the transcription are replaced by pseudo names.

I = Interviewee

R = Researcher

### **Part 1, in the salon of the house**

I: Önce banyoyu görmenize gerek var mı?

R: Hayır, gerek yok. Önce röportajla başlayacağız. Röportajın ilk kısmı daha çok evdeki demografik yapı ile ilgili, ikinci kısım banyodaki rutinle ilgili, kullanım rutininiz, temizlik rutininiz, üçüncü kısımda banyoya geçeceğiz.

I: Tamam.

R: İlk kısımla başlayalım. Kiracı mısınız ev sahibi mi?

I: Ev sahibi.

R: Ev hanesi?

I: 2 kişi. Eşim ve ben.

R: Taşınalı ne kadar oldu?

I: 1 Sene. Nisan, geçen sene nisandan beri 1 sene oldu.

R: Binanın yaşını biliyor musunuz?

I: 25.

R: Doğum yıllarınızı alabilir miyim?

I: 1980, ikimizinki de.  
R: Eğitim durumunuz?  
I: Üniversite.  
R: İşleriniz?  
I: Ben otomotiv yedek parça firmasında satışıyım. Lojistik Satış. Müşteri Talep Uzmanı diye geçiyor. Bölüm olarak lojistikteyim. Eşim de İnşaat Mühendisi. Kendi bir firması var.  
R: Sakıncası yoksa eve giren aylık geliri öğrenebilir miyim?  
I: Hmmm.... Ben de bilmiyorum ama... [Gülüyor].  
R: Bir aralık da verebilirsiniz, şu kadarın üstünde gibi...  
I: 5000 civarı diyebiliriz. 5000 Lira.  
R: Evde kaç oda var?  
I: 3+1.  
R: Kaç banyo var?  
I: 1 banyo var.  
R: Banyoda tuvalet var?  
I: Var, evet.  
R: Ayrıca bir tuvalet var mı?  
I: Vardı ama onu kapattık.  
R: Alafranga mı alaturka mıydı?  
I: Alaturkaydı, onu kapattık. Şu anda 1 tane alafranga var.  
R: Kapattık darken? Tamamen yok mu edildi?  
I: Şey, yok edildi, orası şimdi çamaşırlık oldu.  
R: Tamamen giderini falan?  
I: Evet evet, evi aldığımızda, tadilat yapılırken tamamen kapatıldı.  
R: Tam onu soracaktım. Banyoya tadilat yapıldı mı?  
I: Yapıldı, yapıldı. Evet.  
R: Sizin tarafınızdan yapıldı?  
I: Evet, çünkü çok eskiydi, bina da eskiydi zaten, ev de çok eskiydi, içi. Bayağı bir şey değişti.  
R: Kabaca ne kadar harcadığınızı hatırlıyor musunuz, banyo için toplam ya da küçük tuvalet ile beraber de olabilir?  
I: Hmmm... 5000-6000... O civarlarda...  
R: Bu da 1 sene önce yapıldı galiba değil mi?  
I: Evet.

## **Part 2, continues in the salon of the house**

R: İlk kısım bu kadardı. Şimdi günlük rutininiz ile ilgili sorulara geçiyorum. Sabahtan kalkıp gece yatana kadar banyo ile olan ilişkinizi anlamak istiyorum. Bu hem sizin hem de eşinizin aslında. Onun adına da cevap verebilirsiniz gerekirse.  
I: İlk ben kalkıyorum mesela. Sabah erken kalkıyorum çünkü. Duşa giriyorum. Yüzümü yıkıyorum. Duşa giriyorum. İkinci kez de eşim hani 2 saat sonra falan kalkıyor benden. O da gene yüzünü yıkayıp duşa giriyor. Ondan sonra akşama kadar kimse yok zaten evde. Akşam olunca da gene aynı şekilde, hani şey, tuvalet

kullanılıyor tabi doğal olarak, akşam da duş alınabiliyor, genelde banyo çok kullanımda yani, sürekli kapısı açık zaten hani, çamaşır işte ayrı bir yere attık, çünkü fazla yer yok, rahat bir banyo istedim biraz böyle ferah bir banyo olsun diye, zaten çok büyük bir alan değil.

R: Çamaşır makinasını bahsettiğiniz küçük tualete koydunuz?

I: Evet, daha çok yer kalsın diye. Hmmm... Saçlarımı yapıyorum bazen işte, sabah ya da akşam hani, o anlamda kullanıyoruz.

R: Peki hafta sonu hafta içi kullanım değişiyor mu?

I: Evet, hafta içi iş olduğu için ona göre bir şey var. Hafta sonu da tabi şey hani ne bileyim, daha gün içinde de kullanabiliyorum, işte gene saç yapılabilir, tıraş oluyorsa saçlarını kazıyor, o zaman kullanıyor. Aslında o kadar düşünmemiştim ama sürekli kullanımdaymış yani [Gülüyor]. Bu kadar kullandığımızı fark etmemiştim [Gülüyor]. Mutfaktan daha çok kullanıyoruz galiba yani.

R: Eşinizden bahsedelim. Saç tıraşı dediniz. O sürekli uyguladığı bir şey mi?

I: kendisi yapıyor. Saçlarını kazıyor mesela. Haftada 1 falan ya da 10 günde 1 yapıyor mesela.

R: Yüz tıraşı da söz konusu mu?

I: Onu yapmıyor mesela. Onu dışarda yapıyor. Saçını kazıyor.

R: Peki, makyaj banyo da yapıyor musunuz?

I: Makyaj, evet. Onu yazabiliriz. En azından orada hani bir şey var. Evin daha çok ışık alan, orada bir büyüteçli ayna var, onu kullanıyorum orada. Kaş almadır, makyajdır, o tip şeyler.

R: Saç boyama oluyor mu?

I: Hayır.

R: Peki kişisel bakımda başka aktiviteler var mı? Makyaj, kaş alma dışında, vücudunuz ile ilgili, epilasyon?

I: Yok. Yapmıyorum.

R: Kremleme? Yüz maskesi?

I: Yüz maskesi var, onu orada yapıyorum. Daha çok ışık aldığı için. Sivilcelerimi orada sıkıyorum mesela [Gülüyor]. O tarz şeyleri orada yapıyorum.

R: Saç yapımı dediniz, yani şekil verme mi?

I: Şekil verme, fönleme olabilir, bir tane kullanamadığım bir maşam var, onu deniyorum. Nasıl şey olabilir diye... Saç bakımı.... Epilasyon... Jilet falan kullanıyorum ama, tabi o da orda oluyor yani.

R: Duşta mı oluyor?

I: Duşta, evet.

R: Peki temizlikle ilgili sorulara geçiyorum... Gerçi duşakabin<sup>54</sup> mi var küvet mi var bilmiyorum ama...

I: Duşakabin var...

R: Bazı kullanıcılar evdeki büyük tekstilleri ya da büyük plastik malzemeleri, eşyaları orada yıkamayı tercih ediyorlar. Sizin de öyle alışkanlıklarınız var mı?

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<sup>54</sup> Duşakabin Türkiye’de ilk çıkan duş kabini markalarından olup duş kabini ile özdeşleşmiştir.

- I: Yok. Ama mesela evi silerken kullandığım viledayı orada dolduruyorum, çünkü başka bir yere sığmıyor vileda, çünkü başka bir yere sığmıyor, başka bir musluğun altına sığmıyor, işte klozete boşaltıyorum. Temizlik malzemeleri de banyoda duruyor mesela, aslına bakarsanız.
- R: Mesela, büyük bir plastik çöp bidonunu yıkamak gerekirse...
- I: Evet, orada yıkıyor, doğru doğru evet, mesela mutfakta vardı çöp bidonumuz, şimdi gerçi başka bir şey yaptık onun yerine de, o çöp bidonu mesela hiç bir yere sığmadığı için, mutfakta denemiştım bir süre, baktım başaramıyorum, her yer ıslanıyor, onu orada yıkamıştım.
- R: Duşakabinin içinde?
- I: Evet.
- R: Ona benzer bir şekilde plastik sandalyelerin ya da benzer eşyaların orada yıkanma durumu?
- I: Daha çok balkonda yıkıyorum o tip şeyleri. Ama daha çok paspas gibi şeyleri, onları yıkamıyorum, o kadar büyük bir duşakabin değil, 90'a 90. Başka sığmadığı için. O yüzden çok öyle büyük şeyleri yıkayamıyorum aslında.
- R: Anladım. Peki, evde abdest alan var mı?
- I: I-ı..
- R: Bazı kullanıcılarda yine gördüğüm, 1 veya 2 gün önceden çamaşırları suya bastırma, lekeli veya beyaz çamaşırları, veya yünlü çamaşırları elde yıkama... Buna benzer alışkanlıklarınız var mı?
- I: Evet, bazen mesela, özel bir şeyse, bluz falansa elimde yıkıyorum, küçük bir leğen var, leğenin daha küçüğü, banyo lavabosunda yıkıyorum, orda leğenin içinde bekletiyorum, yerde veya lavabonu yanında mesela, sonra asıyorum mesela. Onu da orada yapıyorum, kabinde değil ama lavaboda en azından. O şekilde kullandığım oluyor arada.
- R: Lavaboda derken, leğeni oraya mı koyuyorsunuz?
- I: Hı-hıı, içine koyup içinde yıkayıp, gene elimde sıkıp sonra asıyorum.
- R: Lekelilere de böyle bir şey uyguluyor musunuz?
- I: Evet diyebiliriz, çünkü neden, yine o alanı kullanıyorum. Bekletme şeyi. Üzerine leke çıkarıcı döküp orda bekletiyorum.
- R: Banyoda bir kurutma durumu var mı? Çamaşır kurutma veya ıslak bez kurutma?
- I: Yok. I-ı.
- R: Temizlik bezlerinin kurutulması?
- I: Yok. Onu hiç göz önünde sevmediğim için.. Ona hiç öyle göz önünde yoktur yani, bez, ama bezleri nerede kurutuyoruz biz?... 2 haftada 1 bayan geliyor temizlik için... Bezleri nerede kurutuyor bilmiyorum valla ama genelde çamaşırılığın olduğu yere koyuyor galiba onları...
- R: Çamaşırılık dediğiniz tadilat görmüş olan küçük tuvalet?
- I: Evet, genelde pis işlerimizi orada yapıyoruz yani [Gülüyor]. İşte bezler ya da viledanın<sup>55</sup> durduğu yer falan genelde orası yani.

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<sup>55</sup> Vileda markası Türkiye'de kovası, paspası ve sıkıcısı olan yer temizliği setleri ile özdeşleşmiştir.

- R: Peki, rutine geri dönersek eğer, hafta içi her sabah duş alıyor musunuz?
- I: Evet, evet. Hatta kışın da alıyorum artık. Daha önce alamıyordum, artık kışın da alıyorum.
- R: Yaz kış fark ediyor mu diyecektim.
- I: Yok, kışın da alıyorum. Çıkmadan, sabahları.
- R: Eşiniz?
- I: Onun pek belli olmuyor. Şeyine göre, ya sabah ya akşam alıyor, genelde, kışın akşam alır, sabah almaz. Yazın sabah alıyor.
- R: Akşam duşundan da bahsettiniz. O da her akşam söz konusu oluyor mu?
- I: Yazın evet, havadan dolayı, ama kışın mesela 2 günde 1 falan, o kadar sık her gün olmuyor mesela. 2-3 günde 1 olabiliyor. 1 gün akşam, 2 gün sonra sabah gibi mesela yani, Pazartesi akşam alıp, Çarşamba sabah gibi, benim öyle bir şeyim olabiliyor yani, saçlarımın yağlılık durumuna göre [Gülüyor] ve şey durumuna göre... Mert'in daha düzensiz. Onun kendi istediği zamana göre daha çok, ayarlıyor. Ya da mesela kendi işinde olduğu için gündüz eve geliyor mesela, rahatlamak için de girebiliyor. Benim gibi sabah akşam kısıtı yok onun çünkü. Onun kendi işi olduğu için istediği zaman girebiliyor, benim daha çok kışın 2 günde 1 gibi bir rutinim var, yazın her gün gibi.
- R: Peki duşunuzun süreleri nasıl oluyor?
- I: Yarım saat yazabiliriz bana, 15 dakika ile yarım saat arası benim daha çok.
- R: Eşiniz?
- I: Onun kesin yarım saat, daha önce çıkmaz yani, onda mesela onu da yazabiliriz, tuvalette mesela çok zaman geçirip kitap okuma alışkanlığı da var, hatta dergiler falan da var orada.
- R: Sizin var mı uzun tuvalet alışkanlığı?
- I: Olması gerekiyor ama [Gülüyor] yok hani. Aslında hani, şey, belli bir tuvalet düzeni olması gerekiyormuş, bağırsakların çalışması için falan ama ben onu başaramıyorum çünkü sıkılıyorum ama onun mesela düzenli bir şeyi vardır, sabah mesela, sabahları her gün o şeyi yapar, belli bir süre kalıyor mesela, bir şeyler okuyor.
- R: Ne kadar mesela? Minimum ne kadar kalıyor?
- I: Yarım saat falan kalıyor genelde.
- R: Daha çok dergi türü şeyler mi okuyor?
- I: Dergi ya da kitap okuyor.
- R: Telefonuyla da girdiği oluyor mu?
- I: Evet oluyor.
- R: Peki lap top [diz üstü bilgisayar]?
- I: Yok, genelde ya telefon ya da kitap, dergi [Gülüyor], daha o kadar *level* [seviye] atlamadık.
- R: Sizin uzun olmasa da tuvalet seanslarınızda bu tip şeyler okuyor musunuz, yanınıza alıyor musunuz?
- I: Alırım ben de, telefon alırım... Bir de mesela duş yaparken müzik açmaya çalışıyorum son bir kaç zamandır. Çünkü müzik sistemi istiyordum aslında evde, o yok [Gülüyor], her yerde, her odada müzik olsun istiyordum, o yok.

R: Müziği cep telefonunuzdan mı açıyorsunuz duşta?  
I: Cep telefonumla açıyorum banyo yaparken.  
R: Nereye koyuyorsunuz telefonu?  
I: Şeyin önüne, aynanın önüne. Kapısını da açıyorum ki nemlenmesin diye.  
R: Banyonun kapısını?  
I: Hı-hı.  
R: Aralık mı duruyor, yoksa?  
I: Aralık bırakıyorum, ama su sesinden müzik duyulmuyor [Gülüyor], ona bir çare bulacağım. Orada bir sıkıntı var, ama Mert genelde telefonla girer, ya da işte orada dergi, kitap orada sürekli var zaten, ya da okuduğu bir kitap varsa oraya mesela onunla girebilir. Genelde *Uykusuz* [mizah dergisi] falan okuyor, o tarz şeyler. Mizah dergilerini falan orada okur mesela.  
R: Siz telefonla giriyorsunuz tuvalete?  
I: Ben genelde telefonla, ya da işte orada Fransızca kullanma kılavuzum var, onu okuyorum genelde [Gülüyor].  
R: Neyin kullanma kılavuzu?  
I: Fransızca öğrenme ve işte şey kılavuzu var, onu okuyorum. Öyle şeyler, öyle çok roman, oturup saatler harcamıyorum.  
R: Sizin ne kadar sürüyor kabaca tuvalet?  
I: 10 dakika falan maksimum herhalde.  
R: Peki, duşu günün hangi saatlerinde tercih ediyorsunuz diye tekrar sormak istiyorum ama siz genelde sabahları tercih ettiğinizi söylediniz.  
I: Ben genelde sabah artık kışın da yazın da sabah seviyorum.  
R: Ama eşinizin karışık?  
I: Onun tamamen kendi düzenine göre değişiyor yani, gün içinde de girebilir, akşam da girebilir, onun hiç bir şeyi yok aslında.  
R: Anladım. Peki oturarak mı ayakta mı duş alıyorsunuz?  
I: Ayakta, her zaman.  
R: Ayakta mı seviyorsunuz?  
I: Evet.  
R: Biz çocukken [araştırmacı ve görüşmeci aynı yaşlarda] oturarak yıkanma alışkanlığımız...  
I: Evet, evet.  
R: ... vardı, o şekilde büyüdük. Oradan ayakta yıkanmaya geçiş nasıl oldu? Aile evinden ayrılınca mı oldu? Yoksa?  
I: Mesela, aslında bulunduğum ortama göre... Aslında hani anneanneme gittiğim zaman mesela hala oturarak yıkanıyorum çünkü orada öyle bir düzen var.  
R: Nasıl bir düzen var?  
I: Gene duşakabin var, ama hani kendileri de yaşlı oldukları için tabure var işte...  
R: Plastik bir tabure mi?  
I: Plastik tabure var, şeyler de ona göre düzenlenmiş hani, orada mesela genelde oturarak... Şey var su koydukları bir... ne denir ona, kova var. Oradan mesela suyu ıltırıyorunuz, hani duşakabin sistemini çok kullanmadıkları için çalışmıyor,

- kovadan dökerek yıkanıyorlar, hani ben de oraya gittiğim zaman hoşuma gidiyor benim de böyle, eski şeyde hani böyle tarzda...
- R: İzmir’de mi yaşıyorlar?
- I: Ereğli’de onlar, Karadeniz Ereğli’de. Uzaklar. Zonguldak’a bağlı. Onlara gidince öyle hoşuma gidiyor ama kendi evimde mesela, zaten dar bir alan, bir de şey, nasıl diyeyim, tepeden düş şeklinde daha kolayıma geliyor açıkçası, saçlar falan daha iyi durulanıyor, öyle düşünüyorum yani. O sürekli su akışı olduğu için. Ama hani gittiğim yere de uyum sağlarım, öyle bir ortam varsa [Gülüyor] öyle de yıkanabilirim aslında ama...
- R: Ailenizle yaşarken ayakta yıkanmaya başlamış mıydınız?
- I: Annemlerde, hmmm..., tabi yani, yoo, büyürken de ben küvet vardı bizim evde, o eski küvetler var ya, annemin evinde de küvet vardı, uzun küvetlerden, orada da mesela oturarak yıkanıyordum gene, ne zaman ayakta yıkanmaya başladım onu kestirmeye çalışıyorum, öğrenciyken de evde küvet vardı... Buca’ya [İzmir’in bir ilçesi] gelince...
- R: Öğrenciyken dediğiniz üniversitede mi?
- I: Üniversite’de. Gene küvet vardı evde, gene oturuyordum galiba.
- R: Yine plastik bir şeye mi oturuyordunuz?
- I: Evet, evet plastik bir şeye oturuyordum, ama bu sefer kafama su döktüğümü hatırlamıyorum yaa... Büyük bir şey vardı.
- R: Küvetlerin içine yerleştirilen plastik oturaklar vardı?
- I: Aaaa, oturaklar vardı, evet öyle bir şeydi üniversitedeyken, şey gibi oldu, şeyin geçişi gibi [Gülüyor], ondan sonra da ayakta’ya geçtim.
- R: Özlüyor musunuz oturarak yıkanmayı?
- I: Yoo, çünkü o kadar mesela daha rahat bir ortam o, oturarak yıkanmak daha böyle uzun sürüyor, bu daha pratiğime geliyor aslında hani.
- R: Yani vakit açısından şimdi bir sıkıntı mı var?
- I: Daha çabuk hani çıkmanız gerekiyor, bir yere yetişmeniz gerekiyor falan hani.
- R: Peki vaktiniz bol olsa evde yer olsa orada bir küvet ister miydiniz?
- I: Evet, içine su doldururum mesela, isteyebilirim öyle bir şey, hem rahatlama açısından hem ne bileyim, olabilir yani.
- R: Peki, banyoda katı sabun mu sıvı sabun mu kullanıyorsunuz?
- I: El yıkarken sıvı sabun, vücudum için de yeşil zeytinyağlı sabun, duş jeli pek kullanmamaya çalışıyorum.
- R: Neden?
- I: Bazen kullanıyorum, hani güzel kokulu falan ama genelde zeytinyağlı sabun daha sağlıklı geliyor.
- R: Lif kullanıyor musunuz?
- I: Lif... Normal pamuklu lif kullanmıyorum, şu annelerin ördüğü hani, çünkü onlar ıslak kalınca galiba içinde mikrop barındırıyormuş diye bir şey duymuştum, normal hani plastik olur ya lif...
- R: Naylon?
- I: Hah, naylon, onlardan kullanıyorum.
- R: Anladım. Her duşta lif kullanıyor musunuz?

I: Evet.

R: Kese kullanıyor musunuz?

I: Keseyi de ... haftada 1 falan yaparım genelde, yani, en kötü ihtimalle.

R: Eşiniz hakkında bir bilginiz var mı?

I: Eşim lif kullanıyor, keseyi de ... yapmıyor. Ben, bana yap diyor da, ben istersem yaptırır da, kendisi yapmıyor yani.

R: Siz isterseniz yapıyor mu yani?

I: Yani ben yapayım dersem yaparız [Gülüyor] ama hani hiç yapmadık galiba.

R: Yani yardım ediyor musunuz birbirinize kese vs.?

I: Mesela ben onun sırtını sabunlarım.

R: Bu ara sıra olan bir şey mi yoksa?

I: Ara sıra olan bir şey, ikimiz de evde olacağız, denk geleceğiz, akşam genelde oluyor. 3-4 kere falan yaptığımı hatırlıyorum ama sürekli yaptığım bir şey değil hani, ihtiyacı olduğunda.

R: Anladım. Peki, bazı kullanıcılarda her duşa girdiklerinde ne kadar vakitleri olursa olsun, en az şu kadar kere şampuan yaparım, şu kadar kere vücudumu sabunlamadan çıkmam ...

I: Hımmm...

R: ... gibi alışkanlıklar var, bu tip alışkanlıklarınız var mı?

I: Yok, hatta değişiyor çok, neden, çünkü spor yapmışımdır, terlemişimdir, saçımı 2 kere şampuanlamışım, hatta o zaman şampuanımı bile farklı kullanıyorum, bir tane sporcu şampuanım var, naneli, onu kullanıyorum, çünkü çok terlemiş oluyorum. Normalde mesela, 1 kere şampuanlıyorum, onu da çok az kullanmaya çalışıyorum, normal bir günde, hafif terliyorsunuz. Ama öyle bir rutinim yok aslında bakarsanız, o gün neyse o.

R: Kısmi yıkanmalar oluyor mu? Yani sadece ayağımı yıkayayım, kolumu yıkayayım ...

I: Evet.

R: ... saçımı yıkayayım? Ne gibi durumlarda, hangilerini yapıyorsunuz?

I: Hmmm... Mesela, sabah kalkıp uyanamıyorum, [Gülüyor], geç kalıyorum. Saçımı yıkamıyorum çünkü yıkayıp taraması vs. ekstra zaman gerektiği için, çok kirli değilse mesela, saçımı mesela bone ile şey yapıp vücudumu yıkadığım çok oluyor benim, arada oluyor yani. Eşim de hiç olmuyor, o direk zaten, onların daha rahat olduğu için, hani saç kurutma, fön ya da o tarz şeyler olmadığı için o direk... Benim kısmi şeyim daha çok kışın, saçımı yıkamak istemiyorum mesela, bir sürü bonem var zaten, bone ile şey yapıp vücudumu çok yıkadığım oluyor yani.

R: Ayak yıkama?

I: Eee... O da oluyor.

R: Hangi durumlarda oluyor?

I: Açık ayakkabı giydiysen mesela, gelip evde terliksiz falan dolandıysam, yatmadan önce yıkadığım oluyor. Daha böyle temiz olsun diye hani.

R: Daha çok yazın mı oluyor o halde?

I: Yazın oluyor, evet. Yazın oluyor.

R: Peki, duşta şarkı dinlemek istediğinizi söylediniz. Bir süredir yapıyorum dediniz.

- I: Onu hep istiyordum aslında ama geçenlerde keşfettim, bir tane hoparlöre benzer bir şey buldum evde, telefonu takıp hani başardığımı gördüm yani [Gülüyor], o güzel bir şey, bir de böyle hafif loş ışıktaki olması gerekiyor, onu da öğrendim, hafif loş ışıktaki, müzik eşliğinde banyonun daha hani rahatlattığını okumuştum bir yerde, öyle denemelerim var işte, bakalım n'olcak?
- R: İşe yaradı mı?
- I: Evet, yaradı, hoşuma gitti ama duş sesinden duyamıyorsun müziği onu bir ayarlamam gerekiyor, nasıl yapacağım bilmiyorum da [Gülüyor].
- R: Peki siz şarkı söylüyor musunuz duşta?
- I: Hayır, [Gülüyor] hiç söylemem.
- R: Eşiniz?
- I: Mümkünse söylemese o da söylemiyor, yok. İkimiz de söylemiyoruz.
- R: O şarkı dinliyor mu duşta?
- I: Yok, normalde dinliyor ama duşta dinlemiyor.
- R: Peki, neden banyo yapıyorsunuz diye bir sorum var, tabi ki diyebilirsiniz, bunun sebebi en başta temizlenmek, ama bazen temizlenmek dışında başka sebepler de olabiliyor. Sizin sebepleriniz neler?
- I: Ya çok içim sıkılmıştır, bunalmışımıdır, su rahatlatır hani, su temizlik hissi yani, oluyor arada bir ama çok tercih ettiğim bir şey mi ama değil sanırım, rahatlamak amacıyla.. Yorgun bir günün ardından temizlenmek değil de rahatlamak amacıyla da giriyorum yani, evet, doğru.
- R: Grip veya nezle olduğunuzda duş sıklaşıyor mu? Yoksa daha mı az oluyor?
- I: Daha az oluyor. Korunmak için aslında mantıklı mı? değil bence ama nedense daha az.
- R: Eşinizde var mı bu tip sebepler?
- I: Yok onda. O temizlik amacıyla girer.
- R: Genel olarak banyodaki yıkanma çözümünüzden memnun musunuz?
- I: Düzensiz mi?
- R: Evet.
- I: Hmmm... Duşakabin biraz daha büyük olabilirdi ama yer nedeniyle o şekilde oldu, onun dışında genel olarak evet, memnunun yani hani, kullanım için, benim için yeterli hani.
- R: Eşiniz memnun mu?
- I: O da memnun.
- R: Peki eşinizin saç tıraşı dışında [araştırmacı eşi hakkında konuşulanları tekrar ediyor] başka var mı orayı kullanma amaçları?
- I: Hayır. Başka bir şeyi yok onun.
- R: Peki sizce eşiniz banyoyu nasıl kullanıyor?
- I: Hmmm... [Gülüyor], hah hah [Gülüyor], ne demeli, duyuyor mu Mert? [eşi evin arka odasında olduğu için duymayacağından emin olmak istiyor, evin koridoruna doğru kafasını uzatıyor], yani bazen ıslak ayaklarla çıkmasına sinir oluyorum, onu yazabiliriz, [Gülüyor], banyo ıslanıyor çünkü, kuruyor gerçi, kuruyan bir alan ama olsun, onun dışında temiz kullanıyor yani, tuvaleti ve diğer şeyleri temiz kullanıyor.

- R: Banyoda şunu şöyle yap, bunu böyle yapma gibi ...
- I: Şu var bir tek, duşakabinin camları cam yani, şeffaf, onu ben çok istemiştım, o yüzden her duş sonrasında, şeyle, çekçekle çekmek gerekiyor, neden işte, çünkü orda kireç birikiyor, bir kaç kere duş alındıktan sonra lekeli bir görüntü oluşuyor, onu keşfettim hani, onu yapınca daha uzun süre hani, bir sonraki temizleninceye kadar, daha uzun süre dayanıyor, ama pek yapmak istemiyor, pek hoşlanmıyor da ben yapıyorum en azından şöyle bir bittikten hemen sonra daha uzun temiz kalıyor. Bir tek o var, o da işe yaramıyor [Gülüyor].
- R: Yani söylüyorsunuz ama?
- I: Evet evet, yapar mısın demiştım ama genelde pek hoşlanmıyor.
- R: Peki siz o çıktıktan sonra gidip yapıyor musunuz?
- I: Aaahh [kim uğraşır onunla gibisinden] yapmıyorum, denk getiremiyorum yani [Gülüyor], o kadar uğraşamıyorum da ben genelde yapıyorum yani.
- R: Peki, ıslak ayakla çıkmaması için yere bir şey serdiğiniz oluyor mu?
- I: Havlu oluyor bazen, bazen kaldırıyorum, görüntü rahatsız ediyor, bazen koyuyorum, mesela şu anda var galiba, sabah duş almıştım.
- R: Eşiniz onu kullanmıyor mu?
- I: Yok, kullanıyor bazen ama havlu olmadığında basıyor, yere basıyor.
- R: Peki, saç, kıl, o tip şeyler ...
- I: Yok, onlarda hiç şey olmuyor, öyle döküntü olmuyor fazla, ortalıkta olmuyor yani.
- R: Peki, banyonuzun temizlik rutini var mı? 15 günde 1 temizlik oluyor dediniz, onun dışında banyoda uyguladığınız günlük ufak temizlik şeyleri ...
- I: Yok, çok şey olursa yani, aynayı bazen, ayna hani dış macunu o tarz şeyler aynayı yüzeyinde oluyor ya hani, çok rahatsız olursam onu, aynayı kendim siliyorum.
- R: Neyle siliyorsunuz?
- I: *Camsil* ile [cam yüzeyler için deterjan markası]. Gazete ve *Camsil* ile, onun dışında ama klozeti, lavaboyu, lavabo kirlenmiş, onu bir temizleyeyim, pek yapmıyorum. Yani Bahar [15 günde 1 temizlik için gelen kişi] yapıyor onları, gelince, öyle.
- R: Peki o 15 gün içinde tuvaletin kirlendiğini görürseniz?
- I: Ha, yani o zaman ekstra bir şey olursa tabi ki de onu yapıyorum da, normalde öyle arada şey yapmam, temizlemiyorum.
- R: Banko var mı banyoda? Lavabo ile beraber?
- I: Hı hı, var var.
- R: Orayı da sildiğiniz oluyor mu aynayı silerken?
- I: Mesela şöyle olabilir, hani elde bir şey yıkayacaksam, leğenin içinde yıkıyorum ama gene de mesela önceden silerim. Ya da böyle çok ekstra bir durum olmuştur, istifa etmişsinizdir, ya da ekstra bir şey yapmışsınızdır, o zaman gene temizlerim yani.
- R: 15 günde 1 olan temizlikte nasıl bir temizlik yapılıyor, onu biliyor musunuz?
- I: Eee...
- R: Daha doğrusu tembihlediğiniz bir şeyler oluyor mu? Şunu yap, bunu yapma gibi...
- I: Diyorum, mesela, normalde lavaboyu siler, aynayı siler, dolapların üstünü hafifçe alır, çok tozlanan bir alan değil ama, klozeti temizliyor mutlaka, duşakabinin

- yerlerini ve camlarını, mesela bazen de tuvalet çevresini ya da bütün banyonun falan ayda 1 nemli bezle kalebodurları [seramik fayansları] da siler misin diyorum. Onu ayda 1 yapıyor ama diğerlerini 15 günde bir düzgün bir şekilde... Ne bileyim dezenfektanlarla yani temizliyor.
- R: Bazı kullanıcılar eve temizliğe gelen kişinin her deterjanı her yerde kullanmasını istemiyor, banyonuzu yeni yaptırdığınız için size de sormak istedim, temizlik için gelen kişiyi deterjan kullanımı açısından yönlendirdiğiniz oluyor mu?
- I: İlk yapıldıktan sonra şey demiştim, bir daha da söylemedim, duşakabinin içinde yazıyor, kullanma kılavuzunda, bu cifle<sup>56</sup> falan temizlemeyin yazıyor, aradım sordum, cif değilse ne kullanılabilir diye, genelde cif gibi şeyler kullanılıyor, mesela duşakabinin yüzeyini o tarz bir şeyle silmeyin yazıyordu, e peki dedim ne kullanmamız gerekiyor?, çünkü başka bir temizlik malzemesi yok hani, dedi ki aşırı bir şekilde, bazıları çok deterjan kullanır, çok aşırı bir şekilde ve süngerin yeşil kısmıyla sürterek yapmayın anlamında söylüyoruz demişti. Şeyi de camı da aynı şekilde, galiba o da çiziliyormuş. Onu 1 kere söylemiştim Bahar'a, dikkat edersin diye, o da o şekilde hani, çok böyle aşırı deterjan kullanmadan daha hassas bir şekilde temizliyor ama gene cif ya da ona benzer şeyler var yani.
- R: Peki görüşmenin başında deterjanlar banyoda duruyor dediniz, evin bütün deterjanları mı banyoda?
- I: Çamaşır makinasının deterjanları hariç, onlar çamaşırlıkta duruyor, genelde evin yer temizleyicisi, camsili, süngerler onların hepsi banyoda duruyor.
- R: Temizlik bezleri?
- I: Çünkü dolap orda, dolap orda olduğu için... Temizlik bezleri çamaşırlıkta duruyor.
- R: Varsa kova?
- I: Kova, vileda o tarz şeyler, ıvır zıvırlar, hani göz önünde olmasın istediğiniz şeyler orda duruyor, temizlik malzemeleri dolaba daha düzenli bir şekilde konulduğu için onlar banyoda.
- R: Peki duştan sonra, o çekçekle siliyorum dediniz, duşun zeminine bir şey uyguluyor musunuz? Kurulama falan?
- I: Yok yeri kurulamam, 1-1.
- R: Ben bu çamaşırlık dediğiniz yeri bir çok kullanıcıda, evde görüyorum. Bazen balkonda oluyor, bazen kullanılmayan bir oda oluyor...
- I: Hmm.. Öyle mi? Herkesin ihtiyacı var galiba.
- R: ... ben bu mekanlarla da ilgileniyorum, orada başka neler var biraz daha bahsedebilir misiniz?
- I: Hmm... Çok karışık.
- R: Gidince bakacağız ama...
- I: Oraya da bakacak mıyız? [gülüyor] Çok fena. Aaaaaa.... [gülüyor].
- R: Mesela, büyük ambalajlı deterjanlarınız var mı?

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<sup>56</sup> Cif markası, 1985 yılında krem şeklinde piyasaya sürülen bir temizlik markası olup günümüzde piyasada jel ve sıvı biçimleri var olmasına karşın, krem deterjan ile özdeşleşmiştir; görüşülen kişi bu cümlesinde Cif ile 'krem şeklinde aşındırıcı temizlik malzemelerini' kast etmektedir.

I: Yok almıyorum, o kadar yer yok böyle, büyük büyük. Kullanacağım kadar alıyorum genelde. Çok öyle büyük alıp saklamıyorum.

R: Tuvalet kâğıtlarınız nerede duruyor?

I: Onlar mesela, şeyde, banyoda dolabın içinde duruyor.

R: Kağıt havlu kullanıyor musunuz?

I: Onlar da orda duruyor. Onları dizdim güzelcene.

R: Yani banyoyla ilişkili olan ...

I: Havlular mesela banyoda duruyor, dolabın içinde.

R: Havluların devamı olup evdeki başka bir dolapta...

I: Yok, hepsini oraya tıktım. Evdeki bütün havluları. Banyo ile ilgili her şeyi mümkünse banyoda tutmaya karar verdim çünkü hani evin başka yerinde başka bir şeyle ilgili bir şey çok, mesela, ne bileyim, hoşuma gitmiyor. Kıyafet dolabında duruyordu daha önce onlar, banyoda dolap yoktu çünkü, banyoya dolap geldiği andan itibaren hepsini banyoyla ilgili işte, kendi makyaj malzemelerin bir kısmını da mesela, ıvır zıvır, ped [hijyenik kadın pedi] mesela, o tarz şeylerin hepsini, aklıma gelen, fırçalar, işte, saç kurutma makinası, yüz bakım şeyleri, hepsi banyoda duruyor.

R: Dolayısıyla çamaşırlıkta çamaşır makinası...

I: Evet. Ayakkabılarım var, raf... Ay hem ardiye hem çamaşırlık gibi yani.

R: Çamaşır kurutmalık var mı?

I: O balkonda. Kapalı bir balkon var, o orda. Ama oraya da bir şey düşünüyorum, küçük duvara hani, 3-4 tane çamaşır asmak için şey yapılabilir [çamaşırlık duvarını kastediyor]. Kışın çamaşır asmak için belki. Raf, orda gene ayakkabılar var, çamaşır makinası, çamaşır sepeti, vileda duruyor, kirli sepeti var.

R: Kirlilerinizi siz de eşiniz de gidip oraya mı atıyorsunuz?

I: Evet.

R: Eşiniz de öyle yapıyor?

I: Yaa... [gülüyor] uyguluyor...

R: Banyoda bu saydıklarınız dışında başka eşya var mı?

I: Yok.

R: Mesela dergileriniz nerede duruyor? Gazetelik gibi bir şey mi var?

I: Dergilik var. Dolabın yanına monte ettik. Lavabonun kenarına monte ettik.

R: Peki tadilat ile ilgili aldığınız kararlara gelirsek, siz o sırada bu evde oturmuyordunuz değil mi?

I: Evi aldık, aldıktan sonra içine girmeden, bayağı eskiydi, o zaman banyo, mutfak bir sürü yer yapıldı zaten.

R: Bu süreçte bir mimar, iç mimar veya tasarımcı ile çalıştınız mı?

I: Çok isterdim, hayır çalışmadık [gülüyor].

R: Neden olamadı?

I: Olmadı çünkü hem çok zaman yoktu, diğer evden çıkıp kısa bir süre içinde buraya taşınmamız gerekiyordu, buradaki kiracı da çok geç çıktı, eşim zaten inşaat mühendisi olduğu için bir çok usta falan o ayarladı zaten ama kendi bildiği tanıdığı kişilerden. Ama yine de gidip malzemelerin seçilmesi, alınması, onlar bir zaman istiyor, bir kaç yere gidiyorsunuz, beğeniyorsunuz, vaz geçiyorsunuz, bu daha iyi olur falan filan diyorsunuz, ondan sonra...

R: Siz hep sürece dahil miydiniz?

I: Ben evet, dahildim.

R: Mesela bazı kesin kararlar oldu mu? Hatırladığınız ve aktarabileceğiniz şeyler var mı? Mesela şunu mutlaka şöyle yaptım çünkü... gibi.

I: Mesela Mert şeyi bana bıraktı, sen seç dedi, benim için uyar dedi, kalebodur, seramik işte onları ben seçtim, banyo, ben beğendim yani. Sonra Mert'e gösterdim. O da OK [tamam] dedi. Seçimi bana bırakmıştı. Duşakabini, lavaboyu falan beraber beğendik. Lambaları Mert seçti, onlar Mert'in zevki tamamen, ben seçemedim çünkü o seçti.

R: Banyodaki organizasyonda bir değişiklik oldu mu? Lavabonun, klozetin yeri değişti mi mesela?

I: Evet, bayağı değişti. Eski halini mail [e-posta] atarım size.

R: Çok sevinirim.

I: Kaleboduru eskiydi mesela, küvet vardı ve çamaşır makinası vardı. Hatta ben şimdi düşünüyorum, kadın nasıl sığdırmış o kadar şeyi diye içeri.

R: Yarım küvet miydi?

I: Bayağı her şey değişti diyeyim ben size. Yarım küvet vardı, oturaklı bir küvet vardı. Mavi eski küvetlerden, duş perdesi vardı, lavabo, klozet vardı, şimdi bizim tamamen ters bir düzen var yani, bayağı değişmiş.

R: O zaman onları oraya gidince de konuşuruz tekrar.

I: Resmini bulursam da gönderirim.

R: Banyoda bir nem problemi var mı? Kapıyı sürekli aralık tuttuğunuzu söylediniz mesela...

I: Küçük bir havalandırması var, apartman boşluğuna bakıyor.

R: Hep açık mı o?

I: Yok, bazen kapatıyorum çünkü ses de geliyor aynı havalandırmadan, yukardan ses de geldiği oluyor. Kışın mesela bir de esiyor, esinti de geliyor, kışın genelde kapatıyorum, ben banyodan çıktıktan sonra açıyorum genelde, havalandırma olsun diye.

R: Nem problemi?

I: Yok aslında nem problemi. Yok.

R: Peki banyonun kapısı açık mı duruyor yoksa kapalı?

I: Yazın belki açıyorumdur, sıcak oluyor zaten, içerde nem, ılık yıkandığınız zaman bile buhar oluyor, yazın genelde açık bırakıyorum da kışın genelde kapatırız banyoya girerken.

R: Pencereden gelen sesler sizi rahatsız ediyor mu?

I: Evet, gelmese daha iyi.

R: Peki sizin sesinizin onlara gittiğini düşünüyor musunuz?

I: Gidiyor olabilir, muhtemelen gidiyor. Ben müziği açıyorum mesela, gidiyor olabilir, kapatıyorum [pencereyi] genelde o yüzden.

R: Buna bağlı olarak banyoda konuşurken sesinizi alçalttığınız oluyor mu, ya da aklınızın bir köşesinde oluyor mu yani banyoyu kullanırken?

I: Çok takıldığım bir şey değil açıkçası, ama bir kere yukarıda bir bağrıışma olmuştu, ben banyodaydım, muhtemelen onlar da banyodaydı, o ses geliyordu, kapatmıştım ama çok böyle takıldığım, çok rahatsız eden bir şey değil ama...

R: Ama duş alırken kapatıyorsunuz, çıkarken?

I: Kapatıyorum genelde, çıkarken açıyorum.

R: Eşiniz?

I: O muhtemelen hiç takılmıyordur yani. Açık, kapalı... Fark ettiğini zannetmiyorum.

R: Kapı kilitleme alışkanlığı var mı evde?

I: Yok kilitlemem.

R: Eşiniz?

I: O da kilitlemez. Hatta kilitlenmesini de istemez. Banyoya girildiğinde özellikle, ne olur olmaz... Hiç bir odayı kilitlemeyiz. Banyoda var kilit ama kullanmıyoruz.

R: Banyonuzun kapısında pencere var mı?

I: Yok. Onu çünkü diğer kapılarla uyumlu olsun diye yapmadık. Ben aslında düşünmüştüm.

R: Tuvaletinizi banyodan ayrı olmasını ister miydiniz? Yani banyonun içinde tuvalet olmasını ister miydiniz? Nasıl tercih ederdiniz?

I: Olabilirdi aslında, daha şık olurdu. Banyo daha çünkü temizlik alanı gibi böyle, bakım alanı gibi, olabilirdi yani.

R: Tercih eder miydiniz?

I: Eğer imkan olsaydı evde, olabilirdi.

R: Anladım. Peki şimdi misafir geleceğini öğrensek, banyoya ne gibi bir müdahale yapardınız?

I: [Gülüyor] Eeee, lavaboyu temizlerim, bir de sanırım genel olarak klozete bakarım, hani şöyle bir cif falan döküp temizleyebilirim yani. Sağda solda, mesela hani, banyoya girerken kullandığınız, çıkardığınız üst baş falan, genelde atıyorum çünkü kaloriferin üstüne asıyorum mesela, onları falan toplarım. Onun dışında çok da acil müdahale gerektiren bir durum olmaz herhalde. Duşakabini ellemem çünkü uzun sürüyor onun temizliği ama belki duşakabinin kapısını kapatabilirim. Duşakabinin kapısını genelde kapatıyorum, niye bilmiyorum [gülüyor].

R: Peki misafirlerinize kağıt havlu mu sunuyorsunuz normal havlu mu?

I: Hmmm, havluyu da değiştiriyorum tabi. El havlusu var, ben aslında kağıt havlu olması taraftarıyım, el havlusu çok sağlıklı gelmiyor bana. Ama kağıt havluyu kimseye kabul ettiremedim [gülüyor], banyoda kağıt havlu konsun, samimi gelmedi herhalde, kimse kabul etmedi o fikrimi.

R: Kimse derken?

I: Yani Mert, annemler falan. Babam mesela yardımcı olmuştu evin tadilatında. Kimseye mantıklı gelmedi bence mantıklıydı ama çünkü ıslak havlu kışın kurumuyor mesela, sürekli elinizi sildiğiniz bir havlu, sabahtan akşam, bir daha ertesi gün, bence kağıt havlu daha hijyenik olabilirdi.

R: Şu an orada kağıt havlu var mı?

I: Kağıt havlu, ben mesela yüzümü kağıt havluya silerim sabahları, havluya silmem, kağıt havlu kullanıyorum, onun dışında orada el havlusu var.

R: Ayrıca bir yüz havlunuz var mı?

I: Yüz havlum yok. Onun yerine işte kağıt havlu kullanıyorum kendim.  
R: Eşiniz yüzünü neye kuruluyor?  
I: O normal havluyu kullanıyor sanırım, kağıt havlu kullanmıyor yani.  
R: Yani oradaki el havlusu...  
I: O misafirlerin kullandığı, elinizi yıkadığınızda kuruladığınız havlu, yani bence o da kağıt havlu olabilirdi diye düşünüyorum yani.  
R: Banyonuzu misafirlerin nasıl algılamasını istiyorsunuz? Önem verdiğiniz şeyler var mı?  
I: Bilmem, hiç düşünmemiştim [gülüyor].  
R: Mesela temiz görünsün, temiz olduğunu hissetsinler...  
I: Hoş bir banyo olduğunu, temizlik tabi o da önemli, ama girer girmez hoş bir banyo olduğunu düşünmelerini isterim.  
R: O hoşluğu nasıl sağlıyorsunuz?  
I: İşte oradaki kalebodur mermer gibi, eski mermer ve benzeri bir şey seçmişim. Hani bir rahatlık şeyi, siyah beyaz bana çok zıt geliyor ya, banyo daha rahatlatıcı bir ortam, öyle düşündüğüm için yani öyle bir şeye [granit malzemenin ve seramik fayansların rengi] yöneldim. İlk girildiğinde hoş gelmesini isterim, sonra tabi temizlik, ikinci aşamada. Ama öncelikle göze hitap etmesi daha çok hoşuma giderdi. Hoşmuş denmesi.  
R: Önemsemediğiniz bir yan var mı?  
I: Beğenmeseler de önemli değil aslında, çok da şeyimde olmazdı [gülüyor].  
R: Genel olarak bazı sıkıntılar var mı banyoda? Rahatsız olduğunuz bazı şeyler? Keşke dediğiniz bir şey?  
I: Klozet mesela, biraz yukarda monte edildi, o yüzden ayaklarım yere değmiyor klozete oturunca [gülüyor].  
R: Montaj sırasında yanlışlık mı oldu?  
I: Yüksek yapmış herhalde.  
R: Bu problemi nasıl aşıyorsunuz peki?  
I: Düşünmemeye çalışıyorum bu durumu [gülüyor]. Çünkü şu andan itibaren pek de yapılacak bir şey yok sanırım. Çok da hani her girdiğimde aklıma gelen bir şey değil de, ilk bir kaç sefer alışmaya zorlanmışım, şimdi alıştım sonuçta. Bir de taharet musluğunun şeyi yanlış yapılmış hala bitmedi. Tekrar kırılıp tekrar yapılması gerekiyor, o şekilde 1 senedir yaşıyoruz. Yapılacak herhalde bu yaz inşallah. Onun dışında da istediğim gibi oldu her şey. Bir de şunlardan istiyorum. Kartonpiyerin daha incesi oluyor ya banyolar için, bir de ondan istiyorum, tavanla kalebodurun arasındaki görüntü hoşuma gitmiyor. Fazla inceliyor olabilirim ama [gülüyor].  
R: Kullanımla ilgili başka rahatsızlık var mı?  
I: Duşakabin yer olsaydı duşakabin daha rahat derdim, daha büyük duşakabin isteyebilirdim. Onun dışında kullanımdan memnunum. Biraz daha büyük bir banyo olsaydı duşakabin daha büyük olabilirdi, onun dışında istediğim gibi.  
R: Işıklandırmadan memnun musunuz?  
I: Evet, ondan memnunum.

R: Peki, son sorumuz, idealinizdeki banyo? Hiçbir bütçe, zaman, hacim sıkıntınız, kaygınız yok. Dilediğiniz gibi uçabilirsiniz. Gözünüzü kapatıp düşleyebilirsiniz. İdealinizdeki banyoyu bana tarif edebilir misiniz?

I: Valla, dergilerden kesip biçmiştim ama direk gösterebilirdim hatta ama nerede bilmiyorum onlar [gülüyor]. Mesela 2 lavabo olabilirdi. Vitra'da [marka] vardı galiba öyle bir model, üzerinde 2 ayna, 2 kişilik yani düşünülmüş bir şey olabilirdi, güzel köşeli olabilir, dikdörtgen bir duşakabin ama yine düz cam olsun isterim. Mesela yerle bitişik olmasını isterdim duşakabinin...

R: Yani duş teknesinin...

I: İnce.. Gerçi tavsiye etmediler, hep sorun çıkıyormuş, vardı aslında, imkanımız da vardı, ama tercih etmedik, bu daha kullanışlı ve daha bu tarz olduğunda tıkanıldığında ya da bir sorun olduğunda daha basit bir şekilde çözümleniyormuş, onlarda genelde sorun çıkıyormuş. Ve duşakabinin olduğu gibi sökülmesi gerekiyormuş, fiyat farkı yok gibiydi, öyle olduğu için de bunu tercih ettik. Hayalinizdeki dersiniz o zaman düz isterdim, yerden yüksek istemezdim.

R: Küvet, jakuzi, masaj?

I: [Gülüyor] Ayrı bir yerde bir jakuzi isterdim. Şey isterdim aslında, eski tip, ayaklı küvetler var ya, onlardan isterdim ayrı bir köşede. İçini doldurup girebileceğiniz, jakuzi, o da güzel de, daha modern, o eski ayaklı, eski tarz şeyleri çok severim. O güzel olurdu bence.

R: Hayalinizdeki bu banyoda tuvalet de var mı?

I: Tuvaleti unuttum. Hmmm... Tuvalet ayrı bir köşede olsun isterdim, arada bir bölme olabilir, tuvalet onun arkasında kalabilir mesela. Ve bence şey de olmalı, bir erkek tuvaleti, pisuar mı mesela, bir de normal tuvalet olabilir, o da güzel olurdu bence. Bahar nefret ederdi benden [gülüyor]. Yine dergiler, kitaplar olmasını isterdim. Çiçekler isterdim. Gerçek çiçek, yeşil, büyük çiçekler.

R: Bu durumda doğal ışık da ister miydiniz?

I: Tabi, dışarı bakan bir kısım da olsun isterdim.

R: Manzara?

I: Varsa evet [gülüyor]. Küvetin karşısında dağ manzarası, okyanus...

R: Mahremiyet açısından sizi tedirgin eder miydi?

I: Yok etmezdi. Bir de bambu bank ya da çıktıktan sonra oturabileceğiniz, şey de bambu olabilir, ayak bastığınız yer de bambu olabilir, sauna tarzı ama ev versiyonu... Hem daha rahat, samimi bir görüntü hem de sıcak oluyor bence bambu.

R: Müzik sistemi?

I: O kesin olsun.

R: Televizyon?

I: Televizyon değil de müzik isterdim... Televizyon, belki olabilir... Güzel oldu, değişik oldu [gülüyor].

R: Eşiniz idealde ne isteyebilir bir fikriniz var mı?

I: O muhtemelen rahat bilgisayar oynayabileceği bir ortam isterdi. Büyük ekran falan [gülüyor].

R: Tuvalette oyun oynuyor mu?

I: Telefonuyla oynuyor. Karşısında bir ekran olsa oyunlarını oynar, kesinlikle, çok isterdi, bayılırdı yani [gülüyor].

R: Peki, benim sorularım bu şekildeydi. Tüm sorularımı düşününce eklemek istediğiniz bir şey var mı, aklınıza gelen, benim sormayı atladığım bir şey olabilir.

I: Yoo, banyoyu hiç bu kadar detaylı düşünmemiştim, o kadar kullanıyoruz ama [gülüyor].

### **Part 3, in the bathroom**

I: Banyomuz burası, hiç ellemedim.

R: Teşekkür ederim. Bu bahsettiğiniz ayak paspası sanırım [Duşakabinin önünde yerde havlu]?

I: Haa, o havlu mesela, normalde yoktu o, sabah duş aldım, normalde kenarda duruyor, çıktıktan sonra şuna basıyor [banyo zeminindeki paspas], bu daha zor kuruyor.

R: Misafir geleceği zaman?

I: Kaldırıyorum. Çamaşırılığa atıyorum [gülüyor].

R: Her duşta geri geliyor mu?

I: Aklıma gelirse koyuyorum, gelmezse koymuyorum, ille olsun şeyim yok. Çok dikkat etmiyorum.

R: Bu bahsettiğiniz el havlusu mu?

I: Şu el havlumuz [başka havlu gösteriyor], bence orada kağıt havlu olmalıydı ama kimse kabul etmedi. Bu ıslak [araştırmacının gösterdiği], banyoya girmeden önce bornozumu buraya asıyorum, bornozlar şu anda içerde kuruyor, çıkarken hemen alabileceğim uzaklıkta olsun diye, onu oradan kullanıyorum, kurutmak için başka yere, orada kurumuyor. Kuruduktan sonra dolaba koymayı düşünmüştüm ama sığmadı. [Dolabı açıyor]. Burada bunları koydum [tuvalet kağıdı], bittiğinde hemen almak için, banyo ile ilgili bütün şeyler burada. Aslında bornozlar için düşünmüştüm bunu, sonra bunları daha uygun gördüm [tuvalet kağıtlarını ve kağıt havluları]. Bornozları kuruduktan sonra katlayıp dolaba koyacaktım, bu görüntüye engel olacaktım ama olamadım [Kapının arkasında bornoz asılı]. Bornozlar genelde sağda solda oluyor, kalıyor, düzenimiz çok tam oturmadı. El havluları burada duruyor [dolapta]. Değiştireceğim zaman hemen buradan alıyorum.

R: Misafir geldiğinde havluyu değiştiriyorsunuz?

I: Evet, onu değiştiririm. Buraları [banko] silerim.

R: Sizin havlunuz?

I: Kağıt havlum dolapta. Kullanıyorum, kullandıktan sonra dolaba geri koyuyorum.

R: Bahsettiğiniz kireç şunlar mı [Duşakabinin camlarında]?

I: Evet. Hatta onu [çekçek] oraya koydum, göz önünde olsun, yapalım diye. Bundan daha kötü oluyor çünkü çok kireçli sular, onu yapmadığınız zaman daha beyaz, daha çirkin bir görüntü oluyor.

R: Duşakabinin içindeki askıyı siz mi seçtiniz?

I: Evet, aslında ben onu gömme istemiştım, duvarın içine gömme yapıyorlar, böyle bir görüntü olmuyor o zaman. Bu [granit malzeme] zor bir şeymiş. Kesilmesi zormuş. Benim dediğim olmazmış. Ama öyle bir şey isterdim.

R: Peki çekçek'i nerden aldınız?

I: İnternette aldım. Bahar akıl etti. Ama işe yarıyor bayağı.

R: Oraya asılabilir olduğunu gördünüz de mi aldınız?

I: Yok, geçenlerde fark ettim onu, ben normalde lavabonun altındaki dolaba koyuyordum, geçen asılacak yeri olduğunu fark ettim, biraz çirkin durdu ama pratik geldi. Buradan çıkarıp alıp temizlemektense. Onu oraya astım.

R: Bahsettiğiniz gazeteliğiniz bu?

I: Evet.

R: İçinde magazinler, mizah dergiler...

I: Ben aslında duvara istiyordum, yer kalmadığı için bunu buraya yaptık.

R: Klozetin üstündeki yüzey bilinçli yapılan bir yüzey mi?

I: O düz olamadı, nedenini bilmiyorum, Mert bilir, gömme klozet olamadı, bu şekilde gömüldü. Aslında bir tane raf olacaktı, mum ıvır zıvır koymak için, sonra o olmadı, çünkü çok zorluk çıkardı bu malzeme, delmek falan. Sonra baktım zaten bu da raf gibi, bunu kullanabilirim dedim, bunları koyduk.

R: O rafta mesela mum dediniz, başka neler düşünmüştünüz?

I: Mum olabilir, kokulu mum alacaktım, ya da böyle midye gibi işte gerçi çok denizvari bir banyo değil ama sonra vazgeçtim, ıvır zıvır görünmesin diye.

R: Aynanın önüne bir şeyler koymayı düşünüyor musunuz?

I: Yok, onu sevmiyorum. Orda pek bir şey sevmiyorum.

R: Bu bardak ne için?

I: Sabah saçımı kuruturken su içtim, genelde burada bir nescafe [kahve markası] fincanı, saçımı kuruturken kahve içiyorum ya da bir şey içiyorum, mutfığa götürmediysem akşam alıp götürüyorum.

R: [Aynada vesikalık fotoğraf var] bu fotoğraf?

I: Mert yokken, İstanbul'dayken, onu oraya koydu, her sabah ona günaydın demem için onu oraya koydu.

R: Bu bahsettiğiniz makyaj aynası mı?

I: Evet, onu ben çok kullanıyorum.

R: Aşağıda temizlik malzemeleri var?

I: Evet. Bu da işte elde yıkadığım leğen. Bu banyo terlikleri.

R: Kullanılıyor mu? Misafir için mi?

I: Onları ben gittiğim otellerden toplamıştım, kendim kullanmıyorum, kendi terliğim var da, gelen misafire koyuyorum.

R: Banyo tartınız var dolapta?

I: O tartıyı pek kullanmıyoruz ama annem vermişti onu. Kullanacağımız zaman çıkarıyorum. Dışarda mümkünse pek bir şey gözükmessin diye onu şey yapıyorum.

R: Bu havlupanı [banyo radyatörü, marka] daha çok hangi amaçlarla kullanıyorsunuz?

Kışın el havlusu ıslak kalıyor, onu kurutmak için kullanıyorum. Bunun gri renkli olanı vardı aslında, onu alsak güzel olurmuş. Onlar da saf suyla falan temizlenmesi gerekiyormuş galiba, özel bir bakım gerektiriyormuş, bakım gerektiren şeyler falan ilgilenemediğim için.... Bunu asıyorum mesela [el havlusu, yanında asılı]. Ya da mesela elimde yıkadığım bir şeyi bazen asıyorum. Saç havlumu koyuyorum,

kurutuyoruz. Banyoya girerken üstünden çıkarttıklarımızı oraya asıyoruz, genelde üstü bir şeylerle dolu oluyor.

R: İç çamaşırlarınızı bunun üstünde kurutuyor musunuz?

I: Bende şey var, dışarı balkona çamaşır asamıyorum, tamamen dışarı, kapalı balkon var, orda zaten çamaşırları kurutuyorum, bir tek ben görüyorum, oraya asıyorum çamaşırları falan. Öyle bir yerim olmasaydı buraya asardım çamaşırları, çünkü dışarda görünmesini sevmiyorum.

R: Tadilat sırasında klozetin yerine nasıl karar verdiniz?

I: Ben aslında klozeti şu girişe koyalım demiştim, bir şekilde böyle oldu, neyi nereye nasıl koyabiliriz bakarken, klozet girişte hemen olmasın dedik, biraz daha içerde kenarda kalsın dedik, bir de tabi su şeyiyle de alakalı galiba [tesisatın şeması], lavabo buraya konsun dendi, hemen girişte, kapıyı açınca karşıda, klozet ve lavabo bitişik olmasın dedik, duşakabin zaten köşe olması gerekiyordu, buraya da sonradan dolap koyarız diye düşündük, yani biraz bize göre, biraz da bu tesisatın durumuna göre açıkçası.

R: Çöp kovası ve tuvalet fırçası ile ilgili, seçerken kriteriniz var mıydı?

I: Şu kareler bunlara [fayanslardaki desenler] uyuyor diye aldım ama açıkçası böyle ortada durmalarından hoşlanmıyorum.

R: Peki, eklemek istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

I: Hayır, yok.

R: Çok teşekkürler.

I: Ben teşekkür ederim.



APPENDIX D: Table of Practices in the Bathroom

Table D.1 : The distribution of practices in the bathroom among the interviewees.

|                                                                            |                                                        | INTERVIEWEE #(age)    |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|---------|---------|--|
|                                                                            | PRACTICES in the BATHROOM                              | P1(64)                | P2(63) | P3(66) | I1(33) | I2(30) | I3(31) | I4(46) | I5(26) | I6(33) | I7(42) | I8(39) | I9(38) | I10(49) | I11(27) | I12(58) |  |
| Body/ Functions - Self Cleaning<br>Personal Care - Leisure & Entertainment | Ablution                                               |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
|                                                                            | Putting on and taking off contact lenses               |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
|                                                                            | Dying hair                                             |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
|                                                                            | Hair care (drying/brushing/shaping)                    |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
|                                                                            | Body care                                              |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
|                                                                            | Facial                                                 |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
|                                                                            | Make-up                                                |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
|                                                                            | Epilation / shaving                                    |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
|                                                                            | Solving crossword puzzle on the toilet                 |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
|                                                                            | Watching TV on the toilet                              |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
|                                                                            | Reading (book, newspaper, magazine) on the toilet      |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
|                                                                            | Using smart phone on the toilet                        |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
|                                                                            | Taking along the mobile phone on the toilet            |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
|                                                                            | Using laptop on the toilet                             |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
|                                                                            | Smoking on the toilet                                  |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
|                                                                            | Singing in the shower                                  |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
|                                                                            | Listening to music in the shower (through smart phone) |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
|                                                                            | Cleaning of the House<br>& Space                       | Washing feet          |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
|                                                                            |                                                        | Washing only the hair |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
| Washing only the body                                                      |                                                        |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
| Wiping body parts (substitute for showering)                               |                                                        |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
| Soaking stained/white clothes in water (legen)                             |                                                        |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
| Washing sensitive/wool clothes by hand (legen)                             |                                                        |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
| Doing laundry (washing machine)                                            |                                                        |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
| Drying small clothes (socks, underwear) on the towel radiator              |                                                        |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
| Drying cleaning/wiping cloths on the towel radiator                        |                                                        |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
| Drying towels/bathrobes after shower                                       |                                                        |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
| Wiping the shower cabin doors/walls with a glass wiper                     |                                                        |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
| Washing big items in the shower cabin                                      |                                                        |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
| Keeping cleaning items in the shower cabin                                 |                                                        |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |
| Keeping water as a safety stock in case of a water cut                     |                                                        |                       |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |  |



## APPENDIX E: Table of Material Culture

**Table E.1 :** The elements in the interviewees' bathrooms.

[illegible]



APPENDIX F: Diagram of Relations of the Findings

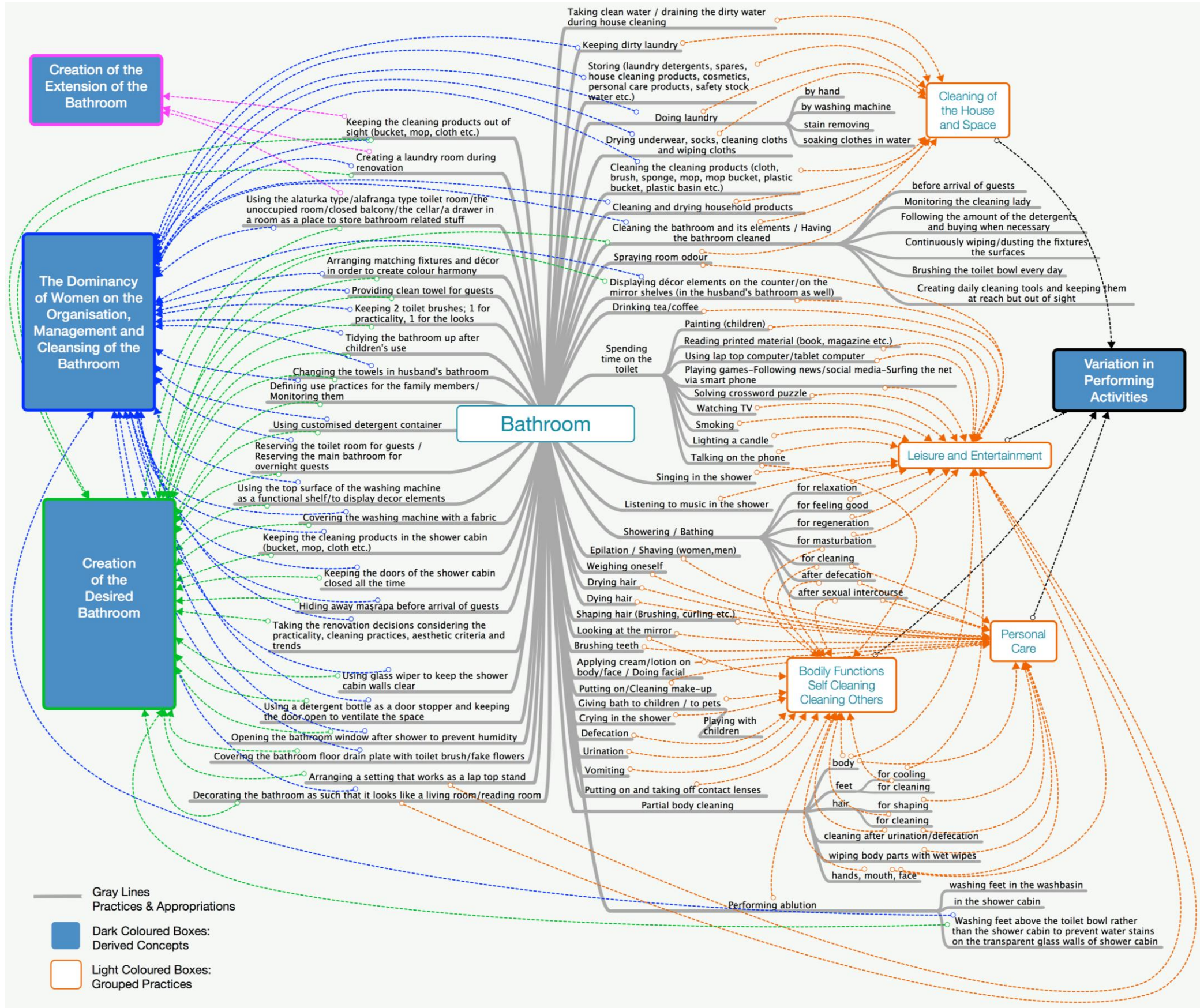


Figure F.1 : The relations between derived concepts, appropriations and practices.





## CURRICULUM VITAE

**Name Surname:** Aysun AYTAÇ  
**E-Mail:** aysunaytac@yahoo.com

## EDUCATION:

**B.Sc.:** Middle East Technical University, Faculty of Architecture, Industrial Design (2002)  
**M.Sc.:** Izmir Institute of Technology, The Graduate School of Engineering and Sciences, Department of Industrial Design, Industrial Design (2005)

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