DOMESTICATION OF MEDIA:
A SPATIAL INQUIRY INTO MODERN TURKISH CONTEXT

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ABSTRACT

DOMESTICATION OF MEDIA:
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The thesis surveys the domestication of media in the modern Turkish context since the 20th century, with a particular focus on the design, representation, and production of domestic space in architectural practice. The house and media relationship that has been structured in conjunction with industrialization and economy, consumption and culture, and public and private since the 19th century, has evolved into a more direct one with the introduction of electronic media, particularly radio, television, and personal computer, from the 20th century onwards. Since then, as in other contexts, media has been domesticated, in other words, it was socially and culturally appropriated in parallel to modernization and domestic modernization processes in the Turkish context. The changes in the domestic sphere and its relationship with consumption and media correspond to the shifts in modernization and domestic modernization in the late 19th century, early 20th century, mid-20th century, and post-1980s. In this historical context, the periodically popular iconic consumption markers such as piano, fireplace, and American bar as well as electronic house media became the spatial tokens of the changing perceptions of domestic modernity. Unlike the iconic consumption markers, electronic media as symbolic conspicuous objects and transmitters of public messages had a transformative impact on house and private

sphere. Thus, the thesis aims to illuminate the domestication processes of radio, television, and personal computer and their spatial manifestation in comparison to the iconic consumption markers by examining selected cases through the lens of architectural practice and representation in four critical periods.
Keywords: House and media, domestication of media, modern Turkish context, electronic media, iconic consumption markers

ÖZ

MEDYANIN EVSELLEŞTİRİLMESİ:
MODERN TÜRKİYE BAĞLAMINDA MEKÂNSAL BİR SORGULAMA

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Tez, 20. yüzyıldan bu yana modern Türkiye bağlamında medyanın evselleştirilmesini, özellikle mimari pratik bağlamında evsel mekânın tasarımı, temsili ve üretimine odaklanarak inceliyor. 19. yüzyıldan itibaren sanayileşme ve ekonomi, tüketim ve kültür, kamusal alan ve özel alan ile bağlantılı olarak kurgulanan ev ve medya ilişkisi, 20. yüzyıldan itibaren başta radyo, televizyon ve kişisel bilgisayar olmak üzere elektronik medyanın/medyaların ortaya çıkmasıyla, birbiriyle daha doğrudan ilişkili bir duruma dönüşmüştür. Medya, diğer bağlamlarda olduğu gibi evselleştirilmiş; bir başka deyişle, modernleşme ve evsel modernleşme süreçlerinin paralelinde toplumsal ve kültürel olarak Türkiye bağlamı tarafından da benimsenmiş ve uyarlanmıştır. Evsel alan ve ev, tüketim ve medya arasındaki ilişkide gözlenen değişimler, sırasıyla geç 19. yüzyıl, erken 20. yüzyıl, yüzyıl ortası ve 1980 sonrası modernleşme ve evsel modernleşmedeki değişimlere tekabül eder. Bu tarihsel bağlam çerçevesinde, elektronik ev medyasının yanı sıra piyano, şömine ve Amerikan bar gibi dönemsel olarak popüler olan ikonik tüketim göstergeleri, evsel moderniteye dair değişen algıların mekânsal simgeleri haline gelmiştir. İkonik tüketim göstergelerinden farklı

olarak hem gösterişçi tüketim nesnesi hem de aktarıcı niteliğe sahip elektronik medya, ev ve özel alanda dönüştürücü bir etkiye sahiptir. Bu anlamda tez, dört kritik dönemde evsel mimari vakaları inceleyerek radyo, televizyon ve kişisel bilgisayarların evselleştirme süreçleri ve bu süreçlerin ikonik tüketim göstergeleriyle karşılaştırıldığında mekânsal tezahürlerini aydınlatmayı amaçlar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ev ve medya, medyanın evselleştirilmesi, modern Türkiye bağlamı, elektronik medya, ikonik tüketim göstergeleri

To a world where everyone feels at home,

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Domesticity, and house as its spatial environment are ever-changing discursive phenomena, discussed as such, especially in the modern era. Ideals and realities regarding the formation and definition of domestic sphere are formed and subjected to change and challenge within a complex network of relations amongst such agents as economy, technology, culture, communication, information, consumption, public, and private. The domestic sphere acts similar to a laboratory in which all these factors are echoed and, more importantly, mediated. Amongst them, media and mass communication that lie at the center of industrial production and culture and emerged as concepts in conjunction with mass culture have drastic influences on the materialization of house and domestic sphere. In this regard, a current evaluation of the development and materialization of the concept and physicality of the house, must take the media-involved and media-based changes and transformations into account.

At the core of industrialization lies the progresses in technology and production, and growth in consumption, hence a shift in the perception and characterization of material basis. This shift underpins the domestic sphere's association with media. The changes and transformations in the economic, social, and cultural contexts in the West in the 19th century, thus, are regarded as the first turning point in the complex yet transformative and somehow reciprocal relationship between house and media. As the industry, capitalist economy, and consumer culture started to flourish in this era, media – printed media in particular for the 19th century – has become instrumental as both the mediator and the product in the everyday production and consumption cycle.[1]

[1] Jean Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society, Myths & Structures* (London: SAGE, 1998), 57.

While media's prominence increased with industrialization, its relationship with house and home became established through consumption and fueled by advertisements, books, magazines, newspapers and similar printed media that propagated and even dictated modes of consumption and living suitable to the new industrial culture.[2] The media-house relationship instituted in the 19th century evolved into a more direct and instrumental nature with the introduction of electronic media into the private sphere in the 20th century. Radio and television as both consumer objects and transmitters of public oriented messages have mediated not only the material and immaterial domestic consumption but also the connection between public and private spheres.[3] As consumer objects radio and especially television have played a seminal role in the organization and use of domestic space. Serving as transmitters of public interaction, they have transcended the physical limits of distance and space by facilitating the communicational access to the domestic sphere.[4] Another seminal shift in mass media and communication came by the miniaturization and digitalization in the media technologies that led to the development of personal computers (PC) and mobile media towards the end of the 20th century. The social and domestic adoption of this new media became immensely widespread, despite the fact that contextual factors such as nation-states, geography, economy, society, and culture continued to be the main constitutive of the relationship between house and media; PC and mobile media redefined the operation of everyday and increased the interactions between local and global, public and private, and work and leisure in an unprecedented scope. However, while the media technologies turned out to be globally influential, the 'domestication' process of media, to a large extent, occurred as context and case specific. Contextual

[2] Dale Southerton, *Encyclopedia of Consumer Culture* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2011), 1534, http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip&db=nlebk&AN=474266&site=eds-live.

[3] Jean Baudrillard, *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*, trans. by Charles Levin (USA: Telos Press, 1981), 169-171.

[4] Cecelia Tichi, *Electronic Hearth: Creating an American Television Culture* (Oxford University Press, 1991), 16-19.

and circumstantial agents and limitations functioned as determinants in media domestication and thus must be addressed to create a framework for the issue.

Media became influential on architects' and consumers' tastes and tendencies in the design, furnishing, and use of domestic space as well. Indeed, the domestication of media manifests foremost in the architectural design of house, how architects internalized this phenomenon as a design parameter in their projects. Architectural representations or representations of space[5], in this respect, can be utilized as potential sources to illustrate in which ways, forms, processes and capacities the domestication of media has occurred.

The term 'domestication' is introduced by Roger Silverstone, David Morley, Leslie Haddon, and Eric Hirsch in the 1990s within the framework of media studies to signify the active role of households in "appropriation" or "objectification" of "products and meanings" introduced through media and technology. According to domestication theory, households have the ability not only to adopt or reject media but also "incorporate" or "convert" the products received.[6] The theory emphasizes the

[5] The concept of "conceived space" introduced by Henri Lefebvre can be instrumental in clarifying what is meant by architectural representations or "representations of space". According to Lefebvre, "the production of space" is a social and dialectical process encompassing three dimensions: perceived space, conceived space, and lived space. "Perceived space" or "spatial practice" in spatial terms signifies "the practical basis of the perception of the outside world". It includes the social formation of space as a "material network" of physical acts and objects perceived through spatial practices and senses. "Conceived space" or "representations of space" in spatial terms is "conceptualized space" or "the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent - all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived". In other words, it stands for the mental production of space expressed through the representations. The third dimension is "lived space" or "representational spaces" in which signs, images, and symbols are imposed on physical space and lived by the users. The space is created as a lived realm of experiences, establishing representations or imagination. Even though these three equally important dimensions of the production of space theorized by Lefebvre are integrated into the discussion, the thesis' primary focus is the "conceived space" to explore the conceptual and mental resonances of the house and media relationship from the architect's perspective and representations of space. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. by Donald Nicholson Smith (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991), 48-50. Silke Kapp and Ana Paula Baltazar, "Out of Conceived Space: For Another History of Architecture" (paper presented at Spaces of History / Histories of Space: Emerging Approaches to the Study of the Built Environment Conference, University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, CA, April 30-May 1, 2010, https://escholarship.org/uc/item/30d070b0.

[6] Thomas Berker, Maren Hartmann, Yves Punie, and Katie Ward, ''Introduction'', in *Domestication of Media and Technology*, ed. Thomas Berker, Maren Hartmann, Yves Punie and Katie J. Ward (England: Open University Press, 2006), 4-5. Roger Silverstone, Eric Hirsch and David Morley, "Information and communication technologies and the moral economy of the household'', in *Consuming Technologies,*

reciprocity of house and media rather than perceiving media as the key determinant. Architectural productions, on the other hand, responded differently to the exchange between the concepts of media and house. Such pioneering works in architectural history and theory, as "The Media House" by Beatriz Colomina[7], "The Un-Private House" by Terence Riley[8], and "Broadcasting Buildings" by Shundana Yusaf[9], defined and argued the reciprocity between house and media as "the house in media" and "media in house". That is to say, the interrelation has been based upon the representation of private sphere in media on the one hand and the integration of media into house on the other. In this respect, the domestication theory found diverse resonances in architectural debate and hence is a potential theme to explore contextually.

The term domestication, in this respect, is used in this thesis to elaborate the processes that defined the media and house relationship and to highlight the role of the societal and cultural appropriation of media in the context of modern Turkey. The history of media-house relationship, on the other hand, cannot be traced independent from the history and perception of domestic modernity[10] in the Turkish context. As in other contexts, the changes in the perception of domestic modernity correspond to the changes in domestic sphere and, consequently, its relationship with consumption and media. The first step towards industrialization and modernization came in the 19th century Ottoman context, in parallel to and in close relationship with Europe, and

Media and Information in Domestic Spaces, ed. Roger Silverstone and Eric Hirsch (London, New York: Routledge, 2005), 13-28.

[7] Beatriz Colomina, "The Media House", *Assemblage*, no. 27, (August 1995): 55-66,

http://www.jstor.org/stable/3171430.

[8] Terence Riley, "The Un-Private House'', in *The Un-Private House, Exhibition Catalogue* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1999).

[9] Shundana Yusaf, *Broadcasting Buildings: Architecture on Wireless, 1927-1945* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: The MIT Press, 2014), 35-43.

[10] "Domestic modernity" is a term that expresses the process and experience of modernity in the private sphere. Mica Nava and Alan O'Shea, "Modernity's Disavowal: Women, the City and the Department Store", in *Modern Times: Reflections on a Century of English Modernity*, ed. by Pasi Falk and Colin Campbell (London: Routledge, 1996), 38-76. Judy Giles, *The Parlour and the Suburb: Domestic Identities, Class, Femininity and Modernity* (Oxford, UK: Berg, 2004), 6.

resulted in a series of progresses, in several spheres such as education, economy, politics, and art. The progressive spirit manifested also in the everyday, in particular, in the changing consumer habits, lifestyles, and tastes in the elaboration of domestic sphere.[11] The first correlation was established between modernity and modern household in this period, and through the Ottoman wealthy and elite.[12] A similar correlation came to forefront in the Republican era, at the beginning of the 20th century, which was also in line with the national goal of industrial and modern progress. The third wave of modernization and change in domestic sphere in the Turkish context occurred in the postwar era, which is often defined as the Americanization of lifestyle and private space. The period between the 1950s and 1980s saw the consumption of house and household incline towards American modernity.[13] And finally, in the confluence of neoliberalism, globalization, postmodern culture, and media, the ubiquitous mass culture entered the house and restructured the understanding of private sphere and operation of domestic modernity entirely in the post-1980 period.[14] In this historical framework, some periodically popular iconic consumer objects such as piano, fireplace, and American bar became the spatial tokens that signified the changing domestic modernization processes in Turkey. These objects distinguish from other furniture and consumer objects due to their symbolic value; they serve as spatial 'markers' of the changing domestic space production, perception and experience of domestic modernity, and the consumer habits of the four abovementioned periods within the Turkish context. Since there is no suitable term to identify their symbolic

[11] Dilşad Gözübüyük Melek, "New Interpretations of Domestic Space and Life: The Emergence of Apartment Buildings in Nineteenth Century İstanbul" (Published Master's Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2004), 18-19. Ayşe Derin Öncel, "Apartmanların planlanmasında olası etkilenmelerin sorgulanması", in *Apartman: Galata'da Yeni Bir Konut Tipi* (İstanbul: Institut français d'études anatoliennes, 2010), 307-341, http://books.openedition.org/ifeagd/1591.

[12] Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building, Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001), 193

[13] Meltem Ö. Gürel, "Introduction", *Mid-Century Modernism in Turkey: Architecture Across Cultures in the 1950s and 1960s*, ed. by Meltem Ö. Gürel (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 1-7.

[14] Nurdan Gürbilek, *Vitrinde Yaşamak, 1980'lerin Kültürel İklimi* (İstanbul: Metis, 2014). Can Kozanoğlu, *Cilalı İmaj Devri: 1980'lerden 90'lara Türkiye ve Starları* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2000). Rıfat N. Bali, *Tarz-ı Hayattan Life Style'a, Yeni Seçkinler, Yeni Mekanlar, Yeni Yaşamlar* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2002).

consumption value in the domestic sphere in the literature, these spatial consumption items, namely piano, fireplace, and American bar, are termed as "iconic consumption markers" (*ikonik tüketim göstergeleri*) in the thesis. The position and naming of these objects in other contexts, on the other hand, is a subject that is open to discussion and beyond the boundaries of the study. Similarly, but different from the iconic consumption markers, electronic house media such as radio and television have functioned as not only transmitters but also symbolic conspicuous objects, which represented modernity and progress. Unlike the mere iconic consumption items, ranging from piano, fireplace, and American bar to domestic furniture and display objects, however, the electronic media had a transformative impact on the house and private sphere including the Turkish context. The studies on the place of electronic media in the architectural production in modern Turkey, on the other hand is limited; two seminal works are "Designing and Consuming in Modern Turkey" by Meltem Ö. Gürel[15] and "Living Rooms Occupied" by Esra Bici Nasır, Şebnem Timur and Meltem Ö. Gürel,[16] which uncover the change in domestic spatial practices following the entrance of media, in particular television.

The thesis dwells on this framework and aims to investigate and provide a survey of the domestication of media in modern Turkish context since the 20th century, mainly by focusing on the design, representation, and production of domestic space in the architectural practice by asking the following research questions:

1. How electronic media, radio, television, and PC, became domesticated in the modern Turkish context?
2. In which ways the domestication of media manifested spatially? Is it evident in the design, representation, and production of domestic architecture?

[15] Meltem Ö. Gürel, "Designing and Consuming Modern in Turkey", in *Routledge Companion to Design Studies*, ed. by Penny Sparke and Fiona Fisher (New York and London: Routledge, 2016).

[16] Esra Bici Nasır, Sebnem Timur and Meltem Ö. Gürel, "Living Rooms Occupied: Narratives on the Recontextualization of the "Museum-Salon" Practice in Modern Turkish Domesticity", *Home Cultures,* (January, 2020), https://doi.org/10.1080/17406315.2019.1699739.

3. Did the spatial manifestation of electronic media, took forms different and distinct from other iconic consumption markers like piano, fireplace, and American bar in the house?

By taking these questions as the main focus, the study frames a historical survey on the relationship of consumption, media, and house in the modern Turkish context, and illustrates the discussion by a sample of case studies that are examined spatially through architectural and other visual representations. The study aims to discuss the far-reaching, complex, and multifaceted relationship of house, consumption, and media from a broader and interdisciplinary perspective to provide a better comprehension by incorporating various fields such as history, economics, media studies, cultural studies, philosophy, sociology, and anthropology besides architecture and architectural history that lies at the core. Yet, the primary objective, is to delve into the domestication process and spatiality of electronic house media as a contribution to the related research in architectural theory and history. Thus, the argument is structured around the key concepts of industrialization and economy, consumption and culture, and public and private, which are taken as the basis of the media and house relationship. Chapter 2 introduces a general theoretical and contextual framework of the West on the intersections of the domestic sphere, consumption, and mass media from the 19th century onwards. Chapter 3, Chapter 4, Chapter 5, and Chapter 6 study the same topics and intersections respectively in the late-19th century, early 20th century, mid-20th century, and post-1980s Turkish contexts by deep diving into modernization and domestic modernization processes. At the end of each chapter from Chapter 3 to Chapter 6, illustrative examples, which demonstrate the appropriation of iconic consumer objects and electronic media in the private sphere, are presented. The illustrative cases, by no means intend to provide a comprehensive panorama and coverage but are utilized to show the spatial materialization of the domestication of consumption and media and to depict the continuities, discontinuities, and contingencies between the four periods in this respect. In this respect, architectural representations of the cases, in particular plans and sections, as well as photographs, serve as the primary evidence in the discussion. In addition, such types of representations of electronic media as painting, photography,

literary works, publications, advertisements, films, and television series are also included alongside the architectural representations as supportive material. The case studies include domestic architecture of various typologies like apartments, villas, single-family houses, and housing complexes, among which are unbuilt designs as well. The built examples mainly come from big cities such as Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir, Bursa, and Antalya. Cases are selected according to the availability of architectural representations, especially the plan drawings that included representations of the iconic consumption markers and electronic media.

The iconic consumption markers, piano, fireplace, American bar, as well as the electronic media, radio, television, and PC, are color-coded in the architectural plans to provide consistency and guidance throughout the figures. Displayed alone or shown as furnished in architectural plans, they are highlighted by different colors. In this context, shades of blue are used for iconic consumption markers and shades of red for electronic media. Likewise, major furniture sets combined with them, such as the dining table and chairs are highlighted in yellow. The placements of the sitting groups are labeled with green dots. In case of any visual orientation, the oriented directions of the sitting groups are indicated with arrows also by using green color. In cases where iconic consumption markers, electronic media, and the dining table define rooms without a specified placement or are represented by another medium such as photographs, sketches, or written sources and not by architectural plans, the designated areas are marked with dashed lines, adhering to the color code. (fig.1)

The data is collected through archival work. For the case analysis, the main sources of research proved to be the digital archives. *Arkitekt* and *Mimarlık* periodicals databases of the Chamber of Architects of Turkey, *Ege Mimarlık* periodicals database of the Izmir Branch of Chamber of Architects of Turkey, the visual database of *Arkiv,* Salt Research, and Koç University Digital Collections are surveyed to gather the architectural data. *Ankara University Academic Archive System*, *Istanbul University Looking into History from Newspapers Projects*, *Boğaziçi University Journal of Servet-i Fünûn* in the History of Ottoman Culture database are overviewed to collect the data related to printed media. Center for Turkish Cinema Studies database is

searched for both information about printed media and Turkish film history. The official Youtube archives and repositories of the film and television production companies such as *Erler Film Türker İnanoğlu*, *Murat Film*, *Melek Film*, *Arzu Film*, and *Kanal D* archive are used to reach video contents. Advertisement and photograph ephemera, which belong to the author's archive, are also used as supporting material.

CHAPTER 2

DOMESTIC SPHERE, CONSUMPTION AND MASS MEDIA: A CONTEXTUAL INTRODUCTION

2.1. Industrialization and Economy as Transformative Agents of Domestic Space

Industrialization introduced mechanization which had restructured the industrial production and consumption cycle as well as the construction and experience of domestic space.[17] Since the industrial era, indeed, both 'production' and 'consumption' continue to play a determinative role on the social and spatial dynamics that structure the domestic sphere. According to Baudrillard, "consumption, information, communication and culture" are all regulated through "the system itself, as *new productive forces*".[18] In other words, all those entities are both the means and outputs of economic and social structure induced by the industrialization.

Industrialization, as such, represents a multifaceted and wide-ranging social and economic change with technology and production in its center, and had consequences on socio-spatial environment, in particular, in the West[19] that engendered "a pattern of

[17] For further information: Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture*, trans. by Frederick Etchells (New York: Dover Publications, 1986); Siegfried Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command, A Contribution to Anonymous History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); Siegfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture, the Growth of a New Tradition* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959); Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (New York, Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1970); Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudsons, 1992); Victor Buchli, *An Anthropology of Architecture* (London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsburry, 2013).

[18] Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society,* 57.

[19] Jürgen Kocka, *Capitalism: A Short History* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2016), 97.

discontinuity in the material basis".[20] Industrialization started with the Industrial Revolution, which proceeded in two consecutive stages initiated by the invention of steam engine technology in the 18th century and electricity in the 19th century.[21] The technological advancements that occurred in association with or as a result of these two major progressive breaking points affected not only manufacturing and production, but also information, transportation[22], division of labor, social structure – regarding the development of "an industrial culture" [23] – architecture, urbanization, public and private spheres, and everyday life. The advancements, above all, affected the operation of capitalism. [24] In fact, as Suresh stated, "technological progress and capital accumulation" are consistent with each other and implicit within "the capitalist mode of production".[25] Industrialization, in this respect, transformed radically the ongoing merchant capitalist order into an innovation-oriented, programmed, and stratified constitution established upon division of labor and market forces.[26] The transformations in capitalism, which developed hand in hand with industrialization and technological progress, further led to paradigm shifts in production, consumption, and economy by integrating "state policies and firm strategies" in the 20th century.[27] In this regard, the period between the WW1 and 1950s is identified by the rise of fully mechanized mass production and mass consumption. And, subsequently, mass

[20] Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society* (West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 29.

[21] Ibid., 33.

[22] Ibid., 97-100

[23] Ibid., 100.

[24] Ibid., 97-100.

[25] R. R. Suresh, *Economy and Society, Evolution of Capitalism* (New Delhi, California: SAGE, 2010), 94.

[26] Kocka, *Capitalism: A Short History*, 101-102. The two emergent phenomena that came as the natural outcome of Industrialization and which signified the industrial paradigm shifts that had profound impacts on the economic and socio-cultural structure of the Western cultures in the early 20th century and hence capitalism were Fordism and post-Fordism. Fordism, seen as "the first industrial divide", progressively changed the production process from artisanship to fully mechanized mass production. In the post-Fordist shift as "the second industrial divide", on the other hand, the mass production became more flexible and dispersed. Fran Tonkiss, *Contemporary Economic Sociology, Globalization, Production, Inequality* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 95.

[27] Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society,* 163.

customization, neoliberalism[28], global economy, and decentralized production, and mass customized consumption have been developed, starting from the 1960s, which continued well until the 1980s[29]. The structural changes based on the industrialization and capitalist system, on the other hand, had an impact beyond the production and economic structure. They also transformed every corner of daily life: culture and consumption, information and communication, and, most importantly for this thesis, the concept and materiality of house since the 19th century; the perception of the ideal of house have been evolved drastically, as an outcome of the transformations in production and economy.

The structural transformations induced by the industrialization process changed the pace of the everyday life starting from the 19th century. The introduction of electricity increased the time spent for the daily activities. Transportation technologies such as railway and automobile changed the perception of time, space, and distance.[30] Information and communication technologies such as telegraph, phone, and motion picture as well as the developments in printed media[31] perceptually accelerated the information flow and compressed time and space. The subject became alienated because of the changing relationship between subject and object, human and technology, labor and production, production and consumption.[32] Within this constant state of flux, house started to be distinguished as an antidote to modes of restlessness,

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[28] David Gartman, *From Autos to Architecture, Fordism and Architectural Aesthetics in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2009), 316-317.

[29] Tonkiss, *Contemporary Economic Sociology*, 96-97.

[30] [30] David Gartman, "Postmodernism; or, the Cultural Logic of Post-Fordism?", *The Sociological Quarterly*, 39, no. 1 (Winter, 1998): 123-124. Charles F. McGovern, "Consumer Culture and Mass Culture", in *A Companion to American Cultural History*, ed. by Karen Halttunen (Malden, Oxford, Victoria: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 189.

[31] The printed media already existed since the 15th century, yet it was reliant on the underdeveloped transportation systems until the 19th century. The progress in the transportation systems enabled a faster distribution of printed media. On the other hand, the invention of the telegraph and the telephone in the 19th century eliminated the spatial obstructions in the transmission of information. David Croteau, William Hoynes and Stefania Millan, M*edia Society, Industries, Images and Audiences, Fourth Edition* (London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington DC: SAGE, 1997), 9.

[32] Gartman, "Postmodernism; or, the Cultural Logic of Post-Fordism?", 123-124. McGovern, "Consumer Culture and Mass Culture", 189.

ephemerality, uncertainty, and alienation, modes that were introduced by the Industrial Revolution. The concepts and ideals, especially, were shaped in accordance with the moral values attributed to the house which represented a sphere that stood opposite to the ever-changing outside world.

The impact of the changing economic and productive forces has been multi-dimensional on the domestic sphere. Scholars such as Heidi de Mare, Elizabeth Cromley, and Elizabeth Blackmar suggest that the "emotional annexation of the home" or "domestic feelings"[33] was a "by-product" of instability and temporariness brought by industrialization.[34] That is to say, the ontological meaning attributed to house, which signifies the desire for autonomy, trust, security, and self-determination[35] against the rapidly changing modern world, emerged in the 19th century. The shift in the meaning and perception of house manifested itself in connection with some spatial concepts and configurations. The 19th century Victorian attitudes, in particular, were the earliest indicatives of the challenges industrialization and capitalist order imposed on domestic space and played an exemplary and pioneering role in the emerging ideals and concepts that governed the formation of private sphere and its spatial manifestations. Victorians defined the concepts of "house", "home", "public", "private", "individual" and "collective"[36] based on such values as morality, honor, gender, control, function, and health to counterbalance the forces of the new 'innovation-oriented, stratified, and programmed' economic system and

[33] Heidi de Mare, "Domesticity in Dispute: A Reconsideration of Sources", in *At Home, An Anthropology of Domestic Space*, ed. Irene Cieraad (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 30.

[34] Barbara Miller Lane, "Introduction", in *Housing and Dwelling, Perspectives on Modern Domestic Architecture*, ed. Barbara Miller Lane (London: Routledge, 2007), 3.

[35] Gaston Bachelard defines the home as "our corner of the world" where "we shall see the imagination build "walls" of impalpable shadows, comfort itself with the illusion of protection or, just the contrary, tremble behind thick walls, mistrust the staunchest ramparts." Home as such is displayed as "a fixed point in space, a firm position from which we proceed and to which we return in due course." Agnes Heller, *Everyday Life* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 239. Michel de Certeau respectively, formalized the place-making manner of home in contrast to outside as "a Cartesian attitude, if you wish: it is an effort to delimit one's own place in a world bewitched by the invisible powers of the Other." Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 36.

[36] Riley, "The Un-Private House'', 9-11.

industrialization.[37] They idealized the segregated private sphere to practice the moral values in isolation from the turmoil of the public sphere, although this idealization was not practiced strictly in the West.[38] Thereby, the Victorian house, 'parlor' in particular, was designed to serve as an enclosed setting where the moral ideals and values of the household was conveyed and displayed through spatial configuration, interior design and decoration, furniture and other consumer objects, and etiquette.[39] The parlors were typically decorated with a fireplace at the center as the chief symbol of homeliness and warmth[40] besides such consumer furniture and objects as piano, chairs, display cabinets, tables, couch, mirrors, chandeliers, and generous amount of household textiles.[41] (fig.2)

The idealized image of the Victorian house in the 19th century that manifested through space and consumption set the scene for modern house in the 20th century. In the first half of the 20th century, mechanization, mass production, and mass consumption as well as introduction of electricity, radio, and television to the house changed the relationship between private sphere, public sphere, and economic activity.

2.1.1. Mass Production, Mass Consumption and Domestic Space Between WW1 and Mid-Century

In the early stages of industrialization, production was done by using steam powered hybrid systems that integrated traditional and industrialized methods. With the

[37] De Mare, "Domesticity in Dispute: A Reconsideration of Sources", 155-171.

[38] Jeff Weintraub and Krishan Kumar, *Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand Dichotomy* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

[39] Mike Hepworth, "Privacy, Security and Respectability: The Ideal Victorian Home", in *Housing and Dwelling, Perspectives on Modern Domestic Architecture*, ed. by Barbara Miller Lane (London: Routledge, 2007), 152.

[40] Ibid., 153-154.

[41] Robert Kerr, "The Gentlemen's House", in *Housing and Dwelling, Perspectives on Modern Domestic Architecture*, ed. by Barbara Miller Lane (London: Routledge, 2007), 158-159.

extensive supply of electricity to factories at the beginning of the 20th century[42] and the assembly line technology introduced by Henry Ford in 1914, the industrial production transformed in a way that allowed for fully mechanized mass production and, thus, mass consumption.[43] The electrification of the factories in the West, especially in the USA, started at the end of the 19th century and became widespread at the beginning of the 20th century.[44] The electricity changed the production by providing high efficiency, lower costs, and subdivision of machines and tasks.[45] It also enabled the assembly line method, which was the precursor of a completely mechanized and standardized mass production.[46] The assembly line method is the "industrial arrangement of machines, equipment, and workers for continuous flow of workpieces in mass-production operations".[47] It was introduced in 1914 by Henry Ford, who was an American industrialist and the owner of the Ford Motor Company.[48] Henry Ford did not only invent the assembly line method but also enhanced the working conditions by limiting the working time to 8 hours and increasing the daily earnings of the laborers. The new assembly line manufacturing system with increased efficiency and reduced manufacturing expenses resulted in the mass production of big amounts of standardized products with lowered prices.[49] Affordable prices, together

[42] Richard B. Du Boff, "The Introduction of Electric Power in American Manufacturing", *The Economic History Review New Series*, 20, no: 3 (December, 1967): 509-518, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2593069.

[43] Suresh, *Economy and Society*, 106-107.

[44] The percentage of the factories that used electric power rose from 64% to 97% between 1899 and 1939 in the USA. Du Boff, "The Introduction of Electric Power in American Manufacturing", 515.

[45] Ibid., 518.

[46] Ibid., 513.

[47] "Assembly Line", *Encyclopedia Britannica*, last modified August 1, 2018, https://www.britannica.com/technology/assembly-line.

[48] Carol W. Gelderman, "Henry Ford", *Encyclopedia Britannica*, last modified January 13, 2021, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Henry-Ford.

[49] Suresh, *Economy and Society*, 106-107. Henry Ford also combined the Taylorist principles with a fully mechanized work plan. Taylorism is a term that is used for a set of principles and practices that Frederick W. Taylor introduced at the beginning of the 20th century. In order to find solutions to the problems caused by the increased mechanization and corporate sizes and to achieve maximum efficiency, Taylor systematized production by dividing workers' tasks into a certain amount of time, by eliminating the requirement of knowledge and skill while he equipped the managers with the tools to control the time and movement of every repetitive operation workers made. By doing so, he aimed to

with the improvement in wages and working conditions, enabled workers to partake in the mass consumption of the goods they produced. [50] Therefore, mass production and mass consumption became dependent on each other starting from the very early 20th century. The production system established by Henry Ford in the 1910s was advanced further in the 1920s by General Motor, which offered a wide range of products and prices for different consumer profiles.[51] As a result, consumption became widely embraced as a distinguishing act among the individuals and social classes.[52] The diversity of the products used to build an identity by the individuals began to be promoted by the rapidly growing and institutionalized media and advertising sector.[53] The industrial shift that occurred at the beginning of the 20th century, and characterized by a completely mechanized mass production model and mass consumption, had unavoidable effects on house production and domestic consumption. Mass production techniques started to be applied in modern domestic architecture and construction industry while the household economy and domestic consumption slowly became a corner stone of the flourishing consumer society.

The developments in the industrial production began to be employed in domestic architecture between the WW1 and WW2. The house production became subjected to mechanization and mass production through new and scientific approaches in construction technology, which modeled the industrial production techniques to attain

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acquire a modern, scientific, transparent and manageable system of production that is disassociated from the traditional techniques. Richard Thorpe and Tom Lupton, "Taylorism", in *The SAGE Dictionary of Qualitative Management Research*, ed. by Richard Thorpe and Robin Holt (London: SAGE, 2008; online ed., 2011), 961-962, https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9780857020109.

[50] Tonkiss, *Contemporary Economic Sociology,* 93-94.

[51] Alan P. Loeb, "Birth of the Kettering Doctrine: Fordism, Sloanism and the Discovery of Tetraethyl Lead". *Business and Economic History,* 24, no. 1 (1995): 79, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23703273. General Motor's business strategy is also known as "Sloanism", named after Alfred Sloan. Alfred Sloan, who started to administer General Motor in 1923, restructure the principles of Henry Ford to stimulate the market demand for automobiles.

[52] Georg Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money* (London, New York: Routledge, 2011), 500.

[53] That will be discussed in detail in chapter 2.2. Fredric Jameson, "Reification and Utopia in Mass Culture", *Social Text*, no. 1 (Winter, 1979): 130-148,

https://www.jstor.org/stable/466409.

a large number of buildings with affordable prices. The first 'mass-housing' cases of the interwar period, such as Dessau-Törten (1926-1928) and the *Cité de la Muette* (1931-1934) in Europe and First Houses (1934) and Harlem River Houses (1936) in the USA exemplify the experiments on standardized material and design, mass production, prefabrication, and modular housing. (fig. 3 and fig. 4) The avant-garde architects, on the other hand, praised and emulated the aesthetic and rationality of machines and mass production. The modern house was envisaged as an output of mass production operating similar to a 'machine'.[54] Examples such as Dymaxion House (1927) by Buckminster Fuller, Aluminaire House (1931) by A. Lawrence Kocher and Albert Frey, and House of Tomorrow (1933-1934) by George Fred Keck demonstrated both aesthetic and technological quest by using prefabrication techniques. [55] (fig. 5) Designs such as Lovell House by Richard Neutra (1929) [56] and Villa Savoye (1929-1931)[57] and Villa Stein (1927) by Le Corbusier[58] showed the aesthetic aspect without or partially using mass production techniques. (fig. 6 and fig. 7) Such architectural features as the unornamented surfaces, open plans, and glass façades became the architectural manifestations of the machine aesthetic and rationality. The machine analogy for the house was cemented with the widespread equipment of the house with mechanical services, household electrification and electrical household appliances in the 1920s. Fuller incorporated a radio antenna in the design of Dymaxion House. With the advances in technology and mass production, mass-produced products, and

[54] Florian Urban, *Tower and Slab: Histories of Global Mass Housing* (London, New York: Routledge, 2012), 9-13.

[55] David Smiley, "Making the Modified Modern", in *Housing and Dwelling, Perspectives on Modern Domestic Architecture*, ed. Barbara Miller Lane (London: Routledge, 2007), 288.

[56] Lynn Spigel, "Designing the Smart House: Posthuman Domesticity and Conspicuous Production", in *Electronic Elsewheres*, ed. by Chris Berry, Soyoung Kim and Lynn Spigel (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 57-58.

[57] Charles Jencks, *The Story of Postmodernism, Five Decades of the Ironic, Iconic and Critical in Architecture* (West Sussex, UK: Wiley , 2011), 20.

[58] "Villa Stein-de-Monzie, "Les Terrasses", Garches (Vaucresson), France, 1926", Fondation Le Corbusier, accessed April 21, 2021,

http://www.fondationlecorbusier.fr/corbuweb/morpheus.aspx?sysId=11&sysLanguage=en-en&sysParentId=11&sysParentName=home&clearQuery=1.

appliances such as vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, and washing machines, entered the electrified households and rapidly proliferated in the 1920s, especially in the urban areas of the USA.[59] Radio, as a commodity, mass medium, and an instrument of information and communication technologies, also entered the private sphere in the 1920s.[60]

With the entrance of radio into the house, the compression of time and space through industrialization reached to such an extent that it became possible to convey instant public messages and hence to access households directly. Starting from the 1920s and 1930s, in this sense, the radio broadcasting began to be utilized to encourage mass consumption to build a national identity which signified political and social belonging to society. Especially during the poor economic conditions of the Great Depression, mass consumption became vital for the economic survival of the nation-states. And radio fitted as the most direct medium to propagate mass consumption for the benefit of the national economy. In this way, the audiences in the private spheres could access to the vast public that affirmed "a nation far beyond the borders of their own daily lives".[61] In this respect, the radio came to be the first electronic medium to transform private sphere by carrying public matters into the house as early as the beginning of the 20th century. However, the transformative impact of media on house, which started to blur the boundary between public and private spheres, could only spread to the masses where consumerism and mass media found the socio-economic ground to develop in the postwar period in the West.

The Great Depression in the 1930s and the WW 2 in the 1940s interrupted the socio-economic development all over the world. [62] On the other hand, both decades also

[59] Kathleen Drowne and Patrick Huber, *The 1920s* (Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press, 2004), 18. Stephen Moore and Julian L. Simon, "The Greatest Century That Ever Was 25 Miraculous Trends of the Past 100 Years", *Policy Analysis*, no. 364 (December, 1999): 20, https://www.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/pubs/pdf/pa364.pdf.

[60] McGovern, "Consumer Culture and Mass Culture", 193.

[61] Ibid., 193-194.

[62] Ibid., 123-124.

prepared the conditions for emergence of a postwar consumerist society by promoting mass consumption as a necessity for the economic survival of the nation state in the West. The emerging economic environment with the macroeconomic policies, and international institutions after WW2 consolidated the importance of mass consumption and household consumption as the pillars of the economic system. The Bretton Woods Agreement[63] signed under the supervision of John Maynard Keynes, who was one of the most prominent economists of the 20th century and defended the necessity of state intervention in economy for a sufficient "aggregate demand" represents a key step. [64] As a result of The Bretton Woods Agreement, two institutions, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank were established as the "Bretton Woods' institutions" under the United Nations (UN). The USA dollar was fixed as "the standard currency of use in the financial system".[65] The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade that came afterwards was developed to regulate the extended international commerce. As such, the growing economic system that was based on and operated within national economies was brought into connection with a trans-national economy.[66] Emanating Keynesian economy re-regulated the national and international economy through the macroeconomic policies and institutions while encouraging mass consumption by

[63] "Bretton Woods Agreement" is the output of the "Bretton Woods Conference" that was named after its location Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, USA and held by the attendance of 44 countries between June 1 and June 22, 1944. The main goal of the conference was to establish a "new world order", which "combine an international system with the maximum of national monetary independence", to compensate the economic instability and lack of international commerce during the interwar period. Richard J. Samuels, "Bretton Woods Conference", in *Encyclopedia of United States National Security*, ed. by Richard J. Samuels (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE, 2005), 92, http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412952446.n75.

[64] "Aggregate demand" is a term that denotes the summation of "consumption, investment, and public spending". In Keynesian economics, consumer demand is based on consumer income; at the same time, investor demand relies on the choices of the investor. The only parameter that controls the aggregate demand and also indirectly "economic growth" and "employment" is public spending. Without state intervention aggregate demand becomes inadequate; thus, the problems such as "low economic growth" and "unemployment" arise. George Thomas Kurian, "Keynesianism", in *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*, ed. by George Thomas Kurian (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2011), 894, http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781608712434.n847.

[65] Alvaro J. de Regil, "Keynesian Economics and The Welfare State", *Global Economic Development, A Tlwnsi Issue Essay Serie*s (April 2001): 1-19.

[66] Tonkiss, *Contemporary Economic Sociology,* 92-93.

standardizing the incomes and providing social security.[67] These regulations and transformations extended not only the political and economic power but also the cultural influence of the USA. Thus, after the war and especially in the 1950s, Americanization and mass consumption became the rising values.[68] The suburban life identified with mass-produced houses and mass consumption became one of the branches of American cultural propaganda and consumerism. Mass media presented the new American way of life with the warm, comfortable, and luxurious image of the ideal house: the image consisting of standardized houses customized through consumer habits.

The mass production methods introduced at the beginning of the 20th century were prevalently modeled in the housing production in the postwar era to meet the housing deficit in the USA. Prefabrication and construction methods were widely upgraded by taking the rational, scientific, and highly efficient approaches of the industrial production as example. For instance, William Levitt, who was the manager of Levitt & Sons and a real estate developer known as "Henry Ford of housing"[69], adjusted the assembly line method to the construction sites in the late 1940s. Levitt created a 'manufacturing' system by splitting the construction tasks into twenty-six steps and around a hundred tasks. He assigned a team of workers for each specific workpiece. He inverted the assembly line method by mobilizing the construction teams from one site to another rather than using the flow of workpieces that was not possible for the construction processes. Levittown housing developments, which became the emblem of the suburban culture, were built all around the USA by the Levitt & Sons, by applying the mass-production techniques introduced by William Levitt. Levittown developments consisted of identical traditional looking houses with modern interiors embellished with technological amenities such as built-in kitchens by General Electric. The open plan and picture window, which became widely utilized features in the

[67] Aglietta, *A Theory of Capitalist Regulation,* 159.

[68] Suresh, *Economy and Society*, 113.

[69] Curtis Miner, "Picture Window Paradise", *Housing and Dwelling, Perspectives on Modern Domestic Architecture*, ed. Barbara Miller Lane (London: Routledge, 2007), 281.

suburban houses, were among Levittown's prominent features. [70] (fig. 8) Aside from Levittown, such prefabricated house manufacturers in the late 1940s as Homasote and Johnson Quality Homes produced and exhibited standardized designs in which traditional forms met the modern interiors, flexible plans, wide picture windows, and advanced mechanical appliances. In the 1950s, the house manufacturers started to offer variations in the mixtures of the 'basic' architectural design elements of the suburban house such as mechanical amenities, flexible plans and multipurpose rooms, big picture windows and sliding doors, parking space and lawns in order to break the monotony and serve to the consumer choice and individuality. [71] However, it was "variety within standardization", as David Smiley expressed.[72] The lack of diversity or tedious repetition in standardized housing designs were endeavored to be compensated through an emphasis on the individualization of domestic interiors. Thus, the customization or individualization through consumption, that is, by diverse interior decorations, furniture, and objects[73] became one of the means that made a house home. As such, domestic consumption became a major engagement of material culture. Moreover, with the spread of television in the postwar era, not only products but also media products started to circulate in the private sphere.

Television entered houses in the 1930s, yet it became popular in the postwar era, in the 1940s and 1950s.[74] As an audio-visual mass medium and consumer commodity, it symbolized the peak point reached in the information and communication technologies developed via the industrialization process as well as the all-pervading material culture. For example, the television advertisement of the Pioneer Corporation highlighted television's socio-economic and technological signification with the

[70] Ibid., 280-283.

[71] Smiley, "Making the Modified Modern", 285-294.

[72] Ibid., 290.

[73] Ibid., 290-291.

[74] Aysel Aziz, *Televizyon ve Radyo Yayıncılığı* (Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, 2006), 19-21.

catchphrase "We bring the revolution home" by connoting Industrial Revolution.[75] As implied in Pioneer's advertisement, television brought the public images, sounds, and messages directly into the private sphere by eliminating spatial boundaries and further compressing time and space. The commodified information and communication became instantly accessible from the private sphere. Therefore, the private sphere became more engaged with the public sphere in the first half of the 20th century. On the one hand, architectural configurations like extensive glazing on façades, flexible plans, and multipurpose rooms removed the spatial segregation between public and private to a certain extent, on the other, they enabled to showcase the interior decoration, furniture, and objects by allowing the gaze of outsiders.

The arrival of electronic media such as radio and television to the houses removed the spatial boundary between public and private spheres by transferring the public messages into homes.[76] The changes in the domestic sphere, which commenced right after the WW2, were accelerated in the subsequent periods; the socio-economic and technological transformations between the 1960s and 1980s had yet another profound impact on mass consumption and definition of private sphere. Towards the end of the 20th century came decentralization and globalization of production and consumption which, brought more dependence on information and communication technologies for economic activity; house, and daily life are elevated as absolute venues of consumption.

2.1.2. Neoliberalism, Globalization, and Domestic Space between 1960s and 1980s

In the 1960s the surfacing internal inconsistencies in the capitalist system, along with the rising conflicts in the social, cultural, and political fields, such as Vietnam War and Civil Rights Movement created the need for a structural change. The increasing social inequality and public spending, decreasing market demand, and the transformation of

[75] William E. Thompson and Jennifer C. Gibbs, *Deviance and Deviants: A Sociological Approach* (West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017), 52.

[76] That will be discussed in detail in Chapters 2.2 and 2.3.

international economy through new markets and competitors, especially in Europe and East Asia were among the factors that caused a blockage in the existing system and revealed the underlying "rigidity" problem.[77] The rigidity problem occurred when the national economies could not comply with the changes in global market due to the strict regulation in production system.[78] In this sense, the 1960s witnessed a transition to a more "flexible" system of production, consumption, and working conditions. The first efforts towards fixing the rigidity problem to revive the existing economic order, which was characterized by Fordist production, Keynesian economics, and welfare state, got reactions from the working class, who did not want to lose the benefits of welfare state. Governments had to extend the limited public expenses to maintain the welfare state policies for the working class. Moreover, flexible financial agendas began to be put into operation as a solution to overcome the rigidity caused inflation and, the economic decline that occurred as an international capitalist crisis during the 1970s. The OPEC petrol crisis in 1973 was followed by a severe deflation between 1973 and 1975, and the financial breakdown of New York City in 1975, as a sign of the overstrained economy under those conditions. As a response, the enterprises developed action plans to upgrade the technology and mechanization and to expand the range and territory of businesses in order to expedite the regulation of industries and financial assets.[79] A decentralized, dispersed, and international production model known as post-Fordism, which was based on "subsidiary" and "subcontractor" channels and "independent producer services" that had various extents and locations emerged as a consequence of these unstable economic agendas. The new decentralized, flexible, and international model of production resulted in the prominence of a tertiary sector. The professions related to service and communications started to play a key role in the economic activity while the information and communication technologies gained tremendous value. Meanwhile, the technological

[77] Bob Jessop, "Fordism and Post-Fordism", in *Encyclopedia of Governance*, ed. by Mark Bevir (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Inc., 2007), 315, http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412952613.n191. Gartman, *From Autos to Architecture*, 22.

[78] John Lovering, "Fordism, Post-Fordism and Flexible Specialization", in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, ed. by Rob Kitchin and Nigel Thrift (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2009), 232-242.

[79] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity,* 142-145.

development and dispersal in industry led the standardized consumption replaced by fragmented and diversified consumption habits.[80] Economic and technological restructuring in the private sector was stimulated by neoliberal policies on the part of the states.

The changing conditions in the economy and industry were integrated into state systems through the neoliberalist policies of Ronal Reagan in the USA and Margaret Thatcher in the UK. The neoliberal state program renounced the Keynesian state principles to transfer expenditures from the stabilization of the aggregate demand to the encouragement of enterprises to compete in global market. [81] The radically altered social, political, and economic contexts of the 1970s and 1980s echoed in spheres of production, consumption, and private space.

Such highlights of the period that started with the 1970s and climaxed in the 1980s as globalization, flexibility in production, rise of tertiary sector, and 'mass customization' in consumer products were embodied in the design and experience of the domestic space. The trend for individualized house designs that began in the 1950s flourished by more flexible and customized designs that appealed and responded to the consumer choice.[82] Mass production and the machine aesthetic ceased to be idealized,[83] as Brian Horrigan expressed for the American context: "Americans did not want machines to live in; they wanted machines to live with".[84] That is to say, the perception of the modern house as a 'machine' is replaced by an approach in which houses were expected to be adorned with media and technology to provide information,

[80] Tonkiss, *Contemporary Economic Sociology*, 95-101; Tertiary sector, third sector or service sector comes after the primary sector, which supplies natural resources and secondary sector, which produces industrial products. Tertiary sector engages in the immaterial economic activities such as cleaning, teaching, finance andalike. Steve Bruce and Steven Yearley, "Service Sector, Tertiary Sector.", in *The SAGE Dictionary of Sociology* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2006), 276, http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781446279137.n852.

[81] Gartman, *From Autos to Architecture*, 316-317.

[82] Spigel, "Designing the Smart House", 59-60.

[83] Urban, *Tower and Slab*, 17.

[84] Spigel, "Designing the Smart House", 60.

communication, comfort, and security. As an extension, home automation systems and smart homes, starting from the 1980s, that integrated the mechanical services and electronic media into the houses to improve the comforts of daily life emerged.[85] As the information and communication technologies advanced and interlaced with the house, the border between the public and private spheres regarding both production and consumption blurred more. With the flexibility in work conditions, introduction of personal computers (PC) in the 1970s, and the growing importance of the professions related to service and communication sector, the separation between house and work started to melt. Since the 1970s, indeed, the house is elevated as a place of both production and consumption; the industrial revolution novelty of separated spheres, that is house and work environments as defining two different contexts, ceased to be an absolute practice. On the other hand, the decentralization and globalization in production and consumption resulted in the circulation of not only global products but also global cultural products via the electronic media. The penetration of products and information under the new international economy eradicated the boundaries of the private sphere and exposed the house to a wide variety of globally available consumer goods.[86] The house became a vessel to store "flow" of commodities and "meanings" in order to form and preserve memories, "identity" and social bonds.[87] In other words, the house started to mediate the consumption of signs and commodities for inhabitants to construct social identity and interactions with society.

The emergence of an information-based global economic system extended the use of and dependence on the electronic media technologies in the house for various reasons, ranging from security and comfort to work and recreation at the end of the 20th century. With the widespread access to media and ICTs, an inclination towards eliminating boundaries between public and private, global and local, has occurred.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 159-161.

[87] Victor Buchli, "Consumption Studies and the Home", in *An Anthropology of Architecture* (London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2013), 125-133.

However, the transformation of the domestic sphere in relation to media and technology throughout the 20th century is not the mere consequence of industrialization and the economy. The changing nature of consumption and culture, either in connection with or without the economic aspect, also had an immense impact on the production and experience of the domestic sphere.

2.2. Consumption and Culture

In its broadest definition, culture signifies the collection of activities through which meanings are formed and disseminated via verbal and non-verbal signs of communication.[88] Accordingly, language is seen as a vital tool of communication in culture. Yet on the other hand, all the material and immaterial forms of expression also operate as instruments of communication in cultures.[89] In this respect, every signifying element and practice such as architecture, spatial configuration, interior design and decoration, consumption habits, operation of privacy, and any socio-economic activity pertaining to the household is a part of the cultural sphere. Nevertheless, 'culture' is a dynamic concept and can be associated to more limited understandings; for example, culture was used to refer to "the general state of civilization associated with the pursuit of the arts by a cultivated elite" in the 17th and 18th centuries.[90] In this understanding, art and intellectual production that could only be acquired by certain social groups defined the scope of culture. In the 19th and 20th centuries, by the development and proliferation of mass media, the conceptual scope of culture was expanded to incorporate "popular culture", which is associated with common people, majority, lower classes, and the non-elite. Popular culture was perceived as the opposite of "fine

[88] Max Weber, *Methodology of Social Science*s, trans. and ed. by Edward A. Shills and Henry A. Finch (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2011). Emile Durkheim, *Selected Writings*, ed. by Antony Giddens (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Georg Simmel, *Simmel on Culture: Selected Writings*, ed. by David Frisby and Mike Featherstone (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 1997). Georg Lukacs, *History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics*, trans. by Rodney Livingstone (Cambridge and Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1971). Pierre Boudieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. by Richard Nice (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1996).

[89] Bocock, "The Cultural Formations of Modern Society", 233.

[90] Ibid., 231.

arts" and "cultivated tastes"; as a result, arose the division between high art and low art.[91] The divisions among the "popular", "mass", "high", and "low" culture are compromised on the "mass culture" phenomenon, which is described as "art, amusements, or expressions produced along industrial principles for large markets that are usually distinct from communities that cohere within discrete social or geographic borders". In the form of "commodity", **"**mass culture" bespeaks and creates vast publics through "means of mass communication".[92] Culture, therefore, acts as a type of social interface for both communication and differentiation features that lie at the basis of consumption behavior, of individuals and/or households, since the industrial era.

Culture was transformed profoundly after the Industrial Revolution, especially regarding art, architecture, consumption habits, and everyday life, foremost in the USA and Europe. However, the impact of the structural changes seen in the economic sphere did not impose direct consequences on the cultural sphere in both contexts. Degrees of appropriation, or 'societal appropriation', in this respect, is a key factor to assess any cultural transformation.[93] Societal appropriation is also one of the parameters that shaped consumer culture. Hence, the emergence and rise of the consumer culture and mass consumption and the relationship between consumption and culture have become a heavily disputed topic.[94] The discourse introduced new concepts and meaning studies, mostly concerning the material culture. According to Karl Marx, modern consumption relies on "the fetishism of commodities" which means, "exchange value" replaces "use value".[95] Thorstein Veblen introduced "conspicuous consumption",

[91] Ibid.

[92] Charles F. McGovern, "Consumer Culture and Mass Culture", in *A Companion to American Cultural History*, ed. Karen Halttunen (Malden, Oxford, Victoria: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 184-185.

[93] Mike Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism, Second Edition* (Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore: SAGE Publications, 2007), 62.

[94] Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*. Karl Marx, *Capital, Vol. 1*, (London: Electric Book Company, 2000), https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/metu2-ebooks/detail.action?docID=3008518. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, ed. Martha Banta (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

[95] Karl Marx, *Capital, Vol. 1*, 103-106, Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money.* Jean Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society, Myths & Structures* (London: SAGE, 1998). Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and*

another concept which marked the place of upper classes within the social hierarchy.[96] Similarly, Georg Simmel pointed out "fashion" as a distinguishing element of the social classes.[97] In "Arcades Project", Walter Benjamin highlighted the aspects of "individuality" and "desire" in the consumer culture.[98] Baudrillard defined consumption as a global and consistent indicator system, regulated by codes and rules, and not by satisfying natural needs through goods or services. In this system, the contingent world, the natural and biological orders, are replaced with social values and a classifications order.[99] Taken together, three aspects of the consumer culture seem to predominate in these views: the interdependence of production and consumption within the capitalist system, social stratification based upon consumption habits, and the gratification through purchased commodities.[100] Therefore, consumption acts as "a bearer of meaning" [101] that became a tool to construct an identity [102] within the cultural sphere. One can say that all these formulizations point out the desire for the meaning obtained by the consumption: the purpose beyond its material basis. Accordingly, the consumer takes pleasure from the act of consuming to attain individuality based on the significations the products carry. Some contemporary scholars, on the other hand, discussed that the connection between product and meaning was lost with the reign of mass media. Fredric Jameson, for example, identified culture as an essential feature of "consumer society" by emphasizing the mediating position of culture to sustain the current capitalist system in reference to Guy Debord's discussion on "the

Simulation, trans. Sheila Faria Glasser (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1999). Guy Debord, *Society of Spectacle*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (New York: Zone Books, 1995).

[96] Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, 49-69.

[97] Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money*, 500.

[98] Mark Paterson, *Consumption and Everyday Life* (London, New York: Routledge, 2006), 25.

[99] Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society.*

[100] Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism,* 13.

[101] Paterson, *Consumption and Everyday Life,* 23.

[102] Ünsal Oskay, *Kitle Kültürünün Kültürel İşlevleri, 19. Yüzyıldan Günümüze Kuramsal Bir Yaklaşım* (İstanbul: İnkılap, 2017), 120-121.

omnipresence and the omnipotence of the image in consumer capitalism".[103] Basing his argument on the concept of "spectacle", Debord argued that "image" became a medium within the society and was "actualized, translated into the material realm".[104] He suggested a reverse process in which the cultural representations took precedence over what is authentic or original. Baudrillard introduced a similar argument in his "Simulation Theory". He established the concepts of "simulacra", which means a replacement or pastiche without genesis, and "simulation" which is its method of systemization, in the "Simulation Theory". He exposed the bareness of the culture on the basis of mass communication.[105] According to him, without a fathomless reality, the culture reproduces itself with images, signs, and codes of mass media.[106] Instead of producing actual meanings, communication or information, mass media, as a continual loop, circulates and 'stages' them. Media functions as a depthless and homogeneous continuum of screen and a ceaseless display where the signs and products are consecutive and equal as the commodities.[107] As Baudrillard suggests, cultural representations of reality by mass media are the outcome of the constant process of reproduction that eventually lost connection with their origin. In the system of simulation, equating products and meanings, these representations which act as not the carrier of but the echo, substitute, diversion, or shadow of the reality, become mere commodities. In any case, the consumer culture as the mediator and output of the capitalist system operates through the mass media to exchange commodities and meanings. With the development of mass media, thus, information and communication were also commodified and became an essential aspect of consumer culture.

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[103] Jameson, "Reification and Utopia in Mass Culture", 139.

[104] Debord, *Society of Spectacle*, 12-13.

[105] Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*.

[106] Norman K. Denzin, "Postmodern Social Theory", *Sociological Theory*, 4, no. 2 (Autumn, 1986): 196.

[107] Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, 52.

According to Featherstone the contemporary consumer culture was inherited from the "varieties of modernism" in the 19th century.[108] The contemporary consumer culture has its roots in the culture of the 19th century, when the transformation in capitalism, consumer norms, mass communication, and art began interconnectedly. Changes in the field of art are one of the main indicatives of the state of flux brought by the radical break in the economy, technology, and culture of the 19th century. It can be stated that, by making "novelty its highest value"[109] art became heavily influenced by the "insecure temporality" of the capitalist order.[110] Both the popular culture in the 19th century and works of the early modern art pioneers bore traces of the obsession with novelty. David Harvey expresses the transformation of art into this novelty seeking phase that challenged 'place', 'space' and 'time' as:

> The brushstrokes of Manet that began to decompose the traditional space of painting and to alter its frame, to explore the fragmentations of light and colour; the poems and reflections of Baudelaire that sought to transcend ephemerality and the narrow politics of place in the search for eternal meanings; and the novels of Flaubert with their peculiar narrative structures in space and time coupled with the language of icy aloofness; all of these were signals of a radical break of cultural sentiment that reflected a profound questioning of the meaning of space and place, of present, past, and future, in a world of insecurity and the rapidly expanding spatial horizons.[111]

Culture in the popular sense, similar to developments in the field of art, also transformed in the 19th century, in order to cope with the changing conditions. The new patterns of representation, entertainment, and consumption were accommodated in new spaces such as multistory department stores and international exhibitions and fairs where the consumer products, cultural commodities of countries, and the latest innovations and technologies were presented to public. In the 19th century, the world industry exhibitions and fairs became the spatial media to present the industrial products as commodities to be enjoyed. In a way, these exhibitions fulfilled the functions of the entertainment media which was not yet established as a separate

[108] Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism,* 79.

[109] Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire*, 172.

[110] Harvey*, The Condition of Postmodernity*, 262-263

[111] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 263.

industry at that time.[112] The Great Exhibition in 1851 was accepted as the first world exhibition organized internationally, even though there had been prior French exhibitions in smaller scales. The Great Exhibition was followed by similar world exhibitions organized in North and South America, Europe, and Asia, after the mid-19th century.[113] World exhibitions were short-lived organizations that accomplished the demands for "temporal spectacles"; nevertheless, they had an impact on "longer-term political, cultural, social, and intellectual life, not just the explicitly economic aspects of the public and private spheres".[114] From the point of consumerism, the exhibitions brought all segments of the public together. A wide range of consumer products, such as "food, machines, clothing, furniture, and art" were promoted and sold to the customers in these venues. The exhibitions stimulated the "future consumerism" with their ephemerality in contrast to the department stores.[115]

The first department stores flourished in Paris and became the new "shopping abodes". A wide variety of products with fixed prices were exhibited exquisitely in these multistory stores designed with a refined spatial aesthetic. As such, they foremost aimed to motivate and persuade clients to purchase goods.[116]. In contrast to traditional retailing, the department stores eliminated the expectation to purchase goods upon entering. Customers instead, were left free to stroll, like *flâneurs*.[117] Similar to *flâneurs,* they were allowed to experience the new consumer culture by simply

[112] Oskay, *Kitle Kültürünün Kültürel İşlevleri,* 120-121.

[113] Southerton, *Encyclopedia of Consumer Culture*, 1534.

[114] Ibid., 1535.

[115] Ibid.

[116] Walter Benjamin*, Charles Baudelaire, A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, trans. Harry Zohn (London, New York: Verso, 1999), 170-172.

[117] Flâneur means someone who just strolls and observes city without a specific aim. Walter Benjamin used the the concept of flaneur in the 1920s and 1930s to portray the 19th-century urban experience. Martina Lauster, "Walter Benjamin's Myth of the "Flâneur*", The Modern Language Review*, 102, no. 1 (January, 2007): 139- 156, https://www.jstor.org/stable/20467157.

exploring and observing the market novelties. Department stores revolutionized shopping by changing it into a gratifying activity that took place in urban life.[118]

Printed media developed in parallel to such new spaces of leisure and consumption and in tandem with the advertising phenomenon, with the emergence of the "penny press".[119] The penny press democratized the accessibility of information by lowering the prices of the newspapers as it began to base its economic survival on the advertisement income. [120] Before the penny press, the printed media provided material that had a real value for a fairly small audience. However, in the penny press, the content of the newspaper was created upon the predictions on the mass appeal to reach a wider audience.[121] The penny press democratized the access to information and became the representation medium of the culture of the masses. Hence, it will not be wrong to claim that the meaning of popular culture has changed radically in the 19th century.[122]

Having followers is an inherent necessity of all cultures to be able to survive. Yet, popular culture has come to signify "the culture of the 'ordinary people', of the working class, the non-elite majority in contrast with the so called *high* or *highbrow* culture".[123] According to Walter Benjamin, after the second half of the 19th century, the capitalist relations of production were further enhanced by the introduction of the commoditized cultural productions, such as the serial novels and poetry published in the newspapers, boulevard theaters, operettas, photography, new music genres, and even architecture, more generally, by putting all fantasy productions and "forms of

[118] Southerton, *Encyclopedia of Consumer Culture*, 435.

[119] Ibid., 123. The term "penny press" stands for the newspapers with affordable prices that emerged in 1833, like The New York Sun newspaper in the USA. The low prices of the penny press are compensated with the pages saved for the advertisements.

[120] Oskay, *Kitle Kültürünün Kültürel İşlevleri,* 149-150.

[121] Southerton, *Encyclopedia of Consumer Culture*, 123.

[122] Ibid., 105.

[123] James Watson and Anne Hill, *Dictionary of Media and Communication Studies*, 8th edition (London, New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012), 69.

creation" in new forms suitable for wholesale.[124] The representations of the period in the works of Walter Benjamin, Charles Baudelaire, and Georg Simmel unveil the roots of the "aestheticization of everyday life" that manifested in the expansion of commodification both into the public sphere's newly built environments and into the private sphere by the "*Jugendstil* movement" which was about designing and displaying "every pot and pan" of interior.[125] Susan Buck-Morss explains the spatial characteristics of the period by saying that:

> One could say that the dynamics of capitalist industrialism had caused a curious reversal in which "reality" and "art" switched places. Reality had become artifice, a phantasmagoria of commodities and architectural construction made possible by new industrial processes. The modern city was nothing but the proliferation of such objects, the density of which created an artificial landscape of buildings and consumer items as totally encompassing as the earlier, natural one.[126]

The gradually developing 'mass society' reflected in the spatial relations shows the modern everyday practices in the 19th-century context, which was actually "not modern at all". However, the concepts of modernism and modernization came out and unraveled since then. "The idea of modernity" would be actualized and expanded in distinct forms that would generate modernization and multiple modernities in the 20th century.[127] The modern architecture of the 20th century, in particular, began to be produced under the growing influence of mass media and mass culture. Different modes of definition and representation of modern house through exhibitions and fairs, department stores, printed media, movies, radio, and television mediated the formation and circulation of architectural ideas and images.

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[124] Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire*, 176.

[125] Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism,* 69-76.

[126] Susan Buck-Morss, "Benjamin's Passagen-Werk: Redeeming Mass Culture for the Revolution", *New German Critique*, no. 29 (Spring – Summer 1983): 213, https://www.jstor.org/stable/487795.

[127] Marshall Berman, *All That is Solid Melts into Air, The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Penguin Books, 1988), 16-17.

2.2.1. Mediating Modern House

Media was instrumental in disseminating and appropriating the latest information and practice about modern architecture, addressing not only the professional and the customer but also the general audience in the 20th century. Indeed, Colomina calls attention to the unprecedented role of media in reshaping the domestic space by suggesting that many modern house examples were produced either just for the sake of media or by taking inspiration from media. In other words, many architects had a chance to actualize their architectural designs in places like fairs and exhibitions rather than serving an actual user or client. On the other hand, the conventional architectural practice on the site emulated what was circulating in media. The model house *Pavillon de L'Esprit Nouveau* by Le Corbusier, built and exhibited in the International Exhibition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts in Paris, France, in 1925, is one architectural example that was realized just for the event. [128] (fig. 9) Le Corbusier built a housing unit as a sample of a 'future' housing block that fit in with the concept of "machine for living" by applying, in his words, "pure form" of standardized mass production and industry. Both the building and the interior exhibition setting aimed to display the architectural thoughts behind.[129] Distinguishing characteristics of modern architecture, such as rectangular forms, unadorned surfaces, roof terrace, large windows, and open plan reflected the machine aesthetic Le Corbusier was advocating. He, indeed handled the interior in a rational and functionalist way by designing modern equipment and furniture, from the kitchen and living room to the exterior, the house displayed the same principles of standardization.[130] In a similar vein, the Berlin Building Exhibition organized in 1931 presented the works of the prominent architects of the period, such as Mies van der Rohe as the lead and Walter Gropius, Lilly Reich, Marcel Breuer, Otto Haesler, and Karl Voelker. The exhibition took place in a big hall

[128] Colomina, 55-66.

[129] Ibid., 58.

[130] "Pavillon de l'Esprit Nouveau, Paris, France, 1924", Fondation Le Corbusier, Accessed January 26, 2021, http://www.fondationlecorbusier.fr/corbuweb/morpheus.aspx?sysId=13&IrisObjectId=5061&sysLanguage=en-en&sysParentId=64.

filled with real-scale and partial house models. The most notable cases from the exhibition were the Home for a Childless Couple by Lilly Reich, House in a Garden by Mies van der Rohe, and House for a Sportsman by Marcel Breuer. Both designed with a flat roof, Home for a Childless Couple by Reich had a conventional design, while House in a Garden by van der Rohe experimented a continuous spatial organization that connected the interior and exterior through extended walls and large glazing. Mies van der Rohe created a layout by which the physical separation between public and private, and exterior and interior was eliminated; the connection and flow were provided by glass and extended walls. Reich and van der Rohe decorated the interiors of their house designs with modern furniture that they designed. (fig. 10) In House for a Sportsman, Marcel Breuer employed a similar rectangular geometry, flat roof, wide windows, and undecorated surfaces. (fig. 11) He designed a large canopy adjacent to the house for the outside sports activities and organized the plan as a large open space divided by cupboards. Besides such functions as bedrooms, bathroom, and working room, the biggest portion of the space was allocated to the living space and gymnasium.[131] Marcel Breuer was also commissioned to build a living-size middle-class single-family house model called The House in the Museum Garden to be exhibited in the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York in 1949. The house consists of an introverted rectangular mass with vertical cladding and a butterfly roof at the top. The kids' room and guestroom were positioned at the one end of the rectangular plan, while the garage and living/dining suite were at the other. The kitchen, utility room, and wet spaces were located in the middle of the first floor. The volume above the garage obtained from the slope of the butterfly roof was allocated to the master bedroom. The house was decorated with the furniture and objects designed by Breuer. Besides Breuer's designs, a fireplace and television were

[131] Dick van Gameren, "Die Wohnung unserer Zeit Berlin, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe et al.", DASH | Delft Architectural Studies on Housing, no: 9 (2013), https://journals.open.tudelft.nl/dash/article/view/4879.

assembled in the living/dining suite as the two focal points of the sitting group.[132] (fig. 12)

The international exhibitions of artistic, architectural, and cultural productions organized in the first few decades of the 20th century demonstrated both the professionals and the public how modern house should be designed and decorated. In these environments, ideal scenarios of domesticity and contemporary understanding of the private sphere were put on display. The architects mainly designed single family houses to epitomize the modern ideals and concepts for living and consuming. They envisioned houses where private and public spaces are intertwined by means of employing transparency and providing connection administered by architectural features. The house designs were considered as a whole with exterior features and interior elements such as modern equipment, furniture, and consumer objects.

The department stores provided temporary settings for the modern house as well. In these, houses were displayed partially or whole, among the other merchandise. One of the most notable examples is the earliest public appearance of the Dymaxion House model, designed by Buckminster Fuller, and placed in the Marshall Field Department Store in Chicago in 1929 to attract the public to a furniture exhibition. (fig. 13) The scaled model was exhibited alongside the modern furniture brought from France.[133] After the first appearance, Fuller held a series of public speeches about the Dymaxion House, emphasizing its technical virtues, as well as the fact that it was outfitted with the most up-to-date media equipment including speakers, microphone, and, most importantly, radio and television.[134] Another famous event that took place in the department stores was Modern Architecture: International Exhibition curated by Philip Johnson and architectural historian Henry-Russell Hitchcock. The exhibition was occurred in various locations including Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York

[132] "House in the Museum Garden, Museum of Modern Art", Marcel Breuer Digital Archive, accessed July 27, 2021, https://breuer.syr.edu/project.php?id=317.

[133] Colomina, "The Media House", 60-61.

[134] Ibid.

as well as department stores such as Bullocks-Wilshire in Los Angeles[135] and Sears, Roebuck in Chicago[136] . (fig. 14) Hitchcock and Johnson showcased a collection of furniture, objects, and scaled models of modern houses designed by the leading architects of the time, such as Mies van der Rohe, Le Corbusier, and Walter Gropius. The curators published a pamphlet with the title The International Style: Architecture since 1922 in which they coined the term "International Style". Under the term "International Style", they specified the modernist principles concerning composition, machine aesthetic, and morphology; the pamphlet later became an educational guidebook for modern architecture. [137] The cases mentioned above mark the early development of the phenomenon David Smiley spoke of as the "domestic culture industry", which increased its influence further in the post-war period.[138] To sum up, the modern house which was characterized as an outcome of industry idealization of rationality, and concretization of machine aesthetic was presented in the newly formed spaces of the emerging mass culture at the beginning of the 20th century. The conventions targeting both public and professionals have become intermediaries that brought modern architecture and avant-garde architects together with commerce, consumption, and popular culture. The expanding and diversifying mass media diminished the spatial restrictions, and enabled the forms of commercialized and popularized representations of modern architecture and modern house in particular, reach a wider audience. Both the printed media and, radio and television mediated the acquaintance of public with modern house, both as meaning and space.

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[135] "AD Classics: Modern Architecture International Exhibition / Philip Johnson and Henry-Russell Hitchcock", ArchDaily, last modified August 02, 2013, https://www.archdaily.com/409918/ad-classics-modern-architecture-international-exhibition-philip-johnson-and-henry-russell-hitchcock.

[136] Colomina, "The Media House", 60.

[137] "AD Classics: Modern Architecture International Exhibition / Philip Johnson and Henry-Russell Hitchcock". In the exhibition book, Hitchcock and Johnson explained the International Style as "The style is characterized by flexibility, lightness, and simplicity. Ornament has no place since hand cut ornament is impracticable in the machine age. The beauty of the style rests in the free composition of volumes and surfaces, the adjustment of such elements as doors and windows, and the perfection of machined surfaces". Terence Riley, "Terence Riley", *ANY: Architecture New York*, no. 90 (1996): 52, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41852208.

[138] Smiley, ""Making the Modified Modern", 285.

The printed media prompted modernism in architecture and private sphere in two contexts. There were such architectural periodicals as *L'Esprit Nouveau* (1920-1926)[139], *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* (1930-present)[140], and Arts & Architecture (1945-1967)[141] that addressed the professionals. Several popular magazines that focused on modern architecture and modern house on the other hand, addressed the general public, in particular women. Ladies' Home Journal, for example, was the first to publicize the Prairie House designed by Frank Lloyd Wright in 1901. Life magazine featured Kaufmann House (1947) by Richard Neutra and Lake Shore Drive apartment building (1951) by Mies van der Rohe. Such magazines became instrumental in disseminating the concept of modern house for consumption and creating consumer taste.[142] Printed media had an undeniable influence on the adoption of modern house as the new private sphere of the early 20th century. The electronic media, however, had a more direct and far-reaching impact in forming consumer taste. In the early years of radio broadcasting educational radio broadcasting programs, such as Art in America (1934-1935), served as agents of communicating modern architecture and modern house in the broader scope of art. A book titled "Art in America in Modern Times" was published by MoMA in 1934, as an outcome of this program. The book, aimed to provide knowledge of art and visuality, in line with the radio series. Under the leadership of Holger Cahill and Alfred H. Barr Jr, who were then the directors of MoMA, Russell Hitchcock, Philip Johnson, and Catharine Bauer contributed to the book by essays that discussed modern architecture, International Style, modern house, and domestic interiors. While Bauer wrote about the housing problem, Johnson discussed that the domestic architecture should be taken as a whole with its exterior

[139] "Overview, L' Esprit Nouveau", Oxford Reference, Accessed April 25, 2021, https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095758110.

[140] "AA Retro, Introduction: André Bloc Creates L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui", AA L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, Accessed April 25, 2021, https://www.larchitecturedaujourdhui.fr/histoire/?lang=en.

[141] "About Arts & Architecture", Arts & Architecture, Accessed April 25, 2021, http://www.artsandarchitecture.com/about.html.

[142] Colomina, "The Media House", 61-62.

and interior, "rather than a box to be beautified." [143] The subjects included in the book were also covered in the radio program in the form of dialogues between experts.[144] MoMA, indeed, assumed an influential position in the television broadcastings that focused on modern house. One of the publicity platforms for the MoMA's Good Design exhibitions held between 1950 and 1955[145] was the television program called "Morning Show" and hosted by Margaret Arlen.[146] (fig. 15) The Good Design exhibitions aimed to promote modern houseware, popularize modern design, and elevate consumer taste.[147] Edgar Kauffman Jr, who was an architectural historian and the curator of the Good Design exhibition, attended the Morning Show for a two-week period in 1954[148] to introduce masses "a more populist domesticated modernism".[149] In the Morning Show programs he participated, Kauffman emphasized the importance of pattern and scale for a good design at home. Newscasts such as Camel Caravan by David Corroway also featured the exhibition. MoMA also envisioned to produce a game show named Good Design at the Table for television, but this television project could not be realized. This television show was meant to feature promoted products of tableware chosen by MoMA.[150]

[143] "Art in America in Modern Times to be Published in Conjunction with Radio Program Art in America 1934-1935", MoMA Press Release Archives, Accessed April 25, 2021, https://www.moma.org/research-and-learning/archives/press-archives.

[144] Funk, "The Art in America Radio Programs", 42.

[145] Juliet Kinchin and Andrew Gardner, "What Do We Mean By Good Design? Ten Objects from The Value of Good Design Highlight the Democratizing Potential of Design", MoMA, Last modified May 4, 2019, https://www.moma.org/magazine/articles/38.

[146] Colomina, "The Media House", 63.

[147] Terence Riley and Edgar Eigen, "Between the Museum and the Marketplace: Selling Good Design", in *The Museum of Modern Art at Mid-Century: At Home and Abroad*, ed. by John Szarkowski and John Elderfield (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1995), 151-175.

[148] Ibid., 167.

[149] Ibid., 155.

[150] Ibid. 167.

Media, as Colomina expressed, blurred the borders between "high and low culture, art and commerce" by taking house as "their polemical vehicle".[151] Printed media, radio, and television introduced and familiarized the modern house concept to the public in the 20th century. The reciprocity between house and media evolved to a more complex level in the postmodern era when consumption and commodification in tandem with mass communication became ubiquitous. Both the widespread publicity of private sphere and the increasing media consumption within the house increased enormously the interaction between public and private spheres. The production of domestic space too, became more intensely intertwined with mass media, consumption, and popular culture.

2.2.2. Postmodernism and Ubiquitous Mass Culture

"Postmodernism" and the "epoch of postmodernity" are immanently controversial concepts in an intellectual sense. Postmodernism, the emergence of which is generally dated back to the 1930s, and its early flourishment to the 1960s, refers to the postmodern intellectual and cultural framework.[152] While there is no reconciliation as to the meaning, date, denotation, scope, impact, and authenticity of postmodernity among scholars it is often taken to signify the historical condition and an "epochal shift or break from modernity"[153].,. In "The Consequences of Modernity", Antony Giddens refuses the shift to a postmodern epoch by highlighting the ongoing structural elements of modernity such as industrialization and capitalism. Giddens states that the symptoms classified as postmodernity are the indicators of the more radical and universal modernity.[154] In "The Condition of Postmodernity", David Harvey asserts the contrary by identifying the post-Fordist and neoliberal structural changes in economy and politics. Harvey correlates the maturation of the postmodern culture with the atmosphere of Ronald Reagan era, which is characterized by a neoliberal economic

[151] Colomina, "The Media House", 64.

[152] Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism,* 7

[153] Ibid., 3.

[154] Antony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996).

program, “political image construction and deployment”, and “new social class formation”.[155] Modernity's notions such as universality, unity of time and space, and teleological view of history that are rooted in Enlightenment became problematic with the new global economic climate. The problems related to time, space, and economy in modernity created a need for adjustments in culture and politics. The internal dynamics and discrepancies of the capitalist system and more importantly of “thought and knowledge production” paved the way for changes as Harvey quotes from Marx: “we erect our structure in imagination before we erect it in reality”.[156] In other words, there happened a mutual interaction between economic structure and culture. Postmodernism emerged in opposition to modernity, prepared the cultural conditions for the epochal postmodern shift, which was realized in tandem with the post-Fordism and neoliberal economy. Postmodernism, thus, emerged by the consequences of the inherent contradictions of the modernity; yet it grew into maturity when structural changes had occurred in economy. The conditions for postmodernity, in this regard were predisposed by the intellectual base of postmodernism. Postmodernity, in this sense, refers to the historical epoch that was preceded by the intellectual framework of postmodernism against modernity and developed in conjunction with the conditions of political, economic, and cultural transformations that ran parallel to post-Fordism and neoliberalism.

Agreeing on Giddens from a different perspective, Jürgen Habermas accentuates the utopian promise of the modernity – on the basis of “objective science, universal morality and law, and autonomous art” and their implementations on everyday life[157] – as a legacy of the Enlightenment which is “an incomplete project” needed to be finished.[158] From the perspective of Habermas, postmodernism unveils itself through its anti-modern nature. The collapse of the rationalist promise of modernism in an

[155] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 336.

[156] Ibid., 345.

[157] Jürgen Habermas and Seyla Ben-Habib, “Modernity Versus Postmodernity”, *New German Critique*, no. 22 (Winter 1981): 9

[158] Ibid., 3-15.

attempt to achieve an ideal society, respectively, resulted in a loss of faith for the modernist project and formation of a "postmodern project" among scholars such as Derrida, Bataille and Foucault. By refusing the project of postmodernism[159], Habermas suggests instead, a rational and consensual inter-subjectivity that he called "communicative action" for emancipation.[160] In response, Jean François Lyotard points out the invalidity of consensus, which can only be achieved with paralogy. In opposition to Habermas' strong belief on the project of modernity, Lyotard defends the pre-existing penetration of the capitalist system into art and everyday life and criticizes Habermas as an advocate of nostalgia. On the other hand, he negates Habermas' suggestion of recovery of realism regarding the suspected reality in postmodern age.[161] He observes an epistemological break, a paradigm shift in "the status of knowledge", in "post-industrial society" through postmodernity which happened as a result of the structural changes in technology and economy that created a legitimization problem and distrust against the metanarratives.[162] By drawing attention to the computerization of society, Lyotard explains that miniaturization and commodification of information technologies altered the processes of information transfer, communication, and acquisition of knowledge through the overload of images and sounds of media.[163] In the postmodern condition, the subjects situated on "nodal points" within communication networks constitute the "fabric of relations", which is more complicated and fluid than before; thus, reality identified by "language games" become problematic.[164] It is evident that communication and information technologies and mass media, by which every individual, entity, or household constitutes a node within the network of relations, are a descriptive and inherent part of the concept of

[159] Norman K. Denzin, "Postmodern Social Theory", 200-201.

[160] Carlito M. Gaspar, "Habermas' Theory of Communicative Action", *Philippine Studies*, 47, no. 3 (Third Quarter 1999): 407-408.

[161] Denzin, "Postmodern Social Theory", 200-201.

[162] Jean François Lyotard, *Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. by Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).

[163] Ibid., 4-7.

[164] Ibid., 15-16.

postmodernity due to their role in the paradigm shift in the process of knowledge production. In this framework, the private space, which serves as a connection point in the postmodern communication and consumption network, cannot remain entirely private any longer.

Similarly, as mentioned before, Baudrillard also puts the information and media technology in the center of the discussion. Baudrillard interpreted postmodernity through his idiosyncratic terminology "simulation of third order" [165] in which image detaches from reality and becomes *simulacrum* altogether. In the postmodern period, image as a disguise of the lack of a fathomless reality in modernity, is resolved.[166] Designative or substitutive characteristic of simulation left its place to images without provenance and reality which Baudrillard refers hyperreal.[167] Postmodernity established a model of society in which economy, politics, mass media and culture perpetually reproduced each other in "a proliferation of signs and codes". In this system, electronic communication took the place of industry. Power became identified by the infused pseudo-reality of mass media. Mass media is transformed into an actualized instrument of hyperreality.[168] It as such, does not conduct an ideal communicative process in which the transmitter and receiver exchange the messages. In contrast, mass media operates in a single-directional way in order for the audience to just receive and consume the signs and images. [169] The message of mass media does not equate to what is distributed through the media tools; on the contrary, it is a system of signs, models and codes akin to the valuation of commodities based on the exchange value instead of use value. The object of mediation is "reinterpreted by the sign form, articulated into models, and administered by the code". [170] Based on Baudrilard's

[165] Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, 12.

[166] Ibid., 6.

[167] Ibid., 1.

[168] Denzin, "Postmodern Social Theory", 196.

[169] Baudrillard, *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*, 169-171.

[170] Ibid., 175-176.

theory, Norman K. Denzin briefly explains the function of mass media in postmodern society as:

> The media provides the public with the illusion of reality and actuality. The media over- produces information. It fabricates communication, when non-communication is its goal. The media has created information consumers. Information has become the central commodity of the current age. The media short circuits events which occur in the realm of the political and the economic by broadcasting them and creating the illusion of an abstract, universal public opinion. The media actualizes the simulation models of the third-order of the simulacra. It creates and circulates a form of universalized opinion that excludes communication between interlocutors. What is communicated is a univocal voice which socially controls public opinion.[171]

Baudrillard states that "the consumption of products and messages is the abstract social relation that they establish".[172] Indeed, he associates "sign value" with "symbolic exchange" and the two ends of the sign, which are the signifier and signified, with the use value and exchange value; thus, "the logic of the commodity" is "the logic of the sign".[173] In this framework, there is an equation between the sign and commodity. In the postmodern period, then, information has been commodified; therefore, the object of consumption was replaced by the sign. The commodities gained sign value on the one hand; signs gained exchange value on the other. The object lost its tangible quality and was changed into a sign of "hyperreal simulation of the real". Consumption became loaded with the double coding of inseparable sign and commodity, by which the social hierarchy was validated. [174] In fact, in "In the Shadow of the Silent Majorities", Baudrillard expresses that the "social" no longer exists; especially with electronic media, instead of real communication, the only thing that matters is the "spectacle".[175] It can be interpreted that with the electronic media entering the house in commodity form and transmitting public signs and messages to the household for consumption, domestic consumption also obtained the twofold aspect of the sign and

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[171] Denzin, "Postmodern Social Theory", 196-197.

[172] Baudrillard, *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign,* 171.

[173] Ibid., 144.

[174] Denzin, "Postmodern Social Theory", 197.

[175] Jean Baudrillard, *In the Shadow of the Silent Majorities*, trans. by Paul Foss, John Johnston, Paul Patton and Andrew Berardini (Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2007).

commodity Baudrillard theorized., The private sphere, in this context, has become a spectacle outside its spatial boundaries via media.

From a broader perspective, it is not inappropriate to say that postmodernity is the sub-epoch of modernity. The constitutive institutions of modernity characterized by industrialization and capitalism continued to operate, more radically and universally as Giddens states, in postmodernity.[176] Charles Jencks too, expresses that postmodernity comprises only one part of the world while the rest aims for the modernization,[177] as Habermas envisaged. Yet, mass-customized consumption and the miniaturized media[178] created an "electrified consumer democracy"[179] through which culture and communication were affected profoundly, as theorized by Lyotard and Baudrillard.

In any case, three characteristics of postmodern condition emerge as the focal points of discussion on art, culture, and everyday life: transformation in art [180] as a response to high modernism[181], transformation in culture regarding production and transmission of "symbolic goods"[182] in relation to media, consumption, and popular culture[183], and transformation in everyday life through "new means of orientation and identity structures".[184] Within this framework, changes in the field of art began with Dadaism, avant-garde, and Surrealism, that acted against the high modernism and its

[176] Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity.*

[177] Jencks, *The Story of Postmodernism*, 11.

[178] Ibid., 12.

[179] Charles Jencks and Nathan Silver, *Adhocism: The Case for Improvisation* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London: MIT Press, 2013), 55.

[180] Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*, 61.

[181] Ibid., 8.

[182] Ibid., 61.

[183] Ibid., 10.

[184] Ibid., 61.

institutionalization back in the 1910s and 1920s.[185] However, the word 'postmodernism' was first coined in the 1930s by Federico de Onis[186], who was a professor and writer of Spanish studies.[187] He used the term postmodernism to refer to the reaction against modernism.[188] In the 1960s, the term started to be widely utilized within the art community in New York who aimed to offer a remedy in place of the depleted high modernism. They criticized high modernism in terms of its institutionalization. In the 1970s and 1980s, postmodernism had penetrated into all branches of art and architecture in an almost global manner; thus, the theoretical debates started to concern postmodernity in everyday life. With the domination of postmodern art, the divisions between the high art and popular culture and art and everyday life became eliminated. With an indiscrimination among the styles, the eclectic approaches started to be promoted along with "parody, pastiche, irony, playfulness and the celebration of the surface 'depthlessness' of culture". The prodigy and authenticity of the artist lost their significance against the reproduction.[189]

The postmodern condition also transformed culture and everyday life in tandem with the field of art. In "Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism", Jameson describes postmodernism, by referring to Walter Benjamin, as "a quantum leap" of the "aestheticization of reality".[190] Likewise, Adorno and Horkheimer's concept of "culture industry" carries the traces of the early signs of the "reconciliation

[185] Ibid., 65.

[186] Ibid., 7.

[187] "De Onís, Federico", Enciclopedia de Puerto Rico, accessed May 10, 2020, https://enciclopediapr.org/en/encyclopedia/de-onis-federico/.

[188] Ihab Hassan, "The Question of Postmodernism", *Performing Arts Journal*, 6, no. 1 (1981): 31, https://www.jstor.org/stable/3245219.

[189] Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*, 7.

[190] Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), vii-ix.

of high and low art" and "aestheticization of the social reality". [191] Jameson states that contrary to the negation of commodification and the goal of transcendence of modernism, postmodernism transmuted culture into a commodity. Indeed, Jameson describes postmodernism as "the consumption of sheer commodification as a process".[192]

Advertising popular culture and media, consumer products, any "anti-work" and "happening," which cannot be possessed or preserved, and even the body started to carry the potential for being an artwork. In other words, "the aestheticization of everyday life" was opened to dispute.[193] As such, anything related to everyday life can become the subject of art. On the other hand, the aestheticization of everyday life represents "turning life into a work of art" that emphasizes the "aesthetic consumption", and gratifies the everyday experiences by shaping unique "lifestyles" as the core element of consumer culture. The lifestyles based on consumption habits stimulated by the "rapid flow of signs and images" permeated every corner of life in the epoch of postmodernity.[194] In this framework, production and consumption of information and the actors who mediate those processes became important, as Pierre Bourdieu theorizes in "Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste".[195]

Bourdieu introduces the term "the new cultural intermediaries" whose duty, for economy, is to produce the "tastes" and "dispositions" within the consumer society.[196] The new cultural intermediaries play a key role in the production, circulation, and dissemination of "symbolic goods". By doing so, they act as a bridge between the

[191] Theodor W. Adorno*, The Culture Industry, Selected Essays on Mass Culture*, ed. J. M. Bernstein (London: Routledge, 2010).

[192] Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, vii-ix.

[193] Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism,* 65.

[194] Ibid., 64-67.

[195] Boudieu, *Distinction.*

[196] Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 101. The new cultural intermediaries are also mentioned as the new *petite bourgeoisie* and new *bourgeoisie*. Yuppies, for instance, are considered as the new cultural intermediaries.

"habitus, dispositions and lifestyle preferences" of "artists and intellectuals" and the broader public. [197] They maintain the continuance of the reproduction of the social stratification by forming consumption habits and lifestyles on the contrary to the illusion of "cultural declassification" and "deformation of habitus" in relation to the issue of overproduction of signs and commodities.[198] By taking place in media and other cultural production entities, the new cultural intermediaries influence the tastes and lifestyles.[199] They serve as a perfect consumer model by their "symbolic capital" and consumption habits.[200] The new cultural intermediaries negated the strict rules of modern art and standardized consumption in exchange for the new lifestyles, mostly engaging with the gratifying consumption and events very similar to the popular culture. In the meantime, their cultural or symbolic capital distinguished them from the lower classes by aestheticizing the common culture.[201]

Furthermore, the new cultural intermediaries became highly influential on the spatial transformations in the cities. Beginning from the 1970s, the postmodern society started to move to the city centers from the suburbs for easier access to cultural activities and hence to maintain their lifestyles, a phenomenon that resulted in gentrification. The neglected residential areas of the cities were renewed physically and culturally and re-occupied by the new cultural intermediaries. [202] According to Davidson and Lees, gentrification is a "mass-produced, mass-marketed, and mass-consumed" phenomenon, as a consequence of the aspiration for an "urban(e) lifestyle".[203] The spatial segregation between work and house started to be resolved in the cities through

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[197] Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism,* 19.

[198] Ibid., 19-20.

[199] Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 365.

[200] Jennifer Smith Maquire and Julian Matthews, "Bourdieu on Cultural Intermediaries", *in The Cultural Intermediaries Reader*, ed. by Jennifer Smith Maquire and Julian Matthews (Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington DC: SAGE, 2014), 22-23.

[201] Gartman, *From Autos to Architecture*, 332.

[202] Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism,* 319-320.

[203] Mark Davidson and Loretta Lees, "New-build gentrification' and London's riverside renaissance", *Environment and Planning A*, 37 (2005): 1167.

the "de-industrialization" and "capital dispersion" of post-Fordism and the urban lifestyle choices of the cultural intermediaries.[204] After the 1980s, the cultural facilities and restored residential areas proliferated in the city centers; hence, a market competition rose among the architects,[205] as Helmut Jahn stated: "Architects are sought out today both to create a diversity of visual expression and to satisfy the economic goals behind building. The design statements are very much related to marketplace consumption."[206]

Architecture indeed, has never been an autonomous profession due to the fact that it stands between art and the market forces; The hybridity between high art and capital was inevitable even for the modern architecture that aimed for autonomy. With post-Fordism and postmodernism, the commoditizing activity and aesthetization took over the field of architecture.[207] Architects forming a significant group within the new cultural intermediaries are engaged with the disposition of the "postmodern populism" by mixing the codes of the high art and popular culture. The designs became legitimized through the common taste of the masses; the symbolic capital of the architects was validated through the references to the high culture of the conventional *bourgeoisie*.[208] Accordingly, the postmodern architecture in the 1970s and 1980s geared to reflect the artistic tendencies of the postmodern art with its very representative and expressive features that returned to ornamentation and decoration. Examples of the era combined various and opposite elements and styles in an ironic manner: past and future, high culture and low culture, global and regional, technological and traditional came together to build a hybrid form[209] as Robert Venturi praises in "Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture". In his "Gentle Manifesto", Venturi defends the dualities, contradictions, reconciliation of different moods and

[204] Gartman, *From Autos to Architecture*, 327.

[205] Ibid., 321.

[206] Ibid., 324.

[207] Ibid., 334.

[208] Ibid., 332.

[209] Charles Jencks, *The Story of Postmodernism,* 9-11.

styles, hybridity, ordinariness, and uncertainty all together in architecture against the orthodoxy of the modern architecture.[210]

As one of the early examples of postmodern architecture, Venturi's house (1961-1964) built in Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia blends different codes and demonstrates his discourse. (fig. 16) Venturi expressed the complexity and contradiction in the discrepancy between the interior and exterior.[211] While the interior reflects the immanent complex agenda of the domestic sphere by the multifunctional and irregular axis incorporating fireplace, kitchen, doorway, and stairs[212]; the exterior conceals the intricate interior space by the regular and plain aesthetics representing a clear house figure.[213] The large fireplace as the "hearth" of the house is the core of the design that shaped both the exterior image and the interior space configuration. The fireplace chimney rising upwards in harmony with the main stairs amplifies the house's symbolic figure by marking the house's highest point. In the interior, the spaces are organized around the fireplace. The house is entered from the main living room that accommodates the fireplace. On the ground floor a kitchen and bedroom are located, besides the living room. On the first floor, there are a terrace, bedroom, and storage. A dysfunctional staircase vertically joins to the fireplace and staircase duo from the first floor.[214] As can be observed from the interior photographs of the house, the living room is divided into two by the furniture as the dining and sitting corner. The fireplace orients the sitting group in the living room layout, which is decorated also with a bookcase and piano. T-House (1992) by Simon Ungers and Thomas Kinslow, built in New York, is another postmodern house where material use and mixed functionality created a duality. (fig. 17) The house consists of a double shell structural system in which steel and wood are combined. A library, which extrudes as a vertical mass from

[210] Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art Papers on Architecture, 1992), 16.

[211] Ibid., 118.

[212] Jencks, *The Story of Postmodernism,* 43.

[213] Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction*, 118.

[214] "AD Classics: Vanna Venturi House / Robert Venturi", ArchDaily, accessed June 21, 2021, https://www.archdaily.com/62743/ad-classics-vanna-venturi-house-robert-venturi.

the horizontal residential part, is added to the architectural program. Thereby, the architects incorporated the working function next to living. The residential part at the ground level is planned as a continuous rectangular space with functions in the order of kitchen, dining room, living room, bathroom, and bedroom from the entrance.[215] The library rises above the kitchen. A fireplace in the middle of the ground floor plan not only separates the dining and living spaces but also pierces the horizontal mass with its chimney, creating a secondary vertical mass beside the library. A third example is the unbuilt renovation project of a suburban house from the 1950s in Minneapolis. The project called The House for a Bachelor (1998) was designed by Joel Sanders. (fig. 18) Sanders converted the family-oriented architectural program of the suburban house with an ironic reference to the 1950s' "bachelor pads," which is a gendered house concept addressing single professional males. He rearranged the house by providing "a more open kitchen/ dining/living area, a two-level master-bedroom suite with a similar open flow of spaces." [216] A workout place and pool are included in the program. Sanders commented that "the surfaces that clothe the building - glass, wood paneling, mirror, television screens, and Astroturf, etc.- work like a clothing that wraps the body, helping the bachelor to fabricate identity." [217] According to him, the architectural features and materials, consumer objects, and media build the social identity of the inhabitant. Sanders reflected his ideas in some of the design details by establishing connections with the 1950s' suburban consumer culture. For instance, he replaced a picture window with a terrarium and put a television screen on its side. According to Riley, the replacement of the picture window with the combination of television and terrarium shows the architect's "commentary on the cultural frames of both the picture window and the television, offering views onto the American suburban landscape and its media representations."[218] Thus, the television and terrarium become a modern analogy for the old picture window view. A more extreme example of the

[215] Riley, "The Un-Private House", 108.

[216] Ibid., 100.

[217] Ibid.

[218] Ibid., 101.

window-screen analogy is the Slow House (1990) by Elizabeth Diller and Ricardo Scofidio. (fig. 19) The house, which was not built, was designed for an art collector for the Noyack Bay in Long Island. The ground floor of the house is occupied by the bedrooms, while the living room, dining and kitchen area, and a terrace are placed on the first floor, where the elevated entrance provides access. The most noteworthy detail in the design of the house is the bay view. The architects emphasize this feature by saying that "the Slow House is conceived as an apparatus for producing a view. Simply, the house is a door that leads to a window, a physical entry to optical departure."[219] They put a camera and screen in front of the picture window to capture and reproduce the bay view to be replayed. Thus, the duality between virtual and real gets unclear as the architects explained: "The two devices, the picture window and the video screen, share certain characteristics. As the electronic view is mediated, so too is the view through the picture window. The cultural act of framing invests something with value. The picture window domesticates nature, collapsing its depth and turning it into a representation."[220] In other words, the picture window and the screen have the same functions as the mediator of the view; however, the view from the picture window is digitalized and further domesticated by media technologies.

Both modernism and postmodernism used private sphere and house, as a testing field of expressing and representing new ideas, concepts, discourses, and processes in architecture. However, house gained particular importance as a result of domestication and miniaturization of media technologies that brought the attributions of the public sphere into the private sphere. In contrast to the modernist ideal of the autonomous house, the domestic sphere in the postmodern period emerged as a confluence point within the communication network where the signs and products passed through for mass consumption. In the context of omnipresent mass culture crossing beyond the boundaries of geography and reaching directly into the private sphere, the house became the locale of both private and public activities such as work, leisure, consumption, communication, and entertainment.

[219] Ibid., 52.

[220] Ibid.

2.3. Public and Private

Media featured as one of the dominating parameters that shaped the realization of the idea of house in relation to the shifted perspectives of architects and consumer choice of the users, a phenomenon that started in 19th century. Mass culture came to set up the tendencies of both the architect and the user; while at the same time the endeavors to incorporate media technology into architectural design proved successful. Media, which became integrated with the house in turn, reconstructed the relationship between house and outside. Indeed, the relationship between the public sphere and the private sphere transformed profoundly. Hence, studies that argued public and private becoming separate spheres in the post-Industrial era, took media as a transforming factor in the later concept of house where public and private became gradually engaged and permeable. In "The Structural Transformation of Public Sphere", Jürgen Habermas introduced the theory of separation of the public and private spheres as a result of the institutionalization and privatization of *bourgeois* house. Habermas explained the ideology of the nuclear family by saying that:

> For the experiences about which a public passionately concerned with itself sought agreement and enlightenment through the rational-critical public debate of private persons with one another flowed from the wellspring of a specific subjectivity. The latter had its home, literally, in the sphere of the patriarchal conjugal family.[221]

Although the early feminist authors, such as Karin Hausen, Barbara Duden, Gisela Bock, and Gerda Lerner[222], tended to agree with Habermas by applying the notion of Victorian segregated space, his theory was upgraded by scholars such as Jeff Weintraub and Krishan Kumar who suggested an ambiguity and engagement between public and private spheres.[223] Beatriz Colomina's essay, "The Split Wall: Domestic

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[221] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991) , 43-51.

[222] Ulla Wischermann and Ilze Klavina Mueller, "Feminist Theories on the Separation of the Private and the Public: Looking Back, Looking Forward", *Women in German Yearbook*, 20 (2004): 185,

https://www.jstor.org/stable/20688978.

[223] Jeff Weintraub and Krishan Kumar, *Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand Dichotomy* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

Voyeurism", published in 1992, in this respect, represents a turning point in the discourse on house and private sphere. Based upon the examples of Müller House, Moller House, Rufer House, and Josephine Baker House by Adolf Loos and Villa Savoye, Villa Garches and Villa Church of Le Corbusier, Colomina evaluated the interpenetration of 'interior and exterior', 'guest and voyeur', 'male and female' characteristics of a dwelling.[224] According to her, through the development and miniaturization of the media technologies, the public and private became further engaged, rather than separated in the postmodern era.

Colomina suggested to reevaluate architecture in terms of "the house/media interface". Respectively, for her, architects such as Le Corbusier, Liz Diller, Ricardo Scodifidio, Michael Webb, Donna Robertson, and Robert McAnulty were influenced ~~by~~ the media technologies in their houses design while in the meantime, the future predictions of house and media has already began to be produced anonymously and presented to the mass audience via magazines, advertisements, exhibitions, and model houses. [225] Buckminster Fuller designed The Dymaxion House (1927) (fig. 20) focusing on the domestic media (including the radio and television), which was uncommon or hardly invented at the time. In 1950, the Cape Cod House[226], designed by Alfred Levitt[227], was constructed with a fixed television in Levittown. [228] (fig. 21) Herbert Hirche designed radiograms, which means furniture that combines radio and record player, in the model apartments displayed in the Interbau Exhibition in Germany in 1957.[229] (fig.

[224] Beatriz Colomina, "The Split Wall: Domestic Voyeurism", in *Sexuality and Space* (US: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997), 74-128.

[225] Beatriz Colomina, "The Media House", *Assemblage*, no. 27, (August 1995): 55-66,

http://www.jstor.org/stable/3171430.

[226] Beatriz Colomina, *Domesticity at War* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London: MIT Press, 2006), 184.

[227] Gartman, *From Autos to Architecture*, 224.

[228] Colomina, *Domesticity at War*, 184.

[229] "Herbert Hirche, HM 5 for Braun in Hirche's Apartment of Günther Gottwald House for Interbau Exhibition, 1957, Berlin", Design is Fine, accessed August 31, 2021, https://www.design-is-fine.org/post/51326689750/herbert-hirche-hm-5-for-braun-in-hirches. "Herbert Hirche, Interior Design, Sample Apartment for the International Building Exhibition Interbau Berlin, 1957", Design is

22 and fig. 23) A 1964 issue of *Kultur im Heim* magazine in Germany featured a furnished television and record player set on its cover. (fig. 24) Rudolf Horn und Eberhardt Wüstner created a large modular cabinet unit for the *Deutsche Werkstätten* (MDW) furniture brand in 1967 that accommodates a television set at the visual center.[230] (fig. 25) Charles and Ray Eames[231], proposed that the main issue of architecture was the "organization of information" which evolved along the communication technologies;[232] the Eames House (1949) was designed with this approach by Charles and Ray Eames and Eero Saarinen.[233] (fig. 26) The house signified a transition within the avant-garde architecture regarding the inclusion of industrial design, visual media, and graphic design as well as user experience, participation, and consumer preference into the scope of architectural design. It displayed the "new consumer culture"; thus, "new cult of domesticity".[234] Esther McCoy described the Eames House as "a steel and glass cage, as lightweight as an Eames chair, which lends itself admirably to an exhibition space for a changing collection of art, toys, and crafts of all kinds".[235] The house is located adjacent to a hillside and surrounded by the trees and meadow. It is composed of two separate parts, as residence and workshop, which are connected by a retaining concrete wall and patio.

Fine, accessed August 31, 2021, https://www.design-is-fine.org/post/124950695039/herbert-hirche-interior-design-sample-apartment.

[230] "German Design: Two Countries, One History", Dry, accessed August 31, 2021, https://www.collectibledry.com/art-design/german-design-two-countries-one-history/.

[231] Charles and Ray Eames were amongst the most influential designers of the USA and their ideas and works had a great impact in industrial design, furniture design, photography, and architecture. During WW2, they designed and manufactured molded plywood products for the USA navy, after which they used the same material in furniture design. The Eames chair became the most famous furniture among their designs. The couple designed and constructed the Eames House which is in Pacific Palisades, California by themselves and in association with "the Case Study House Program" of Arts & Architecture magazine; the house was designed to serve as a representative model of postwar housing. "Charles and Ray", Eames Official Site, accessed October 15, 2019, https://www.eamesoffice.com/eames-office/charles-and-ray/.

[232] Ibid., 262.

[233] Ibid., 26-30.

[234] Ibid., 21-60.

[235] Esther Mccoy, "Arts & Architecture Case Study Houses", *Perspecta*, 15 (1975): 63,

https://www.jstor.org/stable/1567014.

Both parts are designed as rectangular boxes built with glass and steel.[236] The main space in each block has a double-height ceiling and visual connection to the second floor via a balcony. The living room functions as the center of the residence and acts as a flexible showcase for the collection of art, furniture, objects, and Eames' designs.[237] Eames perceived the concept of the house as a "background for life in work" and "center of productive activities" in which the inhabitants proceed to design their house in time.[238] In other words, every activity in the house is foreseen as a design act; therefore, making every occupant a participant of the design process. [239] The Dymaxion House, the Cape Cod House, and the Eames House marked the beginning of the transformation in the construction and experience of domestic architecture in conjunction with media. Media, either in printed or electronic form, became influential not only in the change of architectural practice but also in the education of public and the formation of consumer taste.

Shundana Yusaf subsumes the changing concepts of production and consumption, construction and experience of architecture under the term of "hyper-tradition".[240] Based upon the hyper-reality defined by Baudrillard, which referred to the confusion between simulation and reality, especially in connection with postmodern media, the hyper-tradition addressed the consumer culture and implied the replacement of the local practices with globalization, mass media, and technology. Hence, the conventional production of space became open to renewal by external factors. According to Yusaf, between 1927 and 1945, the BBC radio policies and the public response they received demonstrated an inclination to hyper-traditional architecture.

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[236] "Eames House", Eames Foundation, accessed October 27, 2019, https://eamesfoundation.org/house/eames-house/.

[237] Ibid.

[238] Rachel Stevenson, "Charles and Ray Eames "At Home", *Perspecta*, 37, (2005): 37,

https://www.jstor.org/stable/40482237

[239] Ibid.

[240] Shundana Yusaf, "Wireless Sites: Architecture in the Space of British Radio, 1927-1945", *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 19, no. 2, (Spring 2008): 69-80, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41758528.

Despite its disengagement from the Victorian tradition, BBC continued to broadcast in line with the Victorian missions: deference to nation and state, and sophistication in knowledge, culture, and taste. In the purpose of realizing these missions, radio broadcasting was used as an instrument for the acculturation of society to create better consumers and citizens. Programs on politics and political news, as well as art and culture, were thus broadcasted by BBC to educate the British masses. Programs related to art and culture to improve the taste of the working class were regarded as a public service by BBC to attain a balanced society. In addition, it was believed that an improvement in the aesthetic taste would also bring moral upheaval to the audience. Democratization of these values and their practices were necessary and done by means of the principles broadcasted by BBC, as well as by the survival of art within the consumer culture.[241] The artistic and architectural production in the UK was considered to be in decline after the WW1. The upper classes, who patronized art before the WW1, could no longer sponsor the art due to the societal reconfigurations in the class structure through economic reconstruction, higher taxation to the wealthy, and the steps taken towards the welfare state following the war. The popular taste of the working class was perceived as another threat to the arts. By democratizing art, which is expanding the availability of art and art knowledge for all social classes, BBC aimed to sustain high artistic production while also enhancing the taste of the working class. Thus, radiophonic representation of art and architecture reconciled high art with popular culture.[242] The architects, who conventionally identified the profession by highlighting its distinction from the common construction practice, now joined the mundane medium of radio as well.[243] They took the educator role in radio for the public to have an elevated taste in architectural design. Public voice as transmitted via radio into the domestic environment extended the effect of mass media in a way that was never achieved through publications.[244] (fig. 27) Yusaf's explanation of the hyper-

[241] Ibid.

[242] Yusaf, *Broadcasting Building*, 35-43.

[243] Ibid., 8.

[244] Yusaf, "Wireless Sites", 75.

traditional relationship between house and radio reveals the magnitude of the impact of electronic media on art, architecture, and domestic space in the early 20th century. With the further advancements of information and communication technologies, media and mass culture became even more influential social dynamics; the private sphere, simultaneously, has become more open to media influence.

In "The Un-Private House", Terence Riley argued that the private environment has become increasingly "permeable" since the WW2 in reference to Heidegger's concept of "distancelessness", the uniformity of distance and relationships obtained by the transmission of sounds and images. Riley reminded the long-accepted division between public and private and work and leisure as a result of the *bourgeois* culture. After the WW2, the private house started to change in parallel with the changes in the media technologies, domesticity, and conditions of labor. The "duality" of public and private, work and leisure in this context became ambiguous through the erosion of physical and cultural boundaries by media. [245] However, postulated duality and separation between public and private in Riley's statement had already been refuted as such by others.[246] In this regard, Beatriz Colomina pointed out a correlation between the housing of the 20th-century modern architecture and the media presence within the house. Taking the early 20th-century avant-garde examples, such as Mies Van der Rohe's Farnsworth House, Philip Johnson's Glass House, George Keck's Crystal House, Paul Nelson's Suspended House, and Frits Peutz's Schunck Glass Palace, Colomina identified "surveillance" and "control" through the "transparent façade" and "open plan". According to her, towards the mid-20th century, an "x-ray architecture" became widespread among the ordinary household. Similar to x-ray machines that monitor the human body, the extensive use of glass in domestic architecture opened the inside of the house to the public. The television culture, in this context, acted as another media agent that enhanced the engagement of public and private. The electronic media penetrated the house, and as such domesticity itself began to be the

[245] Terence Riley, "The Un-Private House", 9-39.

[246] Miller Lane "Introduction", 3.

focus of media programs. [247] The spatial link between public and private spheres through architectural arrangements such as a transparent façade and an open plan has evolved into the more virtual forms of access conducted by media. An interior or exterior gaze through a glass window, for example, turned into a media display through the publicity of house or domestic media consumption. Television, in this sense, must be seen as a cornerstone regarding the media presence within the house, due to pivotal position in mass culture, conspicuous consumption, and visual and auditory nature.

In "Electronic Hearth: Creating an American Television Culture", Cecelia Tichi analyzed the impact of television on the domestic sphere in the USA. After the WW2, television became a core piece of the consumerist suburban culture. Having a television set was perceived as a sign of prosperity, social status, and also a goal and desire of home life within the domestic environment. Correspondingly, the producers and advertisers marketed the television in a way similar to decoration and furniture commercials and manipulated the aspirations of the consumers. In the first place and as a domestic object, the television was distinguished firmly from the radio because it became a conspicuous commodity and hence required a central position in the space to accommodate its visual quality. [248] Secondly, television transmitted signs, sounds, and images and could merge the public and private spheres in a very short amount of time. The private sphere instantly obtained the characteristics of the leisure activities done in the public sphere by television, which indeed, simulated the function of public events such as cinema, theater, concert, and exhibition. Television reorganized the encompassing space and social relations towards an unusual and vague state, [249] seen in such things like the advertisement slogans presenting television as: "the biggest window in the worlds", "a looking glass through which the viewer becomes a modern Alice", "the greatest show on earth", "the answer to man's ageless yearning for eyes and ears to pierce the barrier of distance", "magic carpet ride", and "university". According to the commercial messages: "All the World's a stage" and "Television

[247] Colomina, *Domesticity at War*, 145-192.

[248] Tichi, *Electronic Hearth*, 16-19.

[249] Ibid., 24.

cameras will be your eyes" and "will topple the tower of Babel".[250] (fig. 28) Regarding the characteristics of television both as a medium and an object, it can be said that it embodied a liminal space between private and public, national and international, inside and outside. Television took the place of hearth and its 'sacredness' by putting the commodity fetishism and consumer culture at the center of house. According to Margaret Morse, television is "a personal reliquary for fetish objects, or sacra, at the crossroads of everyday life, the commodity world and our common culture". It incorporated the privacy of home with the "communicationally present places".[251] From Tichi's perspective, it is evident that television took the engagement of house and mass culture, global and local, and public and private, one step further. Television demolished the spatial obstacles and provided direct access to media content – whether global or local – for having leisure and entertainment in home comfort. The visuality inherent in television as a transmitter and object enabled media consumption to occupy a focal place in the house, both spatially and ontologically. While television began to be the central piece of any room it was placed, most commonly the living room, the furniture around it was placed in accordance with it too. It has also been associated with such ontological place attachment features, as 'security' and 'warmth', by gathering the family around and providing leisure and entertainment which are features analogous to a hearth in the home. It would not be wrong to say that television and, in general, electronic media had an almost irreversible impact on the use and design of domestic space following the WW2.

The consumer choice had a limited power on determining the amount of use of information and communication technologies in the house which, in fact, redefined the private sphere in terms of spatial experience. For example, television entered into the heart of the house from the living room which is the "most public/formal space". In its early periods of use television had created for the inhabitants of the house a sense of "togetherness", as the members gathered around the television set. The creation of

[250] Ibid., 13.

[251] David Morley, *Home Territories: Media, Mobility and Identity* (London, New York: Routledge, 2000), 87.

"through lounge" is considered to be the architectural reflection of the togetherness brought by television.[252] 'Through lounge', in which the kitchen and dining room are integrated into the living room to create a common area, was introduced in the post-war period as an answer to the need to watch television while doing other domestic activities.[253] In time, television started to penetrate more into the private spaces of the house such as, its bedrooms and kitchens. An engagement similar to the one between the television and the private space surfaced in the case of other electronic media, such as radio and computer as well. The unprecedented technological advancements in the modern era thus, enabled further miniaturization and development of personalized media, such as developing mobile phones that resulted in the decentralized, individual, and isolated use of the electronic media.[254] According to David Morley, with the invention of mobile devices media went through a "de-domestication" process through which the ontological meaning of the domestic environment outgrew the house and got involved with the public sphere.[255] Morley's theory can be interpreted that electronic media delivers domestic feelings such as comfort, security, and control. With the miniaturization and mobilization of media, these ontological feelings went beyond the home due to the sense of homeyness carried by individualized electronic media.

Baudrillard, from a different perspective, argued on the "disappearance" of the public and private spheres in relation to the invasion of the house with electronic media. The omnipresence of the commodity culture and advertising converted both the exterior and interior into spaces of consumption, spectacle, obscenity, and alienation.[256] In this

[252] David Morley, "What's 'home' got to do with it? Contradictory Dynamics in the Domestication of Technology and Dislocation of Domesticity", in *Domestication of Media and Technology*, ed. Thomas Berker, Maren Hartmann, Yves Punie and Katie J. Ward (England: Open University Press, 2006), 27-29.

[253] David Morley, "Television: Not so much a visual medium, more a visible object", in *Visual Culture*, ed. by Chris Jenks (London, New York: Routledge, 2003), 177.

[254] Morley, "What's 'home' got to do with it?", 27-29.

[255] Ibid., 33-36.

[256] Jean Baudrillard, *The Ecstasy of Communication*, trans. By Bernard Schütze and Caroline Schütze (Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2012), 22-30.

case, architecture has become "huge screens upon which moving atoms, particles, and molecules are refracted".[257] Space as such, became to represent the "cultural operation of the commodity" that is diffused by the juxtaposition of the mass communication channels.[258] In other words, the ubiquity of mass culture commodified the public and private space as well. Likewise, by using the metaphor of an astronaut or, in his words, an "encapsulated man" for the isolated individuals of mass society, Lewis Mumford demonstrated the ubiquity of mass culture by saying that:

> Is it not rather the state that the mass of mankind is fast approaching in actual life, without realizing how pathological it is to be cut off from their own resources for living, and to feel no tie with the outer world unless they are connected with the Power Complex and constantly receive information, direction, stimulation, and sedation from a central external source, via radio, discs, and television, with the minimal opportunity for reciprocal face-to-face contact? The stringent limitations of the space capsule have already been extended to other areas. Technocratic designers proudly exhibit furniture planned solely to fit rooms as painfully constricted as a rocket chamber. Even more ingenious minds, equally subservient to the Power Complex, have already conceived a hospital bed in which every function from the taking of temperature to intravenous feeding will be automatically performed within the limits of the bed. Solitary confinement thus becomes the last word in 'tender and loving care.[259]

Akin to Mumford's analysis, Marshall McLuhan stated that the idea of the claustrophobic "closed space" does no longer exist by means of instant information access. The enclosed space, which was associated with the guilt and confinement of prisons in the West since the 13th-14th century, is now far from being restricted and segregated from the society due to the availability of electronic communication. In the world of utter interaction, everyone is deeply linked with each other. [260] In other words, virtual accessibility and, thus, virtual interaction through mass communication transcended the physical limits of the space. The enclosure lost the meaning of isolation or restraint from society because of the interconnection of people via mass culture. Along with the omnipresence of mass culture and mass media that Baudrillard

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[257] Ibid., 25.

[258] Ibid.

[259] Lewis Mumford, *The Myth of the Machine: The Pentagon of Power* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970), 180-181.

[260] Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, *Medium is the Message, An Inventory of Effects* (Corte Madera, California: Gingko Press, 2005), 61-63.

and Mumford speak of, Baudrillard introduced further the idea of "end of the panoptic system" in which the omnipotence of media resulted in constant surveillance without a center. He suggested that the new system of information does not offer a distinction between 'active' and 'passive' gaze.[261] Centrality was resolved in mass culture in which "you are information, you are the social, you are the event, you are involved, you have the word, etc."[262]

The artist Dan Graham interprets the decentralized information flow regarding the domestic sphere and mass media in his artworks and essays, like "Alteration" (1978) and "Essay on Video, Architecture, and Television". (fig. 29, fig. 30, fig. 31) For his work, "Video Projection Outside Home" (1978), Graham installed a big monitor outside of a suburban dwelling to display the interior while the inhabitants watched television. (fig. 32) He aimed to emphasize the vague correspondence of video with the window and mirror.[263] He interpreted the role of glass as the instrument of social segregation. The glass mediated the hierarchy between the controller and controlled, employer and employee, producer and consumer. The mirror reflected the "de-totalized, incomplete, lost, not-graspable" portrait of an individual. Graham envisaged that the society manifested itself in an "architectural code" which is replaced by television, by crossing the limits of the space[264]

> The distribution of both films and broadcast-television represents an asymmetrical imposition of information by capital. Film is a consumption product, as is broadcast-television, which, in the interest of advertisers of products, installs a terminal in the home and controls access to information. The concentration of power through capital is also facilitated through the mythology contained in the story-lines of programs and advertisements, and through withholding or controlling the availability of information. The centralized production facilities of film or broadcast TV exploit the saleable (product) aspects of culture at the expense of the existential. A cable system by contrast presents the possibility of becoming two-way and de-centralized.

[261] Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, 27-32.

[262] Ibid., 29.

[263] Colomina, *Domesticity at War*, 145-192.

[264] Dan Graham, "Essay on Video, Architecture, and Television", 62-76.

> Individuals, families, and the local, extant cultural system could be given potential self-determination and control. Local cable television could feed back the immediate environment.[265]

Paul Virilio, sharing a similar perspective, argued that "the technology question is inseparable from the question of where technology occurs."[266] Accordingly, house as a junction within the communication network technology became accessible through the electric line rather than its physical presence.[267] As Zygmunt Bauman identified with the "phantasmagoric place", the "realm of the far" penetrated into the "realm of the near". Therefore, home is now associated with its "virtual meanings, as mediated by culture and communications".[268] In this sense, the electronic media signified "the rediscovery of home". [269] It can be argued that the meaning attributed to the house as home has changed and exceeded its spatial boundaries with the domestication of mass communication. The home, which ideally signified the place of segregation from the outside world since the 19th century, came to be identified as a connection point where the remote virtual meanings overlap the physicality of space. On the other hand, according to Charles Rice, the double characteristics of the home interior as an image and space have been present since the beginning of the modernity. The interiors were perceived as the combination of image and space rather than merely spatial dimension; yet, the forms of the image have been changing. Interiors were represented and 'imaged' through decorational styles and products of consumer culture that constituted meaning and a level of communication. With electronic media, the representational images of the interior, identified by decorational styles, gave way to the machinic forms. The image that turned into the machinic forms became more notable than before.[270] Therefore, according to Rice the mediation of domestic space by

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[265] Ibid., 63.

[266] Paul Virilio, *The Art of the Motor* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Minnesota Press, 1995), 99.

[267] Scott McQuire, *The Media City: Media, Architecture and Urban Space* (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE, 2008), 10.

[268] Morley, "What's 'home' got to do with it?", 22-23.

[269] Roger Silverstone, *Television and Everyday Life* (London: Routledge, 1994), 30.

[270] Charles Rice, *Emergence of the Interior: Architecture, Modernity, Domesticity* (London, New York: Routledge, 2007), 118-119.

miniaturized technology indicates a technical transition rather than a radical change.[271] Moreover, instead of jumping to a conclusion to claim that the world is turning into "a global village"[272], as stated by Marshall McLuhan, it is important to note that geography still acts as a binding factor in the case of media and that the nation-states control and restrict information in any case; whether international or national. House becomes a "tension zone" between the global media and the local reality [273] that can only procure "secondhand emotions" or "global familiar".[274] That is why house and media need to be evaluated based on the specific contexts and cases in which geography, socio-economic structure, and culture are the determining factors. The house/media relationship in the modern Turkish context, in this regard, serves as a unique and illustrative example.

[271] Ibid., 115.

[272] Morley, *Home Territories*, 172.

[273] Ibid., 102.

[274] Morley, "What's 'home' got to do with it?", 23.

CHAPTER 3

LATE OTTOMAN ERA

3.1. Production, Industrialization and Economy in the 19th Century

Turkey's relationship with the modern industry and economy had its origins in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century when the capitalist influence[275] and the first industrialization attempts began.[276] This relationship materialized in a number of ways. On the one hand, treaties were signed, between 1838 and 1841, to allow for free trade with the industrialized European countries which gave way to the construction of railroads with foreign investment, exportation of agricultural products, and the destruction of traditional industry due to imported products.[277] On the other hand, the state initiated a factory-based production system after the 1840s under its control which progressed well into the Tanzimat period of the 1860s, with the encouragement of private enterprise.[278] The system, yet, failed soon because of the insufficiencies in experience, knowledge, capital, banking system, resources, and transportation and communication infrastructure and thus ended up with the intervention and domination

[275] Şevket Pamuk, "Political Economy of Industrialization in Turkey", *MERIP Reports*, no. 93 (January, 1981): 26, https://www.jstor.org/stable/3011660.

[276] Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu, "Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Sanayii (1839-1876)", *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 28, no. 46 (2009): 59.

[277] Pamuk, "Political Economy of Industrialization in Turkey", 26.

[278] Seyitdanlıoğlu, "Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Sanayii (1839-1876)", 59. Tanzimat Period (1839-1876) signifies the structural reforms and modernization attempts in administration, legislation, tax system, military, bureaucracy, and education in the Ottoman Empire, Driss Maghraoui, "Ottoman Tanzimat Reforms: 1250 to 1920: Middle East", in *Cultural Sociology of the Middle East, Asia, & Africa: An Encyclopedia*, ed. by Andrea L. Stanton, Edward Ramsamy and Peter J. Seybolt (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2012), I191-I193,

http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781452218458.n100.

of foreign investors in the private sector.[279] Ninety-five private companies were established mostly by the foreign entrepreneurs, mostly English, Austrian, and French, in the second half of the 19th century in mining, public services and industry, transportation, banking and insurance, and trade sectors. These companies operated to invigorate the demand for capital, machinery, and qualified personnel from Europe rather than developing the national manufacturing industry.[280] Nevertheless, these practices set up the basis for the industrialization endeavors in the Republic of Turkey; though it was short-lived some experience was gained,[281] few factories were built[282], and foreign sources and technology became available and indispensable.[283] Compared to the industrialization that occurred as a complete transformation of all socio-economic structures in the West, it can be said that industrialization in the Ottoman Empire was a foreign-dependent and discontinuous process.

The shift to factory-based production, private/foreign investments, and close social, economic, and technological relations with Europe had certain reflections on the production and use of domestic space regarding the houses of the Ottoman elite. New housing typologies emerged, such as summer houses, row houses, and apartments.[284] Apartments became the most prevalent among the other types due to the high demand prompted by the desire to emulate the French culture. Apartment buildings proliferated particularly in Pera, Galata, and Beyoğlu, the centers of urban change, and expanding

[279] Ibid., 59-68.

[280] Ekrem Erdem, "Sanayi Devriminin Ardından Osmanli Sanayileşme Hamleleri: Sanayi Politikalarinin Dinamikleri ve Zaafiyetleri", *Erciyes Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, no. 48, (July-December, 2016): 26.

[281] Edward C. Clark, "The Ottoman Industrial Revolution", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 5, no. 1 (January, 1974): 76, https://www.jstor.org/stable/162344.

[282] Erdem Koç, Mahmut Can Şenel and Kadir Kaya, "Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Sanayileşme I - Strateji ve Temel Sanayileşme Sorunları", *Mühendis ve Makina*, 59, no. 690 (January-March, 2018): 7.

[283] Pamuk, "Political Economy of Industrialization in Turkey", 26.

[284] Melek, "New Interpretations of Domestic Space and Life: The Emergence of Apartment Buildings in Nineteenth Century İstanbul" 18-19. One or more families could inhabit the apartments, which had only one owner. The apartment flats were to be rented instead of owned due to the official unavailability of flat ownership in this period and until the property ownership law issued in 1965 in the Republican Period. Ibid., 54. Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 223.

commercial and trade in İstanbul.[285] With the move to the apartments, domestic utilities such as electricity and sewage system and Western style mobile furniture also entered into the life of the households[286] as the signifier of the new industry, economy, and consumption model. Just as the state attempts to adapt the industrial production and technologies to catch up with the era, the new housing types, consumer habits, and lifestyles were emulated by a wealthy and elite social group in Istanbul. The first change in consumer culture in the Ottoman context also began in Istanbul, where Industrialization started.

3.2. 19th Century Cultural Shift

The Tanzimat period which witnessed the penetration of Western consumption norms into the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century represents the first phase in the history of development of Turkish consumer culture.[287] The Ottoman culture had indeed glorified modesty and, in this respect, avoided conspicuous consumption, which was in line with the Islamic norms before the Tanzimat period. [288] Improvement of the transportation and communication channels with Europe, the export of European goods, emerging Turkish mass media through the first newspapers and periodical publications,[289] such as *Takvim-i Vekayi* and *Ceride-i Havadis*[290], and the rising significance of advertising, among other developments that had occurred in the

[285] Ayşe Derin Öncel, "Apartmanların planlanmasında olası etkilenmelerin sorgulanması", in *Apartman : Galata'da yeni bir konut tipi* (İstanbul: Institut Français d'études Anatoliennes, 2010), 307-341, http://books.openedition.org/ifeagd/1591.

[286] Melek, "New Interpretations of Domestic Space and Life", 44-57.

[287] Kübra Kurukamçı, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Tüketim Alışkanlıklarının Değişimi" (Master's Thesis, Hacettepe University, 2017), 6.

[288] Nasır, Timur and Gürel, "Living Rooms Occupied", 4-5.

[289] Kurukamçı, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Tüketim Alışkanlıklarının Değişimi", 7-8.

[290] Kemal H. Karpat, "The Mass Media: Turkey", in *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*, ed. by Robert E. Ward, Social Science Research Council (U.S.), and Dankwart A. Rustow. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1964), 255-258. Before the emergence of the Turkish printed media, the minorities in the Ottoman Empire had a long history of press. The print technology and printed media were first used by the Jews, as early as 1493-1494, in the Ottoman Empire. The Armenian press was introduced in 1567 and followed by the Greek press in 1627. Until the 18th century, the Muslims were not allowed to use print since Koran was accepted as the only source of truth.

Tanzimat era, changed the perception of traditional consumption.[291] Western-style public spaces such as department stores, cafes, restaurants, music halls, theatres, and hotels opened first in Beyoğlu, Pera, and Galata in İstanbul became the venues of new tastes, fashions, and consumption and entertainment habits of the Ottoman bureaucrats and elites.[292] (fig. 33 and fig. 34) The private sphere, likewise, displayed "a highly cosmopolitan mix of tastes and culture", with the combination of European and traditional Turkish elements of decoration and furniture in the interior design of the upper-class houses.[293] Consumption was now perceived as a necessity for modernization by the upper social classes.[294] The shift in the consumer culture was spatially manifested with the move to apartments and changing relationship between public and private.

3.3. Apartment and the Changing Concept of Privacy

Until the Western lifestyle penetrated the domestic sphere in the 19th century, the division between public and private was strictly defined in the Ottoman period.[295] The private sphere, associated to the house was ideally closed to the public sphere and any outside gaze.[296] The 18th century upper-class Ottoman houses were designed to accommodate the need for such privacy so that the public events could take place outside the domestic sphere. In the framework of the traditional gender-space division in the house, the inner rooms of the house (*haremlik*) were exclusive to the family and the household activities while a reception room (*selamlık*) was reserved for the public events and guests of the patriarch of the family.[297] Aside from the separation between

[291] Kurukamçı, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Tüketim Alışkanlıklarının Değişimi", 6-9.

[292] Ibid., 16-22.

[293] Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building,* 193.

[294] Kurukamçı, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Tüketim Alışkanlıklarının Değişimi", 8.

[295] Nasır, Timur and Gürel, "Living Rooms Occupied", 2-3.

[296] Gürel, "Designing and Consuming Modern in Turkey", 461.

[297] Nasır, Timur and Gürel, "Living Rooms Occupied", 2-3.

the inner rooms and the reception room, the function of the rooms was unassigned.[298] Conspicuous consumption was avoided as it would conflict with the Islamic understanding of modesty. Spatial segregation and consumption habits, however, began to change starting from the 19th century. The most illustrative change towards Westernization and modernization was the emerging apartment buildings and apartment culture in İstanbul. [299] The apartment buildings, adapted from the French apartments, accommodated one or more apartment flats on each floor. Due to the unavailability of apartment flat ownership, apartment buildings had only one owner, and the apartment flats were rented to tenants.[300] The design and use of private space introduced via the apartments suited the new patterns of domestic culture and consumption, as well as the changing concept of privacy among the Ottoman elite. The traditionally cherished values of modesty, household privacy, and gender segregation were thus challenged by a highly different domestic sphere in terms of space and function.[301] Although each apartment had distinct characteristics, there were common determinative features regarding plan configuration. Intermediary spaces, primarily, the hall and secondarily, the foyer and corridor, served for the circulation. The hall, similar to the *sofa* that functioned as a circulation as well as a gathering space in a traditional Ottoman period house, provided access to the rooms in the apartments. Foyer were specified as the transition space in the entrance, and the corridor was the small circulation space connecting the rooms. Wet spaces, namely the kitchen, toilet, and bathroom, which were outside of the Ottoman house before, were included in the 19th-century apartments. Rooms were multifunctional and varying in size, and some of them were substantial or interconnected, unlike the non-hierarchical and disconnected rooms in a traditional house.[302] Nevertheless, the most prominent form of spatial evolution in this period regarding public and private is that the substantial

[298] Gürel, "Designing and Consuming Modern in Turkey", 460.

[299] Nasır, Timur and Gürel, "Living Rooms Occupied", 4-5.

[300] Melek, "New Interpretations of Domestic Space and Life", 54.

[301] Nasır, Timur and Gürel, "Living Rooms Occupied", 4-5.

[302] Melek, "New Interpretations of Domestic Space and Life", 61-66.

room placed on the façade side was designated as a "parlor" (*salon*), a reception room to accept the guests. [303] (fig. 35) The parlor as the most public space of the house became a venue for status display and socializing, for both genders as well as outsiders. Furniture played an essential role in the spatial and functional setup. Eclectic interior designs, furniture, and conspicuous objects such as piano that mixed traditional Ottoman furniture and the European furniture demonstrated the liminality between the Western and the traditional; at the same time, symbolized both conspicuous consumption and modern.[304] Towards the end of the 19th century, rooms started to be functionally specified through furniture, such as bedroom and dining room.[305]

Dining room, often planned adjacent to and connected with the parlor, became a room that was specified functionally through furniture. Dining, which was previously a traditional and private family routine became a modernized public and social event in the later 19th century[306], was culturally embraced by the Ottoman elite under the influence of the transformed dining habits in the Ottoman palace, French and European culture and etiquette, and the practice of dining outside in cafes and restaurants as in the West.[307] Thus, a period of cultural dualism emerged in the Turkish and European lifestyles, as in other areas of the period. This cultural dichotomy is portrayed very vividly by Ahmet Mithat in *Felatun Bey ve Rakım Efendi* (1875). Felatun Bey, a person who frequently visits Pera, the European quarter of Istanbul, has adopted the European

[303] Öncel, "Apartmanların planlanmasında olası etkilenmelerin sorgulanması", 307-341.

[304] Nasır, Timur and Gürel, "Living Rooms Occupied", 4-5.

[305] Ayşe Derin Öncel, "Sosyal Hayat ve Yaşam Biçimleri", in *Apartman: Galata'da yeni bir konut tipi* (İstanbul: Institut Français d'études Anatoliennes, 2010), 220-262, https://books.openedition.org/ifeagd/1588.

[306] Özge Samancı, "Osmanlı Kültüründe Değişen Sofra Adabı: Alaturka-Alafranga İkilemi", *Toplumsal Tarih*, no: 231 (March 2013): 23. The table setting adopted in the Ottoman world remained almost the same for all segments of society until the 19th century. The meal was eaten from a shared plate on a tablecloth or a tray, and no other tableware was used at the table other than the spoons used for soup, compote, and pilaf. Eating with the three fingers of the right hand was a norm that had to be adopted in etiquette. Washing hands before and after eating was an invariable ritual of table manners. The table is prepared in a portable order; it could be set up in any room or garden. There was no concept of a dining room.

[307] Ibid., 25. Tables, chairs, and European-style porcelain plates and cutlery, which entered Ottoman palaces and mansions as an interior decoration material from the end of the 18th century, began to be used functionally in the last period of Sultan Mahmud II's reign, starting from the 1830s.

style of life; Rakım Efendi, on the other hand, portrays an Ottoman loyal to the traditional way of life. While Rakım Efendi eats in the traditional style at the floor table, Felatun Bey eats with cutlery in Pera's elegant restaurants.[308] The etiquette books of the period, such as *Ev Kadını* (1882) by Ayşe Fahriye and *Avrupa Adab-ı Muaşereti Yahut Alafranga* (1894) by Ahmed Midhat Efendi were also educational in both table manners and the spatial organization of dining room. In *Ev Kadını*, Ayşe Fahriye mentions the dining room as a new spatial concept in domestic sphere besides the discussions on table layouts and manners. According to the writer, the rectangular table should be located in the middle of the dining room besides a buffet and fountain for handwashing.[309] (fig. 36) Ayşe Derin Öncel gives an architectural insight into emergence of dining room by analyzing the 19th-century apartment plans in Galata. Öncel points out double or triple schemes such as parlor-dining room (*salon-salle à manger* in French or *salon salomanje* as adapted in Turkish), parlor-side rooms, parlor-guestroom in the front facades of Istanbul apartments in the last quarter of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. [310] (fig. 37, 38, 39, 40) The advertisements of the period and the information about the furniture shops also serve as evidence for the adaptation of parlor/dining room concept in Ottoman domestic architecture. For example, an advertisement of a furniture shop owned by M. Chavin in the *Journal of Constantinople* in 1864 announce the novelties that came from Paris, including parlor and dining room furniture. *Psalty* furniture shop is another example which promoted furniture for bedrooms, dining rooms, parlors and study rooms for sale as well as dinnerware and silver cutlery to rent for dining events at home.[311] All these novelties in consumption and domestic space related to dining practices are indicators of the change in the relationship between domestic and public spheres towards the end of the 19th century. The parlor and dining room suite preserved its significance following the

[308] Ibid.

[309] Ibid., 26-27.

[310] Öncel, *Apartman : Galata'da yeni bir konut tipi*, 307-341.

[311] Ibid., 220-262.

19th century as well. In fact, the parlor and dining room/corner can be defined as the core units of the public part of the domestic space in the modern Turkish context.

Privacy and spatial segregation, nevertheless, were never lost and had remained as a cultural concern throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.[312] The Victorian notion of segregated space, first appropriated in the Turkish context in the 19th-century continued to be practiced in the context of domestic modernity in the Republican era. It comforted with the spatial expectations of the Republican domestic environment that were reminiscent of the Ottoman norms of privacy. Segregated space enabled parlor to be represent domestic modernity and hid the daily or traditional domestic activities until the 1980s rather than being a response against the forces of Industrialization as in the West. European furniture and consumption items, including such iconic consumption markers as piano, are exhibited in the parlor-dining schema as the tokens of the West-oriented transformation in culture and consumption within the domestic sphere.

3.4. Piano: An Icon of Europeanization

Piano became the subject of an increasing interest, first by the Ottoman palace (fig. 41) and Pera's non-Muslim population and then by the Muslim population, particularly the high-level bureaucrats of Istanbul in the 19th century. The fact that at least 80 piano stores, 24 piano tuners, and 28 piano teachers per year were recorded in the eastern trade annals between 1868 and 1925 is an indication of the widespread use of piano in Istanbul.[313] According to Alimdar, the interest in the piano inthe 19th-century Ottoman context was closely related to the music industry and technological developments in Europe, especially the transition to the mass piano production as a result of the high demand of European middle class. With the popular concerts and, more importantly, the expansion of music publishing as a result of the development of printed media technology, the interest of the European middle class in music production has increased. Produced in high volumes and offered at reasonable prices, notes were one

[312] Nasır, Timur and Gürel, "Living Rooms Occupied", 4-5.

[313] Selçuk Alimdar, *Osmanlı'da Batı Müziği* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2016), 232.

of the factors that democratized amateur music production at home; thus high demand and technological advancements made mass piano production possible. Enhancements in piano industry and production, in tandem with the availability of the printed musical notes, made the piano became the core instrument of home music practices of the Western middle class. It adorned the European middle-class houses and became an object of material culture within the private sphere with its decorative character .[314] As the music market developed in Istanbul through the proliferation of producers, shops, and tuners mainly with a Western origin[315], playing piano became an important occupation within the private sphere, especially amongst the elite Ottoman women, as the symbol of status and Europeanization.[316] (fig. 42) The houses with pianos were considered to assume a Western look while obtaining piano skills were an objective for achieving the European lifestyle.

Families with good financial status hired private teachers to give piano lessons to their children. Foreign tutors who came from Europe to teach piano were indeed very popular. The advertisements in the first Turkish newspaper *Ceride-i Havadis* (1840-1864) promoted the piano teachers and lessons. For example, announcements like "it has been announced that one of the European piano players will come to *Dersaadet* and teach those who want to play the piano for a fee and that their place will be questioned by *Ceridehane*" and "a European woman, skilled in playing the piano saz, will train those who want to learn the instrument for a reasonable fee" were published

[314] Ibid., 230-231.

[315] Coppini, Comendinger, E. Kaps, Bechstein, Mason&Hamlin, F. Neumeyer, Gütschow, Rosenkranz, Erard, Pleyel, Elcke, Schwander, and Rodolphe were the prominent brands with Western origin in piano industry located in Pera, Galata, and historical peninsula in the 19th century. Yeşim Ödül Karakaya, "Bir Kültürel Sermaye Birikim Aracı Olarak Piyano" (Published Master's Thesis, Haliç University, 2018), 39.

[316] Families with good financial status hired private teachers for piano lessons for their children. Foreign governesses who came from Europe to teach piano were also common. Although it is identified with the high socio-economic status, it also popularized enough to be included in the curriculum of some schools towards the end of the 19th century. Kurukamçı, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Tüketim Alışkanlıklarının Değişimi", 43. Alimdar, *Osmanlı'da Batı Müziği*, 230-232.

during the mid-19th century.[317] These newspaper announcements illustrate the interest in piano and home music practices. Besides newspapers, Turkish literature was also instrumental in the representation and popularization of home pianos. Especially *Servet-i Fünun*[318] novels such as *Felâtun Bey ile Râkım Efendi* (1875) by Ahmet Mithat, *Araba Sevdası* (1898) by Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem, *Mürebbiye* (1899) by Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar, *Mai ve Siyah* (1897) by Halit Ziya, and *Karanfil ve Yasemin* (1921) by Mehmet Rauf demonstrate the importance given to piano as an object of status, conspicuous consumption, and modernization within domestic sphere.[319] Among these examples, *Mai ve Siyah* and *Karanfil ve Yasemin* include descriptions about the spatial and conspicuous qualities of home pianos. *Mai ve Siyah*, which was a serialized novel published in *Servet-i Fünun* magazine included textual and visual illustrations of the piano use in domestic interiors. In an illustration by Diran Çırakyan in the novel, Lamia, who is one of the main characters, is depicted playing piano under the guidance of her music teacher. The piano is placed in the corner of a parlor decorated by the mixture of Western and European style furniture that reflects the eclectic domestic interiors of the 19th-century houses of the Ottoman elite. (fig. 43) In

[317] Aytaç Yıldız, "Osmanlı Modernleşmesi ve Basın: Ceride-i Havadis Üzerine Bir İnceleme", *Turkish Studies Historical Analysis*, 14, no: 4 (2009): 1056-1057, https://turkishstudies.net/files/turkishstudies/2916c4a8-0d59-482e-9c9c-640dd486f346.pdf.

[318] The period between 1896-1901 in Turkish literature is commonly referred to as Servet-i Fünûn Literature or Edebiyat-ı Cedide (New Literature). By taking Servet-i Fünun magazine as the main medium, the poets such as Tevfik Fikret, Cenab Şahabeddin, Ali Ekrem, Süleyman Nesib and the novelists such as Halit Ziya, Mehmed Rauf, Hüseyin Cahit, Ahmet Hikmet and Safveti Ziya produced works in various genres during the Servet-i Fünun period. Ömer Çakır, "Servet-i Fünun Edebiyatı'nın Öğretiminde Görsel Materyal Kullanımı", *Mustafa Kemal University Journal of Social Sciences Institute*, 6, no: 11 (2009): 211-236, https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/183149. Kenan Akyüz described the period by saying that "Servet-i Fünûn or Edebiyat-ı Cedîde Era is the last phase that determines the definitive result of the East-West conflict in Turkish literature in favor of Western literature, which had been proceeding on since 1860. At the end of this heated phase, which went through really intense and dynamic works, Turkish literature gained an entirely European character in terms of mentality, themes, and technique." Kenan Akyüz, *Modern Türk Edebiyatının Ana Çizgileri* (Ankara: İnkılâp Kitabevi, 1990), 88.

[319] In Ahmet Mithat Efendi's novel "Felâtun Bey ile Râkım Efendi", Jozefino teaches Râkım's concubine Canan the piano. The piano teacher of Felâtun's sister Mihriban Hanım is a European 'madame.' In Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem's novel "Araba Sevdası", Bihruz takes French lessons from Monsieur Pierre. Anjel in Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar's "Mürebbiye" novel is hired to give piano education to the children of the house. Lamia in Halit Ziya's book "Mai ve Siyah"; Nevhiz in Mehmet Rauf's novel "Karanfil and Yasemin" has private piano teachers. Abdullah Acehan, "Batılılaşma Dönemi Türk Romanında Roman Kahramanı ve Olay Yönlendiricisi Olarak Mürebbiye", *Route Educational and Social Scicence Journal*, 5, no: 12 (October 2018): 2.

Karanfil ve Yasemin, the author gives a detailed textual description of the music corner by saying that:

> When they entered the room (parlor), now Nevhîz wanted to show him the corners. She allocated every corner for a function. One of them was the music corner, where there was a piano and a musical instrument holder. And the wall seemed to be covered with pictures of all the composers, small and large, framed or glued under the glass. Above the piano stood Mozart's sculptures on one side and Beethoven's on the other, small statues were visible in the small cells and shelves of the music cabinet.[320]

Nevhiz's music corner in *Karanfil and Yasemin*, alongside the office and sewing/handicraft corners in the parlor – adjacent to dining room – as understood from the novel[321], serves as a display of the modern facet of the house. The *Servet-i Fünun* novels, which frequently deal with the interior, domestic life, and family, present an early view from the 19th century Ottoman house and private sphere while illuminating the spatial effects of the piano as an iconic consumption marker. Accordingly, the modern furniture sets and the piano, if it was present, were associated with and displayed in the parlor, which had emerged as one of the functionally defined rooms as opposed to the multi-functional rooms that characterize traditional single-family houses of Ottoman capital and Anatolia. The space represented the public sphere and hence the showcase of conspicuous consumption.

With the transformations in consumption and mass culture throughout the 20th century, new spatial 'attractions' became integrated with private setting, such as piano/music room, fireplace, American bar, radio and television. They not only became spatialized and integrated with the parlor-dining schema and were utilized as agents of socializing, leisure, and entertainment, but were also seen as markers of social status and modernity.

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[320] Mehmet Rauf, *Karanfil ve Yasemin* (Istanbul: Matbaa-ı Amedi, 1924), 240. Selda Gürel, Servet-i Fünun Romancılarının Romanlarında Tasvir (Published Phd Thesis, Sakarya University, 2013): 159.

[321] Rauf, *Karanfil ve Yasemin*, 240-241. Gürel, *Servet-i Fünun Romancılarının Romanlarında Tasvir*, 159-160.

CHAPTER 4

EARLY 20TH CENTURY

4.1. Production, Industrialization and Modern House

In the early years of the Republic, between 1923 and 1929, the state followed the agenda of the open economy of the Ottoman Empire to reconstruct the industry and economy which were ruined during the WW1.[322] The first substantial industrialization process in Turkey was initiated[323] in the 1930s and continued until the WW2, during when it was interrupted.[324] The aim of the state was to achieve self-sufficiency in basic consumer products[325] through the protectionist and statist policies developed under the conditions of the Great Depression.[326] industrial development was mainly based upon the light industry[327] and the production of basic consumer goods such as food and textile. The first attempts to establish modern facilities for metallurgical, chemical, and paper industries, and the production of construction materials such as cement, iron, and steel were also carried out by the state.[328] One of the major actors of the industrial

[322] Korkut Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-1985* (İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1998), 37-39. The Ottoman Empire had a large trade sector that is estimated as 17% in import and 14% in export in 1907 and as 19% import and 15% export in 1913. Between 1923-1929, the shares of import and export as 14.4% and 10.6% in the national income could not be exceeded for the next fifty years, and in this sense, this period was called an open period in the republic's economic history.

[323] Ibid., 45.

[324] Ibid., 63.

[325] İlhan Tekeli, *Sanayi Toplumu için Sanayi Yazıları* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009), 250.

[326] Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi*, 45.

[327] Light industry or secondary industry means the industries that produce small consumer-targeted products such as electronics and clothing. “Light Industry”, Cambridge Dictionary, accessed May 24, 2020,

https://dictionary.cambridge.org/tr/sözlük/ingilizce/light-industry.

[328] Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi*, 55.

development in this period was *Sümerbank*, which was a state-owned economic enterprise and national bank that were assigned to establish and operate public industrial organizations, train the workforce, and encourage and inspect the private sector.[329] *Sümerbank* manufactured a wide range of products from iron and steel to shoes and clothing. *Sümerbank* facilities democratized the basic consumer goods with affordable prices including decorative household textiles, carpeting, and kitchen utensils. [330] Thus, *Sümerbank* can be considered as an influential agent in domestic consumption and everyday life in the early Republican Period. Although there was no Fordist mass production and consumption model as in the West in this period, the state-initiated industrial establishments such as Sümerbank may have provided democratization in basic and household consumption. In any case, it can be said that the goal of national and independent industrialization and modernization process constitutes the dominant theme of the early Republican period. Architecture and housing production, in this context, were regarded as an extension of the national goals and were deemed significant to transform the country and society into a modern industrialized nation.

Modern house was perceived as the expression of industrialization and modernization in Republican Turkey. The concepts of modern house and machine aesthetic, which were developed in the West by such pioneering European architects as Le Corbusier, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Mies van der Rohe, were transferred to the Turkish context in the form of "cubic house".[331] The cubic house which was built by reinforced concrete, was an unembellished and box formed single-family house with terraces,

[329] Abdullah Erdoğan and Hikmet Zeki Kapcı, "II. Dünya Savaşı Sürecinde Sümerbank", *Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no. 41 (2018): 83.

[330] Gözde Göncü Berk, "Sümerbank İşletmelerinde Tasarıma Dair İçerik Analizi: Sümerbank Süreli Yayınları Üzerine Bir Çalışma", *Yedi: Sanat, Tasarım ve Bilim Dergisi*, no. 16 (Summer, 2016): 111-120. In addition to industrialization, Sümerbank enterprises contributed to the social modernization goal of the early Republican Period through the physical and socio-cultural opportunities they offered to their employers and workers. Apart from providing housing to the staff and education to their children, social facilities like library, theater, and sports areas transformed the industrial campuses of Sümerbank into modern living spaces. The neighborhoods established around these settlements, roads, and railroads built to transport raw materials have brought a total spatial development in areas where Sümerbank enterprises were established.

[331] Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building,* 216-234.

cantilevers, large glass windows, and flat roofs; two exemplary cases are as the Presidential House (1932) by Clemens Holzmeister and Ragıp Devres House (1933) by Ernst Egli[332]. The "cubic houses" were the representations of modern house in Turkey. (fig. 44) They were considered as the embodiment of the modern principles of rationality, functionality, beauty, and health. [333] On the other hand, modern simplicity in architecture was also considered beneficial to lower the construction process costs under the conditions of the Great Depression.[334] The cubic house model, however, remained mostly as an ideal and was realized in the context of the single-family residences built by a small group of the Republican elite. The cubic aesthetic, characterized by an extensive use of rectangular forms and reinforced concrete, [335] on the other hand, was applied in apartment buildings or "rental houses",[336] such as Ayazpaşa Apartment (1935) by Seyfi Arkan (fig. 45) and housing cooperatives such as Villas of Ankara (1941).[337] . Furthermore, the concept of "cubic furniture" emerged by following the same principles as the cubic house. Furnishing interiors with the low-priced cubic furniture was more convenient especially for the middle class, which also aided their desire to reach the cubic house ideal. Household amenities such as electricity and hot water as well as hygienic conveniences, were among the major indicatives and achievements of the industrial progress within the private sphere.[338] Compared to the Western modernism, the machine aesthetic in architecture was applied in a manner analogous to the national goals of industrial progress and

[332] Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan, *Turkey, Modern Architectures in History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), 84-90.

[333] Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building,* 216-234.

[334] Ibid., 61.

[335] Ibid., 216-234.

[336] Ibid., 216-234.

[337] Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Turkey, Modern Architectures in History,* 83-92.

[338] Carel Bertram, *Imagining the Turkish House: Collective Visions of Home* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 198-199.

modernization. Likewise, the modern house adorned with modern domestic equipment and furniture was approached and adopted as the signature of modernity.

The 1930s and 1940s, also marks the beginning of the first attempts to find the authentic voice of Turkish modern and "modern Turkish house" that blends the Turkish national identity with the modern principles without directly copying the Western modernism.[339] Paul Bonatz's Saraçoğlu Housing (1945) with its hipped roofs and cantilevers and Sedad Eldem's Fethi Okyar House (1936) with its wooden structure and roof overhangs are two demonstrative examples for the modern Turkish house built in the 1930s and 1940s, that hybridized the traditional and nationalist architectural ideas, concepts, elements, and spatial configurations with modern rationality and function.[340] (fig. 46) The modern house and modern Turkish house became more mature and popular, especially among the emerging *bourgeoisie* in the postwar era's political, social, and economic climate in Turkey and under the impact of liberal economy and Americanization.[341] Similarly, the modern house concept found means to spread among the middle and upper-middle classes, mainly through the apartment blocks. The Republican modernization affected not only the industry, economy, and production of domestic space but also the culture and consumption. A more homogenized consumer culture started to be established by the proliferation of printed media and the introduction of radio.

4.2. Modernization and Media

In the early years of the Republic, the Kemalist[342] modernization project was pursued and disseminated from the state elite to the public due to the absence of basic entities of modernity such as "industrial city, capitalist production, and the autonomous

[339] Bozdoğan and Akcan*, Turkey, Modern Architectures in History*, 141.

[340] Ibid., 100-103.

[341] Ibid., 141.

[342] Kemalism is a set of political principles established by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938) as the basis of Turkish nation-state. George T. Kurian, "Kemalism", in *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*, ed. by George T. Kurian (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2011), 890-891, http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781608712434.n844.

bourgeois subject".[343] The transformation in consumer culture was driven by the state ideology of modernization and Europe-oriented westernization in both the public and private spheres, despite the weak economic conditions.[344] As a materialization of the state ideology, radio was introduced in 1927.[345] It served as a direct medium of mass communication than the printed media[346]. Until the invention of television radio was used to promote the new officially molded culture or 'high culture' of the republic, nationalism, modernization, technology, and as such functioned as an agent to enable the new forms of everyday life penetrate into the society.[347]In a radio advertisement published in the *Ulus* newspaper in 1938, an illustration of the Turkish Independence Monument (1927) in Ulus, Ankara, which had bronze figures with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk on a horse, was used as the background of the promoted radio image. (fig. 47) Radio image that signified the modernization and industrial progress was fused with one of the most prominent landmarks of the nation. Similarly, another advertisement dated 1947 emphasized national industrialization by promoting the product as the 'masterpiece of the post-war industry'. (fig. 48) Even though radio entered the Turkish context starting from the late 1920s, its culture influence reached its peak in the 1950s and 1960s,[348] as a result of the start of the private advertisements that began in 1951[349],

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[343] Sibel Bozdoğan, "The Predicament of Modernism in Turkish Architectural Culture: An Overview", in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. by Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 136-137.

[344] Mustafa Orçan, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Modern Türk Tüketim Kültürü* (Ankara: Kadim Yayınları, 2004), 122-123.

[345] Ibid., 159-163. Until 1951, the radio broadcasting in Turkey had no relationship with the private advertising sector because of the underdeveloped state of the sector. The radio broadcasts included only public sector announcements and advertisements. The private advertisements started to be broadcasted after 1951, with contracts done one-year in advance.

[346] Karpat, "The Mass Media: Turkey", 275. Periodicals, especially "illustrated family magazines" such as *Muhit* and *Yedigün*, promoted the new official culture or 'high culture' of the republic, nationalism, modernization, technology, and were instrumental in shaping everyday life and domestic space. Representation of the private sphere was a particularly crucial theme in these magazines as it was used to educate the audience about modern homes and interior designs. Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 203.

[347] Ahmet Oktay, *Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1993) 51-52.

[348] Murat Belge, "Türkiye'de Günlük Hayat", in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi Vol. 4*, ed. by Fahri Aral *et. al*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983), 864.

[349] Orçan, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Modern Türk Tüketim Kültürü,* 122-123.

the proliferation of the radio sets in households[350], and the establishment of TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Corporation) in 1964. The establishment of TRT represents a milestone as it gave way to an increase in the power current, the number of radio stations, and number and quality of the programs.[351] It prevailed as the most effective medium amongst the communication media, prior to television, during the times when illiteracy was still widespread, and the production and distribution of printed media were insufficient.[352] In other words, radio was instrumental in reaching and educating the masses and delivering state propaganda even when other types of communication media were not available.

Developing the capacity and diversity of the printed media was given priority and sponsored by the state to increase literacy and indoctrinate the masses as well. The press was sponsored and controlled by the state. Book publications also supported by the state in order to propagate the Western framework on political and social matters, introduce the Latin alphabet, and increase and democratize literacy.[353] First professional periodicals on architecture began to be published in the first decade of the Republic. *Mimar/Arkitekt* (1931) and *Yapı* (1941) were two pioneering periodicals in this respect. The main goals of the early architectural periodicals were to establish a ground that would unite the architects to discuss issues of current professional practice, inform the young professionals about the contemporary architectural agenda, and present modern architecture through Western and Turkish examples.[354] Translated articles, manifestos, and a variety of projects and cases were published to make the architects became acquainted with modern architecture. [355] For example, the housing

[350] Belge, "Türkiye'de Günlük Hayat", 864.

[351] Aysel Aziz, *Radyo ve Televizyona Giriş* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1981), 113.

[352] Nurgün Koç, "Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Radyo", *Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 8, no. 15 (Spring, 2012): 75.

[353] Karpat, "The Mass Media: Turkey", 272.

[354] Özdel, "Architectural Periodicals", 35-49.

[355] İlker Özdel, "Turkish Architectural Periodicals during the Republican Period, 1923-1980", *Çankaya University Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 7, no.2 (November, 2010): 525.

designs of prominent architects of the period, such as Le Corbusier, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Robert Neutra, were discussed and became sources of inspiration and information to design modern Turkish houses.[356]

Modern architecture, as a revolutionary break, was indeed associated with the Kemalist revolution. Theoretical and technical information and projects related to modern architecture were issued to contribute to the realization of the Kemalist modernization.[357] In this context, modern house signified the modern progress, as an article in *Modern Türkiye Mecmuası* titled "What is home and how should it be set up?" stated in 1928: "In our country, the idea of the house is barely beginning to emerge as a special institution and organization following this higher (European) level of civilization. Like many other good things in life, the Turkish citizen is getting to know the idea of the house only now, in the Republican period."[358] Both in the architectural and popular media, modern architecture, modern house, and modern furniture were represented as the epitome of the goal and process of modernization.[359]

4.3. Modern House, Domestic Musealization and Media

The cubic house characterized by unadorned, reinforced concrete, and rectangular surfaces, flat roofs, terraces, cantilevers, and large glass windows was truly realized only in the privately owned villas of the Republican elite. [360] These cubic houses, were designed to provide the rationality, function, and health praised by the modernism as well as the traditional perception of the privacy, praised by the society. The blurring division between public and private spheres and the emerging multifunctional living room concept, used both for the family and guests in the West had not been appropriated immediately by the Republican culture. Public and private spaces of the

[356] Bozdoğan and Akcan*, Turkey, Modern Architectures in History*, 141.

[357] Özdel, "Turkish Architectural Periodicals", 525.

[358] Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 195.

[359] Ibid., 195-196.

[360] Ibid., 216-234.

houses continued to be defined regarding the separation between the parlor and the other rooms as a remnant of the traditional house layout.[361] Parlor served as the public sphere inside the private one, displayed the status of the family to the guests and veiled the actual domestic life that took place in the background.[362] In the private parts of the house, the function of the inner rooms began to be specified such as the master bedroom, children's room, and dining room.[363] (fig. 49) Windows, as another example, were designed larger to receive sunlight and support a healthy environment in accordance with the modern movement; at the same time, the house and its privacy were protected from the outsiders and outside gaze with courtyard walls and curtains on the windows.[364] The ambiguity and engagement of inside and outside of the domestic space mainly through the transparent façades and open plans in the West in the early 20th century did not apply to the Republican houses. The parlor, in this regard, defined a liminal space between public and private spheres. The Republican elite appropriated the parlor as a stage to exhibit the republican ideals of modern house and domesticity. Although the parlors had been in decline in the West in favor of the multi-functional living rooms beginning from the late 19th century, they became subject to "domestic musealization" or "museum-salon" practice in Republican Turkey; that is, the parlor was conceptualized as a private gallery to exhibit social status rather than a space for domestic activities, and as such was kept isolated from the rest of the house. Decorated by expensive furniture it was used only to host the guests. In other words, the space was adorned conspicuously but remained unused by the household itself.[365] Domestic space and the relationship between public and private spheres started to be transformed under the influence of the new Republican culture; at the same time, new domestic ideals became subjected to the media and disseminated to the masses via architectural and popular printed media and radio broadcasting.

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[361] Nasır, Timur and Gürel, "Living Rooms Occupied", 4-5.

[362] Ibid., 5.

[363] Gürel, "Designing and Consuming Modern in Turkey", 460.

[364] Ibid., 460-461.

[365] Nasır, Timur and Gürel, "Living Rooms Occupied", 5-6.

The architectural publications of the early Republic were *Mimar*/*Arkitekt* and *Yeni Mimari* (New Architecture). It can be said that both journals propagated the ideals of modern architecture and domestic space, especially "cubic architecture" and unornamented interiors. Through their writings, many architects including for example, Abdullah Ziya, Nizami Bey, and Celal Esat Arseven attempted to define the modern house in the Turkish context for the purpose of modernization and 'civilization'. (fig. 50) Moreover, such popular magazines as *Yedigün*, *Hayat*, and *Resimli Hayat* promoted the modern form of domesticity to the consumers[366] by means of "illustrated articles on modern concepts of domestic space, household efficiency and hygiene, modern lifestyles, and modern house design".[367] Modernization fever also penetrated the electronic media. As the first electronic medium introduced in the late 1920s into the private sphere, radio acquainted the public with modernization and the new Republican consumer culture.

4.4. Radio in the Private Sphere

The radio broadcasted programs related both to politics, art and culture but also to the pursuits of everyday life and domestic sphere. In line with the agenda of BBC broadcasting and indeed heavily influenced by it, the main goal of radio broadcasting was set as to educate the nation and cultivate and 'heighten' the Turkish culture.[368] Regarding these goals, various branches of fine arts were represented and popularized through radio. A wide range of programs from music programs and radiophonic theatres to art discussions were broadcasted and addressed the mass audience. The hyper-traditional relationship between media and house, which blends high and low culture, public and private was established in the early Republican Turkey. In this respect, radio reconciliated cultural ideals and high art with popular culture and everyday life. Besides the wide range of content including newscasts, political discussions, radiophonic theatres, book reading hours, music hours, programs related

[366] Ibid., 458-462.

[367] Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 203.

[368] Koç, "Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Radyo", 94-97.

to poetry, literature, history, and culture[369], *Evin Saati* (Time of the House), a program hosted by Doctor Galip Ataç starting from 1941 shared with audience such subjects as house, domesticity, health, and everyday life[370] The program aimed to familiarize the public with these topics and had an academic stance.[371] *Evin Saati* pioneered among the programs on house and daily life that later proliferated and became a separate category, until about the mid-1960s.[372] Thus, such programs made the private sphere discussed and discoursed in public sphere. The radio broadcasting brought the public presence directly into the private sphere as well. The radio, both as the transmitter of the public messages and also as a consumption object, affected the spatial practices in the domestic sphere to a certain extent as Murat Belge explains:

> The spread of radio is another interesting example of the "reaction-patterns" specific to Turkey created by technical innovations. Such instruments, even though they are aimed for "leisure time" and entertainment rather than hardships of life, have taken place in the front row of consumption preferences of the masses in Turkey. In a manner of speaking, many families have given priority to owning a radio compared to the telephone or refrigerator. The radio was placed in a central place in the house as one of the main items of the hall, and the seating arrangement was adjusted accordingly, as it is now on television. Like other electrical devices, they are decorated in such a way that no one can think of them in the countries that have invented them.[373]

Arguably, radio's central and significant position in the house and daily life was manifested with the spatial value given to it. What Belge emphasizes here is that radio acted as a medium between public and private spheres and was appropriated as a conspicuous commodity in the Turkish context, especially after the 1950s. (fig. 51) Likewise, the involvement of the radio and the home relationship in architectural design and production became only possible in the mid-20th century. Instead of the

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[369] Eda Çetinkaya, "1930'lardan 1970'lere Türkiye'nin Gündelik Hayatında Yeni Bir Toplumsallaşma Aracı Olarak Radyo", *Kültür ve İletişim*, 15, no. 1 (Winter, 2012): 58-64.

[370] Ali Okur, "1927-1950 Yılları Arasında Türkiye'de Radyo Yayıncılığı", (Master's Thesis, Hacetepe University, 2019), 108.

[371] Teoman Yazgan, "Cumhuriyet'in Örnek Bir Kültür Kurumu: Ankara Radyosu", *TRT Akademi*, 1, no. 1 (January, 2016): 303.

[372] Çetinkaya, "1930'lardan 1970'lere Türkiye'nin Gündelik Hayatında Yeni Bir Toplumsallaşma Aracı Olarak Radyo", 60.

[373] Belge, "Türkiye'de Günlük Hayat", 864.

radio, the piano and fireplace took their place in the house and domestic architecture as iconic consumption markers in this period.

4.5. Piano and Fireplace in Modern House

> But how spacious is this parlor. But these shelves, these cabinets, that light fixture, this fireplace, everything is local. The living room is almost as if it is furnished…
> All you have to do is put a sofa, a couple of stools and an armchair. If you place the piano in that corner, it will be very stylish, and the parlor will be complete.
> Is this the dining room? Even the buffet is local.[374]

In the 1930s and 1940s, architects of the Republic such as Zeki Sayar, Seyfi Arkan, Celal Esad Arseven, and Apdullah Ziya started to follow closely and inspired by modern architecture and machine aesthetics which were perceived as the appropriate references to achieve the modernization goals of the Republican regime. As quoted above, architect Behçet Ünsal's speech "Cubic Building and Comfort" broadcasted in Ankara Radio and then published in *Arkitekt* in the 1930s also praises the features of the 20th-century modern house. Ünsal suggests that the cubic house is the "expression of the flows of the universal and social change" brought by modernity that spread to the Turkish context.[375] In this ever-changing, instable, and restless climate of 20th-century machine age, health, comfort, and beauty are the essential qualities to seek for in a cubic house to sooth the nerves, spoil the soul, and even treat people, whether the house is an apartment, a villa, a weekend house, or even a single-room house. These essential qualities, as Ünsal explains, are provided through rationality and function inherent in cubic house. Accordingly, functionally divided plan layout with modern parlor, kitchen, bathroom, and bedrooms, electric and mechanical equipment, furniture, and the building's relationship with nature are described in detail. Despite the concern of rationality and function to reach the modern comfort and aesthetic, Ünsal mentions the fireplace as an integral part of and the piano as a complementary object of the parlor.[376] In Ünsal's cubic house ideal, fireplace and piano serve more

[374] Behçet Ünsal, "Kübik Yapı ve Konfor", *Arkitekt*, 1939, no: 99-100 (1939): 60-62, http://dergi.mo.org.tr/detail.php?id=2&sayi_id=100&makale_id=1083.

[375] Ibid., 60.

[376] Ibid., 60-62.

than their function as the iconic consumption markers; they become the emblems of modernization. An illustrated guide with the title of "Good Illumination" (*İyi Tenvir*) in *Ameli Elektrik*[377](1924-1934) magazine published by Istanbul Electricity and Tramway Company[378] also supports this argument. (fig. 52) The guide carries the information about how the light fixtures should be placed and used in the house. While the light power and light fixture placements seem to be the main focus of the guide, the illustrations present frames from a Western as well as eclectic and conspicuous domestic interior. Among the modern kitchen, bathroom and amenities and conspicuous furniture and objects, fireplace and piano occupy three sections as the center of the view and of the activities taken place. In one frame, a woman is playing piano in the accompaniment of a man, supposedly his husband. Another frame shows the same couple sitting by the fireplace. Fireplace is also illustrated surrounded only by the light fixtures and objects in one frame as the main actor. The guide mixes the message of modern progress through electricity, light fixtures, and modern equipment with the social status and conspicuousness of the piano and fireplace. In fact, Gürel clarifies that the piano and fireplace are the "symbolic" objects "representing social distinction and belonging to a socio-cultural group associated with the Western world".[379] In other words, these iconic consumption markers are identified with the modern social identities of the privileged groups such as Ottoman and Republican elite in the late 19th and early 20th century. They were coded as the objects of desire, rather than functional ones, for consumers from all social classes to construct a social image that signifies both being modern and high social rank. For example, in *Cevdet Bey ve Oğulları* novel by Orhan Pamuk, the story of the three generations of a family from 1905 to 1970 is portrayed. Among them the Muhtar Bey character dreams about having a vineyard house with a fireplace in Keçiören, one of Ankara's popular

[377] "Ameli Electric-Ameli Elektrik", Salt Research, last modified September 30, 2018, https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/129129.

[378] Ardan Ergüven, "Elektrik ve Grafik Tasarım: Ameli Elektrik Dergisi Kapaklarının Görsel Analizi", *Atatürk Üniversitesi Güzel Sanatlar Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 27, no: 46 (2021): 231-240.

https://doi.org/10.35247/ataunigsed.853908.

[379] Meltem Ö. Gürel, "Consumption of Modern Furniture as a Strategy of Distinction in Turkey", *Journal of Design History*, 22, no.1 (March, 2009): 48, https://doi.org/10.1093/jdh/epn041.

summerhouse locations in the early Republican era, by envying former politician Refet Bey character.[380] In the same book, Pamuk also shows the socially distinctive and conspicuous aspect of the piano through the eyes of Muhittin character:

> Suddenly Muhittin laughed: "Modesty? What about this parlor? What about this furniture?" He was pointing with his hand the whole parlor, the piano room, the pearl sets, the furniture. With another laugh: "How can one be like that in the middle of all this?[381]

The architectural design, representation, and production in the 1930s and 1940s provide a better understanding about the spatial impacts and the connotations of the iconic consumption markers. Especially the residence of Makbule Atadan, who was Atatürk's sister and one of the leading figures of the early Republican era, exemplifies the spatialization of consumer culture, leisure, and entertainment. Makbule Atadan House (1935-1936) by Seyfi Arkan in Ankara, is an embodiment of the cubic villa of the early Republican era. It was planned with a parlor-dining room suit which was elaborated by the inclusion of a piano/music room in the parlor. The resulting parlor/music room is divided from the dining room by a glazed wall and is the most public place, reached immediately after a foyer and an entrance hall which connects both to an office and the parlor/music room. In order to create a spatial hierarchy Arkan implemented level differences and made the dining room located few steps below the parlor/music room and the living room, where the semi-private place for the domestic leisure activities of the family. The dining room also provides access to a winter garden and 'the lady's living room'. Although the exact function of the lady's living room is unspecified in the publicity text in the *Arkitekt* magazine, it can be speculated that lady's living room is a reminiscence of the Ottoman *haremlik*, exclusive gendered space for the women of the family. Both the living room and the lady's living room stand as transitional spaces between the dining room and the private parts of the house. A bar which is arranged as an extension of parlor on the dining room side and under the staircase is reserved for intimate meetings.[382] (fig. 53) It can be argued that the

[380] Orhan Pamuk, *Cevdet Bey ve Oğulları* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2003), 370-371; 434.

[381] Ibid., 132.

[382] "Çankaya'da Bir Villa - Ankara", Arkitekt, 1936, no. 7 (1936): 180-186,

Makbule Atadan House has many levels of privacy. First of all, abundant use of curtains and inward-oriented floor plan clearly separate inside from outside despite the large windows on the façade. Foyer, hall, parlor/music room are the most public places that are followed by the dining room. Although the parlor/music room was meant to be visually connected to the dining room through the glazed partition wall, a curtain was used as a spatial divider, as demonstrated by the photographs. Semi-public areas consist of living room under the mezzanine floor, winter garden, and bar. Although these semi-public areas are connected to the dining room, they define smaller and semi-enclosed volumes articulating to vast open planned space. Lady's living room can be counted as the subsequent semi-public space due to its location and accessibility in the house. And finally, the guestrooms, bedrooms and service spaces are the private part of the house. In the architectural portrayal of the house in the *Arkitekt* magazine, the reinforced concrete structure, use of local-sourced materials such as Ankara stone and Tokat marble, the technological amenities such as radiator and modern bathroom, furniture, and decoration, all designed by the architect, are also promoted as the signifier of modern comfort.[383] However, it can be suggested that the piano has a favored role in Makbule Atadan House among the other consumption items since it is a defining element in space organization as the representative of the new modern domesticity. The piano was appropriated and showcased to the most public in the house: parlor, was apparently conceived as the venue for the guests and thus the showcase of the conspicuous consumption. Parlor's social, leisure and entertainment functions were enhanced through the piano.

As in Makbule Atadan House, consumption markers were used in different ways in various typologies such as villas, single-family houses, and apartments, appealing to the upper and upper middle classes. In a single-family house project for a childless couple designed by Sedad Hakkı Eldem in Istanbul in the early 1930s, the abovementioned conspicuous side of the fireplace comes to the fore rather than

http://dergi.mo.org.tr/detail.php?id=2&sayi_id=134&makale_id=1565. The room I described as "parlor/music room" is mentioned as "parlor" by the architect in the article; the photographs of the place are captioned as "music room".

[383] Ibid.

functionality. (fig. 54) The building consists of three floors. The entrance, garage, kitchen, a toilet, and the utility room occupy the ground floor. First floor has a L-shaped open plan reserved for the parlor, dining room, and fireplace corner, and a gallery space that provides visual link between entrance and fireplace corner. The architect explains that the dining room and fireplace corner are more intimate than the parlor due to the fact that the parlor is located in between the dining and fireplace areas and is connected to the second floor volumetrically with the gallery space above it. Two bedrooms and a bathroom on the second floor are organized around the gallery space.[384] The level of visual connection between first floor and second floor is unclear. Despite the lack of information about the household utilities, utility room can be considered as the evidence for a central heating system. Thus, the fireplace is put into use only for luxury, entertainment, and leisure, rather than necessity. The L shaped and triple functioned open plan layout in Eldem's design is also applicable in The Villa in Boyacıköy, İstanbul designed by Eyüp Kömürcüoğlu in the 1940s, which is a private residence. Despite the similar configurations in the reception areas of two houses, the piano is established as the conspicuous item in the Villa in Boyacıköy rather than the fireplace. (fig. 55) The villa consists of two floors and a garage in the basement. The service areas are placed on the ground floor. A staircase from the garden gives access to the entrance at the upper floor. A large parlor with music and dining corners, two bedrooms, a bathroom, and a toilet are placed on the upper floor.[385] The public and private spaces which were located on this floor are separated with a hall. The public spaces have an open plan in which the dining room, parlor, and the music corner occupy a single volume. The first place to be encountered when entering the L-shaped reception area from the hall is the music corner with the piano. After the music corner, there is a sitting group placed in the corner facing each other. There is a dining room in the innermost corner of the space, which is also accessible from the kitchen.

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[384] Mimar Sedad Hakkı, "Bir Ev Projesi", *Arkitekt*, 1933, no: 31 (1933): 206-207, http://dergi.mo.org.tr/detail.php?id=2&sayi_id=94&makale_id=999.

[385] "Boyacıköyde Bir Villa", Arkitekt, 1948, no: 9-12 (1948): 189-191, http://dergi.mo.org.tr/detail.php?id=2&sayi_id=155&makale_id=1911.

Apdullah Ziya approaches the L-shaped plan configuration and the piano in a different way in his apartment etude published in *Arkitekt* in 1931. (fig. 56) The public and private spaces are divided from the entrance hall by a folding screen, which hides the corridor to the bedrooms and wet spaces. The architect explains the reason by saying that "We accept the guest in the reception as soon as we enter through the door; it is not suitable for them to walk around the house or see our rooms and corridors that are not tidy for any reason."[386] The entrance hall of the apartment directly conjoins to the reception, which is assumed to be functioned as parlor. Reception area is a segment of the L shaped plan besides the working/living room and dining room. The kitchen and storage room on the public side of the apartment opens both to reception and dining areas. The working/living room, as described as the most important room in the apartment, is separated from the reception through a brass fence. Curtain is put to partially cut the contact between the reception's sitting group and working/living room. The dining room at the end corner is also partitioned from working/living room via a portable window wall. The working/living room is designed to accommodate the piano, workstations, and a table for the intimate guests.[387] It is visually accessible from the reception and dining room despite obstacles such as the brass fence, partial curtain veil, and window wall. The piano, located on the corner of the working/living room where the semi-public domestic activities such as work and leisure take place, can be seen from the reception and entrance hall. It can be said that the piano was exhibited to the guests, albeit from afar. Therefore, working/living space works similar to a shop window in which the piano is displayed to the guests without a physical access.

Birgiler Apartment in Istanbul (1948) by Leyla and Feyzan Baydar is a three-story rental apartment with first two floors planned for rent and the top floor as the owners' residence[388] (fig. 57). The residence which displays the typical adjoined dining room-

[386] Apdullah Ziya, "Binanın İçinde Mimar", *Arkitekt*, 1931, no:1 (1931): 15, http://dergi.mo.org.tr/detail.php?id=2&sayi_id=20&makale_id=134.

[387] Ibid., 15-16.

[388] "Birgiler Apartmanı", *Arkitekt*, 1950, no. 7-10 (1950): 153-155, http://dergi.mo.org.tr/detail.php?id=2&sayi_id=171.

parlor suit is elaborated with a fireplace located on the front façade facing the street. As an apartment flat, the residence is a compact one with the public living areas located on the street side, and the office, wet spaces, and bedrooms at the back. The parlor and dining room have spatial limitations unlike the previous examples. Yet, the parlor-dining suit was ensembled with a fireplace. In Başaran Apartment designed by Muhittin Binan in the 1940s in Istanbul, the architect articulated the parlor with a fireplace on the front façade and linked to a dining room and a hall. The private spaces are segregated at the back of the building[389] (fig. 58). The interior photographs of the apartment indicate that the interior arrangement and furnishing of the flats were done in reference to the fireplace. Both this and the Birgiler Apartment illustrate the early use of fireplace in the 1940s as a focal point which regulates the sitting group in the parlor which was connected to the dining room.

The period between the 1950s and 1980s witnessed the liberalization of the economy, the formation of mass culture, and Americanization. Hence, the American bar was added next to the fireplace and piano as iconic consumption markers in the mid-century. Radio, which entered the private sphere at the beginning of the century, was also included in architectural representation and design. However, the real impact and transformation for house and media relationship occurred with the arrival of television in the 1970s.

[389] "Başaran Apartmanı (Harbiye)", *Arkitekt*, 1949, no: 3-4 (1949): 50-53, http://dergi.mo.org.tr/detail.php?id=2&sayi_id=161.

CHAPTER 5

MID-CENTURY

5.1. House and Housing in the Context of Post WW2 Politics and Liberalism

After WW2, Turkey entered a liberal transformation process, especially in foreign trade, primarily determined by the post-war conjuncture of the capitalist world economy led by the USA.[390] During the liberalization process, Turkey became affiliated to international organizations such as NATO and European Economic Cooperation and the Bretton Woods institutions such as IMF and World Bank. International consultancy, aid, and capital were received from the USA and other Western countries,[391] such as through the Marshall Plan[392] that was put into action in 1947 to mechanize agriculture and industry and to develop highway transportation in Turkey.[393] Assembly line production began in the second half of the 1950s, first in the automotive industry established by Koç Holding with the partnership of Ford.[394] Until the 1960s, the private sector activity had expanded to the manufacturing areas beyond basic consumer goods such as household appliances industry, construction materials

[390] Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi*, 76.

[391] Ibid., 78-79.

[392] Marshall Plan was an "economic recovery plan" conducted by the USA after WW2. During the Cold War era, the plan offered economic and technological support to the European countries to restrain the effect of the Soviet Union. Richard J. Samuels, "Marshall Plan", in *Encyclopedia of United States National Security* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2005), 447, http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412952446.n354.

[393] Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Turkey, Modern Architectures in History*, 105.

[394] Orçan, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Modern Türk Tüketim Kültürü*, 174-175. With the investment of Ford Motor Company, the first assembly line production had started in 1929 in Tophane, İstanbul. However, this was a short-lived attempt due to the Great Depression in the 1930s and came to an end in 1935. Adem Yulu and Kaan Kapan, "Bir Sanayi Coğrafyası İncelemesi: Ford'un İstanbul'daki Montaj Fabrikası", *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 11, no. 59 (October, 2018): 384-391, http://dx.doi.org/10.17719/jisr.2018.2646.

industry, chemical industry, and machine industry.[395] In the 1960s and 1970s, Turkey pursued import-substitution industrialization[396] by means of 'five-year development' plans. The state had thus decided to play an active role in the establishment and implementation of long-term industrialization strategies. In this period, which was shaped by public entrepreneurship, a rapid structural transformation was realized in favor of non-agricultural sectors with the aim to import substitution respectively in consumer durables and intermediate goods, and then in investment goods.[397] Especially in the development of the consumer durables industry in the 1960s and 1970s, the increasing demand, which had resulted from the consumption norms that emanated in the developed capitalist societies became influential. Despite the developing industry of consumer durables Turkey could not elevate itself into a self-sufficient state and had remained dependent on outside financial resources for technology and basic inputs.[398] By the end of the 1970s, the import substitution and development strategies targeting the domestic market became unsustainable as a

[395] Tekeli, *Sanayi Toplumu için Sanayi Yazıları*, 250-273.

[396] Ahmet Haşim Köse and Ahmet Öncü, "İşgücü piyasaları ve uluslarası iş bölümünde uzmanlaşmanın mekânsal boyutları: 1980 sonrası dönemde Türkiye imalat sanayii", *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 86 (Fall, 2000): 79. "Import-substitution industrialization" is an industrial development approach that stimulates the domestic production of imported products. According to Alain Lipietz, import substitution is "a caricature of Fordist industrialization"; thus, the term 'sub-Fordism' can be used in the place of import substitution. Lipietz expressed that technology is not the only factor for industrialization. The countries where the import substitution or sub-Fordism had occurred, the poor social and economic conditions came to an end with failure. Jennifer Bussell, "Import Substitution Industrialization", in *Encyclopedia of Governance*, ed. by Mark Bevir (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2007), 437, http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412952613.n252; Alain Lipietz, "Towards Global Fordism", New Left Review, 1, no. 132 (March – April, 1982): 40-41, https://newleftreview.org/issues/I132/articles/alain-lipietz-towards-global-fordism.

[397] Köse and Öncü, "İşgücü piyasaları ve uluslarası iş bölümünde uzmanlaşmanın mekânsal boyutları", 79. Consumer durables refers to the physically durable consumer products that could be repeatedly used in the domestic sphere. Car, furniture, household appliances, and media technologies are examples of consumer durables. Intermediate goods are the products that are the output of a production process, as well as being used as production material for other products. Sugar, iron, and wood are examples of intermediate products. Investment goods or capital goods are machines, equipment, or buildings used for production or services. Tim Cooper, "Consumer Durables", *Encyclopedia of Consumer Culture*, ed. by Dale Southerton (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc, 2011), 262-263, http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412994248.n102. "Intermediate Goods", Cambridge Dictionary, accessed May 25, 2020, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/tr/sözlük/ingilizce/intermediate-goods. "Capital Goods", Cambridge Dictionary, accessed May 25, 2020,

https://dictionary.cambridge.org/tr/sözlük/ingilizce/capital-goods.

[398] Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi*, 95-96.

consequence of the global economic crisis.[399] The period between the 1950s and 1980s, however, witnessed more drastic changes in the spatial context of private sphere in Turkey in comparison to the earlier periods. The emerging *bourgeois* class, rapid urbanization, and the increasing influence of the American economy and culture in the World were the parameters that stand out in the post-war changes in the definition and realization of home and housing.

In this period, the modern house and the pursuit of modern Turkish house became spread among the emerging *bourgeoisie* and the newly established private sector. During this period, the developing private industry, architecture, and construction sectors facilitated the adaptation of architectural principles developed by architects such as Richard Neutra, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier to the Turkish context. Although mass production techniques utilized in residential architecture, especially in the USA, did not yet reach Turkey in this period, advancements in reinforced concrete and construction techniques enabled some flexibility and creative expression in housing production. Modern single-house projects such as Haluk Şaman Villa (1959) and Çiftehavuzlar Villa (1961) by Utarit İzgi and Ali Aksel House (1972) by Abdurrahman Hancı employed reinforced concrete structure, rectangular masses, white plane surfaces, partially open plans, extensive glazing on the façades, and continuity between interior and exterior through the terraces.[400] (fig. 59) For the Turkish modern, Sedad Eldem's Rıza Derviş Villa (1956) illustrates a mature expression of the combination of the plan and aesthetics of a traditional Turkish house with an open plan, "wide transparent surfaces, flat roof, long projecting cantilever slabs, and accentuated gutters."[401] (fig. 60) The use of transparent architectural elements and open plans, however, served to obtain a modern and healthy domestic environment rather than what Colomina calls an "x-ray architecture" that eradicates the boundaries between public and private spheres. The privacy was sustained through

[399] Köse and Öncü, "İşgücü piyasaları ve uluslarası iş bölümünde uzmanlaşmanın mekânsal boyutları", 79.

[400] Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Turkey, Modern Architectures in History*, 141-145.

[401] Ibid., 148.

curtains and thick garden walls.[402] Modernism was foremost appropriated through the single-family houses of industrialists and upper classes.

On the other hand, industrialization in the cities and mechanization in agriculture caused migration from rural to urban, and hence rapid urbanization,[403] which consequently created a shortage in housing.[404] News housing productions as a remedy for the profound shortage, especially for the lower classes, remained limited and inefficient. Hence, the anonymously designed apartments built by small contractors (*yap-satçı*) and squatter settlements (*gecekondu*) proliferated in an unprecedented pace.[405] The collective housing projects undertaken by the architects and the state responded to the needs of the middle and upper classes instead of solving the housing problem of the new, migrant urban settlers.[406] In the late 1950s and 1960s multi-story housing blocks had emerged, offering various types of dwelling units, and also services such as cinema, cultural centers, shops, and parking spaces for the middle and upper-middle classes.[407] Hayat Apartment (1958) by Emin Onat[408] and Hukukçular Housing (1961) by Melih Birsel and Haluk Baysal[409] are two of the prominent modern housing projects of the era that juxtaposed residential design with commerce. (fig. 61) The housing complexes incorporating commercial activity coincides with the rising values of Americanization and consumerism in the postwar period. In this respect, the

[402] Gürel, "Designing and Consuming Modern in Turkey", 460.

[403] Şevket Işık, "Türkiye'de Kentleşme ve Kentleşme Modelleri", *Aegean Geographical Journal*, 14 (2005): 61-64.

[404] Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Turkey, Modern Architectures in History*, 141.

[405] Ibid., 145-169.

[406] Ibid., 148-149.

[407] Ibid., 145-169. According to Tekeli, the squatters not only provided cheap labor to the industry but also prevented the allocation of the resources from industrialization to urbanization, İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye'de Yaşamda ve Yazımda Konut Sorununun Gelişimi* (Ankara: Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, 1996), 63.

[408] "Sivil Mimari Bellek Ankara 1930-1980 Yapı Envanteri: Hayat Apartmanı", Koç Üniversitesi Digital Collections, accessed April 27, 2021, https://libdigitalcollections.ku.edu.tr/digital/collection/SMB/id/1917/.

[409] Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Turkey, Modern Architectures in History*, 154.

postwar trends under American influence shaped the housing production and the use and experience of domestic interiors through consumption of 'mass-produced' and 'mass-marketed' domestic goods and technologies. For example, "radios, refrigerators, and washing machines" and, most importantly, foreign and domestic brand televisions demonstrated in the advertisements reflected the economic climate and the new modes of production and consumption. (fig. 62) Americanization, together with the emerging mass culture, set the scene for the mid-century cultural atmosphere.

5.2. Americanization and the Emerging Mass Culture

The understanding of European-based modernity took a cultural turn towards Americanization in the postwar era with the economic and cultural influence of the USA. Despite the profound transformation in culture and consumption at the beginning of the 20th century, the conditions leading to the formation of mass culture began to develop in the post-war period with the implementation of liberal economy, emerging private sector, foreign aids, the transition to assembly-line production, development of transportation and communication network, and rapid urbanization. [410] The primary goal of Westernization for societal modernization continued to be an agenda in Kemalism. After the WW2, on the other hand, 'Western' came to be redefined to signify the 'American' rather than the 'European'. Modernization began to be identified with such American values as consumerism and entrepreneurship. The ideals, "distant from the reach of the average consumer" and based on "postwar American culture, lifestyles, and democratic capitalism", penetrated into everyday life regarding entertainment, fashion, architecture, and domestic sphere. [411] The ideals of modern house disseminated in the popular culture through fairs, printed media, radio,

[410] Orçan, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Modern Türk Tüketim Kültürü,* 135.

[411] Gürel, "Introduction", 2.

and cinema.[412] For example, Izmir International Fair exhibited a mass-produced American model house to promote the "American way of life" to the Turkish audience in 1957. The model house presented domestic modernity through modern architecture, electronic appliances, bathroom fixtures, kitchen appliances, and famous American furniture such as Eames chairs.[413] Another major and living example of American influence on domestic space is Istanbul Hilton Hotel opened in 1955. The Istanbul Hilton Hotel became the epitome of Americanization and 'International Style' in Turkey in the 1950s.[414] The International Style, first introduced by Philip Johnson and Henry Russell-Hitchcock through Modern Architecture: International Exhibition organized by MoMA in the 1930s, came to be the symbol of American modernism in the postwar era.[415] The Istanbul Hilton Hotel, as a prevailing example of International Style in Turkey, displayed American modernity with an emphasis on luxury and the comfort of modern technologies and amenities. The hotel's design, furniture, and "technological amenities like air conditioning, private baths, hot water, wall-to-wall carpeting and a radio cabinet" that signified status, indulgence, and modern convenience inspired the domestic interiors of the upper and middle-class houses.[416] Modern house designs, especially apartment buildings equipped with modern and technological infrastructures such as heating system, electricity and bathroom started to proliferate[417] and became part of the common architectural practice in the

[412] Sibel Bozdoğan, "Turkey's postwar modernism: A retrospective overview of architecture, urbanism and politics in the 1950s", *Mid-Century Modernism in Turkey: Architecture Across Cultures in the 1950s and 1960s*, ed. by Meltem Ö. Gürel (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 19-20.

[413] Emre Gönlügür, "Exhibiting American Domestic Modernity at the Izmir International Fair", in *Mid-Century Modernism in Turkey: Architecture Across Cultures in the 1950s and 1960s*, ed. by Meltem Ö. Gürel (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 94-105.

[414] Bozdoğan, "Turkey's postwar modernism", 20.

[415] "AD Classics: Modern Architecture International Exhibition / Philip Johnson and Henry-Russell Hitchcock", ArchDaily, last modified August 02, 2013, https://www.archdaily.com/409918/ad-classics-modern-architecture-international-exhibition-philip-johnson-and-henry-russell-hitchcock.

[416] Bozdoğan, "Turkey's postwar modernism", 20.

[417] Meltem Ö. Gürel, "Seashore readings: The road from sea baths to summerhouses in mid-twentieth century İzmir", *Mid-Century Modernism in Turkey: Architecture Across Cultures in the 1950s and 1960s*, ed. by Meltem Ö. Gürel (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 40.

industrialized cities[418] that reflected "a new experience of modernity as mass culture".[419] The imported products from the USA, mainly synthetic materials like "wallpaper, synthetic textiles, fiberboard and Formica"[420], entered the private sphere and shaped the interior design and furniture. Besides their properties such as durability and cleanability, these materials signified the change in the consumer taste and the new American way of modernization through consumption. [421]

The emerging mass culture and consumerism in the 1950s became more prevalent in the pluralistic atmosphere of the 1960s and 1970s when "cars, TV sets, fashion goods, as well as expensive building materials, would become an inseparable part of the new urban way of life", in parallel with the development of mass media and industries.[422] As a result of the accelerating industrialization (driven by import substitution) and urbanization, constructing an identity through consumption habits emerged as a social norm.[423] A variety of political ideologies and social movements, at the same time, flourished in parallel with the rapid and unstable capitalist development[424] and "the civil rights movements in the US",[425] especially in the 1970s. The diversity and fragmentation, mainly operating along right-wing and left-wing as two opposing positions, occurred in both the political sphere and daily life. The fragmentation in the political sphere is reflected on art, culture, and everyday life in terms of the newly formed cultural groups, such as Islamists and radical nationalists belonging to the

[418] Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Turkey, Modern Architectures in History,* 115.

[419] Bozdoğan, "Turkey's postwar modernism", 22.

[420] Gürel, "Consumption of Modern Furniture as a Strategy of Distinction in Turkey", 61. "Formica" is a brand that produces composite laminated plastic to cover furniture and tabletops. "Formica", Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed May 27, 2020, https://www.britannica.com/technology/Formica.

[421] Ibid., 61-63.

[422] Atilla Yücel, "Pluralism Takes Command: The Turkish Architectural Scene Today", in *Modern Turkish Architecture*, ed. by Renata Holod, Ahmet Evin and Suha Özkan (Ankara: Chamber of Architects of Turkey, 2005), 126.

[423] Güler Bek, "1970-1980 Yılları Arasında Türkiye'de Kültürel ve Sanatsal Ortam" (Phd Thesis, Hacettepe University, 2007), 25.

[424] Ibid., 32.

[425] Gürel, "Introduction", 4.

right-wing and communists and socialists to the left-wing. Both groups communicated their opinions and beliefs via art, cultural associations, media groups, and clothing styles.[426] The divisions amongst the political grounds, resulted in the transformation of culture towards a more decentralized and pluralistic state, starting from the late 1960s. Art and culture became two powerful and influential arenas of opinion manifestation. This pluralism manifested itself more visibly in the 1970s, a period characterized by a diversity in the understanding, technique, and pursuits of art and cultural productions.[427] However, the pluralist framework of the 1970s was an output of not only the multiplicity in social and political opinion groups but also the emerging television culture in Turkey. TRT ,doing radio and television broadcasting on the behalf of the state, made the first television broadcast trials in 1968[428], 32 years later than the West and in the beginning of the 'golden era' of television in Europe and USA. In accordance with the projections given in the five-year development plans TRT started TV broadcasting three times a week.[429] In 1974, TRT broadcasts extended to seven days a week and became more widespread throughout the 1970s.[430] While the television was utilized as an instrument for educational and propaganda purposes by the state, it gradually became a medium of leisure and entertainment, at a mass scale.[431] (fig. 63) Besides the general education and culture programs, there were broadcasts on news, music, entertainment, magazine, sport programs, and domestic and foreign movies and television series.[432] Advertising also became more visual, effective, and direct[433] after TRT started to broadcast advertisements in 1972.[434] According to Bek,

[426] Bek, "1970-1980 Yılları Arasında Türkiye'de Kültürel ve Sanatsal Ortam", 32.

[427] Ibid., 174.

[428] Bek, "1970-1980 Yılları Arasında Türkiye'de Kültürel ve Sanatsal Ortam", 67.

[429] Aziz, *Radyo ve Televizyona Giriş*, 115.

[430] "Tarihçe", TRT, accessed March 4, 2020, http://www.trt.net.tr/Kurumsal/Tarihce.aspx. In 1974, 55% of the population in Turkey had a television.

[431] Bek, "1970-1980 Yılları Arasında Türkiye'de Kültürel ve Sanatsal Ortam",33-34.

[432] Aziz, *Radyo ve Televizyona Giriş*, 122.

[433] Bek, "1970-1980 Yılları Arasında Türkiye'de Kültürel ve Sanatsal Ortam", 34.

[434] "Kilometre Taşları", TRT, accessed March 4, 2020,

"other worlds" and "other lifestyles" poured into the houses via the television programs that embraced the pluralism in art and culture along with the intellectual and political climate.[435] (fig. 64) TRT took the 'revolution' into the houses in the Turkish context, but this time it was a cultural revolution rather than an industrial one. The plural atmosphere of the 1960s and 1970s as the output of both socio-political fragmentation and emerging television culture was manifested in architecture with the diversity in architectural publications and formal experiments in architectural production.

Within the framework of the growing mass culture and the prevailing socio-political context, the architectural practice in Turkey inclined towards a "global criticism of scientific and functionalist design as well as modernist architectural forms"[436] and International Style,[437] and went through an experimental phase,[438] which is described by Atilla Yücel as "birth of pluralism" in Turkish architecture.[439] The architectural media, especially such periodicals as *Yapı* (1973), METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture (1975), and *Çevre* (1979) reflected the pluralist aura that dominated both the theory and practice of. In *Yapı*, architecture and building industry together with a wide range of issues related to art, economy, and industry were discussed by leading architectural figures such as Doğan Hasol and Bülent Özer. [440] METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture published articles of academicians such as İnci Aslanoğlu, Jale Erzen, İlhan Tekeli, and Cevat Erder in both English and Turkish to gain international recognition in the academic field. Art, architecture, architectural history, cultural

http://www.trt.net.tr/Kurumsal/KilometreTaslari.aspx?yil=1972.

[435] Bek, "1970-1980 Yılları Arasında Türkiye'de Kültürel ve Sanatsal Ortam", 34.

[436] Gürel, "Introduction", 4.

[437] Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Turkey, Modern Architectures in History*, 175.

[438] Gürel, "Introduction", 4.

[439] Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Turkey, Modern Architectures in History*, 175.

[440] Özdel, "Architectural Periodicals", 70-76.

heritage and conservation, environment, vernacular architecture[441], and third-world modernization were some of the topics the journal covered. The main objective of *Çevre* was to act as a medium to connect professionals in the field of architecture, who formed the built environment. The publication board included prominent architects and academicians, namely Selçuk Batur, Afife Batur, Erkal Güngören, Suha Özkan, Ersen Gürsel, Atilla Yücel, and Yıldız Sey. They focused on prominent examples of architecture and discussed them from a critical viewpoint. [442] The pluralism in the architectural publications and the theoretical discourse in Turkey emerged together with the formal experimentations in the architectural practice. Domestic architecture, as in the modernist era, became a venue of experiments and ideas in architecture that mirrored the prevailing pluralism. Especially, "resort villages (second houses)",[443] such as Kemer Holiday Village Club by Tuncay Çavdar and Giorgio Giovannini[444] and Tatsan Holiday Resort by Altuğ Çinici and Behruz Çinici,[445] and "luxury primary residences",[446] such as Yüksel Pulat House by Erkal Güngören[447](fig. 65) epitomized the exploratory approach as well as "the consumer ideals of the ruling taste of the period".[448] Nevertheless, the most fundamental transformation happened in the

[441] "Archive", METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture, accessed May 28, 2020, http://jfa.arch.metu.edu.tr/content/blogsection/5/29/.

[442] Özdel, "Architectural Periodicals", 70-76.

[443] Yücel, "Pluralism Takes Command", 127.

[444] Ibid., 152.

[445] "Tatsan Holiday Resort", Salt Araştırma, accessed March 5, 2020,

https://archives.saltresearch.org/browse?type=subject&value=Tatsan+Holiday+Resort.

[446] Yücel, "Pluralism Takes Command", 127.

[447] "Yüksel Pulat House", Salt Araştırma, Accessed March 5, 2020,

https://archives.saltresearch.org/browse?type=subject&value=Y%C3%BCksel+Pulat+House.

[448] Yücel, "Pluralism Takes Command", 127. In these cases, experimentations of architectural forms in particular, stood out and manifested the evolving pluralism of the 1970s. In the examples of Kemer Holiday Village and Tatsan Holiday Resort, the architects implemented the reinforced concrete, rectangular, fragmented blocks with flat roofs, that divided the building mass into small rectangular parts as an alternative to the intact and single block form of the International Style as well as to accommodate the consumer taste. With the same intent but from a different perspective, Erkal Güngören created a more non-rational and organic form by fragmenting the mass, designing an angular and multi-directional façade, and using a sloping roof in the Yüksel Pulat House.

perception and use of the domestic sphere, with the introduction of television into the house in the 1970s.

5.3. Television in the Private Sphere

The parlor, which became an indispensable part of the upper-class house, featured in the lower-middle and middle-class houses too. The apartments designed for the upper classes in the 1940s and 1950s were large enough to include parlors. [449] However, the apartment, itself had become the potent symbol of middle-class lifestyle in just the same way the suburban house did in Europe and the USA.[450] Small apartment flats became predominant amongst the lower-middle and middle classes in the 1960s. Hence, reserving a space to function as a parlor in these apartments became problematic because of the restrictions of space and insufficient number of rooms, which inevitably created a tension between public and private within the domestic sphere. In this respect, the upper class families could maintain a parlor, which functioned only for outsiders and display, while the lower-middle and middle-class apartments mainly consisted of the living room and two or three inner rooms and remained spatially restricted to maintain a parlor.[451] As a result, domestic space became divided between the "ideally public" that took place in the parlor and the "ideally private" that was associated to the inner rooms,[452] as if there were 'two worlds' within one house as Ayata expressed. Parlors were isolated and even locked in some cases while the "inner home" was used for everyday activities. A private and multifunctional inner room or private living room was employed to accommodate both leisure activities and domestic work.[453] The middle-class families mostly preferred

[449] Ibid., 8-9. I used the term "apartment" to signify "apartment flat".

[450] Sencer Ayata, "Kentsel Orta Sınıf Ailelerde Statü Yarışması ve Salon Kullanımı", *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 42 (Summer, 1988): 5.

[451] Nasır, Timur and Gürel, "Living Rooms Occupied", 8-9.

[452] Ibid., 5.

[453] Ayata, "Kentsel Orta Sınıf Ailelerde Statü Yarışması ve Salon Kullanımı", 5-8.

apartment flats in which the living rooms were near the entrance to use as a parlor.[454] The interior design, furniture, and behavior patterns of the inhabitants were different in the parlor and inner home. The parlor, operated to host the outsiders was equipped with the most expensive furniture, the design ideas of which were often taken from cinema, television, and popular magazines. [455] Parlor symbolized the "cultural capital, individuality, and distinction" of the inhabitants, although it was furnished with mass-produced objects.[456] On the other hand, the inner house, filled with cheap and low-quality items, was the scene of intense usage for daily activities. Inviting guests to the inner rooms, especially to the inner living room, signified informality, intimacy, and sincerity. This invisible boundary between the two spheres also reflected on the clothing and manners of the inhabitants. The traditional and informal behaviors, activities, and clothing took place in the inner rooms transformed into elaborate and formal ones in the parlor that represented the 'modern' facet of the domestic sphere.[457] The social and spatial dichotomy between traditional and modern, inner rooms and the parlor in the domestic sphere started to lose its predominance in the 1970s and 1980s. With the development of electronic media other than the radio, the parlor gained a private character, while the inner rooms opened to the public.[458] The division between the public and private spheres within the house became blurry with the penetration of television in the 1970s[459] as well as the changes in the media, economy and culture of the 1980s.[460]

[454] Ibid., 15.

[455] Ayata, "Kentsel Orta Sınıf Ailelerde Statü Yarışması ve Salon Kullanımı", 5-25.

[456] Gürel, "Designing and Consuming Modern in Turkey", 466.

[457] Ayata, "Kentsel Orta Sınıf Ailelerde Statü Yarışması ve Salon Kullanımı", 5-25.

[458] Esra Bici Nasır, "Salonun Çelişkili Niteliğine Dair Güncel Bir Kesit", *Spaces/Times/People: Domesticity, Dwelling and Architectural History*, ed. by Lale Özgenel (Ankara: METU Faculty of Architecture, 2016), 14.

[459] Gürel, "Designing and Consuming Modern in Turkey", 466.

[460] Nasır, Timur and Gürel, "Living Rooms Occupied", 16.

According to Gürel, the interpenetration of the public and private spheres regarding the relationship between the parlor and inner rooms as well as inside and outside of the house, began in the 1970s when the television was introduced in Turkey.[461] Television was a conspicuous commodity and the fact that it transmitted signs and images had an impact on the domestic sphere regarding the patterns of everyday activities, socialization, leisure, and entertainment, use and layout of domestic space. Television not only introduced "the world into the domestic realm" but also radically changed the leisure activities and socialization.[462] It displaced entertainment habits by incorporating the function of radio and public events such as cinema, theatre, concert, and alike and brought the public sphere and entertainment directly into the domestic sphere. Television's transformative impact on everyday life also reflected in the domestic setting. Taken as a conspicuous commodity, the television created a visual center in the living room and/or parlor that became determinative for the layout of space and arrangement of furniture. Most notable was the orientation of the sitting group furniture towards the television.[463] (fig. 66) According to Gürel, television took the central place of the fireplace, which became popular in the 1950s and 1960s as a symbol of social status and Western home interiors, rather than a functional item, amongst the upper and middle classes. She associates the decreasing interest in having a fireplace in the homes of 1970s to the penetration of television into the household, that "shifted the symbolic meaning and spatial role of fireplaces".[464] Thus, it can be suggested that Cecelia Tichi's 'electronic hearth' analogy pointing out the replacement of fireplace with television is also proper for the Turkish context after the 1970s. Similar to a fireplace, the television became the new focal point of the room and made the family and guests gather in front it to spent leisure and entertainment time. (fig. 67) In fact, in the early years of the television culture in the 1970s, it was perceived as a socialization instrument, as Güzer expressed. As a result of the insufficiency in the

[461] Gürel, "Designing and Consuming Modern in Turkey", 466.

[462] Ibid.

[463] C. Abdi Güzer, *Konut Üzerine De(ne)meler* (Ankara: Mimarlar Derneği 1927, 2002), 43.

[464] Gürel, "Designing and Consuming Modern in Turkey", 466.

number of the television receivers, the houses with television sets hosted the 'tele-guests' (*tele-misafir/telesafir*), the guests who had visited merely to watch television, in three evenings a week, the days when TRT broadcasted. For example, a newspaper advertisement in 1975 that says, "I brought the first Philips television to the neighborhood… People, who watch it, want to buy Philips" was assumed to refer to the *tele-safir* culture. (fig. 68) Although an indicator of social status, being a television owner, indeed, required hospitability and hard work to serve the guests. The houses with television, in fact, operated similarly to small-scale cinemas as they gathered neighbors and friends around the television sets;[465] hence, as Orhan Pamuk addressed in his autobiography "Istanbul: Memories and the City", the parlors are transformed from 'museums' into 'cinemas' in the early years of the television culture in the 1970s:

> So it was not just in the affluent homes of Istanbul that you saw sitting-room museums; over the next fifty years you could find these haphazard and gloomy (but sometimes also poetic) displays of western influence in sitting rooms all over Turkey; only with the arrival of television in the 1970s did they go out of fashion. Once people had discovered how pleasurable it was to sit together to watch the evening news, their sitting rooms changed from little museums to little cinemas—although you still hear of old families who put their televisions in their central hallways, locking up their museum sitting rooms and opening them only for holidays or special guests.[466]

From the perspective of Pamuk, the television brought the prevalence of the segregated parlor or in his words 'museum sitting room' to an end by gathering the guests around itself except for the older families who were still conservative and preferred to maintain the spatial division between public and private.[467] Regarding the households that appropriated television to the parlor, Nasır, Timur, and Gürel suggested that the living rooms, used exclusively as the parlor for about a century, became the venue for leisure activities via television, consequently, re-integrated with the domestic and daily

[465] Güzer, *Konut Üzerine De(ne)meler*, 43.

[466] Orhan Pamuk, *Istanbul: Memories and the City*, trans. by Maureen Freely (New York: Vintage Books, 2006),

27.

[467] Gürel, "Designing and Consuming Modern in Turkey", 27.

activities. [468] On the other hand, according to Ayata, the families who favored to keep the parlor placed the television sets in the inner living rooms in the first years of the television use.[469] This point shows the penetration of television from the most public to private, from parlor to inner rooms. While the television was an active agent, it was not the only reason to stop having an isolated parlor. The television owners were no longer required to welcome tele-guests once the ownership of television became widespread and the inner living room as the venue of leisure activities became its preferred location. As such, television brought the public into the inner circle of the house, despite the concern of privacy. Even though the entrance of television into the house in the 1970s triggered a change in the spatial use of domestic setting, the ambiguity between public and private spheres regarding both inside and its relationship with outside started to be idealized only after 1980 when the impact of television and mass media had increased. Especially with the forces of globalization, "notions of modern practices became more integral to everyday life".[470] Media content about the private sphere and media's influence on the domestic sphere mutually increased. Therefore, representation and experience of domestic space have changed under the confluence of neoliberalism, globalization, emerging postmodern culture, and culminating media in the 1980s. Until then, the piano, fireplace, and American bar made their mark within the domestic sphere as the most iconic consumption markers of the mid-century. Radio as well, which entered the domestic sphere in the 1920s and became widespread until the 1960s, was incorporated in the architectural design and representation for the first time.

5.4. Piano, Fireplace and American Bar

The mid-century witnessed the popularization of piano, fireplace, and American bar in the furnishing and use of private settings. The piano, which symbolized modernization since the 19th century, preserved its significance. Fireplaces, on the

[468] Nasır, Timur and Gürel, "Living Rooms Occupied", 11.

[469] Ayata, "Kentsel Orta Sınıf Ailelerde Statü Yarışması ve Salon Kullanımı", 6.

[470] Nasır, Timur and Gürel, "Living Rooms Occupied", 19.

other hand, kept pace with the dispositions of the era that are identified with the cultural shift towards Americanization. American officials, who were resident in Turkish cities, preferred to rent houses with fireplaces, a demand that made the fireplace associate with American culture. [471] Popular magazines of the era such as *Hayat*, *Resimli Hayat*, and *Yedigün* promoted the American house and lifestyle in which some of the images and descriptions contained living/dining spaces with fancy fireplaces.[472] As in the 19th century and early 20th century period, these iconic consumption markers carried symbolic value rather than a functional one as Orhan Pamuk depicts in "Istanbul: Memories and the City":

> Never having seen them put to any other use, I assumed pianos were stands for exhibiting photographs. There was not a single surface in my grandmother's sitting room that wasn't covered with frames of all sizes. The most imposing were two enormous portraits that hung over the never-used fireplace: One was a retouched photograph of my grandmother, the other of my grandfather, who died in 1934.[473]

Pamuk describes a mid-century upper-class apartment that exemplifies domestic musealization. The parlor itself, piano, and fireplace all serve as exhibition props displaying social status, identity, and memories. In addition to the fireplace and piano, the most characteristic consumption object of the period is the American bar. The American bar, a design component in the luxury hotels like Istanbul Hilton Hotel, was domesticated as a spatial implement for socialization. In the 1950s, the American bars proliferated in the upper-class houses designed by architects to comply with the Americanized consumer culture and entertainment habits, such as house parties.[474] The American bar, in this respect, manifested the "mass urban culture through entertainment industry and media".[475] With such spatial elements as fireplace and American bar, new focal points were created through consumption in the domestic

[471] Gürel, "Designing and Consuming Modern in Turkey", 466.

[472] Gürel, "The Modern Home, Western Fashion and Feminine Identities in Mid-Twentieth-Century Turkey", 145-157.

[473] Pamuk, *Istanbul: Memories and the City*, 34-35.

[474]Gürel, "Consumption of Modern Furniture as a Strategy of Distinction in Turkey", 59-61.

[475] Ibid., 61.

space that shaped the everyday life and entertainment habits based on the aspired, yet, remote American culture. However, the spatial impact of the emerging mass culture remained limited to the houses of the upper-income households in the 1950s.

Mid-century Turkish cinema successfully portrays the idealized versions of the Americanized upper-class houses and lifestyles by putting the iconic consumption markers forward as if they are the protagonists of the domestic scenes. In such films as *Yaralı Kalp* (1969) by Remzi Jöntürk[476], *Ölmüş Bir Kadının Mektupları* (1969) by Memduh Ün[477], and *Yağmur* (1971) by Orhan Elmas[478], a piano placed in the parlor enters the scene in the first appearance of the domestic setting. (fig. 69) Apart from exceptions such as Atıf Yılmaz's *Ah Güzel İstanbul* (1966)[479], in which the piano is shown as a remnant or a nostalgic object from the 19th century Ottoman era, (fig. 70) the piano mainly represents wealth and high social status in mid-century Turkish films. *Sabah Yıldızı* (1969) by Türker İnanoğlu[480] and *Yuvasız Kuşlar* (1970) and *Melek mi Şeytan mı?* (1971) by Mehmet Dinler[481] are some of the illustrative examples that assemble a piano with luxurious objects and furniture in large parlors. (fig. 71) The fireplace, usually placed at the center of the parlor, implies the same meanings and

[476] "*Yaralı Kalp, Demirhane Müdürü*", Türk Sineması Araştırmaları, accessed July 30, 2021, https://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/film/filmgoster/834/yarali-kalp.

[477] "*Ölmüş Bir Kadının Mektupları, Ölmüş Bir Kadının Metrukesi*", Türk Sineması Araştırmaları, accessed July 30, 2021, https://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/film/filmgoster/1082/olmus-bir-kadinin-mektuplari.

[478] "*Yağmur*", Türk Sineması Araştırmaları, accessed July 30, 2021, https://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/film/filmgoster/2018/yagmur.

[479] "*Ah Güzel İstanbul*", Türk Sineması Araştırmaları, accessed July 30, 2021, https://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/film/filmgoster/6884/ah-guzel-istanbul.

[480] "*Sabah Yıldızı*", Türk Sineması Araştırmaları, accessed July 30, 2021, https://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/film/filmgoster/289/sabah-yildizi.

[481] "*Yuvasız Kuşlar*", Türk Sineması Araştırmaları, accessed July 30, 2021, https://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/film/filmgoster/1389/yuvasiz-kuslar. "Melek mi Şeytan mı?", Türk Sineması Araştırmaları, accessed July 30, 2021, https://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/film/filmgoster/1946/melek-mi-seytan-mi.

messages as the piano. For instance, the fireplaces in *Funda* (1968) by Dinler[482], *Arım Balım Peteğim* (1970) by Muzaffer Aslan[483], and *Yaralı Kalp* (1969) by Jöntürk[484] connote social status and conspicuous consumption. (fig. 72) However, the fireplace as the hearth also signifies the homeyness and warmth of the house as captured in Osman Fahir Seden's *Yaz Bekarı* (1974) with the juxtaposition of the fireplace and happy family moments. (fig. 73) Compared to the piano and fireplace, the American bar is presented more as a domestic leisure and socializing spot in the movies. In *Vesikalı Yarim* (1968) by Lütfi Ö. Akad[485], *Ağlıyorum* (1973) by Muzaffer Aslan[486], and *Üç Sevgili* (1972) by Dinler[487], the American bar creates a corner where the dialogues and entertainment take place. (fig. 74) It is also common to use the iconic consumption markers together in films. For example, the parlor in *Sabah Yıldızı* has both piano and fireplace corners while *Ağlıyorum* features American bar and piano. The 1970s' movies, like *Baba Bizi Eversene* (1975) by Oksal Pekmezoğlu[488] and *Kaynanalar* (1975) by Zeki Ökten[489] incorporate radio and television besides the piano and fireplace. (fig. 75) However, the spatial impact of electronic media seems weak in

[482] "*Funda*", Türk Sineması Araştırmaları, accessed July 30, 2021, https://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/film/filmgoster/52/funda.

[483] "*Arım, Balım, Peteğim*", Türk Sineması Araştırmaları, accessed July 30, 2021, https://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/film/filmgoster/1419/arim,-balim,-petegim.

[484] "*Yarım Kalp*", Türk Sineması Araştırmaları, accessed July 30, 2021, https://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/film/filmgoster/834/yarali-kalp.

[485] "*Vesikalı Yarim*", Türk Sineması Araştırmaları, accessed July 30, 2021, https://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/film/filmgoster/237/vesikali-yarim.

[486] "*Ağlıyorum*", Türk Sineması Araştırmaları, accessed July 30, 2021, https://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/film/filmgoster/3794/agliyorum.

[487] "*Üç Sevgili*", Türk Sineması Araştırmaları, accessed July 30, 2021, https://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/film/filmgoster/2949/uc-sevgili.

[488] "Baba Bizi Eversene", Türk Sineması Araştırmaları, accessed July 30, 2021, https://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/film/filmgoster/4419/baba-bizi-eversene.

[489] "Kaynanalar", Türk Sineması Araştırmaları, accessed July 30, 2021, https://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/film/filmgoster/4525/kaynanalar.

comparison to the other iconic consumption items in this period. The piano, fireplace, and American bar depicted as the emblems of the ideal mid-century house in the films also appeared in the design and representation of domestic architecture with the apartments, villas, single-family houses, and housing cooperatives.

Birkan apartments in Bebek, Istanbul, designed by Haluk Baysal and Melih Birsel in 1955, is a detached yet interrelated apartment complex. It has three separate functions, service, reception, and the private areas such as bedrooms and bathrooms. (fig. 76) The service functions include kitchen and a terrace, ironing room, maid room, and toilet. The kitchen and the terrace surround an office. The public functions accommodated by the reception services, such as the cloakroom and toilet, are placed in the entrance hall which opens into the public spaces. The open plan used in the public part of the house enabled to design a parlor, dining room, and a music corner as a single space[490]. The hall, apart from functioning as a foyer for the parlor ensemble, serves as a spatial separator between the public and private parts. The private part of the house where bedrooms and bathrooms are found was accessed from a door from the hall. The apartment block has a penthouse which is designed as another living space with an American bar, and music and fireplace corners. The penthouse is designed as a public place open to common usage for social gatherings and events. The iconic consumption markers of the period, the piano, fireplace, and American bar, have separate corners in the penthouse besides the kitchen and sitting corner. The fireplace is placed next to the sitting group. American bar stands next to the kitchen and across the sitting area. The music corner with a piano comes after the American bar and is placed diagonal to the fireplace.

Designed by Demirtaş Kamçıl and Rahmi Bediz in 1955, İsrailevleri in Ankara is a cooperative housing founded by senate representatives and senior government officials, and consists of triple and quadruple combination of two-block groups.[491] The

[490] "Birkan Apartmanları (Bebek)", *Arkitekt*, 1959, no.1 (1959): 5-10, http://dergi.mo.org.tr/detail.php?id=2&sayi_id=235&makale_id=3246.

[491] Yaşar Sökmensüer, "Bahçelievler ve Emek Mahallesi: Adresini, Sokağını Yitiren Semtin Tarihi", *İdealkent*, no. 11 (January, 2014): 187.

public and private parts of the flats are not distanced much, and are more intertwined, compared to the examples given above. All the rooms are connected through one corridor. (fig. 77). A living room with a music corner and connected to an office, and a bedroom are placed on front façade while a dining room, other bedrooms, and wet spaces on the rear façade.[492] The parlor and the dining room are designed as separate spaces unlike the previous examples. The dining room stands across the corridor. The architects apparently, conceived the office space also as a music room as they showed a piano corner in the plan drawing.

Übeyde Elli Apartment, designed by the same architects in 1957 in Ankara (fig. 78) includes two flats on each floor except the top floor. On the top floor there is a single apartment with the public areas placed on the front façade and the private bedrooms and wet spaces at the back. The dining room and the parlor which has a music corner connect to an office.[493] Here too, the public part of the house has an open plan in which living, eating and music practicing were conceived as complimentary functions.

The subsequent examples of fireplace application reveal a tendency towards further spatialization of fireplace regarding the plan configuration and, in some cases, its projection on exteriors. In the Mehmet Aker House (1950), in which the reception, dining, living, and service rooms are found at the ground floor and the bedrooms at the top, architects Muallim Halit Femir and Feridun Akozan[494] designated a fireplace corner within the T shaped and openly planed reception area that consisted of the parlor-dining room suite (fig. 79). A Villa in Bebek by Ekrem Yenel, Özgür House by Muhteşem Giray, and A Duplex Apartment on Bağdat Street by Ergün Ersöz (fig. 80) have similar characteristics regarding the placement of fireplaces. On the ground floor of the Villa in Bebek, there is a gardener's room and a terrace. The entrance is provided

492 Nuray Bayraktar, Bülent Batuman and Elif Selena Ayhan, ed., "İsrailevleri", Sivil Mimari Bellek: Ankara 1930-1980 (Ankara: VEKAM, 2014), 87.

493 Nuray Bayraktar, Bülent Batuman and Elif Selena Ayhan, ed., "Übeyde Elli Apartmanı", *Sivil Mimari Bellek: Ankara 1930-1980* (Ankara: VEKAM, 2014), 105.

494 "Bay Mehmet Aker Villası", *Arkitekt,* 1950, no. 11-12 (1950): 214-217,

http://dergi.mo.org.tr/detail.php?id=2&sayi_id=176.

via a staircase from the terrace. On the first floor, there is a parlor with a dining area and fireplace corner with a vista to Bebek Bay,[495] and private rooms located at the back and accessible through a closed hall. Özgür House (fig. 81) is composed of a ground floor that accommodated a reception, kitchen, maid's room, and storage, and an upper floor with private bedrooms and bathrooms, and an outbuilding for services such as laundry and furnace rooms.[496] The parlor and dining are accommodated side by side as a single volume with a fireplace at the center. In the duplex apartment designed by Ergün Ersöz[497], the parlor, kitchen, and services are detached by the floors from the part where the bedrooms and bathrooms are located (fig. 82). On the ground floor where public activities concentrated, there is a parlor conjoining with the entrance, kitchen and services at the sides. Ersöz divided the L shaped parlor into three sections and specified them as parlor-dining, parlor-living, and parlor-fireplace spaces on the plan. The parlor-living and parlor-fireplace sections are separated from the parlor-dining area by a sliding door. The designated fireplace area defines a more intimate corner in the parlor.

Likewise, in Rer Apartment (1964) by Nejat Ersin[498] and *Basın Sitesi I* (1960) by Vedat Dalokay and Nejat Tekelioğlu[499], the fireplace is situated in the living space besides the parlor, and connotes a level of intimacy and privacy. In Rer Apartment, the entrance opens to the parlor and kitchen on one side and the corridor on the other (fig. 83) The corridor provides transition to bedrooms and the bathroom. The parlor is also

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[495] "Bebekte Bir Villa", *Arkitekt*, 1957, no.3 (1957): 109-110, http://dergi.mo.org.tr/detail.php?id=2&sayi_id=225.

[496] "Küçükyalı'da İki Villa", *Arkitekt*, 1967, no. 1 (1967): 8-11,

http://dergi.mo.org.tr/detail.php?id=2&sayi_id=159&makale_id=1950.

[497] "Bağdat Caddesinde Dubleks Apartman", *Arkitekt*, 1979, no. 4 (1979): 126-127,

http://dergi.mo.org.tr/detail.php?id=2&sayi_id=263&makale_id=3649.

[498] "Sivil Mimari Bellek Yapı Envanteri Ankara 1930-1980, RER Apartmanı", Koç Üniversitesi Digital Collections, accessed June 17, 2020, https://libdigitalcollections.ku.edu.tr/digital/collection/SMB/id/2993.

[499] "Sivil Mimari Bellek Yapı Envanteri Ankara 1930-1980, Basın Sitesi I", Koç Üniversitesi Digital Collections, accessed June 17, 2020, https://libdigitalcollections.ku.edu.tr/digital/collection/SMB/id/2993.

a transition area that connects to the office, living room and utility rooms. The living room which has a fireplace and the parlor creates a L shaped open plan. In *Basın Sitesi I*, a corridor from the entrance gives access to an office, bedrooms and wet spaces. In the public side that is entered directly from the entrance, a kitchen with a dining section, a living section, and reception form a single space and also create a L shaped plan (fig. 84). The fireplace stands in the center of the living space, between the dining and living sections. As such it became integral to the architectural design rather than just being a conspicuous furniture of the interior. In Çelebiler Apartment (1965), the architect Danyal Tevfik Çiper also utilized the fireplace as a design component that dominates the parlor[500] (fig. 85). The parlor is placed on one side of the entrance and, on the other side, bedrooms and wet spaces are accessed through a corridor after passing the kitchen and the storage cabinet (*yüklük*)[501]. The fireplace stands diagonal between the center and the outer corner of the parlor. It would not be wrong to say that the fireplace is the most substantial piece of the interior and creates a focal point that divides the space, and defines sub-spaces within the parlor.

In some examples, like Uzunoğlu House (1964-1965) by Muhteşem Giray[502] and Çankaya İş Bankası İkramiye Houses (1968) by Lemi Varnalı,[503] the fireplace and its projection to the outside is amplified and transformed into a vertical exterior design element (fig. 86 and fig. 87). Similar to the piano, the fireplace had entered to private sphere as the third section of the parlor-dining/sitting-dining layout. However, unlike the piano, it assumed a determinative role in the plan layout as a visual and architectural element.

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[500] Nuray Bayraktar, Bülent Batuman and Elif Selena Ayhan, ed., "Çelebiler Evi", Sivil Mimari Bellek: Ankara 1930-1980 (Ankara: VEKAM, 2014), 217.

[501] "Yüklük" is a type of large storage cabinet used explicitly for bedding and quilt.

[502] "Küçükyalı'da İki Villa", 8-11.

[503] "Sivil Mimari Bellek Yapı Envanteri Ankara 1930-1980, Çankaya İş Bankası İkramiye Evleri", Koç Üniversitesi Digital Collections, accessed June 17, 2020,

https://libdigitalcollections.ku.edu.tr/digital/collection/SMB/id/418.

In the context of modern Turkey, the piano and fireplace represent the two spatially articulated domestic furnishing items. The American bar which became trendy, after WW2, is the third item that featured more in the residences and flats of the 1950s and 60s. In such examples as Cinnah 19 Apartment Block (1955) in Ankara by Nejat Ersin, Arif Saltuk House (1950s) in Istanbul by Ercüment Bigat and İlhan Bilgesü, and the Villa in Boğaziçi (1950s) in Istanbul by Emin Necip Uzman, American bars define a transitionary space between the kitchen/dining and parlor. The first flat located at the first basement floor of Cinnah 19 apartment block for example, (fig. 88) is entered through a small entrance that leads to the kitchen. A dining section furnished with an American bar and followed by a sitting room comes right after the entrance. The private spaces are reached through the corridor from the entrance.[504] Arif Saltuk House (fig. 89) is a summer villa for a family of three. Two bedrooms, a bathroom, and a service balcony are situated on the upper floor while a large parlor and a kitchen are on the ground floor. A central fireplace divides the parlor into two sections. The section facing the fireplace is designated for reception and living while the section behind, which is next to the kitchen, consists of an American bar and a dining group.[505] The transition from the kitchen to the large parlor is provided through a passage from the American bar. In the villa designed by Emin Necip Uzman, the parlor, living area, kitchen, bar, breakfast area, dining area, and the office are planned on the ground floor while the bedrooms and wet spaces are located at the upper floor. [506] (fig. 90) The parlor has a music corner and a fireplace near the entrance. The living space with a dining corner is designed separately and accessed via an L-shaped hall, along which are the sitting area, the American bar, and the breakfast room. Different from the piano

[504] "Sivil Mimari Bellek Yapı Envanteri Ankara 1930-1980, Cinnah 19", Koç Üniversitesi Digital Collections, accessed June 17, 2020, https://libdigitalcollections.ku.edu.tr/digital/collection/SMB/id/2266.

[505] "Mühendis Arif Saltuk Villası", *Arkitekt*, 1958, no. 2 (1958): 55-60, http://dergi.mo.org.tr/detail.php?id=2&sayi_id=232.

[506] "Boğaz İçinde Bir Villa", Arkitekt, 1974, no.2 (1974): 53-57,

http://dergi.mo.org.tr/detail.php?id=2&sayi_id=158&makale_id=2021.

and fireplace that were mainly designed as part of the reception or living space, the American bar was placed close to the kitchen and dining area.

All the examples that date to a period between the 1930s and 1960s demonstrate the articulation of piano as an auditory media and as a spatial item associated with the public part of the domestic sphere, which consisted of a parlor and a dining room at its core. The piano, therefore, was combined with the domestic setting as the third part of the parlor, beside the sitting and dining spaces. While the piano or musical devices can be considered conspicuous and found in the residences and the houses of the socially well-off, they were far from being a visual center in the architectural plans. That is to say, although the auditory media is both represented and accommodated in domestic architecture, it did dictate the configuration of the interior components and furniture. The fireplaces, which became prominent in the domestic interiors of the upper-class houses starting from the late 1940s, on the other hand, became more central and predominant in the domestic setting, especially as part of the sitting areas in the parlor. The rising value given to the fireplace in the mid-century, during when it came to be one of the signature objects of Americanization and the prevailing cultural climate, was manifested in its integration into the architectural design as an exterior or interior component. The fireplaces and chimneys were projected on the façades as in Mehmet Aker House and the Villa in Bebek. They were also instrumental in the functional division of the parlor, as in the cases of Çelebiler Apartment and Basın Sitesi. Unlike the piano and fireplace which were often employed in the reception or living space, the American bar was designed together with or close to the kitchen and dining area. As such, it defined a space that is in between the living and dining activities.

The electronic media had assumed a privileged position within the private sphere, starting from the 1960s onwards, in a way similar to the spatialization of piano, fireplace, and American bar. The electronic media received a spatial emphasis by adjoining the sitting and dining areas in houses. Although an analogy can be made between radio and piano as auditory media and television and fireplace as visual media, they did not replace each other. The non-electronic media preserved its locus in the domestic setting as the signifier of conspicuousness while the electronic media,

most particularly television, became transformative in the perception and use of domestic space.

5.5. Radio and Domestic Space

Radio was introduced as early as the 1920s and proliferated in the mid-century as a conspicuous object as well as a signifier of modernity and progress in the Turkish context; although it is an auditory medium the visual qualities of radio came into prominence in the domestic sphere. For example, a radio advertisement from 1966 that promotes radio as a worthy object for home and taste of the consumers with its attractive appearance elevates the visual properties over the technical ones. (fig. 91) In a newspaper advertisement published in 1953, 1954-model German Star brand radios were introduced with the slogan "see, listen, decide". (fig.92) The advertisement praises the visuality by announcing the unmatched beauty and taste in making the Star radios. Accordingly, it describes the radio as walnut 'furniture', durable and meticulous artistry, attractive panache hit the eye directly. Indeed, the outer shell or finishing material is referred as 'furniture' in many mid-century advertisements. (fig. 93) This established connection between radio and furniture can be assumed as another feature used to magnify visuality. In mid-century Turkish cinema, on the other hand, it is seen that the radio is generally placed on a buffet and at an eye level position with respect to sitting. It is combined with a lace cover or with conspicuous consumption objects placed next to it. (fig. 94) Similarly, in an example of a museum parlor described retrospectively by Murathan Mungan, a well-known postmodern Turkish writer, in his book *Kadından Kentler*, the radio is placed as follows:

> Framed pictures, trinkets on the buffet; cups, stemmed goblets, glasses, crystal sugar bowl lined up in the glass partition not to show off but to be visible; they were all in their place. The trust in the past, the pain in the testimony of the thing that moves the time inside me… I did not know what to do. The radios on his buffet had changed over the years. "We got a new radio, Nazan! It is made of American walnut." Sprinkles joy in its voice! Then the radio in the kitchen, the radio in the bedroom; later a handheld radio.[507]

[507] Murathan Mungan, *Kadından Kentler* (Istanbul: Metis, 2016), 102.

Mungan explains both the positioning of the radio in the parlor and its appropriation from the most public space to the private spaces in the house over time. Even though radio had a certain impact on the culture as a propaganda tool and an agent of mass culture in modern Turkey and occupied an important position in the domestic sphere before the television era, it is rarely studied as a topic in architectural history. It can be speculated that it was perceived as spatially insignificant because of its small scale and lack of visual quality; consequently, the architects did not take radio as a reference in the spatial layout of houses, in contrast to the piano. Indeed, it can be stated that there was a general negligence of auditory environment in domestic architecture. In this framework, architect Danyal Tevfik Çiper's house designs are an exception. Çiper, was sensitive to the auditory experience of the inhabitants and spatially designated this by materializing the audio and utilizing radio and music sets in his designs. He explains the role of audio, especially music, in his architectural design:

> Substantially, all fine arts are a means of development for people. It is unpropitious to create a building that is oblivious to the mental growth of people. People who will live in your building will also be interested in music. Then you have to think about acoustics. When you design a parlor, you should also consider where to place the musical instruments.[508]

Çiper concretized his ideas by integrating audio and auditory electronic media in five of his projects: a villa project, an apartment project, Erdem Yuva Building Cooperative project, Özkanlar House (1968), and Pozcu Apartment (1980). Amongst them, just two projects, namely the Pozcu Apartment and Özkanlar House, were realized. [509]

On the upper floor of an unrealized two-story villa project (fig. 95) three bedrooms, one functionally unspecified room, two bathrooms, two balconies, and one terrace are located. Çiper designed the ground floor as an open plan with a large terrace creating an L shape on the south and east side and with a closed garage adjacent to the house at the north. The ground floor consists of an entrance, hall, toilet, a large "living parlor"

[508] Selda Başbuğoğlu, Interview with Danyal Tevfik Çiper, "Söyleşi IV", *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar: Danyal Tevfik Çiper*, ed. By N. Müge Cengizkan (Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınevi, 2013), 65.

[509] N. Müge Cengizkan, ed., Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar: Danyal Tevfik Çiper (Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınevi, 2013).

(*oturma salonu*[510]) with a dining section, and an open kitchen. The sitting area in the living parlor faces the south on the front façade and the dining area is on the east. The kitchen at the back and facing the north is partially separated from the dining area by a cabinet. In the plan of the sitting section of the living parlor, there is a fireplace on one side and a music corner with a music set on the other. Amongst the three sitting groups Çiper envisaged, one takes the fireplace as the center. The sitting group in the music corner is arranged independently from the music set. The music set stands next to a wall near the hall and entrance. Similar to the piano, the music set is far from being the visual focus. Nevertheless, it can be suggested that the music set establishes a sitting area nearby and becomes a determinative agent in the domestic space.

Another unrealized project, an apartment (fig. 96) was located at the coastline and designed with large balconies with a view to the sea. There are three bedrooms and one bathroom connected by a corridor from the entrance, where there is also a toilet. On the other side of the entrance, opposite the private part of the apartment, an open kitchen, a dining area, and a sitting room opening to a large balcony are situated. A living room with two sections follows the kitchen and the dining area. Although it is not specified, it can be asserted that the main section of the living room functions as the reception space and accommodates the main sitting group. In the second section a fireplace and a radio set are placed; the radio set predominates the space compared to the fireplace, which is positioned at the corner distant from any visual contact of the main sitting area. Without a sitting group drawn in the plan, it cannot be assumed whether the radio set creates a focal point. However, it is evident that the radio set is more emphasized than the fireplace in the plan by the architect.

Erdem Yuva Building Cooperative, another unrealized project of Çiper, (fig. 97 and fig. 98) is planned as three housing types: detached, row, and twin houses, with similar

[510] In the Çiper's housing designs, "living room" (oturma odası), "living parlor" (oturma salonu), and "parlor" (salon) specified seperately. "Oturma salonu" is "sitting parlor" in literal translation. It seems to be appropriate to translate it as the "living parlor" because it might suggest a intermediate form between the living room and the parlor.

layouts.[511] In Type 1 and Type 2, a corridor that links three bedrooms and a bathroom starts right after passing the toilet and the storage cabinet (*yüklük*) from the entrance. There is a kitchen on the opposite side of the toilet at the entrance. Across the entrance, are a dining group and the stairs to the parlor. Type 3 has a similar layout, with few exceptions; in the place of the storage cabinet, there is a lightwell that provides both light and air, and there is a hall that connects the bedroom and the bathroom instead of a corridor. The triangular parlors in all the types contain a sitting group, a library, and a radio or music cabinet.[512] Neither the library nor the music cabinet forms a new sitting section in the parlor. Instead, the position of the music cabinet serves the central sitting group. However, it does not have an apparent control over the orientation of the furniture.

Özkanlar House (fig. 99), built in 1968 in Ankara and also known as *Gemi Ev* (ship house in English), is the most famous work of Danyal Tevfik Çiper. It consists of six apartments in three floors, the two apartments on the second floor share a terrace floor and hence are duplex flats. The apartments on the ground floor were designed for rental use while the upper floors were reserved for the members of the Özkan family. On the contrary to the prevalent apartment building practice composed of repetitive plans on each level, the plan layouts of the Özkanlar House were customized according to the needs and demands of the residents.[513] The two apartments on the ground floor have identical plan layouts. On one side of the entrance, after passing the kitchen and toilet, is a corridor that links one master bedroom, two children's rooms, and one bathroom. On the other side, there is a large parlor. The kitchen opens to the dining section within the parlor through a kitchen counter. A fireplace is situated near the entrance in the parlor on the ground floor as well as the first floor in the same position. The space allocated to the main entrance hall on the ground floor is repeated in the apartment plans above the main entrance on the first and second floors. This space formed a

[511] Cengizkan, *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar,* 85-86.

[512] Music cabinet ("müzik dolabı" in Turkish) is a cabinet in which the electronic items related to music such as radio, music sets, and record player are integrated.

[513] Aydan Balamir, "Ankara'nın Gemi Evi", *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar: Danyal Tevfik Çiper*, ed. by N. Müge Cengizkan (Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınevi, 2013), 23-24.

partially divided area within the parlors. Similar to the ground-floor apartment plans, in the first-floor apartments, the private spaces and the parlor are separated by the entrance and hall. The toilet and kitchen are located opposite to each other. In the apartment used by the elders of the Özkan family, the two bedrooms, a storage cabinet, and a bathroom are reached via a corridor. There is a room for ironing and sewing which is entered from the kitchen. The dining area in the parlor is next to the kitchen and accommodates a radio set. The radio set as a venue of socialization is placed in a transitional space next to the kitchen and dining and thus evokes the use of an American bar. A working place is designed next to the fireplace. In the other apartment, a master bedroom, two children's rooms, a bathroom, a storage cabinet, and an open place for ironing and sewing are arranged along the corridor. In the parlor, the radio set and the dining section which is adjacent to the kitchen are placed facing each other near the entrance. The parlor is separated through a partial wall behind the radio set. This divided space accommodates an intimate fireplace corner. In the duplex apartments on the upper floors, the terraces of the second floor are planned identical and reserved for a master bedroom, children's rooms, and a bathroom. is allocated to a segregated guest bedroom and a bathroom, kitchen and ironing and sewing room accessible from the kitchen, and a parlor. Different from the ground and first floors, the fireplace and dining space are designed side by side next to the kitchen in both of the upper-floor apartments. In one apartment, the radio set is placed behind the staircase, which provides access to the terrace floor. In the other one, the radio set stands as the focal piece of the space partially divided from parlor. It is noteworthy that the fireplace and the music set are used interchangeably in the apartment plans. On the first floor, the radio set is next to the dining area in one apartment, while the radio set and the fireplace stand side by side in the other. On the second floor, a radio set is placed where the fireplace was put in the first-floor plans. In the ground-floor apartments, the apartment plan for the elderly family members, and the duplex apartments, the fireplaces are positioned near the dining tables. The fireplace corner defines an intimate space in the first-floor apartment for the family with children. The same dynamic that provides intimacy is also implemented to radio corners of the duplex apartments.

Pozcu Apartment (fig. 100) is a seven-story apartment building constructed in 1980 in Mersin. The building is composed of a small single-story apartment and two duplex apartments with mezzanine floors on the ground floor and two apartments on each of the upper floors. The small apartment on the ground floor is made up of a living room, two bedrooms, and a bathroom. The kitchen is not shown in the plan, but it can be speculated that it was envisaged as a kitchenette in the living room. The duplex apartment located near the building's main entrance has a toilet and a large parlor at the entrance on the ground floor. The mezzanine floor reached by a staircase from the parlor accommodates a partially open kitchen and an open dining space that have a visual connection with the ground floor via a gallery space above the parlor. Preceded by a small hall, a toilet, a dining area, and kitchen, is a corridor extending to the more private spaces: one guestroom, two bedrooms, and a bathroom. On the ground floor in the other duplex apartment, a guestroom, two bedrooms, and a bathroom are located beside the parlor and the toilet. The configuration of the mezzanine-floor is very much alike except for the relocation of the guestroom on the ground floor to expand the space for the kitchen and dining space. In contrast to the ground floor, the upper-floor apartments have identical plans. The typical apartment plan layout consists of a master bedroom, a children's room, a bedroom, a bathroom in the private part separated by a hall and a guestroom/office, a toilet, a kitchen, and a large parlor with a balcony in the public part. A circular dining table is positioned next to the kitchen. A circular fireplace corner was placed at the passage to the dining area, on the same side of the parlor. On the other side of the parlor, a wall is entirely designated to a music set. Based on the central position and the occupied volume of the music set, it would not be wrong to claim that the music set occupies a space visually and physically as significant as the dining and fireplace corners in the parlor.

In the projects of Danyal Tevfik Çiper, which incorporates a radio in the public section of the domestic setting, it is evident that the radio is given a spatial value within the parlor, similar to other iconic spatial elements, the piano, fireplace, and American bar. In the villa, apartment, and Erdem Yuva Building Cooperative projects, the radio, as an auditory medium, does not create a visual center, unlike a piano. On the other hand, the flats in Özkanlar House and Pozcu Apartment exemplifies the use of radio as a

visual element in the domestic sphere. In the Özkanlar apartment, the architect employed the radio set and fireplace interchangeably in the floor plans. In the Pozcu apartment, radio created an additional attraction center by joining dining, sitting, and fireplace sections of the parlor. In the Özkanlar House and Pozcu Apartment examples, the radio was treated as a conspicuous object, visual focal point, and spatial determinative. Both examples illustrate the use of the radio as a symbol of modernity and progress as well as a vital factor in psychological development and well-being, as the architect himself emphasized in an interview.

Despite such examples however, the impact of radio in the design of private settings remained limited, unlike television, in the architectural productions of the era. The television, which was appropriated to the household along with the piano, fireplace, American bar, and radio, has become more transformative in the planning and use of domestic space and relationship between public and private. The period following the *coup d' état* in 1980 witnessed neoliberal economic policies, rising prominence of mass culture, postmodernism, and a shift in the perception of domestic modernity. In this context, television has become a popular consumption item and media device in the house and transformed the domestic space.

CHAPTER 6

POST 1980S

6.1. Neoliberalism and the Changing Political Economy of House and Housing

The production of housing after the 1980s yet took another turn and followed the dynamics of the transition to the neoliberal economy.[514] The relationship between economy and state, as well as Turkey's economy and global economy, changed profoundly in accordance with the political and economic framework of neoliberalism. Regarding the worldwide capitalist decline in the 1970s[515] and following Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan administrations in 1979 and 1980[516], Turkey complied with the tendencies of the period through the neoliberal reformations that targeted the economic and politic problems,[517] and the withdrawal of Bülent Ecevit government in 1979.[518] In this regard, it can be stated that the neoliberal period in Turkey had started with the Decisions of January 24th, 1980, settled down by the September 12th, 1980

[514] Turkey had been repeatedly subjected to the economic re-regulation in conjunction with the transformations in the political sphere to resolve the fiscal imbalance and attain progress: 1960, 1971, and 1980 military coup d'états correspond to the following periods after the developments of the *bourgeoisie* when the economic transformations were needed. Resistance against these transformations from the sides of civic administrations ended up with the military interventions. The agenda of January 24th, 1980 was recognized, in this regard, as a milestone in both global and domestic scale. Pınar Bedirhanoğlu and Galip L. Yalman, ''State, Class and the Discourse, Reflections on the Neoliberal Transformation in Turkey'', in *Economic Transitions to Neoliberalism in Middle-Income Countries, Policy Dilemmas, Economic Crises, Forms of Resistance*, ed. Alfredo Saad-Filho and Galip L. Yalman (London, New York: Routledge, 2010), 110-111. Korkut Boratav, *1980'li Yıllarda Türkiye'de Sosyal Sınıflar ve Bölüşüm* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2005), 18.

[515] Ibid., 110.

[516] Boratav, *1980'li Yıllarda Türkiye'de Sosyal Sınıflar ve Bölüşüm,* 83.

[517] Bedirhanoğlu and Yalman, ''State, Class and the Discourse'', 110.

[518] Boratav, *1980'li Yıllarda Türkiye'de Sosyal Sınıflar ve Bölüşüm,* 83.

military coup d'état and reconciled with the representative democracy by Turgut Özal government between 1983 and 1989.[519]

In line with the programs of the IMF and World Bank[520], the economic policies of the post-1980 period are characterized by the shift from the state-sponsored development model to private enterprise economy that focused on exportation and adaptation with international economy.[521] Especially the Decisions of January 24th had several consequences such as devaluation, liberation in time deposits and lending rates, the new and flexible exchange policies, liberation and consolidation in exportation, divestment from the heavy industry and basic goods, privatization of the state economic enterprises, the prohibition on the trade-union activities, and pay-cut of the wages.[522] That is followed by the intense political repression and the complete prevention of trade-union activities as a result of the 1980 coup d'état.[523] As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.2.1., liberalization in the economy, combined with the coup's political pressure, has paved the way for consumption and consumer culture to replace political ideologies and identities and become a form of self-expression. After 1983, Özal government maintained the general framework of the January 24th program by incorporating the diversification of the financial instruments and changes in the tax system in favor of the capital-owning class. Özal period also enabled considerable rents and encouraged the actions of the rentier class in foreign trade, finance, tourism, and especially the construction industry with urban rents. [524] In this framework, the private sector and the *bourgeoisie* rose on the one hand, and the real wages of the lower and middle classes fell on the other. Thus, the relationship between

[519] Korkut Boratav, *Dünyadan Türkiye'ye, İktisattan Siyasete* (İstanbul: Yordam Kitap, 2015), 136.

[520] Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi*, 122.

[521] Bozdoğan and Akcan*, Turkey, Modern Architectures in History*, 203.

[522] Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi,* 122-123.

[523] Kozanoğlu, *Cilalı İmaj Devri*, 123-124.

[524] Ibid., 69-81. The rentier class is defined as the groups who sustain their economic existence through the current returns and increment values of the resources which are nonproductive and convertible into cash.

state and socio-economic classes transformed between the years 1980 and 1988.[525] House and housing in close relation to the new scene of neoliberal cities became the mirror of intense privatization, urban rents, and social stratification manifested in spaces of consumer culture.

The neoliberalism process of Turkey's economy after 1980 manifested itself in the reformation of the urban space. The increase in importance given to exportation and adaptation attempts to the global economy resulted in the dislocation of the industry and the new economic activities such as the tertiary sector and commerce from the city centers to the outskirts. City image came into prominence as the signifier of economic success. When the change in the economic meaning of the cities and the urban image is combined with the urban rents, the public lands in the cities gained economic significance and were subjected to intense privatization, including the previous illegal squatter (*gecekondu*) areas. [526] Mass housing projects and gentrification, mainly conducted by the state's agency Mass Housing Administration (TOKI) and private contractors and large companies, have become the leading factors in transforming to neoliberal cities and in new housing development.

TOKI was established in 1984 to revitalize the housing sector and develop and support housing projects in collaboration with the private sector;[527] nevertheless, it currently

[525] Boratav, *1980'li Yıllarda Türkiye'de Sosyal Sınıflar ve Bölüşüm,* 16.

[526] Ibid. Until the 1980s, most of the lands were still belonged to the public domain because of inherited Ottoman land policies which prevented commodifying activities. The structural reforms along with the promulgation of the ''amnesty law'' for squatter areas in 1984 led to the privatization of land. Hence, accessible possession of land and construction licenses and expanded loans paved the way for urban transformations in unused, as well as squatter lots by contractors and large companies. "The concrete building blocks" took the place of the squatter houses, expressed by Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan as "the new global city is being built over the foundation of the illegal city that preceded it". Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Turkey, Modern Architectures in History,* 236-237.

[527] Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Turkey, Modern Architectures in History,* 242. TOKI was initially named as 'Mass Housing and State Partnership Administration' (Toplu Konut ve Kamu Ortaklığı İdaresi Başkanlığı). The purpose of the Administration was to implement privatization and control of "The Mass Housing Fund" which became authorized to do transactions with the private sector. The Mass Housing Fund was constituted upon the income transferred from the taxes and sale values of the state commodities instead of the state resources. The individuals, institutions, big construction firms, and small contractors providing residential investments were allowed to benefit from the fund. In fact, arrangements in the application regulations enabled the industrial organizations related to housing receive credit support. Boratav, "İktisat Politikaları: 1980-1994", 681. Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Turkey,*

overproduces segregated residential projects for the middle and upper-middle classes.[528] In contrast to the period before the 1980s, when housing production had not yet reached the demanded amount, "the mass production of middle and upper-middle income housing has exceeded the demand" after 1980. As a result of the overproduction, in tandem with the rising mass culture, the new mass marketing, and promotion methods became vital tools to generate housing demand. On the other hand, TOKI's extensive use of standardized designs and construction materials homogenized the built environment at the edge of the cities by creating a mass-produced and high-rise housing typology.[529] Despite some exceptions such as Eryaman Housing (1996) by Ahmet Gülgören and ATK Lodgings (1998) by Han Tümertekin, which challenged the mass housing standards with their spatial and stylistic approaches, the idea of collective living mass housing in post-1980 Turkey was considered tasteless, dull, and repetitive. (fig. 101) Another channel to produce mass housing was to involve major entrepreneurs into the construction activities that aimed at upper-class households who had high mobility. Very rapidly, a considerable amount of public housing started to pop up on the edges of the cities. Realized by private companies, and with a promise of high-quality domestic life distant from the turmoil of the cities, such projects were most often designed in the form of gated communities.[530] Hence, the earlier ideals on housing were abandoned in favor of the consumer demand and economic benefits gained from housing after the 1980s. The priority given to function, health, and affordability in the housing projects of the preceding periods was replaced by the prominence and marketing of the "exclusivity"

Modern Architectures in History, 242. Çoban, "Cumhuriyetin İlanından Günümüze Konut Politikası", 94.

[528] İlhan Tekeli, *Konut Sorununu Konut Sunum Biçimleriyle Düşünmek* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010), 249-252.

[529] Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Turkey, Modern Architectures in History,* 243-244.

[530] Tekeli, *Konut Sorununu Konut Sunum Biçimleriyle Düşünmek,* 252. Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Turkey, Modern Architectures in History,* 252-253. After 1980, the upper-income groups, who had emerged as a social group as a result of the unequal growth patterns in the economic sphere, began to reshape the activities of the entrepreneurs by forming a sufficient demand to initiate highly profitable housing developments. This process had consequences on the progress in housing construction technologies and finance.

and "expensiveness" that became an embodiment of heterogeneous and privatized "public space" in the cities.[531] While TOKI settlements and gated communities have extended towards the edges of the cities, the city centers became subject to gentrification, after 1980. The social segregation, which manifested itself in the lifestyle and consumption habits, and the decentralization of the industry enabled cultural facilities to flourish in the urban centers, which in turn created a demand for residential areas within the city centers. Therefore, the neglected urban residential areas, most famously Cihangir, Kuzguncuk, Beyoğlu, and Tarlabaşı in Istanbul and Dikmen Valley in Ankara, for example, were renewed physically and culturally, after evacuating the initial low-income inhabitants, and became re-occupied instead by the high-income class.[532] The urban transformation through mass housing and gentrification revealed the rising prominence of the media image in the production and consumption of domestic space. Mass culture and consumerism that reigned over the cultural scene of the post-1980 era consolidated the decisive role of media on the house and private sphere.

Indeed, while the political and economic climate were not the only parameters that had an impact on the production and consumption of domestic architecture in the 1980s Turkey, they became mutually influential together with the changes in the cultural sphere, consumerism, and maturation of mass culture. Mass culture and mass

[531] Ibid., 257-258.

[532] C. Nil Uzun, "The Impact of Urban Renewal and Gentrification of Urban Fabric: Three Cases in Turkey", *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 94, no. 3 (2003): 363-365, https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9663.00263. Neil Smith explains the economic aspect of gentrification as the outcome of the capitalization of the rent gap that emerges through the distinction between potential ground rent and the actual ground rent. Besides factors like social hierarchy, culture, and consumer preferences, a variety of actors within the public and private sectors had involved in the gentrification process because of the attractiveness of the urban rents. The residential investments that aimed to attract the upper classes to the suburbs leveled down the property prices in the city centers. When the urban renovations recovered the appeal of the city centers and developed a rent gap, gentrification had naturally occurred. Neil Smith, "Toward a Theory of Gentrification A Back to the City Movement by Capital, not People", *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 45, no. 4 (November 2007): 540-545, https://doi.org/10.1080/01944367908977002. In other respects, according to Davidson and Lees, the new residential areas had the same gentrification characteristics with those of the renovated city centers regarding "reinvestment of capital", "social upgrading of locale by incoming high-income groups", and "landscape change"; yet, the evacuation still occurred obliquely. Mark Davidson and Loretta Lees, "New-build `gentrification' and London's riverside renaissance", *Environment and Planning A*, 37 (2005): 1169-1170

communication, rooted in the late Ottoman period, had expanded in the Modern era and progressed rapidly in the 1980s. The emerging consumer culture and printed media were homogenized and democratized, and radio was introduced in the early 20th century period. Then, in the post-war era, consumer culture and information and communication networks were developed. Most importantly, in the 1970s, television was presented to the audience. Finally, the mass culture and mass communication became ubiquitous by reaching every corner of art, architecture, and everyday life, after the 1980s.

6.2. Postmodernism and Mass Culture

The changes in the cultural climate were formed in conjunction with the radical break in the politics and economy of Turkey after 1980.[533] The 1980s is distinguished from the previous repression periods by the coexistence of repression and promise of cultural liberation.[534] The link between the social and cultural spheres and the political economy of the period appeared ambivalent yet reciprocal. [535] While the ideologically charged context of the 1970s was concluded with the repressive policies and depoliticization enforced by the state, the adaptation of the neoliberal economy facilitated the free market and importation in the 1980s. The discontinuity in the socio-political pluralism of the 1970s as a consequence of the political repression and depoliticization and the enhanced availability of consumer goods through neoliberal policies stimulated the consumer culture amongst masses to build new identities via consumerism in the 1980s.[536] As journalist Canan Barlas commented in 1987, by referring to the Özal government, the political identities were displaced by the variety in consumer habits, and mass culture became the new form of expression: "Here, the issue of providing services rather than ideology emerges. It gives importance to individual values to a certain extent. It presents the consumer society. It brings the

[533] Gürbilek, *Vitrinde Yaşamak*, 21.

[534] Ibid., 102.

[535] Ibid., 21.

[536] Kozanoğlu, *Cilalı İmaj Devri*, 124.

people forward who differ by consuming".[537] As such, the consumption norms gained prominence in order to manifest distinction and individuality in everyday life. New modes of identity structures were constituted based on consumption, media, and popular culture. Emerging and cultivating spatial media of consumption, such as "supermarkets, international hotels, retail and fast-food chains, office and residential towers", gated communities, and particularly shopping centers with early examples like *Karum* (1988-1991) in Ankara and *Akmerkez* (1991-1993) in Istanbul, embodied the 'lifestyles' and consumption patterns of the new mass society that emerged after 1980.[538] The advertising sector, which flourished in parallel to the free market economy and permitted importation, dignified the 'Western' style consumer habits by highlighting 'exclusivity' and 'classiness' through mass communication and the increased media channels.[539] Mass culture culminated in new consumption norms and spaces of consumption, supported by advertisement and developments in mass media. Expedited circulation and transmission of the symbolic goods via mass media through the advancements in communication technology and liberation, the proliferation of communication channels, and even omnipresence of media consolidated the mass culture more than ever before in 1980s Turkey.

With the increase in quantity and variation of printed media in the 1980s, the end of the state monopoly on radio and television and establishment of the local and national private television channels and radios at the beginning of the 1990s, the mass media in the Turkish context increased drastically. Radio was re-popularized in the 1980s and 1990s; yet, it could not reach the extent of the impact of television.[540] Television became integrated with the visualization and entertainment industry as a unique cultural aspect after 1980.[541] Colored television broadcasting, which was introduced

[537] Bali, *Tarz-ı Hayattan Life Style'a,* 32.

[538] Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Turkey, Modern Architectures in History*, 205.

[539] Bali, *Tarz-ı Hayattan Life Style'a*, 28.

[540] Can Kozanoğlu, "80'lerde Gündelik Hayat", in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi: Yüzyıl Biterken*, ed. Fahri Aral *et. al*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1996), 599.

[541] Ahmet Oktay, "80'lerde Türkiye'de Kültürel Değişim", in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi: Yüzyıl Biterken*, ed. Fahri Aral *et. al*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1996), 823.

in 1981, and the increase in the number of public television channels (TRT) starting from 1989,[542] and that of the private television channels starting from 1990,[543] signify not only technological advancements in Turkey but also the rising prominence of the visual culture and visuality in the last decade of the 20th century. Diminishing state censorship on media and the growing number of media channels and broadcasts liberated and reinforced the mass media in Turkey in this period.[544] Therefore, types of cultural production which were not seen in the Kemalist high culture, such as arabesk culture, rural culture, Islamic culture, and overall popular culture, has received widespread media coverage, primarily with the escalating consumer demands of varying social classes and groups. The hierarchy between the high culture of the Republican elite and the popular culture was replaced by a modernization defined by heterogeneous and plural content in media. Cultural identities and subcultures outside the official culture[545] found the opportunity to self-represent in commodity form for masses to consume.[546] Indeed, as Murat Belge asserted, the increasing number of television channels, radios, and the volume of broadcasting induced more depthlessness and reproduction rather than diversification. Within the 'commercial race', Western and domestic models of popular culture were imitated and reproduced. Appeal to popular taste was favored amongst the mass communication channels to cope with the market dynamics and media competition.[547] Likewise, the architectural

[542] "Tarihçe".

[543] "Star 28 Yaşında!", Star TV, last modified May, 7, 2018, https://www.startv.com.tr/haber-detay/star-28-yasinda.

[544] Murat Belge, "Yeni İnsan, Yeni Kültür", in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi: Yüzyıl Biterken*, ed. Fahri Aral *et. al*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1996), 830.

[545] Official culture signifies the culture that is supported, promoted, legitimated, and institutionalized in a society by the state elite or *bourgeoisie*. In the Turkish context, the official culture corresponds to a set of cultural values propagated to built the ideal modern Turkish nation envisioned in the Kemalist modernization and westernization project. A homogeneous society on the basis of "republicanism, nationalism, secularism, and nationalism" was desired and imposed by the Republican elite. To accomplish this goal, heterogeneous and plural cultures of ordinary people based on diverse "religious, ethnic, linguistic, and cultural" backgrounds were repressed for the sake of unity and homogeneity. Asu Aksoy and Kevin Robins, "Peripheral vision: Cultural industries and cultural identities in Turkey", *Paragraph*, 29, no. 11 (March, 1997): 1938, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/23538506.

[546] Gürbilek, *Vitrinde Yaşamak*, 102-109.

[547] Belge, "Yeni İnsan, Yeni Kültür", 830.

media, enriched with new periodicals in the 1980s and 1990s, such as *Arredamento Dekorasyon* (1989), *Tasarım* (1989), and *Mimarlık & Dekorasyon* (1991), responded to the commercial concerns of the period by reconciling and integrating the 'conspicuous' facet of architecture and particularly of interior design for the consumer in order to be embraced by a wider audience.[548] The boundaries between art and architecture and everyday life and popular culture became ambiguous. Architectural media functioned as a bridge between architecture and the mass audience. Architecture began to be represented in such a way that the intellectual and professional goals, as well as the commercial concerns and consumer taste, could be fulfilled altogether.

According to Ahmet Oktay, the predominant inclinations in the media, namely, the visualization, commodification, reconciliation of different codes such as high art and popular culture, production and dissemination of symbolic goods, reproduction of signs and images after 1980 should be evaluated within the framework of postmodernism.[549] Postmodern dispositions such as hybridity, irony, pastiche, mix of styles, eclecticism, historical and vernacular references, the uncertainty between high culture and low culture, combination of global and local and technological and traditional within the field of art and architecture have concurred with the novelties in consumption, mass media, and popular culture as Bozdoğan and Akcan explained:

> In all expressions of culture (from art and architecture to literature, music, and cinema) austerity, paternalism, and universalistic claims of official republican modernism have been challenged by a plurality of postmodern stylistic experiments and by diverse expressions of popular culture, such as the incorporation of vernacular and historical references in architecture or popularity of hybrids forms like arabesk or Turkish-pop in music.[550]

As in art and cultural production, the common practice in architecture complied with the postmodern tendencies that mixed various codes to be distinguished in mass culture. Aydan Balamir remarked that the architectural counterpart of the 'rising values' of the period, as a manifestation of cultural tolerance, became the plurality of

[548] Özdel, "Architectural Periodicals", 88-103.

[549] Oktay, "80'lerde Türkiye'de Kültürel Değişim", 823.

[550] Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Turkey, Modern Architectures in History*,204.

styles that was convenient for the architectural production for all tastes.[551] The fragmentation in the cultural sphere is mirrored with plural forms and styles, such as collage of different consumer identities, prestige architecture and new monumentalism through an emphasis on 'hi-class' and 'hi-tech' in architecture that responded to the consumer demand and market forces. On the other hand, the appropriation and internalization of the intellectual base of postmodern art and architecture provoked authenticity to a certain extent in Turkish architecture.[552] Philosophers such as Foucault, Lyotard, Baudrillard, Jameson, Deleuze, and Guattari are translated into Turkish in the 1980s.[553] The theoretical debates in the Turkish architectural agenda coincided with the adaptation of the practice of postmodern art and architecture. Unlike the architectural movements, images, forms, and styles, which were directly 'imported' and emulated from the West until the 1970s and 1980s, postmodernism in Turkey was contemplated and criticized by the professional and academic circles of architecture. Architects tried to find authenticity mainly through free form experiments, historical and vernacular interpretations, and a synthesis of global and local; nevertheless it is not possible to define clearly aspects of postmodernism in the Turkish context.[554] Examples such as Sürücüler Terrace Houses (1989) by Merih Karaaslan, Demir Houses (1987) by Turgut Cansever, Deputy Housing Complex (1984) by Behruz Çinici, and Sağra Lodgings and Guest Houses by Mehmet Konuralp (1984) represent those postmodern architectural tendencies after 1980.[555] (fig. 102)

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[551] Aydan Balamir, "Mimari Kimlik Temrinleri II: Türkiye'de Modern Yapı Kültürünün Bir Profili", *Mimarlık*, no. 314 (November-December, 2003), http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=26&RecID=260#.

[552] Ibid.

[553] Oktay, "80'lerde Türkiye'de Kültürel Değişim", 823.

[554] Mine Kazmaoğlu and Uğur Tanyeli, "1980'li Yılların Türk Mimarlık Dünyasına Bir Bakış", *Mimarlık*, no. 221 (1986): 42.

[555] In Sürücüler Terrace Houses (1989) in Ankara, the architects designed a series of terraced houses, instead of high-rise buildings as advised in the development plan of the area. Taking the building culture and image of Cappadocia as their source of inspiration, they experimented with color and form in the terraced units and inclined roofs in order to create the appearance of an artificial valley with sloped housing rows facing each other. Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Turkey, Modern Architectures in History*, 276-277. Sürücüler Terrace House project exemplifies the search on free form to gain prominence amongst the prevailing conventional architectural productions as well as a subtle interpretation of historical and vernacular codes taken from Cappadocia. Historical and vernacular references are more evident in the

The transformations in media and mass culture, in conjunction with the political and economic climate, changed not only the architectural thought and production but also the relationship between the public and private spheres in Turkey of 1980s. The altering modes of modernity, consumption, and mass communication affected the ideals and reality concerning the meaning, use and design of domestic space regarding both its interior and also how it was perceived in relation to the public sphere. The ongoing conceptual segregation of the private sphere from the public, since the Ottoman era loosened in the 1980s with the change in the understanding of privacy as well as progress in mass media. Media became the primary source connecting and interpenetrating the private and public, notably in the periods when the house functioned as the haven in defense to repression and segregation in public life. Different from the conceptual and material segregation of private and public spheres in the West, which was based on such Victorian attributes a as honor, morality, gender roles, function and health against the forces of industrialization, the Ottoman approach to separating public from private came from the Islamic norms that were attributed to the private sphere such as secrecy, privation, forbiddance, and gender roles. The seclusion of the private sphere remained relevant and was adapted to the modern domestic practices in the Republican period as well and remained as such to a great extent until the 1980s. Therefore, it can be stated that media, especially television, has

Deputy Housing Complex and Demir Houses in significantly distinct ways. The Deputy Housing Complex (1984) aimed to reconciliate past and present, modern and traditional. The site plan of the building complex is an interpretation of the traditional Anatolian neighborhood with courtyards. Wide eaves, window proportions, cantilevers evoking the traditional bay windows (*cumba*), and the staircase and cupboard details used in the interiors demonstrate the contemporary translation of the traditional house.[555] In Demir Houses (1987) in Bodrum, Turgut Cansever referred to the Greek, Byzantine, and Ottoman heritages. In this respect, he highlighted cultural integrity and continuity in design. His approach reflected on the design in terms of the variety of the houses that blend into a whole by means of a common architectural language. Local stones, wood, and exposed concrete are combined to produce a vernacular design with a modern look. "Demir Tatil Köyü", Arkitektüel, last modified May 20, 2017, https://www.arkitektuel.com/demir-tatil-koyu/. Esra Akcan, "Sanatın ve Mimarlığın Göreli Özerkliği/Özgürlüğü Üzerine", *Mimarlık*, no. 257 (1994): 22. In Sağra Lodgings and Guest Houses (1984) built for the hazelnut production and marketing company Sağra, Mehmet Konuralp is inspired from the local small buildings of the Black Sea Region, called '*serander'*, where products such as hazelnuts and corn are stored. These storage units are built on poles to protect the goods from animals and ground humidity. Konuralp reinterpreted the serander; the Sağra complex is elevated on pilotis and constructed with modern materials and techniques. By standing between global and local, the complex represents a fusion of different design elements and approaches in Turkish postmodern architecture in the 1980s. Dostoğlu, "Modern Sonrası Mimarlık Anlayışları", 49.

transformed the relationship between public and private in a manner similar to the West, but did so in a more radical way.

6.3. From Parlor to Living Room

It is a fact that the process of the interpenetration of public and private within the house began with the introduction of television in the 1970s; the flexible layout and use of domestic space however, became an ideal only in the 1980s, after the shift in culture, rising significance of mass communication, and "flows of globalization and urbanization".[556] The spatial boundary between public and private within the house, which once signified modernity, came to symbolize the traditional facet of the Turkish domesticity.[557] The 'Western-style' multifunctional living rooms started to be embraced as manifestations of modernity. Thus, the living rooms gained the function of everyday domestic activities besides being the showcase of status for the outside gaze.[558] On the other hand, the interpenetration of public and private spheres via media, in particular via TV, became rooted with the increase in the use of electronic media and expansion of mass media in Turkey, and the increase in the representation of the private sphere in the media channels. According to Nurdan Gürbilek, media became the connection point between house and outside, especially in the repression period after the 1980 *coup d'état*:[559]

> The slide of interest from the public to the private which began in Turkey in the 1980s was doubtless in part coerced. Every repressive period, every constraint put upon the life of the street, the workplace, trade unions, political organizations or private institutions, forces people to withdraw, into the home, into solitude, into the inner world. But what left its stamp on Turkey in this period was not this kind of inward turn, not a withdrawal into privacy. On the contrary, what had long been private was brought out into the open; it was transformed into news, information, images.[560]

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[556] Ibid., 5-6.

[557] Ibid.

[558] Ibid., 15-16.

[559] Nurdan Gürbilek, *New Cultural Climate in Turkey: Living in a Shop Window*, trans. by Victoria Holbrook (New York: Zed Books, 2013), e-book, chap. 3, para. 5.

[560] Ibid.

The political repression as well as heterogeneity and segregation created by the neoliberal economic policies of the 1980s resulted in the decline of urban life. Under these conditions, the withdrawal from public to 'home' as the haven reconstructed the relationship between public sphere and private sphere on the basis of mass communication. The private sphere became subjected to mediated gaze and 'voyeurism' of the public,[561] by means of the emerging "private life industry"[562]; thus, the absence of public sphere was compensated with the disclosure of privacy.[563] The diminishing boundaries between public and private became evident in language too. According to Gürbilek, the concept of *özel hayat* emerged and disseminated in media as the equivalent of 'private life'. The word *özel* designating individuality and ownership took the place of archaic term *mahrem*, which signifies privation (*harem* /*haram*)[564] and "the centuries old barrier of seclusion" of house".[565] The transition from *mahrem* to '*özel'* demonstrated the end of the absolute segregation of spheres in the house through media. Newspapers, books, magazines, movies, television and radio programs, and advertisements produced, aestheticized, and exhibited the privacy related contents for masses to consume.[566] The publications as to architecture and interior design displayed the house interiors of the publicly recognized figures, in the 1980s and 1990s. In fact, the disclosure of privacy became a way to show social status.[567] The domestic sphere was not only presented as a setting of consumption through media, but its qualities became the object of desire in the public sphere as well. Homelike features that suited the lifestyles of the consumers were promoted by the mass communication channels. Implications of private life, such as comfort, informality, and casualness were advocated in the visuals and language of media;

[561] Gürbilek, *Vitrinde Yaşamak*, 66.

[562] Ibid., 54.

[563] Ibid., 54-55.

[564] Ibid., 57.

[565] Nasır, Timur and Gürel, "Living Rooms Occupied", 16.

[566] Gürbilek, *Vitrinde Yaşamak*, 55.

[567] Nasır, Timur and Gürel, "Living Rooms Occupied", 12.

especially in advertisements.[568] The domestic sphere became unveiled, discussed, and simulated within public sphere through media; while media brought the public sphere into house.

Television played a central role more than other means of mass communication in the withdrawal from the public into home. Television in the Turkish context became a 'window' connecting the home to the outside in the absence of public life. It predominated the education, culture, art, entertainment, information flow, public discussions, and even social organizations in an environment, where the access and capacity of other mediums such as radio and printed media remained inadequate in comparison with the visual communication power of television. Television had eventually reached and penetrated not only houses but also every corner of everyday life, from restaurants and shops to offices and even intercity buses. The domestic sphere, in which the impact of television was perceived at the utmost, was transformed physically and ontologically in tandem with the invasion of the home by the television and other media instruments as well as the economic and cultural context of the period.[569] The spatial echoes of television that started in the 1970s came into sight, starting from the 1980s. Either the choice of the client or architect, television became determinative regarding the use and design of the domestic space; as Güzer expressed: "In most of the houses I have entered, I have the feeling that televisions have always been there, and the houses are built around them".[570] Güzer emphasizes the spatial importance of television in the private sphere as a determinative object. Indeed, television mediated a radical turn in the construction, use, and experience of domestic space. The engagement between public and private, which gradually developed since the beginning of the 20th century in the West, was more sharply established in modern Turkey through two key events: the introduction of consumer culture and electronic media. Television, in particular, has been crucial in terms of redefining the spatial boundaries within domestic space and reconceptualizing privacy in connection with

[568] Gürbilek, *Vitrinde Yaşamak*, 67.

[569] Güzer, *Konut Üzerine De(ne)meler*, 43-45.

[570] Ibid., 43.

the public sphere, leisure, and entertainment. With the introduction of PCs and mobile media at the end of the 20th century, the ambiguities between global and local, public and private, work and leisure have risen to a level that the spatial limits of the house began to have no communicative significance. In this framework, the traces of these transformations in the house and private sphere can be found in architectural and popular media and, more significantly, domestic architecture itself.

6.4. Television and Domestic Space

With the changing understanding of modernity, television gradually brought the public sphere into the private and leisure activities into the parlor, thereby ending the museum parlor practice. The house gained the characteristics of public sphere through the continuous circulation of local and global cultural products on the screen. In fact, the radical cultural transformation in the 1980s is usually identified with the emergence of television culture. The traces of this cultural shift can be found in the products of popular culture in Turkey as well. For instance, Yavuz Turgul's film *Aşk Filmlerinin Unutulmaz Yönetmeni* (1990)[571], which tells the story of a film director, successfully illustrates the cultural climate of the era in relation to the television. In a dialogue, Nihat's character talks about his 100-year-old tortoise: "What a strange look. This tortoise has seen the Sultan; he has seen the Republic, one party, many parties, three revolutions, television, Eurovision, and more."[572] He counts television and Eurovision[573] as one of the turning points of the modern Turkish cultural context. In addition, the television set placed at the center of the living room of Haşmet's house, the leading character of the film, illustrates the engagement of television into the domestic setting. One scene that captures Haşmet's son performing Michael Jackson dance in front of a television set in the living room, furthermore, confirms the impact

[571] "*Aşk Filmlerinin Unutulmaz Yönetmeni*", Türk Sineması Araştırmaları, accessed August 8, 2021, https://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/film/filmgoster/778/ask-filmlerinin-unutulmaz-yonetmeni.

[572] Erler Film Türker İnanoğlu, "Aşk Filmlerinin Unutulmaz Yönetmeni | Şener Şen, Pıtırcık Akerman", Youtube, last modified February 22, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jj_FQRjvC4I&t=1s.

[573] Eurovision is an annual televised singing competition among the European countries since the 1950s. Turkey has started to participate in the competition since 1975. "Countries: Turkey", Eurovision Song Contest, accessed August 5, 2021, https://eurovision.tv/country/turkey.

of television and globalized mass culture. (fig. 103) In his book *80'lerde Çocuk Olmak* (Being a Child in the 80s), a collection of memoirs of the writers, prominent figures, and professionals who spent their childhood in the 1980s, Onur Behramoğlu narrates his childhood perspective in relation to the penetration of mass culture in every corner of life by saying that:

> I followed the TV series Dallas, The White Shadow, Moonlighting, Dempsey & Makepeace, MacGyver, Alf, Mission Impossible, *Küçük Hanımefendi*, Knight Rider, Shogun, Pippi Longstocking, The Golden Girls, Benny Hill, The Cosby Show, Charles in Charge, Webster, The A-Team, The Twilight Zone, Yes Minister, The Streets of San Francisco, and, like most of my peers, I dreamt about Sam of Generations and Feride of the *Çalıkuşu* when I was a child in Istanbul... Cousin Larry and Cousin Balki were family members; so are Adile Naşit and 'Captain Kusto'... Lucky Luck's adventures while having Sunday breakfast and right after the cowboy movie is expected; though boring at times, the Sunday concert was listened to with respect.[574]

Behramoğlu, indeed, portrays the everyday life a television-obsessed mass culture. In the socio-political atmosphere that causes a retreat from the public to the private sphere in the 1980a, television becomes one of the few sources of leisure and entertainment, especially for the lower and middle classes, while the fictional characters introduced in films and TV series are embraced as family members by them. Likewise, Perihan's character, one of the leading roles as the homemaker in *Kiracı* (1987) film directed by Orhan Aksoy[575], proclaims television as the only source of her 'happiness' in the house. (fig. 104) *Milyarder* (1986), directed by Kartal Tibet[576], shows scenes from the houses of families celebrating New Year's Eve by gathering around their televisions. (fig. 105) In some film examples, television participates event into the act. In a scene in *Çıplak Vatandaş* (1985) by Başar Sabuncu[577], the protagonist speaks to the

[574] Onur Behramoğlu, "Nemeçek, Kunta Kinte, Kamber Ateş Nasılsın?", in *80'lerde Çocuk Olmak*, ed. by Kadir Aydemir (Istanbul: Yitik Ülke Yayınları, 2013), 22.

[575] "*Kiracı*", Türk Sineması Araştırmaları, accessed August 8, 2021,

https://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/film/filmgoster/3588/kiraci.

[576] "*Milyarder*", Türk Sineması Araştırmaları, accessed August 8, 2021,

https://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/film/filmgoster/1495/milyarder.

[577] "*Çıplak Vatandaş*", Türk Sineması Araştırmaları, accessed August 8, 2021,

https://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/film/filmgoster/880/ciplak-vatandas.

television in which he sees his reflection. In the same film, a state-of-the-art television is the first object to enter the family's new house and signifies getting wealthier. In *Aaahh Belinda* (1986), directed by Atıf Yılmaz[578], the protagonist is fictionally trapped in a television advertisement. (fig. 106) One of the places shown in Ertem Eğilmez's *Namuslu* (1985)[579], where television is the focal point in most domestic space scenes, is a television shop. (fig. 107) The emergent Turkish television series towards the late 1980s, which mainly focused on topics such as the domestic sphere, family relations, apartment life, and neighborhood, have e television and watching television as an indispensible part of daily life. (fig. 108) Thus, the ubiquity of televised mass culture was exposed through popular culture and media in the 1980s, and hence, its spatial manifestations were inevitable.

Television's integration into architectural design practice began also in the 1980s. The photographs of buildings showing portable televisions, such as Çakırhan House (1971) by Nail Çakırhan[580] and Nafi Bak House (1972) by Utarit İzgi[581] exemplify the use of television as a major component of space in the interior settings in the 1970s.(fig. 109) Television started to be represented in architectural projects in the first half of the 1980s but began to impose a strong impact on spatial design after the 1980s. For example, it was epresented in the plans of the prize-winning projects of the National Architectural Project Competition for Rental Housing in Slum Prevention Zones and Underdeveloped Regions (*Gecekondu Önleme Bölgeleri ve Geri Kalmış Yörelerde*

[578] "*Aaahh Belinda*", Türk Sineması Araştırmaları, accessed August 8, 2021, https://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/film/filmgoster/1292/aaahh-belinda.

[579] "*Namuslu*", Türk Sineması Araştırmaları, accessed August 8, 2021,

https://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/film/filmgoster/499/namuslu.

[580] "Çakırhan Evi, Türkiye", *Mimarlık*, no.195 (1983): 29-30,

http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=247.

[581] "Ulus'taki Nafi Bak Evi fotoğrafları - Photographs of Nafi Bak House in Ulus", Salt Research, last modified September 14, 2018, https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/71997.

Kiralık Konut Ulusal Mimari Proje Yarışması) 1982)[582] and Evin Apartment (1984) by Hüseyin Egeli,[583] yet without a remarkable effect on the spatial layout. Starting from the second half of the 1980s however, the spatial influence of television on domestic architecture came into prominence. (fig. 110 and fig. 111)

Designed by Hayzuran Hasol and Doğan Hasol Zeytinoğlu House, also known as A House in Çamlıca (1988) is a single-family villa located in Istanbul. (fig. 112) The house consists of three main parts used for domestic activities, receptions, and services. The house is organized around an inner courtyard with five half levels. The first level accommodates the functions of winter lounge, billiard, dark-room, wine cellar, and heater core. The kitchen, parlor, dining room, and private living/television room are on the second level. The entrance is provided from the third level. A section for the guests – named as the guest apartment – and also a section for the personnel containing two rooms, a bathroom, and kitchenette are also on the third level. The fourth and fifth levels are allocated to the family. A living/office space and master bedroom with a changing room and bathroom occupy the fourth level and children's rooms, a bathroom, a laundry room, and a gym are placed on the fifth level. The main parlor, located between the inner courtyard and garden and also interconnected with the dining room and living/television room on the second level, has a double-height ceiling that provides visual contact with the living/office space on the fourth level. The garden is directly accessible from the parlor. The sliding door between the dining room and parlor makes the use of space flexible, allowing to separate or connect the volume when necessary. The private living/television room is separated visually from the parlor by a level difference of few steps and a suspended fireplace in between.[584] The television section is arranged as a third-focus next to the lounge and dining room couple. This section, which was reserved for a fireplace in the pre-1980 examples of

[582] "Gecekondu Önleme Bölgeleri ve Geri Kalmış Yörelerde Kiralık Konut Ulusal Mimari Proje Yarışması", *Mimarlık*, no. 182 (1982): 13-31, http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=235.

[583] Hüseyin Egeli, "Evin Apartmanı", *Ege Mimarlık*, 1993, no. 3 (1993): 53-55, http://egemimarlik.org/1993-3/index.php.

[584] Yapı Endüstri Merkezi, *Konutlar: Villalar, Toplukonutlar ve Siteler, Yenileme Çalışmaları* (İstanbul: YEM Yayın, 1995), 31-38.

domestic architecture, is defined as a living/television room, as a consequence of the predomination of television that began in the 1980s. Although a suspended fireplace is also set in the parlor, it functions as an architectural element that separates the space between the parlor and living/television room rather than a focal point regulating the sitting group. The parlor and living room were not designed as a totally segregated suite; yet, they are partially disjoined by the level difference and the suspended fireplace. The public qualities attributed to the parlor, such as visual connection with the fourth floor and direct access to the garden, are not valid for the living/television room. The living/television room has private characteristics in comparison with the parlor. Therefore, the reception and living, public and private, started to be interpenetrated within the domestic sphere to some extent. Two possible scenarios can be gathered from the plan layout and spatial integration of the television. The first scenario is that the television took the place of the fireplace. The second one is that the fireplace's position, which is identified with the part of reception rather than leisure, is weakened with the gradual abundance of the traditional understanding of the segregated parlor in the case of the Zeytinoğlu House.

The two-story villa called as Teoman Baygan House (1991-1993) is designed by Joys Israel who described it as "cubic, geometric, and essentially modernist".[585] (fig. 113) The architect emphasizes the elliptical hall with a gallery space above located at the entrance, as a constituent parameter in building's identity and use of distinctive materials such as green Sapanca marble and the stainless steel. The ground floor and upper floor are designed independently. Two bedrooms, two bathrooms, one living room, and two terraces that are located on the upper floor is allotted to the use of the family's two daughters, who occasionally visit the house. On the ground floor, there are a three-part parlor, living and working spaces of the residents, and a large kitchen opening to the garden. A platform was constructed in front of the kitchen as a wind barrier for the outdoor dinner parties.[586] The three-part parlor includes the dining room

[585] Joys Israel, "Teoman Baygan Evi", *Ege Mimarlık*, 1994, no.3 (1994): 47, http://egemimarlik.org/1994-3/index.php.

[586] Ibid., 47.

on one side and the office/television room on the other. In this respect, the typology of the parlor in the Teoman Baygan House is very much the same as the one in the Zeytinoğlu House.

The three-part layout composed of dining, sitting, and television sections is also applied in Esin Önder House (1992-1993) by Özen Otağ[587] and Alacaatlı Houses by Danyal Tevfik Çiper. (fig 114. and fig. 115) Esin Önder House is a two-story twin villa with a three-part living suit. There are three bedrooms and two bathrooms on the upper floor. On the ground floor, an entrance opens to a kitchen, toilet, and utility room. After passing this section, comes an L-shaped and three-part living suit with two sitting groups and a dining area. The dining section is divided from the main part through a console. One of the sitting groups is arranged by taking television as its center. Alacaatlı Houses Project is an unrealized project of Danyal Tevfik Çiper. In the three-story villas the basement floor, ground floor, and upper floor connect vertically via a circular atrium and a circular staircase rising from an inner garden at the basement. A multifunctional hall for such activities as fitness and billiard opens to the utility room, swimming pool, and change rooms. There is also a maid's room with a toilet and bathroom which has a separate access from the outside. The multifunctional hall has a direct contact with the garden as well. The ground floor is occupied by a guestroom and a kitchen, a toilet designed on the sides of a three-part parlor at the center. Çiper tagged the parts in the drawings as the "living parlor", "dining", and "living-television". There is a fireplace corner next to the guestroom and an American bar between the living-television space and kitchen. Although the fireplace and American bar are present on the ground floor, the architect chose to designate one of the three parts to the television. The space above the living parlor provides visual connection with a hall with breakfast area on the upper floor. A master bedroom, two children's rooms, and two bathrooms are placed encompassing the atrium and hall on the upper floor. Furthermore, the functions of the spaces in three-part configuration alternates in the examples of a villa design and İncek Houses by Çiper as well. (fig. 116. And fig. 117) The villa design is a formal exploration of

[587] "Esin Önder Evi", *Ege Mimarlık*, 1996, no. 1 (1996): 48-49, http://egemimarlik.org/18/index.php.

domestic architecture executed by the architect.[588] In the plan surveys of the two-story villa, the upper floor is reserved for the private rooms. In type 2 ground-floor plan, there is a living parlor with a corner for American bar and partially closed living/television room. On the other hand, the parlor is made of living parlor, television/music, and fireplace sections on the ground-floor plan of İncek Houses, in which the upper floor is allocated to private bedrooms and the basement accommodates the utility rooms and a swimming pool.

The Square House (1991) or Sarda Residence (fig. 118) by Güngör Kaftancı is composed of spaces placed in a square mass diagonally. In the two-story villa, four bedrooms and two bathrooms are located on the upper floor.[589] On the ground floor, a kitchen with a maid's room, a parlor, and a terrace are planned along the diagonal axis while the entrance, a staircase, and dining room are designed along the transverse axis. The parlor with a double-height ceiling engages with the upper-floor hall visually. The parlor contains three sitting groups. Two sitting groups are arranged next to the windows and the third is placed around a fireplace. The fireplace, which is also at the intersection of the diagonal design lines, constitutes a visual and spatial center in the parlor. The dining room and parlor are partitioned by a console, television set, and a level difference. The television set found in between the dining room and parlor is oriented to one sitting group in the parlor. In contrast with the Zeytinoğlu House, the fireplace retains its role in the reception area as the visual and physical focus. The television, on the other hand, is adapted as a virtually architectural element to divide and define the space. However, it does not have a further determinative function in the Square House.

Hasol House (1994) also demonstrates the adoption of television into the private sphere without assigning a determinative role due to the fact that sea view predominates the plan order; thus the television and the fireplace could only serve as secondary features. (fig. 119) Hasol House, located on a seashore road between

[588] Cengizkan, Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar, 133.

[589] Yapı Endüstri Merkezi, *Konutlar*, 49-52.

Üsküdar and Kuzguncuk in İstanbul is a renewal project accomplished by Hayzuran Hasol and Doğan Hasol for their own use. The renovation included redesigning a small mansion and its outhouse. The buildings were redesigned with the intent to fulfill the needs of the Hasol family. The outhouse is built as a studio apartment for the guests on the upper floor consisting of a living room/bedroom, an open kitchen, and a bathroom. There are bedroom and wet spaces assigned for the use of personnel on the lower floor. In the plan layout of the mansion, a kitchen and dining room are planned at the waterfront level. Above the waterfront level, the entrance level is allocated to a living room with a working corner while the two bedrooms with bathrooms are on the upper level.[590] The architects did not employ a parlor in the design. The reason of the exclusion of the parlor from the design could be the small size of the house or the lifestyle of the residents in line with the elimination of the parlor by the new understanding of the modernity that favors multifunctional living rooms. The sitting group in the living room is directed towards the sea view. A fireplace and television stand side by side on one side of the living room. There is no hierarchy between the fireplace and television regarding the positions and the influence on the arrangement of the living room.

The layout in which television and the fireplace stand side by side in Hasol House is also seen in the Sevinç Atamer House (fig. 120) designed by Danyal Tevfik Çiper. Sevinç Atamer House, a two-story summer villa, is a rare example in Çiper's architecture, due to the absence of circular masses and forms which Çiper frequently used in his projects.[591] The upper floor accommodates bedrooms, guest bedrooms, and a bathroom. On the ground floor, besides the open-planned living parlor and the kitchen, there is a bedroom for the matriarch of the family (*valide hanım yatak odası*) and a bathroom. The open kitchen is in between the matriarch's bedroom and the bathroom. In the middle of the plan, a staircase as the only circular feature of the house reaches to the upper floor and, at the same time, divides the space on the ground floor.

[590] Yapı Endüstri Merkezi, *Konutlar*, 39-46.

[591] N. Müge Cengizkan, ed., *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar: Danyal Tevfik Çiper* (Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınevi, 2013), 128.

The open kitchen connects to the living parlor through the bar and the dining areas, each on the two sides of the staircase. Moving from the bar to the living parlor, there is a space reserved to the fireplace and radio-television corner arranged side by side. Although it is unclear whether it was designed by the architect or preferred by the user, the interior photographs of Erdem Hamami Apartment (1985), designed by Utarit İzgi,[592] and İyem House (1986) by Erkal Gülgören[593] also show the side-by-side use of fireplace and television as the visual center of the reception area. (fig. 121. and fig. 122)

İhsan Tırı House (1998), a villa project by Danyal Tevfik Çiper and constructed in Gölbaşı, Ankara is another exemplary case.[594] (fig. 123) The villa is entered from the first floor through wide stairs. The private spaces are placed on the second floor that includes two guestrooms, one bedroom, two bathrooms, a dressing room, a closet room, and terraces. The spaces are distinguished by level differences on the first floor which has an open plan. After passing the entrance hall between the working/pre-reception room and the staircase and cloakroom, comes a large parlor with a fireplace at the center. It connects to a guest dining room reached by a couple of steps. The barbeque and the dining terraces on the front act as the extensions of the interior layout with direct access from the parlor. A large kitchen follows the guest dining room at the same level. A multifunctional space designated to breakfast, living, and television is configured within the kitchen adjacent to the guest dining room. Thus, the plan layout of the İhsan Tırı House exemplifies the tendency for the interpenetration of public and private in the domestic sphere. On the one hand, the terraces on the first floor are the functional extent of the parlor and dining room while on the other, the parlor and the living space with television are set apart, yet not isolated. The television set, moreover contributed to the fluidity and openness of the plan by transmitting

[592] "Erdem Hamami Apartmanı İç Mekân Düzenlemesi Fotoğrafları - Photographs of the Interior Design of Erdem Hamami Building", Salt Research, last modified September 14,2018, https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/69910.

[593] "İyem'lerle Bezeli Bir Ev / Erkal Güngören (1986)", Threader, accessed July 3, 2020, https://threader.app/thread/1147409886390697984.

[594] Cengizkan, *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar*, 108.

public messages and broadcasts into the private sphere. The living space with the television allocated to the domestic activities is the continuation of the reception in the open plan of the first floor. The space assigned to the television, on the other hand, is a semi-private area assumably for intimate family dining. It shows how television became appropriated and incorporated into the 'backstage' of the domestic activities; at the same time, the domestic activities become closer to the conspicuous facet of the private sphere.

Gölbaşı İncek Houses (1999) by Danyal Tevfik Çiper is an unconstructed settlement planned in Ankara. The project was envisioned to compose of large houses dispersed in a farmland, where the zoning scheme was newly developed. Çiper worked on the house which belonged to Yavuz Cengiz more than the others, the project of which is primarily based on the three building types developed for the project by the architect.[595] All four types are two-story single-family courtyard villas with luxurious amenities. The ground floor of type 1 (fig. 124) house is reserved for recreational facilities, namely a gym, indoor swimming pool, billiard room, sauna, a car park on the one side, and for reception with a kitchen, parlor, dining room and guest section at the other. A courtyard with a small lemon orchard is designed between the two parts of the ground floor. The double-height parlor, which occupies a large area at the center, is separated from the dining room and kitchen by an American bar and a fireplace respectively. On the upper floor, five bedrooms, an office, bathrooms, closet rooms, service areas, and a television room are set up in the space remaining from the courtyard and the atrium placed above the swimming pool and parlor. Three out of the five bedrooms have living spaces besides the sleeping space. The television room stands at the center of the upper floor, at the edge of the L-shaped corridor that faces the gallery space and connects the rooms. The American bar positioned between the dining and parlor and the fireplace between the kitchen and parlor preserve their importance as the iconic consumption markers and focal points within the parlor as in the pre-1980s period. The television, on the other hand, is disconnected from the reception area and its conspicuousness, and became part of the private activity within

[595] Ibid., 109-111.

the domestic sphere. The plan layout of type 2 (fig. 125) is also organized around a courtyard. The ground floor is allocated only to a kitchen, dining room, and parlor with an American bar; the guestrooms, swimming pool, parlor-gym suite with an American bar, and garage are placed at the basement floor. Similar to type 1, the private bedrooms and wet spaces are on the upper floor. The bedrooms with living spaces as well as the television room do not emerge in the type 2. Type 3 and type 4 villas (fig. 126) also show similarity with type 1 regarding the dual characteristics of the ground-floor orders that included the reception, kitchen, and guestrooms as well as the sports activities such as gym and swimming pool arranged around a courtyard. In type 3, the three-part parlor suite incorporates an American bar next to the kitchen and near the dining room. On the ground-floor plan of type 4, a television room, tagged as television parlor in the architectural plans, is employed where in type 3 villa the same spot was reserved for an American bar. It stands in an in-between space as in the case of the American bar of type 3; yet, it does not define a transition space. It is an enclosed room with two doors: one opens to parlor while the other has access to the kitchen. While the television room in type 1 has privacy, the television room or television parlor in type 4 signifies liminality between public and private, reception and leisure, formality and comfort. Sami Kamhi House (1986) by Utarit İzgi[596] (fig. 127) is another example of the attributing spatial privacy to television. The villa has a layout that contains a bedroom with an adjacent living room. From the photographs, it is understood that television is preferred to be located in the private living room instead of the large reception area.

Yavuz Cengiz House (2001) is another unrealized project of Çiper. (fig. 128) It is a three-story villa designed in 2001, consisting of a basement floor, ground floor, and first floor. A central atrium with a staircase and elevator connects the three levels in the villa.[597] The basement floor has a fountain pool at the center and accommodates utility rooms, a hobby room, and a personnel house. The large parlor that comes after

[596] "Sami Kamhi Villa: Photographs", Salt Research, accessed in July 3, 2020, https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/486.

[597] Cengizkan, *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar*, 116.

the entrance that encompasses the atrium provides access to the surrounding spaces that are fitness center, swimming pool, and dining room. In addition to the parlor, the entrance opens to an office and kitchen from both sides. The dining terrace outside serves as a functional extension of the kitchen and dining room. The parlor has two sections. The section to the right of the entrance features two seating groups and an American bar. On the opposite side, there are two parts arranged, one around the fireplace and the other around the music set. From the use of the music set in the same way as the fireplace, it can be suggested that the audio and its spatial reflection remained essential in the reception area for the architect. On the other hand, television is placed in a private living room next to a bedroom on the upper floor, where the bedrooms and wet spaces are planned. The area allocated to television and music regulates the layout of the private living room. Television implies privacy while the fireplace and music set represent the public facet of Yavuz Cengiz villa. However, Çiper worked with television, radio, and fireplace in such a way that they can substitute each other. A study on an unconstructed villa carried out also by Çiper[598] displays similar characteristics regarding the interchangeability of the places of fireplace, television, and music set as well as the privacy attributed to television. Apart from a terrace floor and upper floor plan with private bedrooms and bathrooms, Çiper experimented with three separate ground floor plans. A large entrance and office at the side, a central living parlor, dining room and kitchen on the left side of the parlor, and a terrace with swimming pool outside are the constituent elements of the ground-floor plans of type 2 and type 3. Type 2 accommodates the kitchen alongside the pool, diagonal to the living parlor. The dining room is situated in type 3, where there is kitchen in type 2. On the other hand, the room designated as the guest room in type 3 is allocated to a living room with a television and fireplace in type 2. Despite the private status that is given to television in the living room, television is also set against the wall which is shared by the parlor and office. There are television and fireplace on two sides of the parlor's entrance. On the part where there is a television, a music set and piano are also designed. In type 3, the music set of type 2 is replaced by a television

[598] Ibid., 130.

set. The piano's location remained same while the fireplace is built facing television on the opposite wall. Type 2 and Type 3 reveal that Çiper experimented with the potential and alternate uses of fireplace and piano as spatial media and music set and television as electronic media. In this respect, both Yavuz Cengiz House and the villa design epitomized the spatial media and electronic media analogy in the house. (fig. 129)

Danyal Tevfik Çiper's Ankara Ümitköy Blocks (2001) project is not realized due to economic reasons. Çiper experimented with apartment plans by employimg circular and rectangular forms with similar layouts for the same plot.[599] In Çiper's studies of the circular plan, (fig. 130) three bedrooms, a closet room, and a bathroom are separated via a corridor entered from an open office after the entrance. The open office, which also functions as a transition hall, is a segment of the open plan made up of a three-part parlor with living and dining rooms, office, and entrance surrounding the partially open kitchen. The kitchen adjoins the dining room on one side and has a door to the entrance on the other. The dining room is put between the living parlor and the living room. Among the three circular-formed plan types prepared by the architect, the living room in the second type is named as the living and television room and shaped around a television. The architect produced three plan types, two for the duplex apartments (fig. 131 and fig. 132) and one for the standard floor plan (fig. 133). The standard floor plan is the rectangular version of the circular types with slight variances. The open office following the entrance is eliminated. The T-shaped living parlor is given three focal points: sitting, dining, and fireplace. The direct contact between the dining room and living/guest room is interrupted by positioning the kitchen in between. The living/guest room across the entrance has a television in it. Unlike the circular plans, the living/guest room can only be entered from the door across the entrance, presumably to provide privacy. In type 2 rectangular duplex apartment, the living room with television is established in the same place with the living/guest room in the standard rectangular floor plan. However, the living room in type 2 duplex apartment is a part of the open plan. Type 2 duplex apartment also has a private living

[599] Cengizkan, *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar*, 166-167.

room that incorporates a television and music set. The private rooms are distributed on two floors, both in type 1 and type 2. The upper-floor plan of type 2 duplex apartment is apportioned into the living room and bedroom with bathroom and closet room. The upper floor of type 1 is reserved only for two bedrooms and a bathroom. Downstairs, the kitchen is situated across the entrance and connects to the living room, which can be marked as the extension of the living parlor. However, television is not represented in the living room next to the living parlor of type 1. Ümitköy Blocks, thus, reflects the tension between public and private, parlor and living room.

The unconstructed apartment project Çiper designed in 2006[600] illustrates the interpenetration of public and private in domestic sphere. (fig. 134) In the plan layouts of two apartments on each floor, an elongated and flexible hall does not only connect to a kitchen, toilet, bedroom, bathroom, and master's bedroom but also includes the designated functions of entrance, dining room, living room, and most importantly a section allocated to 'leisure, television, radio, and gaming' at the heart of the plan. The tendency for flexible and open plan layout is also evident in *Mikroloft Yarasa* (2012) and *Mikroloft Bulut* (2013) designed by Çinici Architecture.[601] (fig. 135 and fig. 136) The plan layouts of both projects have a bathroom, kitchen, and small dining space on one corner and a multifunctional area designated for living and sleeping on the other. The public and private activities intermingled in the apartments; the multifunctional section features convertible furniture that is utilized for sitting during the day and sleeping at night, and oriented to a television. Television is placed at the center of the household activities, such as reception, leisure and resting.

Television was not much integrated into domestic settings in the 1970s. It started to be represented architecturally in the drawings in the first half of the 1980s. It was not until the second half of the 1980s that television became determinative within the domestic space. Similar to the piano, fireplace, American bar, and radio, television was allocated

[600] Ibid., 169

[601] Berin F. Gür, "Evin Topografyası: Çinici Mimarlık'ın Mikroloft Projeleri", *Mimarlık*, no.398 (November-December, 2017), http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=412&RecID=4310.

along with the sitting and dining sections of the parlor in the early examples such as Zeytinoğlu House, Teoman Baygan House, Esin Önder House and Alacaatlı House in the 1980s and 1990s. In the projects such as Hasol House and Square House, television was used with the fireplace and did not have much effect on the plan. However, the cases beginning from the second half of the 1990s such as İhsan Tırı House, Gölbaşı İncek Houses, Yavuz Cengiz House, and Ümitköy Blocks demonstrate the transformative impact of the television regarding the tension between parlor and living room, public and private. This tension is resolved in the projects after 2000s, by eliminating the parlor and creating the new open and flexible plan types, which put the television at the heart of the house.

6.5. PC and Domestic Space

Personal computers with keyboards started to penetrate the private sphere worldwide in the 1980s. The computers prior to thie date targeted households and were basically operating as gaming consoles equipped with joysticks instead of keyboards. "The Video Game Crash of 1983", a recession period in the video game industry, especially in the USA between 1983 and 1985, resulted in the downfall of the console gaming industry and the rise of new market of devices with keyboards called "home computers." Home computers rapidly proliferated throughout the 1980s as the medium of both work and leisure in the West.[602] Regarding the Turkish context, the first home computers were introduced in the mid-1980s, through such brands as Sinclair, ZX Spectrum, Commodore 64, and Amiga.[603] The computer technologies which advanced rapidly since then gave way, subsequently, to the inauguration of internet inaugurated in the 1990s. Turkey's first direct internet connection was established in 1993, following the connection of Middle East Technical University and Ege University to the internet provided from the Netherlands in 1992, However, the spread of home computers and the internet was only possible in Turkey in the late 1990s and early

[602] Gülüm Şener and Arda Erdikmen, "Türkiye'de Erken Dönem İnternet Aktivizmi", in *Yeni Medya Çalışmaları V: Türkiye İnternet Tarihi*, ed. by Erkan Saka (Istanbul: Alternatif Bilişim, 2019), 136.

[603] Erkan Saka, "Türkiye'de İnternet", in *Yeni Medya Çalışmaları V: Türkiye İnternet Tarihi*, ed. by Erkan Saka (Istanbul: Alternatif Bilişim, 2019), 5.

2000s due to the high operation and service prices, inadequate infrastructure, and lack of technological literacy.[604] According to the Turkish Statistical Institute (TURKSTAT) research data, only 12,89 percent of the households in Turkey had computer ownership and only 8,66 percent had access to the internet until 2005.[605] Personal computer and internet usage reached around 80 percent at the end of the 2010s.[606] Thus, because home computers were not widespread until the 2010s they did not have a major impact on the use and experience of domestic space between the 1980s and the early 2000s. During this time on the other hand, computer made a far greater impact on architectural theory and practice.

Computer-based architectural design and production started to be addressed by architects in the 1980s. For example, an issue of *Mimarlık* magazine titled "Computer Use in Architecture" (*Mimarlıkta Bilgisayar Kullanımı*) deliberated the computer use in architecture, the design software programs, and their possible effects on architecture. In the issue, the brief history of computer-aided design in the West and Turkey, the graphic language of computer-based architectural design, the future potentials of the artificial intelligence and automated design, and Ahmet Özgüner's computer-based design for Izmir Tourism and Trade Center Competition (*İzmir Turizm ve Ticaret Merkezi Yarışması* 1984) are mentioned.[607] In the articles, the introduction of computers is recognized as a breakthrough for architecture. The

[604] Şener and Erdikmen, "Türkiye'de Erken Dönem İnternet Aktivizmi", 136-142.

[605] Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı Bilgi Toplumu Dairesi Başkanlığı, "e-Dönüşüm Türkiye Projesi 2005 Yılı Eylem Planı 34 nolu "Bilgisayar Sahipliğinin Yaygınlaştırılması" Eylemi Raporu", Bilgi Toplumu, accessed August 14, 2021,

http://www.bilgitoplumu.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Eylem34_Bilgisayar_Sahipligi_Raporu.pdf.

[606] "Hanehalkı Bilişim Teknolojileri (BT) Kullanım Araştırması, 2019", TÜİK Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, last modified August 27, 2019, https://data.tuik.gov.tr/Bulten/Index?p=Hanehalki-Bilisim-Teknolojileri-(BT)-Kullanim-Arastirmasi-2019-30574.

[607] Gülsüm Sağlamer, "Mimarlıkta Bilgisayar Uygulamaları", *Mimarlık*, 23, no.9 (1985): 11-15. Conall O'Cathain "Otomatik Mimari Tasarım Mümkün Müdür?", trans. by Arzu Erdem, *Mimarlık*, 23, no. 9 (1985): 16-17. Fikret Keskinel, "CAD/CAM Sistemlerine Genel Bir Bakış", *Mimarlık*, 23, no. 9 (1985): 18-21. Ömer Akın, "Tasarım ve Bina Üretiminde Bilgisayarın Rolü", *Mimarlık*, 23, no. 9 (1985): 22-28. Erkan Şahmalı, "Bilgisayarla Grafik Uygulamalar", *Mimarlık*, 23, no. 9 (1985): 31-33. Ahmet Özgüner, "Bir Yarışmada Bilgisayar Kullanımı", *Mimarlık*, 23, no. 9 (1985): 34-36, http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=272.

computer-based architectural design started to be not only discussed and used within the field of architecture but also integrated into architectural education in the 1980s. Yıldız Technical University (YTU) Faculty of Architecture and Istanbul Technical University (ITU) Faculty of Architecture became the first institutions to open computer-aided design and research labs, both in 1987.[608] These developments soon led the computer to be adapted into the common architectural practice in the 1990s. Beginning in Istanbul and Ankara, the Chamber of Architects formed professional knowledge study committees (*mesleki bilgi çalışma kurulu*) and provided computer-aided drawing courses.[609] Advertisements for computer and architectural modeling programs targeting architects began in the 1990s also demonstrate the propagation of computer use in architecture. (fig. 137) Towards the end of the 1990s, computer-based architectural design and production became so common that the computer began to be perceived as a replacement of the architect's drawing pen.[610] Computer systems were implemented in managing large mass housing projects that were designed in the late 1980s and constructed in the 1990s, such as *Egekent 1* and *Egekent 2* by *Ege-Koop* housing cooperative and Bağlarbaşı Housing by Soyak Group. (fig. 138) With computer-based project management, the construction period and the cost of the projects were minimized.[611] Thus, computerization transformed the architectural practice, which in consequence changed the design and production of domestic space.

Meanwhile, the place and influence of computer in the house began to be questioned in architectural theory. The computer which was initially identified with work and production by architects was shortly accepted as an agent that relocated the workspace

[608] "Laboratuvarlar: BOAT – CBS", Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi, accessed August 15, 2021, http://www.mmr.yildiz.edu.tr/mmr/3/Laboratuvarlar/199. Nigan Beyazıt, "İ.T.Ü. Mimarlık Fakültesi'nde Bilgisayar Destekli Tasarlama Eğitimi", *Mimarlık*, 28. No. 5/6 (1990): 35-37, http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=302.

[609] Ahmet Sönmez, "Bilgisayar Sayar Mı, Saymaz Mı?", *Mimarlık*, 31, no. 2 (1993): 48-49, http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=311.

[610] M. Murat Uluğ, "Bina Olarak Mimarlık ve Mimar, Bina Olmayarak Mimarlık ve Antimimar", *Mimarlık*, 34, no. 6 (1996): 16-19, http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=331.

[611] Semih Eryıldız, "Konut Sorunu ve Toplu Konut "Çözümleri", *Mimarlık*, 33, no.1 (1995): 18-36, http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=320.

to the house. As a work-related instrument, besides serving as a medium for leisure and entertainment as well, it was distinguished from other electronic media. In an article dated in 1983, Erhan Acar and Mehmet Adam envisage the upcoming integration of the workplace into the domestic sphere by expressing that:[612]

> Technological developments are ready to make it easier to do the work at home, to put an end to the separation between home and workplace, and the time and energy lost by going back and forth between these two places. Returning to the domestic industry, to the 'electronic home', can provide the opportunity for working people to regulate their working time, pace, and style of work according to their own wishes while reintegrating work and non-work time and space in a new way. These new developments can fulfill aspirations for freedom and self-management on and off the job. However, a year before 1984, other possibilities come to mind.[613]

Acar and Adam suggest that computer symbolizes the finalization of the division between work and house. (fig.139) Working from home via personal computers could open up new job opportunities for homemakers and the disadvantaged groups as well as new sectors. However, one must not overlook the risk of ending up with the invasion of the private sphere by work. According to the authors, a future scenario of an alienated worker locked up in the house and stucked in a vicious cycle of work and leisure in front of a computer screen was very likely to happen.[614] Similarly, in an interview by Hasan Ünal Nalbantoğlu, Ulus Baker, Murat Uluğ, and Kenan Güvenç in 1997, Murat Uluğ states that the former distinctions between house and workplace based on a quantitative time order would disappear with the computer. He claimed that capitalism would exploit the new working-from-home dynamics as a control mechanism, but present them as liberation. As a result, a multi-programmed or, on the contrary, a non-programmed form of daily life in which work and leisure mingle within the private sphere could emerge.[615] In other words, while it seems tempting to

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[612] Erhan Acar and Mehmet Adam, "Herşeyin Zamanı ve Yeri: İşyeri Konut Ayırımının Bütünlüğü", *Mimarlık*, 21, no. 4 (1983): 22-29, http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=243.

[613] Ibid., 28.

[614] Ibid., 28-29.

[615] Hasan Ünal Nalbantoğlu, Ulus Baker, Murat Uluğ, and Kenan Güvenç, "Gündelik Hayat II", *Mimarlık*, 35, no. 1 (1997): 21, http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=332.

move away from the rigidly programmed and scheduled work environments, and work at home with a flexible schedule, it could end up with the penetration of work in every corner of the house and daily life, leaving no room for an autonomous private sphere. The entrance of computers into the domestic sphere that stimulated the architectural theory could not find any pronounced resonances in the design and production of domestic space until the 2000s. In this regard, Nevzat Sayın's prefabricated model house design (1997) in Istanbul for *Yapı Merkezi* Group[616] is a rare example to show the spatiality of personal computers within the house in the 1990s. (fig. 140)

The model house consists of two rectangular blocks, one being a single-story mass, the other being a two-story high one. The single-story part of the house is reserved only for the open-plan living room. The ground floor of the two-story mass is divided from the living room by the main corridor, extending from the house's entrance. There is a kitchen, utility room, a bathroom, and two guest rooms in this part. The utility room only opens to the kitchen, while the kitchen, guest rooms, and bathroom are accessed by a secondary corridor separated from the main corridor by the mass of the staircase. On the first floor, there are two bedrooms and two bathrooms. A fireplace is placed in the middle of two large windows at the center of the main façade of the living room. The fireplace, protruding through the façade and almost as large as the windows next to it, is a significant component of the façade design. It also determines the visual focus of the sitting group and living room. In the living room plan, which centers the fireplace and the sitting group, a dining corner is designed on one side and a working corner on the other. An interior photograph taken from the dining corner sidedisplays the placements of the electronic media in the living room. A television is located by the side of the fireplace at the focal point of the layout. In the working corner defined by a bookcase and a table, a personal computer on a desk and music set stand side-by-side and face the sitting and dining areas. The visuality of the computer, which is appraised on par with the auditory media in the living room arrangement, is less emphasized than the visuality of television and fireplace. The orientation of both the

[616] Yapı Endüstri Merkezi, *Konutlar 2: Villalar, Toplukonut ve Siteler* (İstanbul: YEM Yayın, 2001), 38-49.

computer and the music set signals their function as displays of conspicuous consumption. Nevertheless, though the working corner is equipped with a personal computer, it is far from being a spatial innovation, as similar layouts are seen in many examples above, such as Übeyde Elli Apartment or Hasol House. The most notable innovation of the model house, which shows the growing importance of electronic media in the house, is the infrastructure that provides television and internet connection.[617] The supply of television and internet connections besides the basic household amenities such as electricity, sewage, and heating systems is a precursor of the vital position of information and communication technologies today.

As mentioned above, the proliferation of PCs could only be possible after the early 2000s. In parallel to that, architectural design, representation, and production of the domestic space notably adopted the PCs only after 2000. Especially in the 2010s, when computer use has reached 80 percent at the end of the decade, home computers became an integrated design criteria in the architectural practice. Therefore, domestic architecture the 2000s and 2010s are more illuminating as to the place and impact of the computer within the private sphere. Sayın's prefabricated model house found resonance from 2000 onwards in several such houses as KB House (2001) in Muğla by Ahmet İğdirligil[618], and A House in Kemeburgaz (2005) in Istanbul by Durmuş Dilekçi and Emir Uras[619] from the 2000s and STO House (2010) in Istanbul Esin Dorsan[620], Türkmen House (2015) in Istanbul by Mahmut Kefeli, Kerem Erçin, İdil Hamarat, Alper Değer, and Yağız Atakan Gedik[621], YN Altuniç Villa (2017) in Samsun by Cengiz Şentürk and Büşra Karatay[622], Y Loft (2017) in Antalya by Kemal

[617] Ibid.

[618] "KB Evi", Arkiv, acessed August 30, 2021, https://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/kb-evi/3349.

[619] "Kemerburgaz'da Bir Ev", Arkiv, acessed August 30, 2021, https://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/kemerburgazda-bir-ev/1463.

[620] "STO Evi", Arkiv, accessed August 30, 2021, https://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/sto-evi/3740.

[621] "Türkmen Evi", Arkiv, accessed August 30, 2021, https://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/turkmen-evi/9220.

[622] "YN Altuniç Villa", Arkiv, accessed August 30, 2021, https://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/yusuf-nilgun-altunic-villa/9202.

Serkan Tokis[623], U Gedik House (2017) in Istanbul by Nesli Sarıkaya Dağdibi[624]where computer appears as the token of the working corner adjacent to the living space. (fig. 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147) YN Altuniç Villa and A House in Kemerburgaz, PC is places at the more intimate living room on the second floor instead of the main reception area. The living spaces of KB House, STO House, Türkmen House, and U. Gedik House consist of living and dining sections at the core. The living room in SA House extends to the open kitchen area with its open plan. Most notably, Y Loft has a conjoined living/working space instead of a conventional living and dining suite. Television constitutes the visual center A House in Kemerburgaz, STO House, Türkmen House, and U. Gedik House, a fireplace; in KB House. Beside television and PC, a piano corner is formed next to dining section in Türkmen House. Except for the Y Loft and Türkmen House examples, it can be said that the computer working corner does not take up significant space and in some cases is located in transitional areas. The computer is placed on a desk, resembling radio which was preferred to be placed on the consoles. However, it is combined with the workspace objects rather than conspicuous ones. In this respect, the computer's position in the living room can be considered inconspicuous and rather a functional choice compared to other iconic consumption markers or radio and television. The semi-private work rooms are other locations of accommodating the PCs, as demonstrated in Kaş Villa (2013) in Antalya by M. Turhan Kayasü Mert Kayasü, and Elif Köktaş[625], Levent House (2016) in Istanbul by Özlem Güler Atliman and Cihan Atliman[626], S.A.K. House (2016) in Ankara by Belgin Koz[627], and Kemer Country Villa (2018) in Istanbul by Mahmut Kefeli, Kerem Erçin, Alper Değer, and İdil Hamarat[628]. (fig. 148, 149, 150, 151) PCs

[623] "Y Loft", Arkiv, accessed August 30, 2021, https://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/y-loft/9184.

[624] "U Gedik Evi", Arkiv, accessed August 30, 2021, https://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/u-gedik-evi/10974.

[625] "Kaş Villa", Arkiv, accessed August 30, 2021, https://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/ali-yalcin-villa/4692.

[626] "Levent Evi", Arkiv, accessed August 30, 2021, https://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/levent-evi/7181.

[627] "S.A.K Evi", Arkiv, accessed August 30, 2021, https://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/s-a-k-evi/7370.

[628] "Kemer Country'de Bir Villa", Arkiv, accessed August 30, 2021, https://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/kemer-countryde-villa/11118.

are also integrated into the bedrooms of Şahbaz House (2007) in Istanbul by Neslihan Pekcan[629], D House (2013) in Düzce by Can Demir[630], NEF 163 (2013) in Istanbul by Seyhan Özdemir, Sefer Çağlar, Gökhan Uzun, and Kerim Özkan[631], SA House (2016) in Istanbul by Dicle Hökenek[632], Nest Home (2016) in Izmir by Ümit Çiğdem[633], Alyapark Apartment (2017) in Istanbul by *VIA Mimarlık*[634], and Bahçeköy Villa (2018) in Istanbul Setenay Erkul and Hakan Habif[635]. (fig. 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158) In D House and SA House, the architects created a separate working corner next to the main bedroom area. In the examples of Bahçeköy Villa and NEF 163, the computers are placed next to the television. This placement is leisure and entertainment oriented rather than work. Indeed, a small laptop stand is preferred instead of a working desk in NEF 163. While the use of PCs in the bedrooms shows the penetration of electronic media into most private spaces of the house, the laptop stand in NEF 163 amplifies the aspect of the PC as a miniaturized and mobile media. The same emphasis is also seen in the interior of A House in Büyükada[636], as understood from a photograph that depicts a user working on the dining table. (fig. 159)

It can be said that the relationship between the computer and domestic space is a transformative one, like the television. However, unlike television, the computer stands out as a means of production besides being a device of leisure and entertainment. Therefore, the transformative effect of the computer in the domestic

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629 "Şahbaz Evi", Arkiv, accessed August 30, 2021, https://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/sahbaz-evi-/1141.

630 "D Evi", Arkiv, accessed August 30, 2021, https://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/d-evi1/5996.

631 "NEF 163", Arkiv, accessed August 30, 2021, https://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/nef-163/2879.

632 "SA Evi", Arkiv, accessed August 30, 2021, https://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/sa-evi/7369.

633 "Nest Home", Arkiv, accessed August 30, 2021, https://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/nest-home/7364.

634 "Alyapark Apartmanı", Arkiv, accessed August 30, 2021, https://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/alyapark-apartmani/9749.

635 "Bahçeköy Villa", Arkiv, accessed August 30, 2021, https://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/bahcekoyde-villa-projesi/9534.

636 "Büyükada'da Bir Konut Projesi", Arkiv, accessed August 30, 2021, http://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/buyukadada-konut-projesi/1739.

space has taken a different direction from television. On the one hand, the computer has a top-down impact on the domestic space by its transformative force as the design and production tool in architecture, on the other, it changed the use and experience of domestic space by bringing work into the home, as predicted by architectural theory which is happening today.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The changing modes of production and consumption that were initiated with industrialization in the 19th-century were appropriated in an idiosyncratic way in the Ottoman society. On the one hand, the spread of mass communication, especially in the form of printed media[637], together with the increase in literacy[638], created shared consumer tastes, needs, and habits, and paved the way for popular culture and mass consumption. On the other hand, developments in trade and technology procured a mass production[639] that could respond to the new consumer demands. In contrast to

[637] One of the main reasons of the effectiveness and transformative impact of printed media on culture and consumption in the Ottoman society is the publication frequency, either weekly or monthly, in contrast to the slow-paced traditional oral culture, which could not catch up with the agenda of daily life. Printed media transmitted and circulated the news and events in a short amount of time; at the same time, it constituted the main communication context for the rapid changes in the daily life. Özdemir commented that printed media and its periodicity were influential even in the development of modern time awareness in the Ottoman society. Nebi Özdemir, "Osmanlı Tüketim Kültürü, Eğlence ve Yazılı Medya İlişkisi", *Milli Folklor*, 19, no: 73 (2007): 14. For further information about the transformation of the concept of time in Ottoman Empire in the 19th century: Avner.Wishnitzer, *Reading Clocks, Alla Turca: Time and Society in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press,2015).

[638] Alimdar, *Osmanlı'da Batı Müziği,* 168-169. Before the 18th century, madrasahs (muslim theological schools), military schools, and *Enderun* (special school in Ottoman palace), aimed to train skilled labor force for the administrative positions in the Ottoman state, were the active educational institutions. In the first half of the 19th century, the medicine schools in Kuruçeşme and Kasımpaşa and the military school in Maçka Barracks, named "Mekteb-i Ulum-ı Harbiye", opened. Primary and secondary education, on the other hand, was provided through the 360 institutions in İstanbul called "*sıbyan mektebi*" (primary/infant school). In 1838, the primary and secondary education was restructured through the "*iptidaiye*" (primary school) and "*rüşdiye*" (secondary school) schools, similar to European education system that were established with school administration inspection mechanisms. Besides theological education, Turkish, math, and geography were thought in the *iptidaiyes* and *rüşdiyes*. In Tanzimat period, the public education expanded outside of Istanbul. The schools became diversified through the emergence of "*idadiye*" (high school), "*sultani*" (the schools that were opened following French model education and provided education above the high school level), "*darülmuallim*" (male teachers' schools operating between 1848-1924), and *rüşdiye*. Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi, accessed September 12, 2020, https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/.

[639] As mentioned above, the free trade treaties with the industrialized European countries between 1938 and 1941, public and private initiatives on factory-based production respectively starting from the 1840s and 1860s, and the foreign investments in mining, public services and industry, transportation, banking

the traditional avoidance of conspicuous consumption akin to the Islamic understanding of modesty, the European consumer norms, as the constitutive element of social status and the perceived necessity to construct a modern identity by the Ottoman society, as well as the commoditizing activities on the cultural production through printed media and public sphere activities, started to disseminate in everyday life in the 19th century. Hence, the foundations of mass culture were laid first in Istanbul in the Ottoman Empire in the Tanzimat period although the new entertainment and consumption habits were limited to the Ottoman wealthy and elite.[640] The Westernization in culture and consumption practices reflected on every corner of daily life from clothing and manners, socialization and entertainment, and communication and transportation to public and private spaces, as the Italian writer and poet Edmondo de Amicis, who gave an insight of the 19th-century Ottoman Empire in his travelogue "Constantinople", mentioned:

> …every day sees the death of a Turk of the old school, the birth of one of the new. The newspaper replaces *tespi*, the cigar the *chibuk*; wine is used instead of flavored water, carriages instead of *araba*; the French grammar supersedes the Arabian, the piano the *timbur*; stone houses rise on the sites of the wooden ones. Everything is undergoing change and transformation.[641]

The emerging mass culture were reflected spatially through the medium of new spaces of consumption and entertainment such as cafes, restaurants, music halls, department stores, and theatres[642], as well as the transformations in the private sphere as a representation and expression arena of the new cultural habits. The definition,

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and insurance, and trade set up the basis for the mass production and consumption cycle in the 19th century. The mass production, mentioned here, was operated through hybrid systems that combined handicraft and machinery. Seyidanlıoğlu, "Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Sanayii (1839-1876)", 53-68.

[640] Alimdar, *Osmanlı'da Batı Müziği,* 168.

[641] Edmondo de Amicis, *Constantinople Vol. 1*, trans., by Maria Hornor Lansdale (Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates & Co., 1896), 171. "*Tespi*" or "*tespih*" means Islamic prayer beads. "*Chibuk*" or "*çubuk*" (pipe in Turkish) was a way of consuming tobacco through a pipe before the modern cigarettes came out in the 19th century. Tobacco pipe producers started to operate mainly in Galata and Tophane in the second half the 17th century, and founded a guild in 1723. These tradesman, who are all Muslims, did not disappear after the emergence of cigarettes, but continued their practice to produce cigarette holders. Fehmi Yılmaz, "Tütün", Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi, accessed September 20, 2020, https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/tutun. "*Araba*" or "*yaylı araba*" means spring car. "*Timbur*" is used to mean drum here.

[642] Kurukamçı, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Tüketim Alışkanlıklarının Değişimi", 16-22.

construction and experience of the private sphere diverged from the tradition and evolved drastically in association to the Industrialization and modernization of the Empire that was centered in Istanbul, from the 19th century onwards. The changes and novelties in domestic consumption and culture in the 19th-century Ottoman Empire were catalyzed by the emerging apartment buildings in Galata, Pera, and Beyoğlu in İstanbul.[643] The traditional Ottoman modesty in the domestic space started to be abandoned in favor of consumer culture regarding plan layout, use, and objects and furniture. The strict division between public and private spheres based on the Islamic values such as secrecy, privation, forbiddance, and gender roles[644] started to be challenged by the new apartment layouts, spatial novelties and the changing domestic practices in reference to the new consumption and entertainment habits that brought socialization for both genders, and status display in the house. Amongst the abovementioned spatial changes in the domestic sphere were the inclusion of wet spaces into the house and the introduction of functionally assigned rooms, such as the parlor (*salon*), which emerged as the most public space in the 19th-century Ottoman apartment, which played an essential role in the mediation of the transformations in consumption and culture. The parlor acted as an interface between the public and private spheres while the rest of the house remained strictly private. Functioning as the venue of domestic consumption, entertainment, and socialization, it veiled the domestic activities, such as domestic work and leisure for the desired privacy,

[643] Melek, "New Interpretations of Domestic Space and Life", 61-66. Non-Muslim and European populations in these areas pioneered the modernization process in culture and consumption. According to Boyar and Fleet, the ones who sought for an European ambience in İstanbul found their place in Galata, Pera, and Beyoğlu with "theatres, nightclubs, departmental stores, cafes, wine houses, bookshops stocking European books and magazines, brothels and foreign embassies". The European novelties and technologies such as the first gas lamps (1856) and the first tram and underground line (1875) were first introduced in these areas of İstanbul in the Empire. In 1895, the first movie screening took place in Pera through the installation of "Edison's kynetoscope-phonographe" (an early version of motion picture devices with sound that introduced in Paris in 1894) in a shop. The movie screenings continued in "the Sponeck Beer House" with "cinematograph" machines (film cameras with projecters which were invented and patented by the Lumières in 1894-1895). *Alimdar, Osmanlı'da Batı Müziği*, 190-191. Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman İstanbul* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 314-315. "The Lumière Cinématographe: The Cinémathèque Française", Google Arts & Culture, accessed September 21, 2020,

https://artsandculture.google.com/exhibit/the-lumière-cinématographe/dQKCKU2_7WzRLA.

[644] Gürbilek, *Vitrinde Yaşamak*, 57. Nasır, Timur and Gürel, "Living Rooms Occupied", 2-3.

reminiscent of the traditional segregation between public and private. The transition in material basis and culture was exhibited in the parlor that was elaborated by a mixture of Western and Ottoman objects, furniture, and interior design elements.[645]

In the process of change from the traditional to the modern, the cultural practice of privacy in the domestic setting, however, remained almost unchanged until the culmination of mass media and mass culture in Turkey in the postmodern era. Unlike the Western conception and practice of modern privacy that allowed the engagement and interpenetration of the public and private spheres as Colomina pointed out in his essay "The Split Wall: Domestic Voyeurism" [646], the importance given to privacy and spatial division continued in Turkey throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. [647] Despite the Victorian notion of spatial segregation[648] [649], the boundaries between public and private in the domestic sphere in the West were discussed to have been ambiguous.[650] Examples of modern houses in the 20th century, designed by prominent architects such as Le Corbusier, Adolf Loos, Mies van der Rohe, and Philip Johnson, prompted the ambiguity and engagement of public and private further through the extensive use of open plan and glass façade, named as "x-ray architecture" by Colomina. The x-ray architecture became widespread in the housing practice in the USA and Europe towards the mid-20th century. With the introduction of electronic and miniaturized

[645] Öncel, *Apartman: Galata'da yeni bir konut tipi*, 220-341. Nasır, Timur and Gürel, "Living Rooms Occupied", 1-27. Gürel, "Designing and Consuming Modern in Turkey", 457-468. During the 19th century, the number of foreign furniture shops increased in İstanbul. The products, which were imported in the first half of the 19th century, could be supplied more easily with the developments in domestic production. Chairs, sofas, armchairs, tables, and toiletries were among the mostly preferred novel consumption items. In the humor newspaper "Hayal", published twice a week by Theodor Kasab starting from 1873, it is possible to see the signs of change in household items. In a cartoon for example, a man, who brings a badside table, piano, and a mirror to his house, looks at the traditional Turkish style (alaturka) objects such as cauldrons and jugs in the house and says "Who should have them bought now?". Alimdar, *Osmanlı'da Batı Müziği*, 191.

[646] Colomina, "The Split Wall", 74-128.

[647] Nasır, Timur and Gürel, "Living Rooms Occupied", 4-5.

[648] Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere,* 43-51. Wischermann and Mueller, "Feminist Theories on the Separation of the Private and the Public", 185.

[649] Mare, "Domesticity in Dispute", 155-171.

[650] Weintraub and Kumar, *Public and Private in Thought and Practice.*

media into the household, the interpenetration of public and private spheres became extreme,[651] as pointed out by many scholars including McLuhan, Mumford, Graham, Baudrillard, and Virilio.[652]

Contrary to the engagement of the public and private spheres and the concept of multifunctional living room regarding the modern house in the West, the traditional notion of segregated space continued to be effective on the spatial practices concerning the private sphere and house in Turkey.[653] The 'cubic house' and apartment flat typology, the modern house examples of the Republican elite in the early 20th century, followed the notions of function, rationality, and health[654], as well as the traditional understanding of privacy.[655] Unlike the predominance of the x-ray architecture in the West in the 20th century, modern houses with large glass windows were separated from the outside by courtyard walls and curtains in the Turkish context.[656] The public and private areas inside the houses continued to be specified according to the distinction between the parlor and the other rooms. Instead of appropriating the multifunctional living room, the parlor, which went out of fashion in the West since the 19th century, was used only to welcome guests and exhibit modernity, social status, and conspicuous consumption of the family. This practice, called "museum-salon" or "domestic musealization"[657] by the scholars, continued in the apartments resided by the socially well-off in the 1940s and 1950s and in the lower-middle- and middle-class apartments in the 1960s.[658] Until the introduction of the television in the 1970s and the rise of the

[651] Colomina, *Domesticity at War*, 145-192.

[652] See Chapter 2. McLuhan and Fiore, *Medium is the Message.* Mumford, *The Myth of the Machine.* Graham, "Essay on Video, Architecture, and Television". Baudrillard, *The Ecstacy of Communication*. Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation.* Paul Virilio, *The Art of the Motor.*

[653] Nasır, Timur and Gürel, "Living Rooms Occupied", 4-5.

[654] Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building,* 216-234.

[655] Nasır, Timur and Gürel, "Living Rooms Occupied", 4-5

[656] Gürel, "Designing and Consuming Modern in Turkey", 460-461.

[657] Nasır, Timur and Gürel, "Living Rooms Occupied", 5-6.

[658] Ibid., 8-9.

mass media and mass culture in the 1980s, the duality between public and private, parlor and the inner rooms, modern and traditional within the domestic sphere remained, to a large extent, unchanged.[659]

The changes in domestic sphere were ignited by the 1970s' television culture, by turning the formal atmosphere of museum-like parlors into small neighborhood cinemas with the emergence of the tele-guest practice.[660] Television brought public and private activities related to leisure, entertainment, and socialization together within the house. In other words, the activities attributed to the public sphere became directly available at home through sounds and images with the television, while the domestic leisure activities that took place in the other rooms before came into surface with the placement of television in the parlor.[661] As a result of this, the parlor started to take the qualities of the Western style multifunctional living room in Turkey in the 1970s.[662]

The 1980s marked an upsurge in consumption, media, and mass culture in Turkey. Neoliberal economic policies and depoliticization brought by political repression, together with the developments in mass communication and media channels, resulted in transformations in culture and consumption. Cultural liberation and diversity came out through the new identity structures within the new mass society on the basis of consumer choices and lifestyles. Expanding quantity and variation in the means of media resulted in reproduction and circulation of heterogeneous and plural media contents, which were directed to popular taste and mass audience.[663] Therefore, the postmodern inclinations of the era that were theorized under such names as "liquid modernity", "postmodernity", "postmodern condition", and "simulation of third order"

[659] Ibid., 5-6. Gürel, "Designing and Consuming Modern in Turkey", 466. Ayata, "Kentsel Orta Sınıf Ailelerde Statü Yarışması ve Salon Kullanımı", 5-25.

[660] Güzer, *Konut Üzerine De(ne)meler*, 43.

[661] Nasır, Timur and Gürel, "Living Rooms Occupied", 6-11.

[662] Ibid., 19.

[663] See Chapter 3. Gürbilek, *Vitrinde Yaşamak*. Kozanoğlu, *Cilalı İmaj Devri*. Bali, *Tarz-ı Hayattan Life Style'a*. Kozanoğlu, "80'lerde Gündelik Hayat". Oktay, "80'lerde Türkiye'de Kültürel Değişim". Belge, "Yeni İnsan, Yeni Kültür".

and were identified through such characteristics as the miniaturization and commodification of information technologies, overproduction of information, circulation of symbolic goods, and ubiquity of media and consumption[664] started to occur in Turkey's context in the 1980s, similar to the West.[665] The postmodernism in art, architecture, and everyday life, emerged as visualization, commodification, and hybrid forms which reconciliated dualities: modern and traditional, high art and popular culture, global and vernacular, contemporary and historical and alike.[666] The shift in material basis, culture, and consumption affected the domestic sphere profoundly in terms of the relationship between public and private as well as construction, use, and experience of the space. It can be suggested that the house became a node within the communication networks as a result of penetration of mass culture and the flow of symbolic goods in the private sphere through the miniaturization and penetration of electronic media such as radio and television similar to West.[667] On the other hand, the spatial segregation between public and private sphere within the house that symbolized being modern, came to represent the traditional side of the domestic sphere in Turkey. Hence, the "parlor" living rooms that began to be perceived as traditional after the 1980s, turned into multifunctional living rooms[668].

The evolution of domestic setting from the 19th century to the Republic and thence to the present, on the other hand, demonstrates a level of continuity regarding the appropriation, incorporation, and redefinition of spatial and material consumption. The continuum between the domestication of iconic consumption markers and electronic media can be traced by examining architectural representations, design, and production, starting from the 20th century. The piano, which entered the private sphere

[664] See Chapter 2. Baumann, *Liquid Modernity*. Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Lyotard, *Postmodern Condition.* Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*. Denzin, "Postmodern Social Theory". Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism.*

[665] Oktay, "80'lerde Türkiye'de Kültürel Değişim", 823

[666] Ibid., Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Turkey, Modern Architectures in History*,204.

[667] McQuire, *The Media City.*

[668] Nasır, Timur and Gürel, "Living Rooms Occupied", 5-19.

as the first iconic consumption marker and the symbol of the European lifestyle enjoyed only by the Ottoman privileged in the 19th century, found comprehensive coverage in the emerging printed media of the period. The newspapers such as *Ceride-i Havadis* and the *Servet-i Fünun* novels depicted the use and display of the piano in the newly introduced parlors or parlor-dining suites with an eclectic mix of Ottoman and Western styles and furniture. However, the spatial value of the piano in the domestic sphere was not reflected in architectural practice until the beginning of the 20th century, albeit its fashionable status. In the early Republican era at the beginning of the 20th century, the fireplace came to be another iconic consumption marker and indicator of Republican modernization and high social status besides the piano. Although radio also entered the private sphere as a transmitter and conspicuous commodity in the early-20th century, it was not employed in architectural design and representation until the mid-century, unlike the piano and fireplace. The piano and fireplace were incorporated in the modern and cubic house designs in single-family houses, villas, and apartments accommodated by the Republican elite. In these modern houses modeled after Western modernism, the piano and fireplace were added to parlors as a socially distinguishing elements rather than functional one, although their connection with modernist principles such as machine aesthetic, rationality, and functionality is questionable. A third space adjoined to the parlor and dining volume to accommodate the piano or fireplace or both of them, as in the 1940s' examples of A Villa in Boyacıköy and Başaran Apartment. As a large-sized object that requires a large space, the piano was used as an identifier of the parlor/music room, the most public place, and reception area, as in Makbule Atadan House. The fireplace, which occupies less space than the piano, could be positioned as the visual center of the main sitting group of the parlor-dining layout rather than defining a separate fireplace corner as demonstrated in Birgiler Apartment. The way of integrating the piano and fireplace into the parlor-dining configuration in the early 20th century continued in a similar vein in the mid-century.

In the mid-century, the piano and fireplace appeared more prominently in media and the architectural design of apartments, villas, single-family houses, and housing cooperatives. In this era, American bar emerged as another iconic consumption marker

in the upper-class apartments, villas, and single-family houses as a consequence of postwar Americanization. As in the 1950s' examples of Israilevleri and Übeyde Elli Apartments, the piano was envisaged as an addition to the parlor-dining duo similar to the previous period but its adaptation was far from being a visual focal point. For the fireplace, similar to the early Republican period, either a fireplace corner was created in such cases as A Villa in Bebek and Mehmet Aker House in the 1950s, or it was placed at the focus of the main sitting group as in Basın Sitesi 1. In some cases from the 1960s, the fireplace was integrated as a determining factor in architectural design. In Basın Sitesi 1 and Çelebiler Apartment, the fireplace sub-divided the interior space. Furthermore, it was extruded through the façade in Uzunoğlu House and Çankaya İş Bankası İkramiye Houses. Unlike the piano and fireplace, which were frequently included in reception and living space, the American bar was arranged in connection with or near the kitchen and dining area in the schemes of Cinnah 19 Apartment, Arif Saltuk House, and A Villa in Boğaziçi. As such, it designated a liminal space between living and dining. In addition to the iconic consumption markers, the visual and spatial qualities of radio came to the fore in the mid-century. The spatiality of radio was manifested in the most public parts of the realized and unrealized house projects of Danyal Tevfik Çiper. The unrealized villa, apartment, and Erdem Yuva Building projects exhibited the non-deterministic uses of radio on visual orientation as an auditory medium. In contrast, Özkanlar House and Pozcu Apartment are illustrative to show the position of radio as a conspicuous and visually determinative element similar to the fireplace. In fact, radio and fireplace were put interchangeably in the different floor layouts of the Özkanlar House. Thus, the electronic hearth analogy that characterizes the central position of television in the house can also be borrowed to describe the radio in the Özkanlar House and Pozcu Apartment. Although Çiper's 'living parlor' term denoting an intermediate form of living space between living room and parlor in the villa project and the living room use instead of the parlor in the apartment project indicates a transformative direction from parlor to multifunctional living rooms, no conclusion can be drawn as to whether or not radio has an effect on this issue. The transformation of living space from parlor to living room, which started with the tele-guest culture brought by television in the 1970s, was reflected in architectural production in the 1980s and 1990s. In tandem with the economic and

cultural climate of the post-1980s, television and PC played a more decisive role in the production, use, and experience of domestic space.

Akin to the piano, fireplace, American bar, and radio, television was assigned along with the living and dining areas as either the focal point of the sitting group rather an extra space in the case of limited living areas as in plans of the National Architectural Project Competition for Rental Housing, or the third part of the living spaces as exemplified in Zeytinoğlu House, Teoman Baygan House, Esin Önder House, and Alacaatlı House. In Zeytinoğlu House and Teoman Baygan House, television marked a separate room, although it was a continuation of the same volume shared with the living and dining sections. The juxtaposition of television and the fireplace in the cases of many examples such as Esin Önder House, Square House, and Hasol House reinforces the electronic hearth analogy for television. On the other hand, television was accompanied by the fireplace and American bar in Alacaatlı House, radio and the fireplace in Incek House, and the fireplace, American bar, and radio in Sevinç Atamer House that defined separate corners attached to the living/dining core. These combinations support the argument of the correspondence and continuum between the iconic consumption markers and electronic media as the conspicuous objects and space identifiers in the living spaces. However, television had a transformative impact on the domestic space in a way the iconic consumption markers and radio could not reach in the previous periods. This impact started to be surfaced in the second half of the 1990s. Ihsan Tırı House, Gölbaşı İncek Houses, Yavuz Cengiz House and Ümitköy Blocks embodied the tension between public and private, parlor and living room. In the cases from the 2000s, the tension was resolved by abandoning the parlor practice and replacing it with new open and flexible plan types that place the television in the center of the domestic space.

The transformation in use and experience of domestic space by television, started from the 1970s and manifested in architecture since the 1980s, has been accompanied by the breakthrough that PCs have brought in architecture and, therefore, house production since the 1980s. The design and drawing programs that entered the Turkish context in the 1980s and integrated into the common architectural practice in the 1990s

have changed the nature of the architectural practice. Thus, the design and construction durations of the domestic space had a chance to be minimized. In this respect, it can be said that the personal computer has a top-down influence over the domestic space, unlike the television. On the other hand, theoretical debates were ignited in architecture since the 1980s that question the potentials and apprehensions about the role of PC in the private sphere. The penetration of work into the home environment was situated at the heart of the discussion even though PC incorporates both work and leisure functions. The association of PC with working at the house was reflected in the architectural design and representation starting from the end of the 1990s and proliferated throughout the 2000s and 2010s. Nevzat Sayın's prefabricated model house was a rare example of the early implications of the PC in the house. In this instance, PC positioned in the working corner added to living and dining configuration in the three-part living room. The PC's position on a slightly heightened desk separate from the main workstation and orientation towards the other parts of the living room may indicate an intention to display the PC as a conspicuous object rather than emphasizing its function. PC, in this case, was domesticated similarly to the iconic consumption markers and other electronic media. However, the cases from the 2000s and the 2010s highlighted the PC's function instead of its conspicuousness. In many cases, such as KB House, A House in Kemerburgaz, and YN Altuniç Villa, PC stood on the top of the desk in the working corner created as a liminal space in the living room. In the examples of Y Loft and Turkmen House, a third corner for the working space was designated next to living and dining areas. The working space equipped with PCs was separated as a semi-private room such projects as Kaş Villa, Levent House, and S.A.K House. There are also cases like D House, NEF 163, and A House in Büyükada, in which PC has taken place in the bedrooms or was counted as miniaturized and mobile media. In any case, however, PC cannot be deemed a determinative factor that creates or characterizes the function of the space alone.

In this regard for example, conspicuousness, leisure, and entertainment were first introduced into the private sphere with the 19th century "parlor" seen in the newly introduced apartment typology in Istanbul, further developed via such spatial novelties as music room, fireplace, and American bar in the modern and cubic houses between

the 1940s and 1960s and became extreme and focused with the proliferation of electronic mass media, especially television starting from the 1970s. The spatial manifestations of consumption and modernization became increasingly replaced with machine-oriented manifestations, with the invasion of private sphere with electronic media, particularly in the last few decades of the 20th century; in other words, the electronic media became domesticated as an instrument of consumption and symbol of mass culture. In this respect, it can be argued that the spatialization of the consumption media in the private sphere of the Turkish culture between the late 19th century and the modern era followed a similar approach, in that, the iconic items of consumption, such as piano, fireplace, American bar as well as radio, television, and PC were adopted to the domestic context in a similar manner. The similarities in the spatiality and placement, the interchangeable uses and combinations support the argument of the correspondence and continuum between the iconic consumption markers and electronic media as conspicuous objects and space identifiers in the living spaces. Both the iconic consumption markers and electronic media were domesticated by adjoining to the living and dining suite, the most public space of the house. Unlike the iconic consumption markers, however, the electronic media tend to be appropriated from public to private areas. While iconic consumption markers have kept their places in the living space as the most public part of the house and as the signifiers of conspicuous consumption, electronic media have become integrated into both the living space and the daily private activities. The double-coded characteristic that went beyond its essence as the symbolic conspicuous object by its versatility as the transmitter of the public messages established a pivotal role for the electronic media in the private sphere. Radio, television, and PC offered more than a display of modernity, social status, and consumer habits; they have provided an instant connection to the outside world and mediated the consumption of both material and cultural products. And in the case of PC, the work environment and production entered the domestic sphere. These characteristics made the electronic media vital in the house and daily life. Therefore, the transformative impact of media, television and PC in particular, was inevitable and this manifested in both the planning and representation of domestic space after 1980s

FIGURES

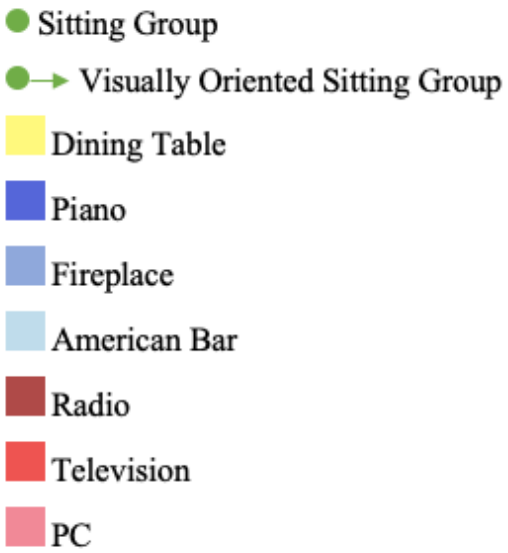


Figure 1 Symbols and Color Code in Architectural Plans.



Figure 2 "Parlor of Dr. H. A. Tucker's summer cottage", Oak Bluffs, Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, 1875.

Source: Katherine C. Grier, *Culture and Comfort: Parlor Making and Middle Class Identity* 1850-1930 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2010), e-book, Figure 21.

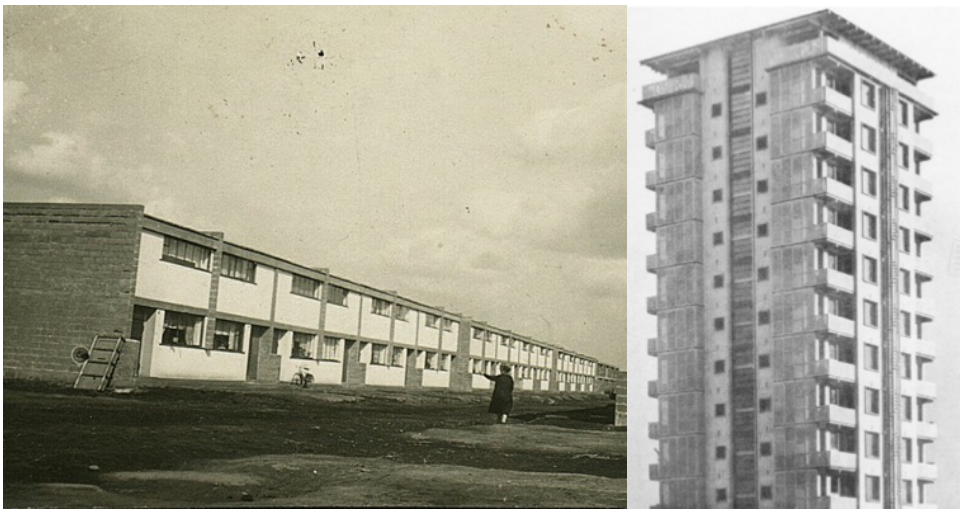


Figure 3 Left: Walter Gropius, Bauhaussiedlung Dessau–Törten, Dessau-Roßlau, Germany, 1926-1928. Right: Eugene Beaudouin and Marcel Lods, Cite de la Mulette, Paris, France, 1931-1934.

Source: Robert Weddle, "Housing and Technological Reform in Interwar France: The Case of the Cité de la Muette", *Journal of Architectural Education (1984-)* , Feb., 2001, 54, no. 3 (Feb., 2001): 168, https://www.jstor.org/stable/1425583. "Bauhaussiedlung Dessau–Törten (1926–28) Walter Gropius", Bauhaus Dessau, accessed April 21, 2021, https://www.bauhaus-dessau.de/de/architektur/bauhausbauten/siedlung-dessau-toerten.html.



Figure 4 Archibald Manning Brown, Harlem River Houses, New York, 1936.

Source: Meghan White, "The Experimental History Behind the Harlem River Houses", Natural Trust for Historic Preservation, last modified August 28, 2017, https://savingplaces.org/stories/the-experimental-history-behind-the-harlem-river-houses.



Figure 5 Left: A. Lawrence Kocher and Albert Frey, Aluminaire House, Palm Springs, California, 1931. Right: George Fred Keck, House of Tomorrow, built for the Century of Progress Exposition Chicago, moved to Indiana, 1933-1934.

Source: Meghan White, "He Saw The Future: George Fred Keck And The House Of Tomorrow", Natural Trust for Historic Preservation, last modified May 4, 2017, https://savingplaces.org/stories/george-fred-keck-the-mastermind-behind-the-house-of-tomorrow. "Aluminaire House by Albert Frey", Palm Springs Museum, Accessed May 26, 2021, https://www.psmuseum.org/visit/aluminaire.



Figure 6 Richard Neutra, Lovell House, LA, California, 1929.

Source: Rosella Degori, "Richard Neutra's pioneering Lovell Health House lists for $11.5m", The Spaces, accessed May 29, 2021, https://thespaces.com/richard-neutras-pioneering-lovell-health-house-lists-for-11-5m/.



Figure 7 Left: Le Corbusier, Villa Savoye, Poissy, France, 1929–31.

Source: Charles Jencks, *The Story of Postmodernism*, 20. Right: Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, Villa Stein, Garches, France,1927. Source: Gartman, *From Autos to Architecture*, 14.



Figure 8 Levitt & Sons, Lewittown Housing Development, USA, 1940s.

Source: Crystal Galyean, "20th Century Levittown: The Imperfect Rise of the American Suburbs", U.S History Scene, Accessed May 29, 2021, https://ushistoryscene.com/article/levittown/.



Figure 9 Le Corbusier, *Pavillon de L'Esprit Nouveau*, Paris, France, 1925.

Source: Pavillon de l'Esprit Nouveau, Paris, France, 1924, Fondation Le Corbusier, accessed June 1, 2021, http://www.fondationlecorbusier.fr/corbuweb/morpheus.aspx?sysId=13&IrisObjectId=5061&sysLanguage=en-en.

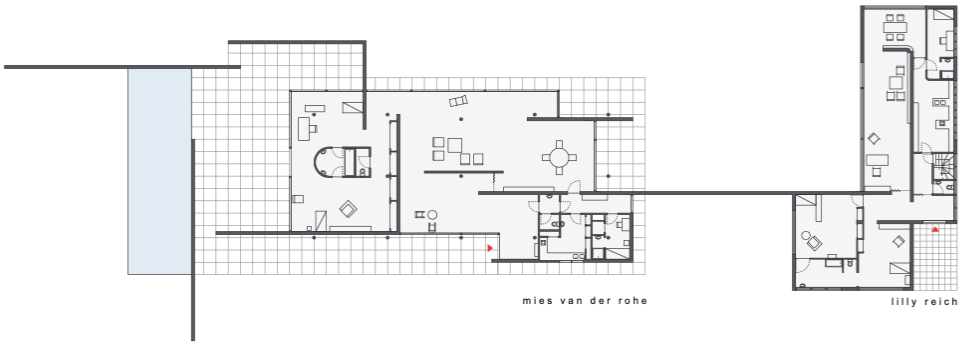


Figure 10 Lilly Reich and Mies van der Rohe, "Home for a Childless Couple & House in a Garden", Berlin Building Exhibition, Germany, 1931.

Source: Gameren, "Die Wohnung unserer Zeit Berlin, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe et al.", 98.



Figure 11 Marcel Breuer, House for a Sportsman, Berlin Building Exhibition, Germany, 1931.

Source: Gameren, "Die Wohnung unserer Zeit Berlin, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe et. al.", 98.

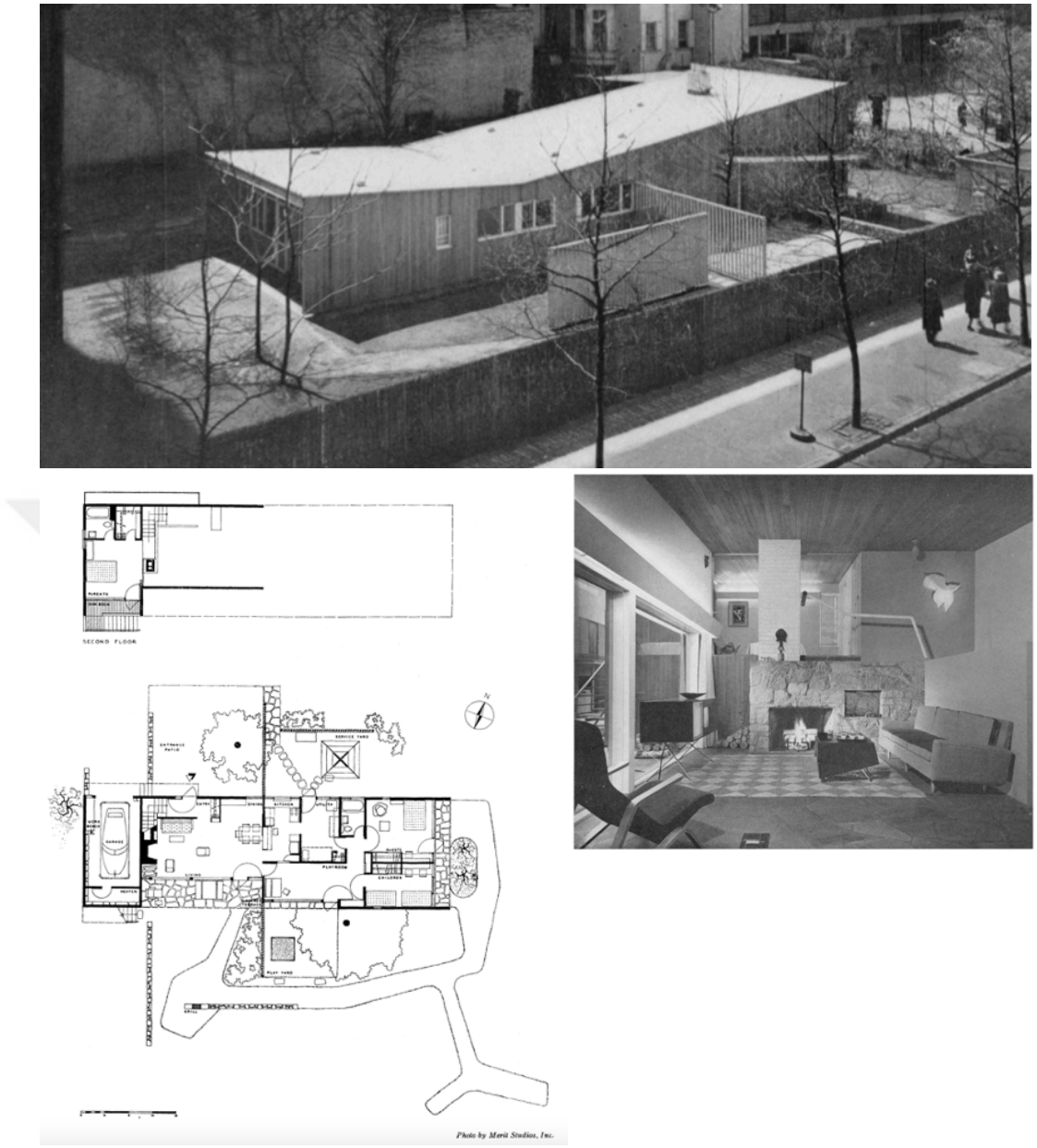


Figure 12 Marcel Breuer, The House in the Museum Garden, MoMA, New York, 1949.

Adapted from: Peter Blake, "The House in the Museum Garden. Marcel Breuer, Architect", *The Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art* , 16, no. 1 (1949): 3-12, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4058163.

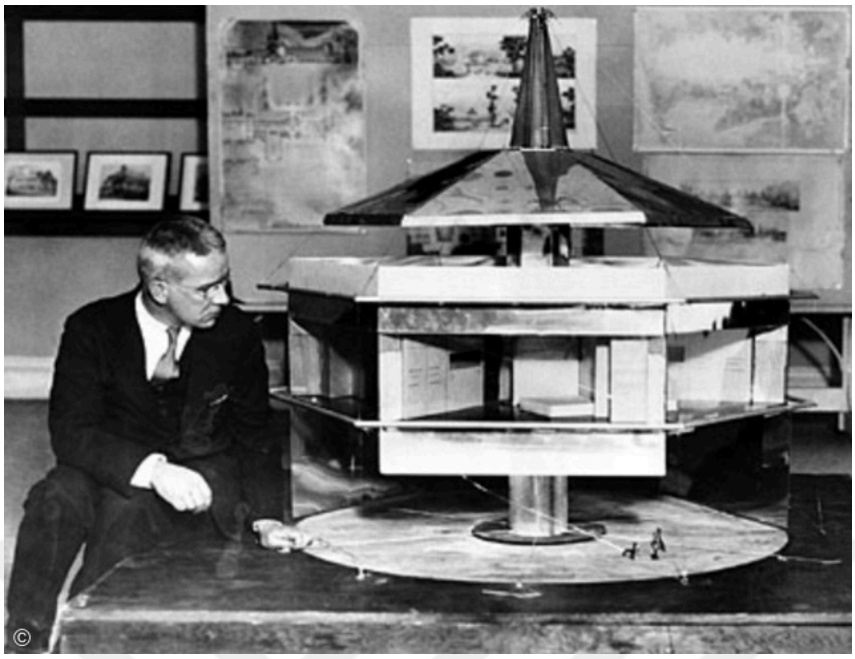


Figure 13 Buckminister Fuller, Dymaxion House, "Marshall Field department store" in Chicago, 1929.

Source: “AD Classics: The Dymaxion House / Buckminster Fuller”, ArchDaily, accessed June 1, 2021, https://www.archdaily.com/401528/ad-classics-the-dymaxion-house-buckminster-fuller.



Figure 14 Philip Johnson and Henry-Russell Hitchcock as the curators, MoMA Modern Architecture: International Exhibition, Bullocks-Wilshire Department Store, Los Angeles, CA, 1932.

Source: “AD Classics: Modern Architecture International Exhibition / Philip Johnson and Henry-Russell Hitchcock”, ArchDaily, accessed June 1, 2021, https://www.archdaily.com/409918/ad-classics-modern-architecture-international-exhibition-philip-johnson-and-henry-russell-hitchcock.



Figure 15 Edgar Kauffman Jr. and Margaret Arlen on the "Morning Show", 1954.

Source: Riley and Eigen, "Between the Museum and the Marketplace: Selling Good Design", 168.



Figure 16 Robert Venturi, Mother's House, plan and interior, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1961–4.

Source: Charles Jencks, *The Story of Postmodernism*, 42. "AD Classics: Vanna Venturi House / Robert Venturi", ArchDaily, accessed June 21, 2021, https://www.archdaily.com/62743/ad-classics-vanna-venturi-house-robert-venturi.

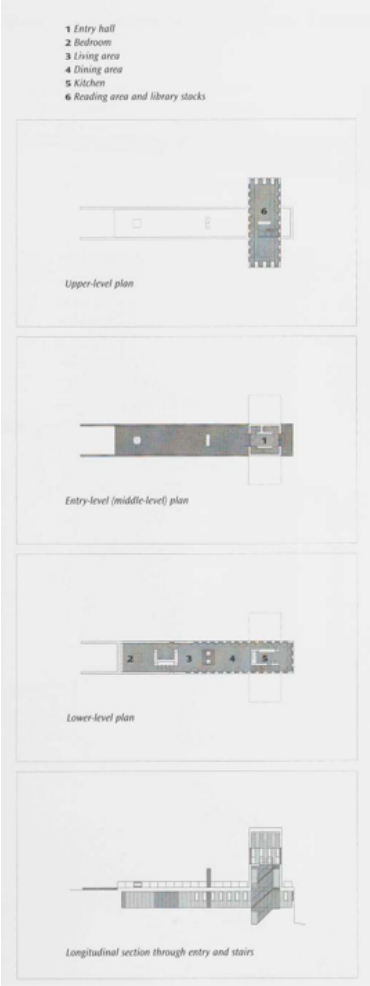






Figure 17 Simon Ungers and Thomas Kinslow, T-House, floor plans, section, exterior and interior showing the fireplace, New York, 1992.

Source: Riley, "The Un-Private House", 109-110. Jose Juan Barba and Candela Oliva, "The Red Steel "T", Metalocus, last modified October 23, 2013, https://www.metalocus.es/en/news/red-steel-t.

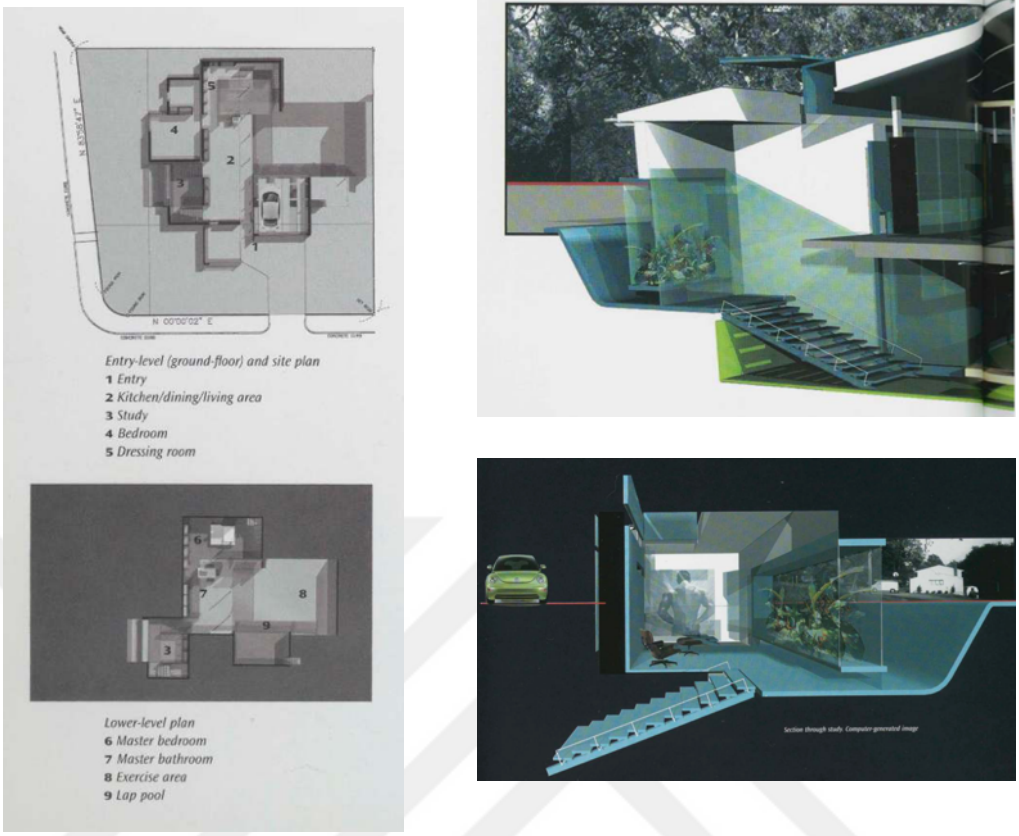


Figure 18 Joel Sanders, The House for a Bachelor, floor plans and render images showing the terrarium/television area, Minneapolis, 1998.

Source: Riley, “The Un-Private House”, 100-105.

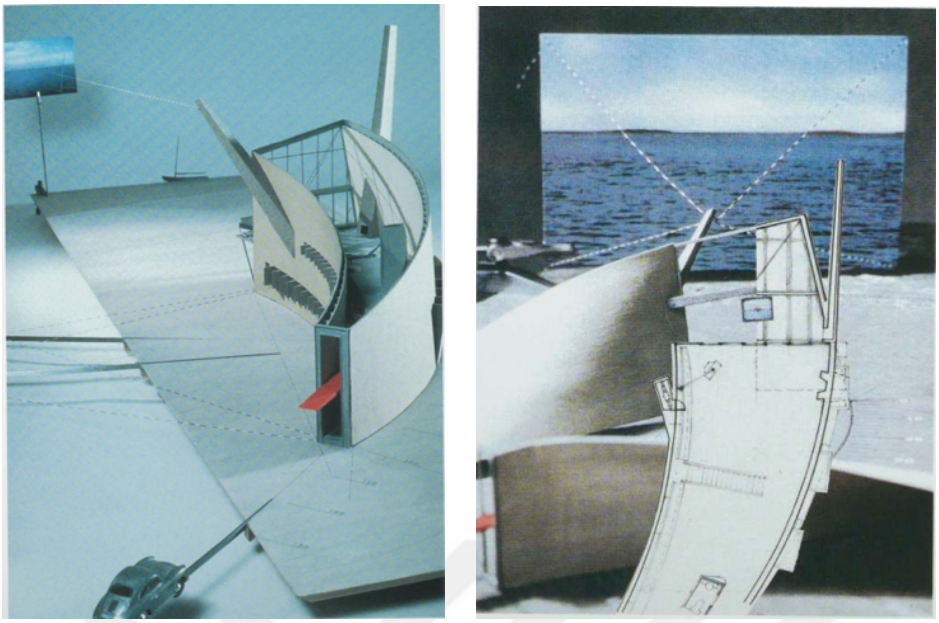


Figure 19 Elizabeth Diller and Ricardo Scofidio, Slow House, Noyack Bay, Long Island, 1990.

Source: Riley, "The Un-Private House, 52-53.

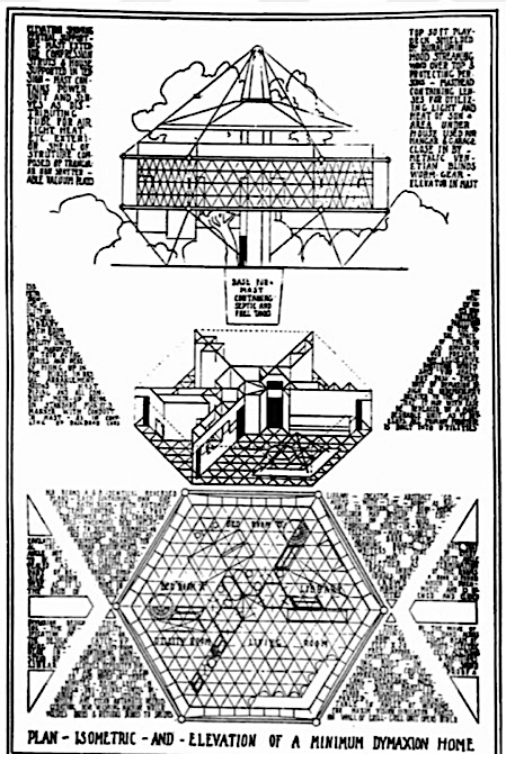


Figure 20 Buckminister Fuller, Dymaxion House, 1927.

Source: James T. Baldwin, *BuckyWorks: Buckminster Fuller's Ideas for Today* (New York: Wiley, 1996), 25.



Figure 21 Alfred Levitt, Cape Cod House, Levittown, advertisement, 1950.

Source: "The 1950s: An Era of Inspiration", Patrick Ahearn Architect, last modified March 19, 2020, https://patrickahearn.com/blog/the-1950s-an-era-of-inspiration/.



Figure 22 Herbert Hirche, apartment interior and furniture design, Interbau Exhibition, Berlin, 1957.

Source: "Herbert Hirche, HM 5 for Braun in Hirche's Apartment of Günther Gottwald House for Interbau Exhibition, 1957, Berlin".



Figure 23 Herbert Hirche, apartment interior and furniture design, Interbau Exhibition, Berlin, 1957.

Source: “Herbert Hirche, HM 5 for Braun in Hirche’s Apartment of Günther Gottwald House for Interbau Exhibition, 1957, Berlin”.



Figure 24 *Kultur im Heim* magazine cover, 1964, Germany.

Source: "German Design: Two Countries, One History".

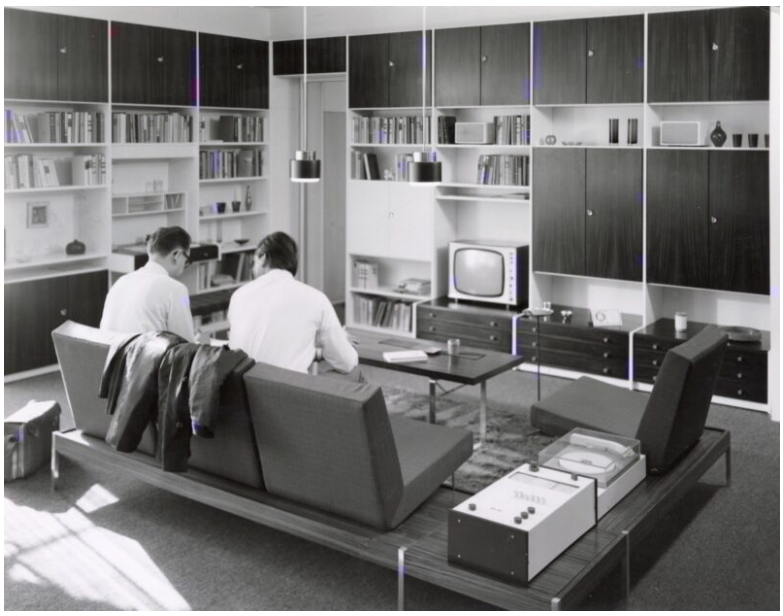


Figure 25 Rudolf Horn und Eberhardt Wüstner, Modular Unit Design for *Deutsche Werkstätten* (MDW), Germany, 1967.

Source: "German Design: Two Countries, One History".



Figure 26 Ray and Charles Eames and Eero Saarinen, Eames House, interior, Pacific Palisades, California, 1949. The Interior of the Eames House.

Source: "AD Classics: Eames House / Charles and Ray Eames", ArchDaily, last modified June 28, 2010, https://www.archdaily.com/66302/ad-classics-eames-house-charles-and-ray-eames.



Figure 27 Listening the radio in 1920s.

Source: Shundana Yusaf, *Broadcasting Buildings*, 85.



Figure 28 Advertising by Dumont, New Yorker, 1944.

Source: Adapted from "You'll Be An Armchair Columbus!", Duke University Libraries Digital Repository, accessed June 1, 2019, https://idn.duke.edu/ark:/87924/r4sf2n066.



Figure 29 Dan Graham, Alteration, 1978.

Source: “Exhibition and Activities/Exhibitions: MACBA Collection”, MACBA, accessed May 14, 2020, https://www.macba.cat/en/exhibitions-activities/exhibitions/macba-collection-9.

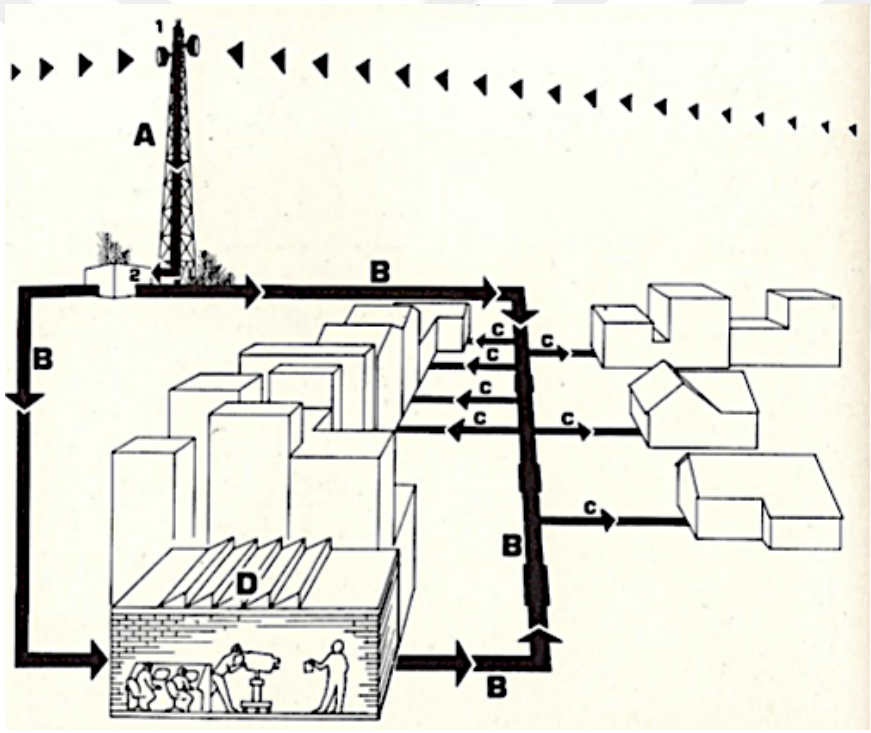


Figure 30 Components of a cable television system.

Source: Dan Graham, "Essay on Video, Architecture, and Television”, in *Dan Graham, Video, Architecture, Television* (New York: New York University Press, 1979), 63.



Figure 31 Television for parents, employee supervision, and production control.

Adapted from: Dan Graham, "Essay on Video, Architecture, and Television", 64-65.



Figure 32 Dan Graham, Video Projection Outside Home, 1978.

Source: Mike Metz and Dan Graham, "Dan Graham", *Bomb*, no: 46 (Winter, 1994): 27.



Figure 33 *Au Bon Marché* department store, İstanbul, 19th century.

Source: Seza Durudoğan, "XIX. Yüzyılda Pera/Beyoğlu'nun Ekonomik, Kültürel ve Politik Yapısının Mimariye Etkileri" (Published Phd Thesis, İstanbul Technical University, 1998), 251.



Figure 34 A café on the street, İstanbul, 1903.

Source: Melek, "New Interpretation of Domestic Space and Life", 133.

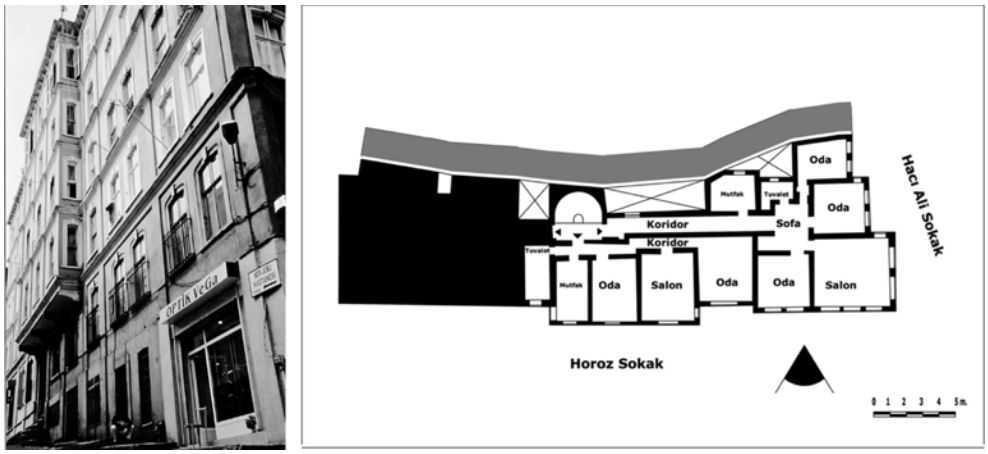


Figure 35 Photograph and plan of Savfet Bey Apartment, İstanbul, 1858-1895.

Source: Adapted from Ayşe Derin Öncel, "Apartmanlar", in *Apartman: Galata'da yeni bir konut tipi* (İstanbul: *Institut français d'études anatoliennes*, 2010), ex. 3, https://books.openedition.org/ifeagd/1595.

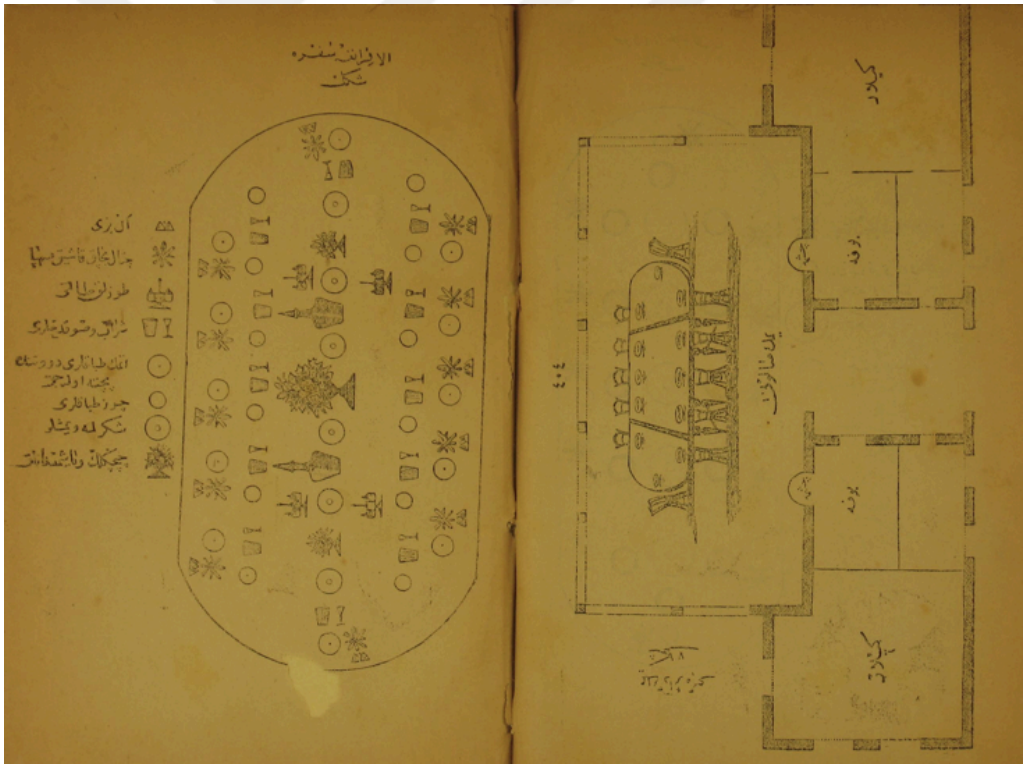


Figure 36 Ayşe Fahriye, The Dining Table Schemas, *Ev Kadını*, 1882.

Source: "Ev Kadını", Marmara University Open Access System, Nadir Eserler Collection, last modified February 2, 2020, http://hdl.handle.net/11424/43223.

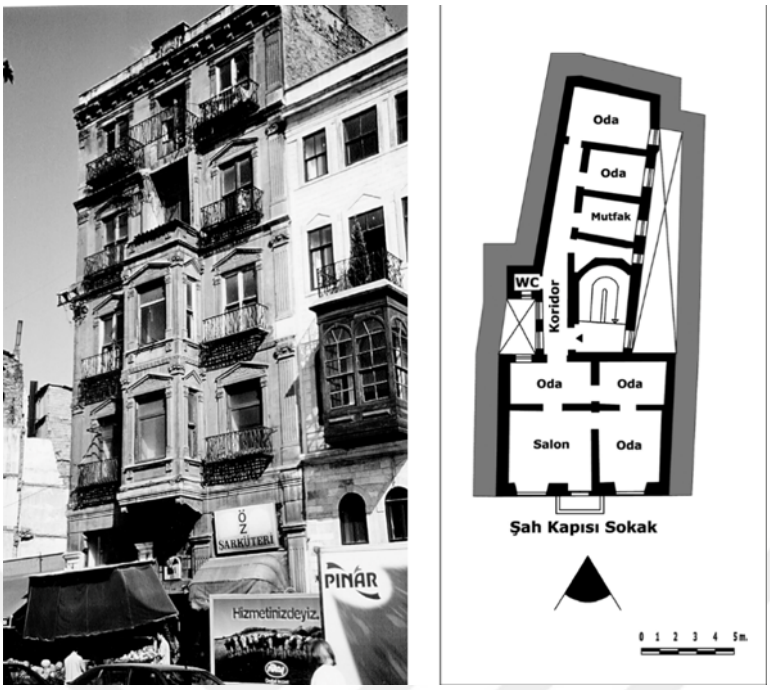


Figure 37 Selim Bey Apartment, İstanbul, 1895-1905.

Source: Öncel, "Apartmanlar", ex. 31.

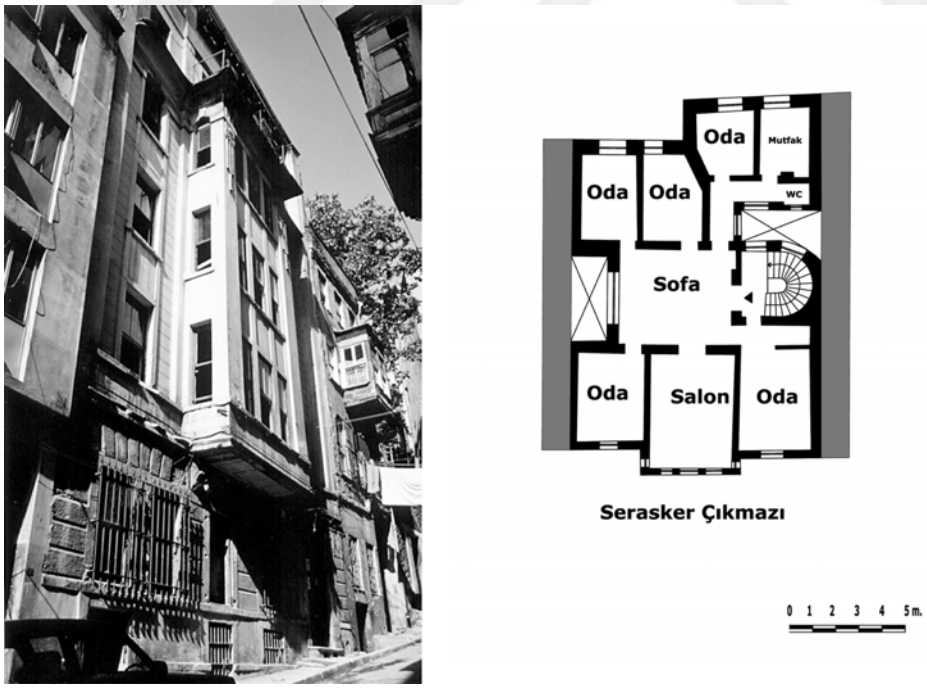


Figure 38 An apartment building, İstanbul, 1895-1905.

Source: Öncel, "Apartmanlar", ex. 83.



Figure 39 Robert Apartment, İstanbul, 1895-1905.

Source: Öncel, "Apartmanlar", ex.44.

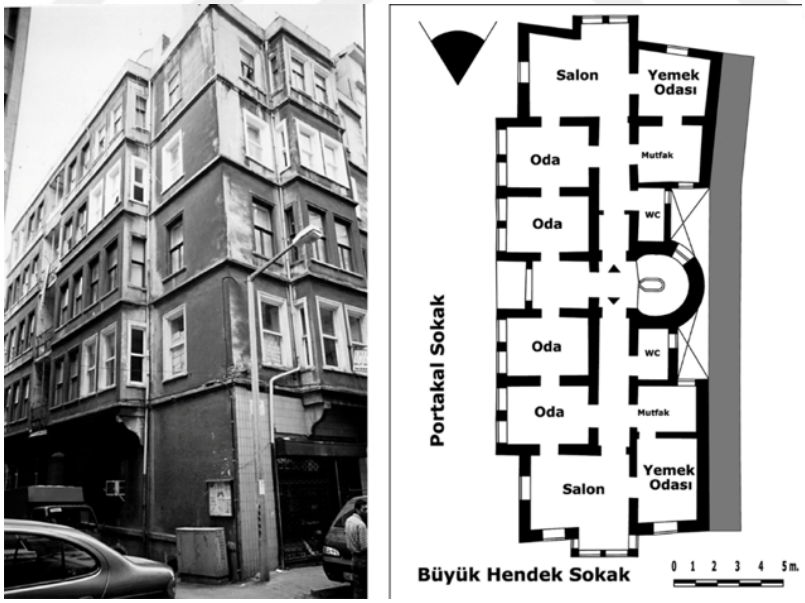


Figure 40 Şevket Bey Apartment, İstanbul, 1895-1905.

Source: Öncel, "Apartman", ex. 28.



Figure 41 Abdülmecid, "Beethoven in the Palace", painting, oil on canvas, 154 x 221 cm, Istanbul Painting and Sculpture Museum, Istanbul, early 20th century.

Source: Sibel Almelek İşman, "Çağdaş Türk Resminde Müzik ve Resim İmgeleri", *The Journal of International Social Research*, 10, no: 54 (2017): 396, http://dx.doi.org/10.17719/jisr.20175434604.



Figure 42 Fehime Sultan (1875-1929), an Ottoman princess and the daughter of Sultan Murat V, playing piano, Ömer M. Koç Collection, 1912.

Source: Kurukamçı, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Tüketim Alışkanlıklarının Değişimi", 78.



Figure 43 Diran Çırakyan, "Lamia Şimdi Ellerini Hatıratına Teslim Ederek…" (Lamia now is surrounding her hand to her memories...), in *Mai ve Siyah* by Halit Ziya (Uşaklıgil), *Servet-i Fünun*, no: 289 (1896): 45.

Source: "Mai ve Siyah Resimlerinden: Lamia Şimdi Ellerini Hatıratına Teslim Ederek…", *Servet-i Fünun Dergisi*, accessed June 10, 2021, http://www.servetifunundergisi.com/mavi-siyah-resimlerinden/.

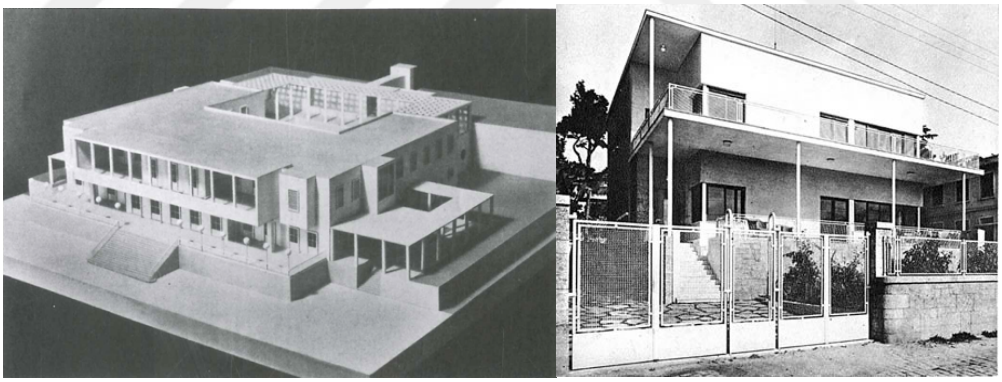


Figure 44 On the left: Clemens Holzmeister, Presidential House, Ankara, 1932. On the right: Ernst Egli, Ragıp Devreş Villa, Istanbul, 1933.

Source: Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Turkey, Modern Architectures in History*, 85. Serhat Başdoğan, "Anma Programı Egli Mühendis Ragıp Devres Villası, Ernst A. Egli, 1932/33", *Mimarlık*, no: 384 (July/August,2015), http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=398&RecID=3699.



Figure 45 Seyfi Arkan, Ayazpaşa Apartment, Istanbul, 1935.

Source: Bozdoğan and Akcan, Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Turkey, Modern Architectures in History*, 83.

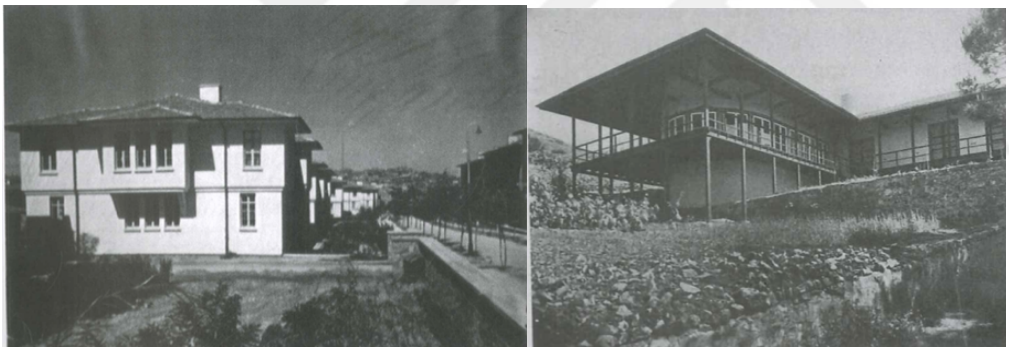


Figure 46 Left: Paul Bonatz, Saraçoğlu Housing, Ankara, 1945. Right: Sedad Eldem, Fethi Okyar House, Istanbul, 1936.

Source: Bozdoğan and Akcan, Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Turkey, Modern Architectures in History*, 102. Bozdoğan and Akcan, Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Turkey, Modern Architectures in History*, 100.



Figure 47 A cut-out radio advertisement published in *Ulus* newspaper dated in November 12, 1938: "Listen to Ankara's new radio station with Aga Baltic 1939 model radios".

Source: author's collection



Figure 48 A cut-out radio advertisement from a newspaper dated in November 10, 1947: “Masterpiece of the post-war industry - owner's voice 7 lamp radios - 8 waves - very sensitive elliptical loudspeakers - high output without distortion - with three-position separation device - special equipment for auxiliary speaker and turntable - luxury walnut furniture”

Source: author’s collection.

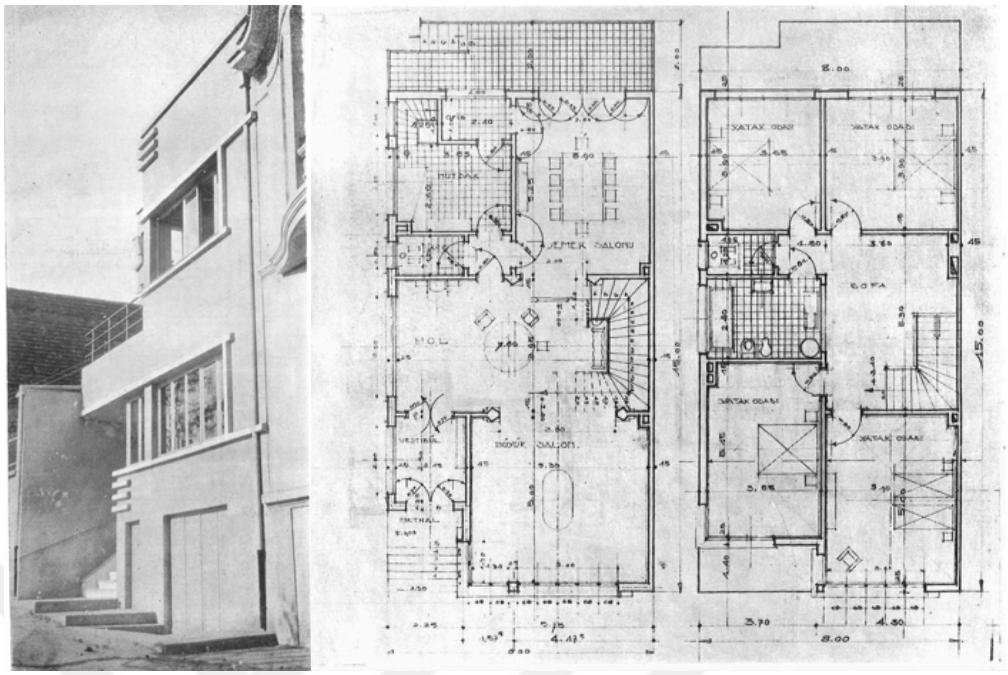


Figure 49 Mimar Saim, İzzet Bey House, Trabzon.

Adapted from: "İzzet Bey Evi. Maçka", *Arkitekt*, 1932, no. 4 (April, 1932): 99-100, http://dergi.mo.org.tr/detail.php?id=2&sayi_id=80.

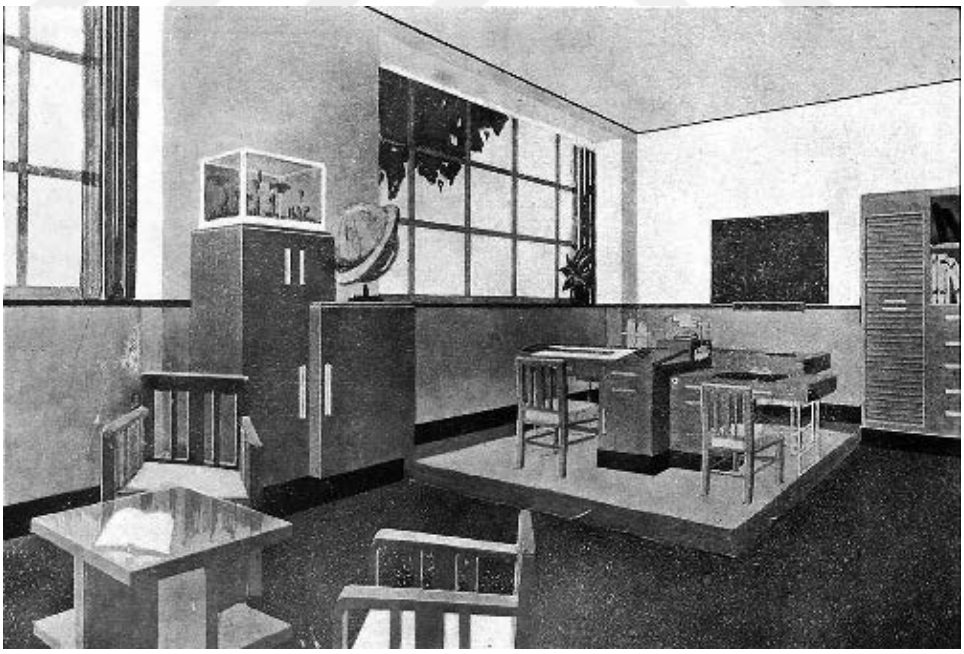


Figure 50 Nizami Bey, Illustration of an ideal house interior, *Mimar/Arkitekt*, 1932.

Source: Gürel, "Designing and Consuming Modern in Turkey", 459.



Figure 51 A family listening radio in their house.

Source: Erkan Durdu, ed., "Türkiye Radyoları", Special Issue, *TRT Akademi* (January, 2020): 6.

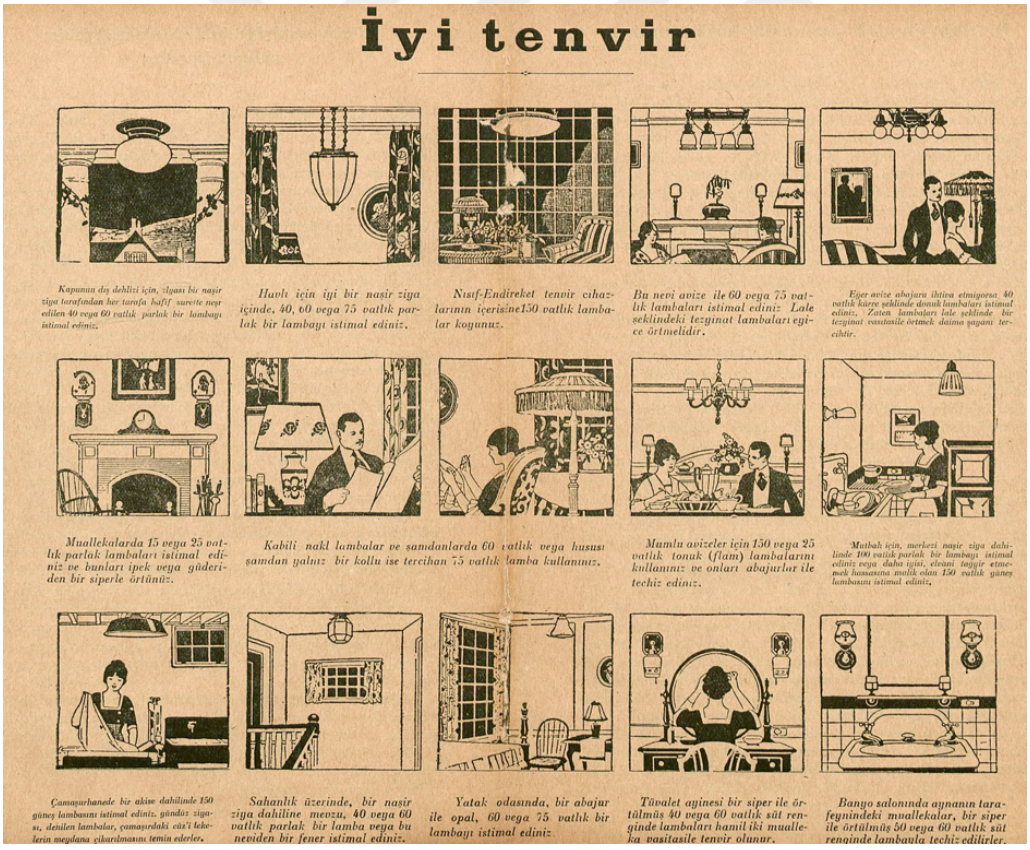


Figure 52 *İyi Tenvir* (Good Illumination), an illustrated guide for the usage of light fixtures in domestic interiors, Ameli Elektrik, 1929.

Source: "Ameli Electric-Ameli Elektrik", Salt Research, last modified September 30, 2018, https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/129129.



Figure 53 Seyfi Arkan, Makbule Atadan House, dining room (top left and right), parlor/music room (second-raw left) and plan (bottom), Ankara, 1935-1936.

Adapted from: “Çankaya’da Bir Villa - Ankara”, 180-183.

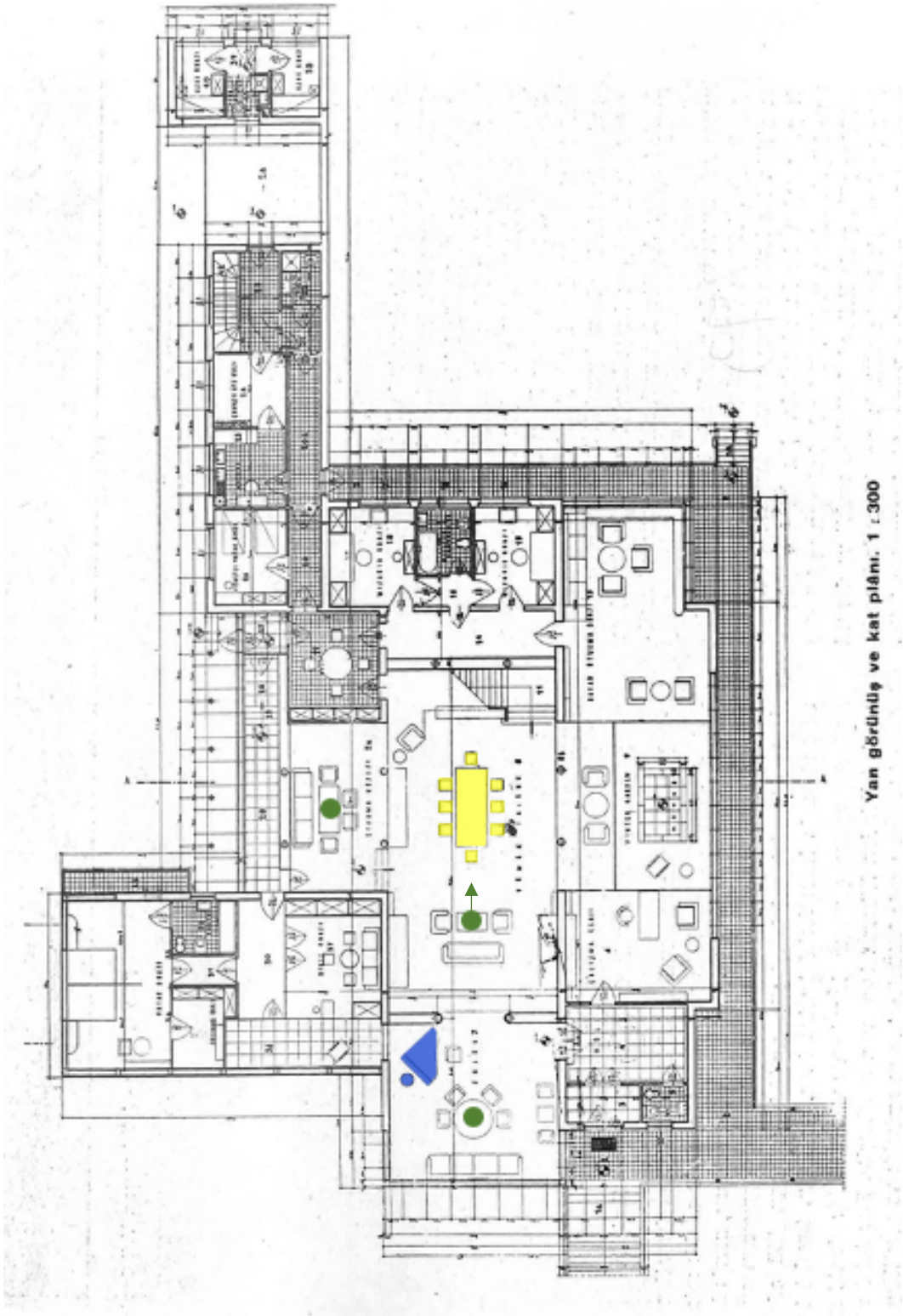


Figure 53 (Continued)

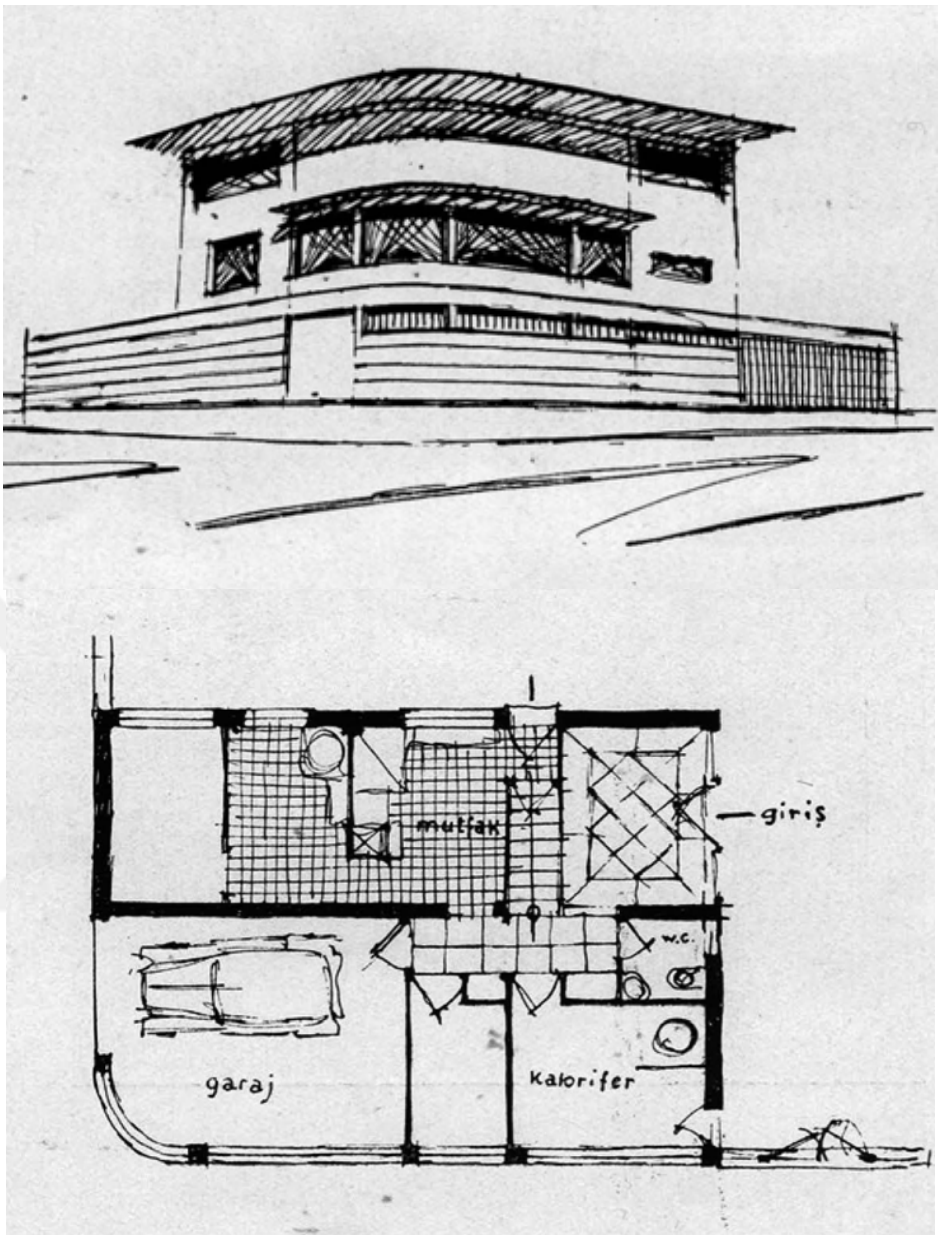


Figure 54 Sedad Hakkı Eldem, A Single-Family House for a Childless Couple, perpective drawing and floor plans, Istanbul, early 1930s.

Adapted from: "Bir Ev Projesi", 206-207.

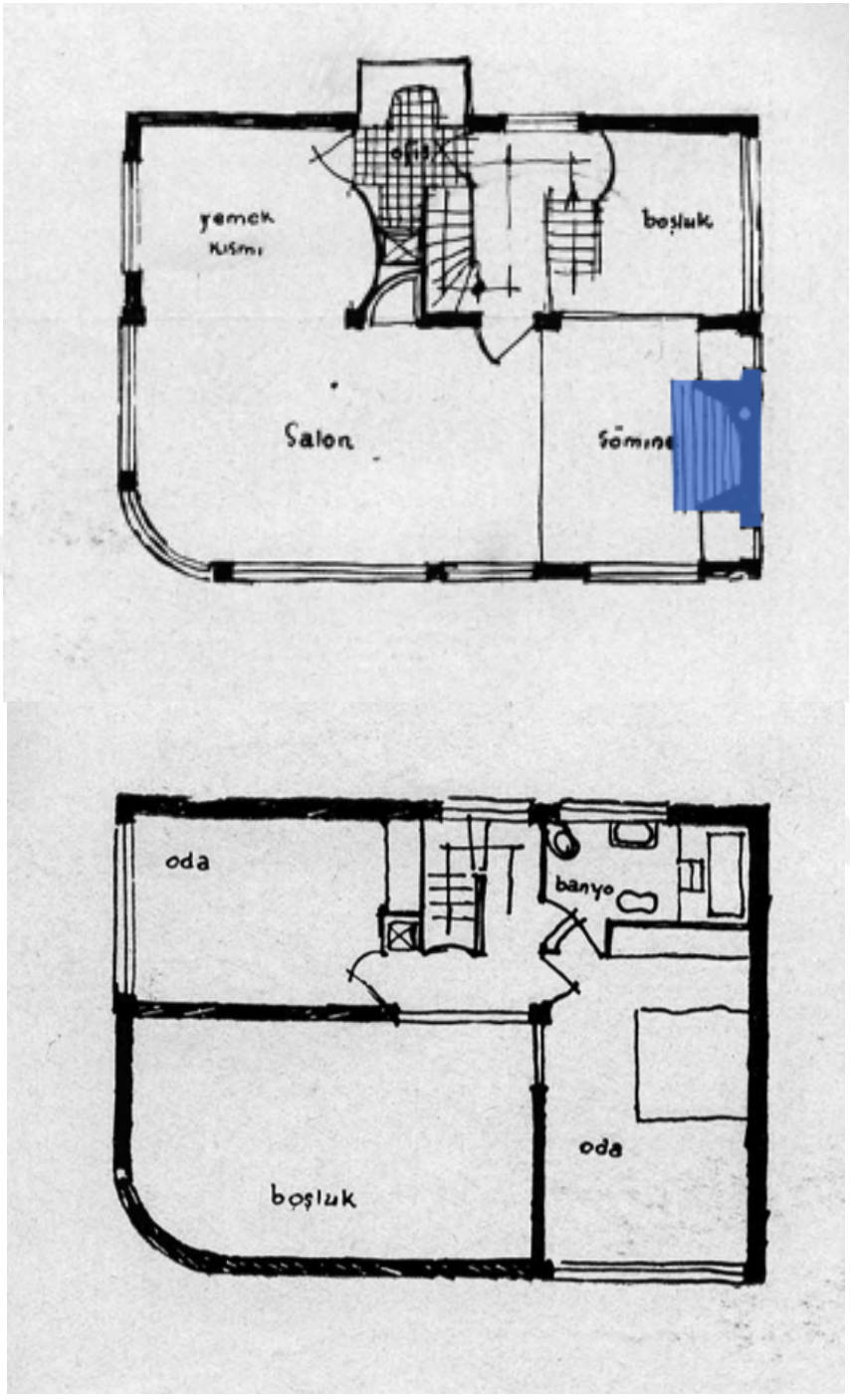


Figure 54 (Continued)

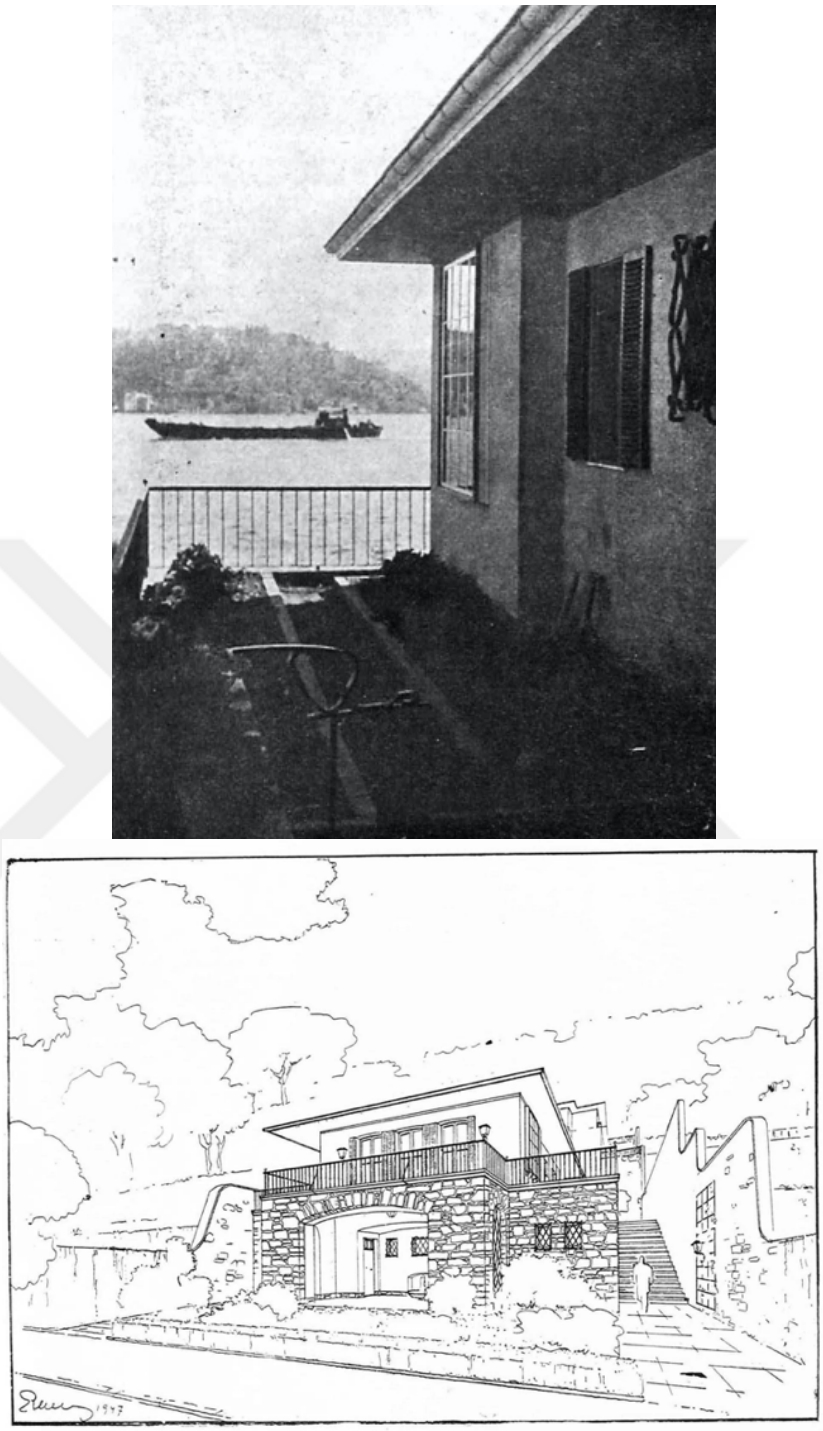


Figure 55 Eyüp Kömürcüoğlu, A Villa in Boyacıköy, İstanbul, 1940s.

Adapted from: "Boyacıköyde Bir Villa", 190-191.

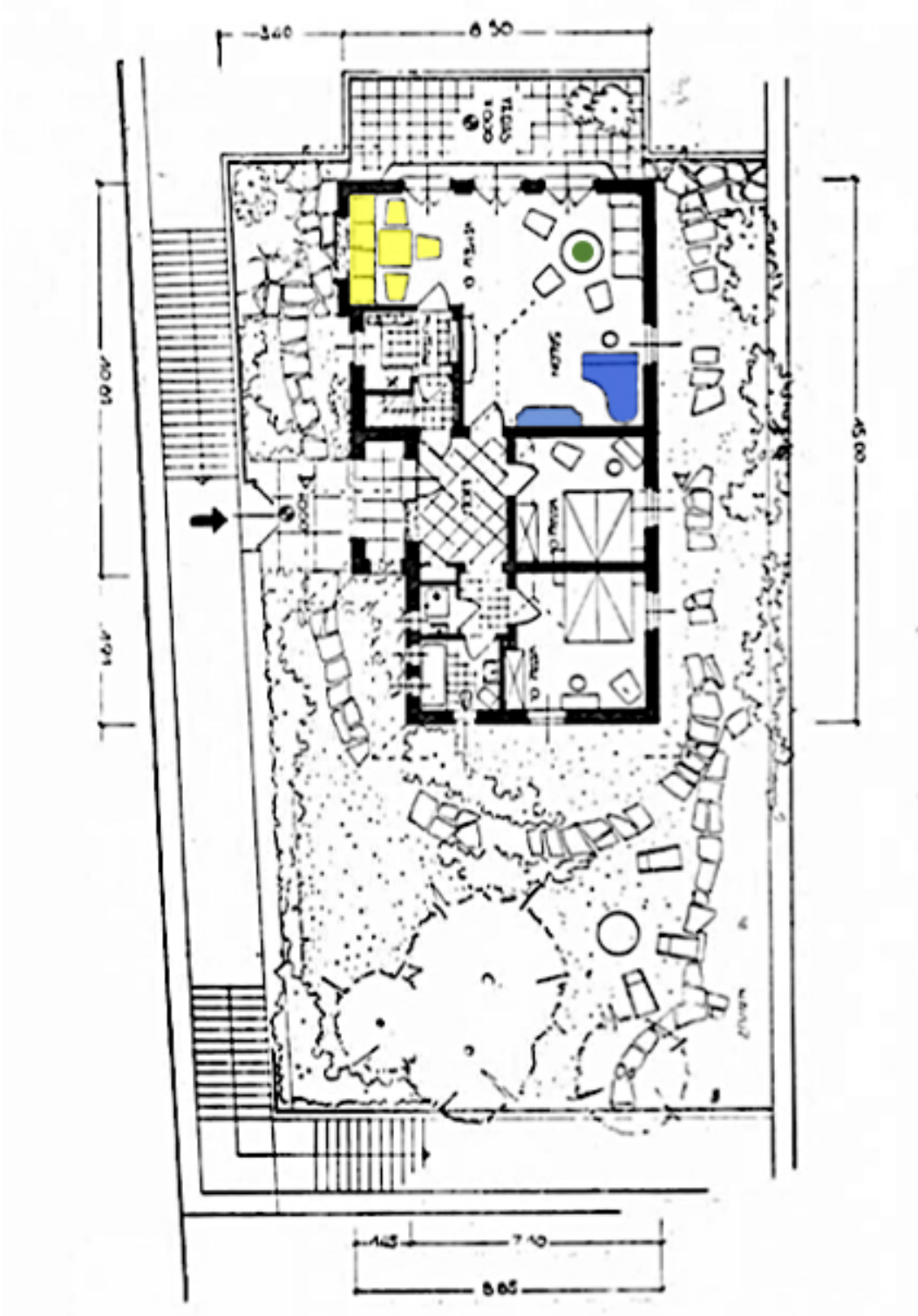


Figure 55 (Continued)



Figure 56 Apdullah Ziya, Reception space, living room/office and apartment plan, 1930-1931.

Adapted from: "Binanın İçinde Mimar", 15-16. Gürel, "Consumption of Modern Furniture as a Strategy of Distinction in Turkey", 49.

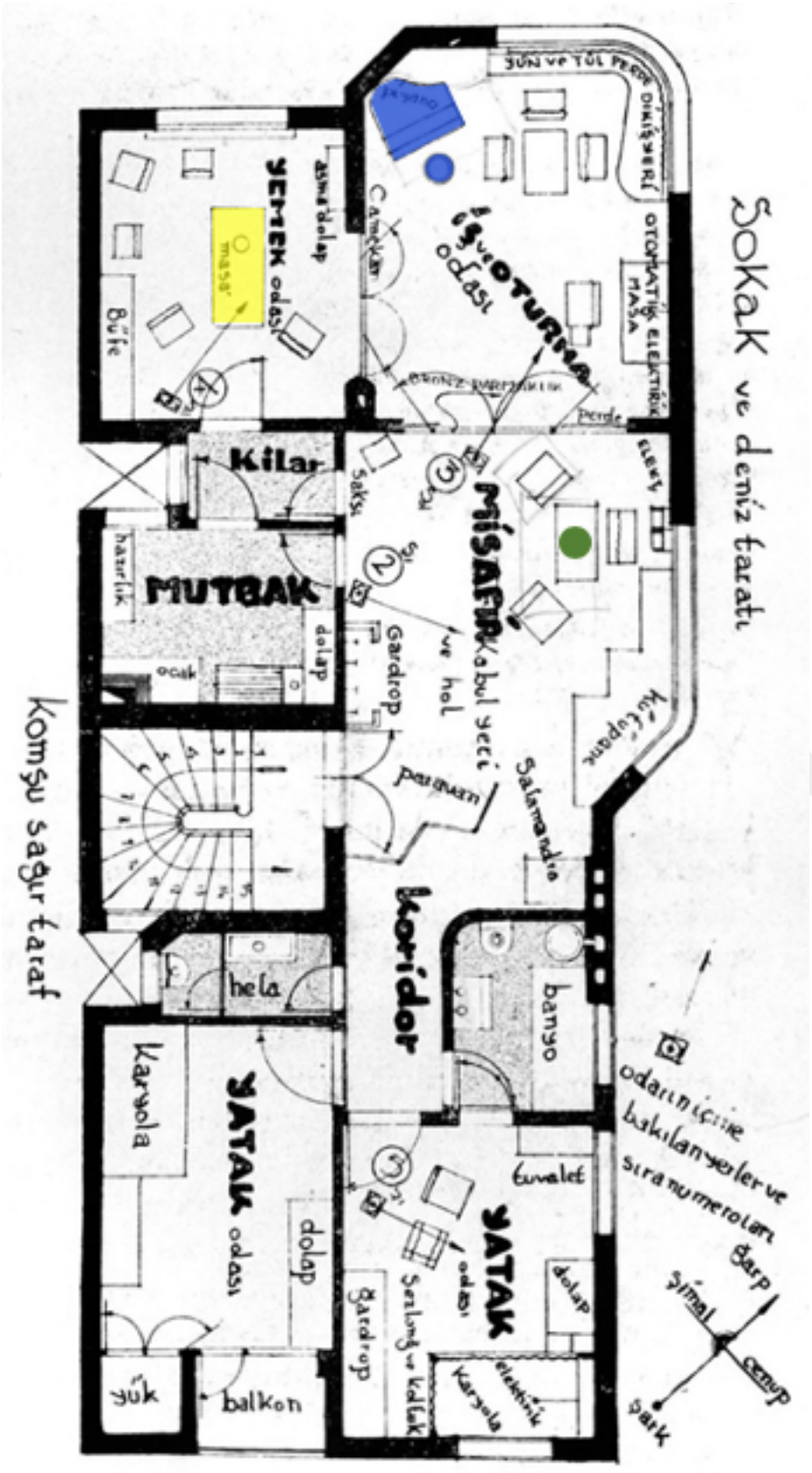


Figure 56 (Continued)

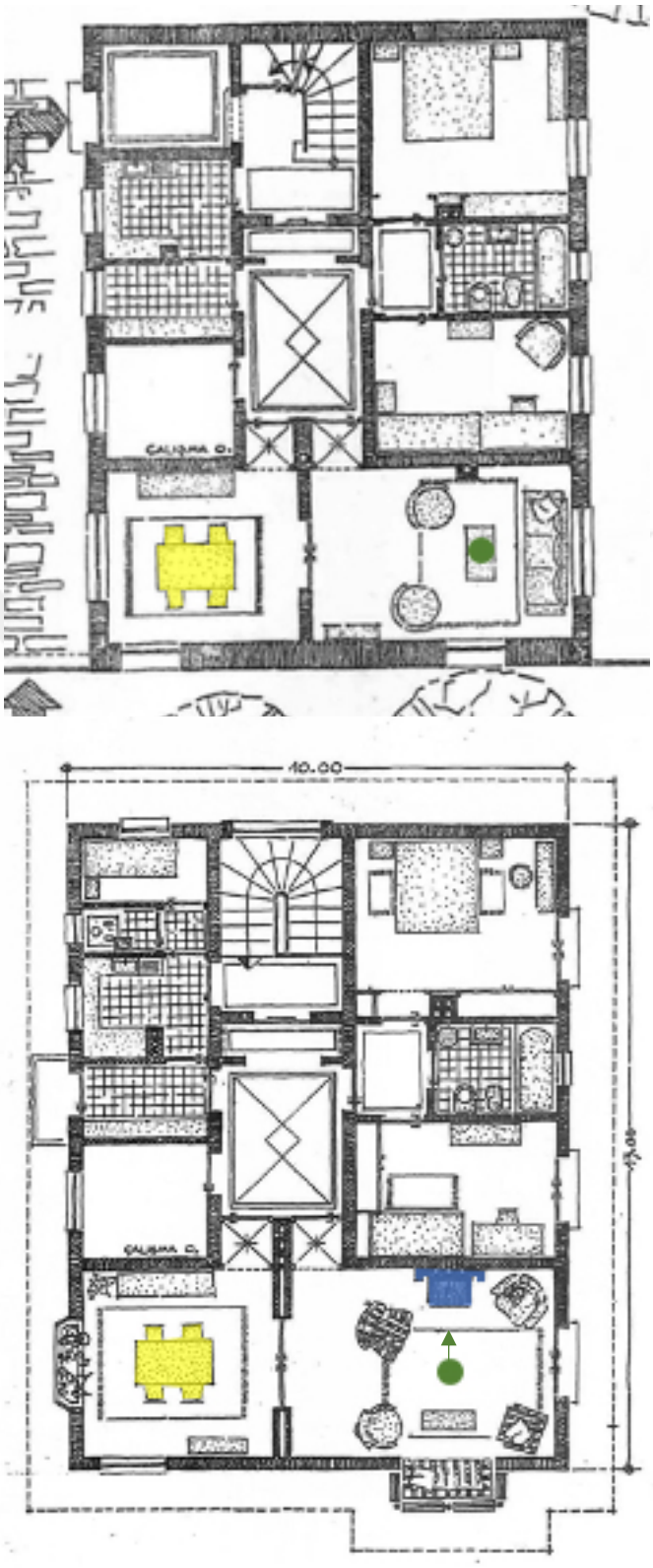


Figure 57 Leyla Baydar and Feyzan Baydar, Birgiler Apartment, İstanbul, 1948. Adapted from: "Birgiler Apartmanı", 153-153-155.

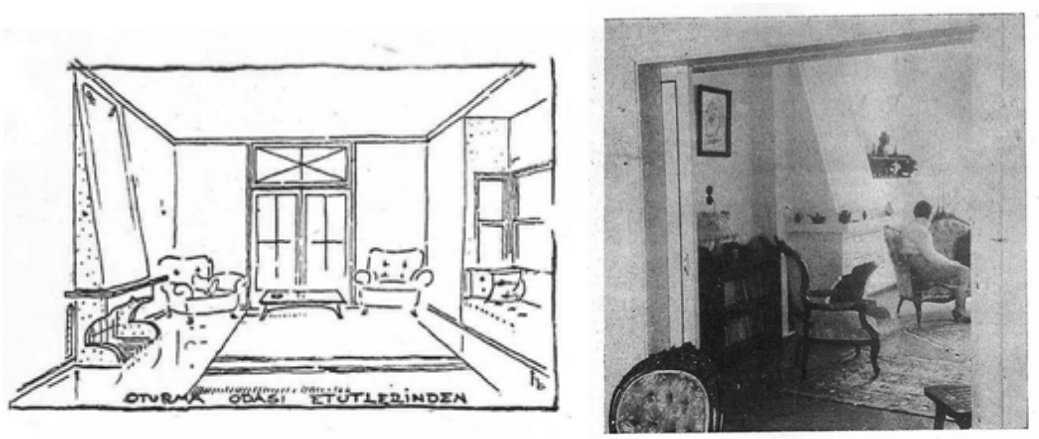


Figure 57 (Continued)

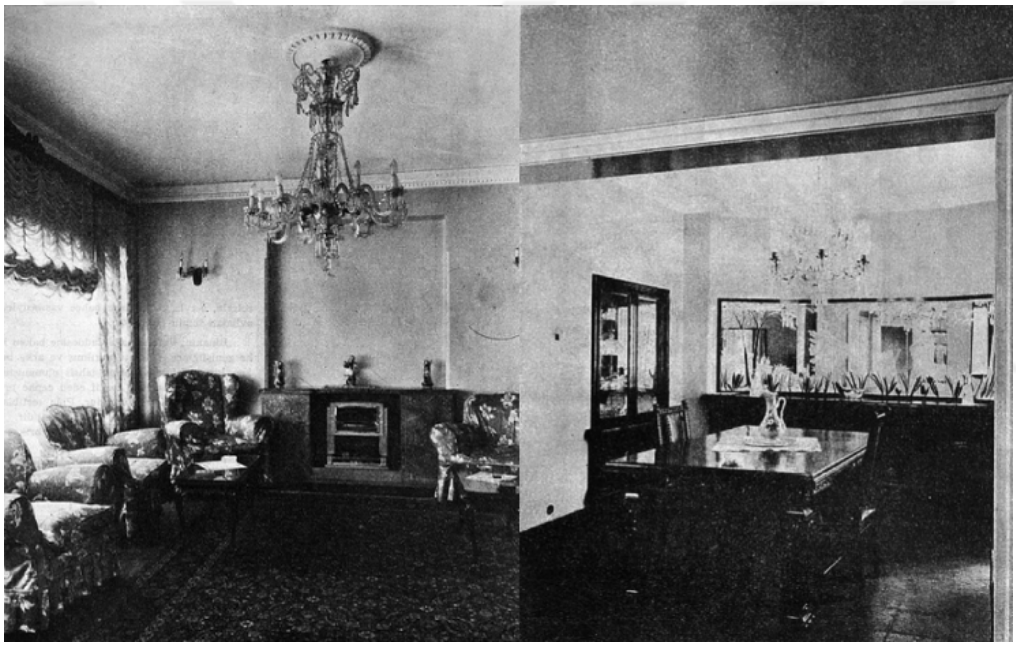


Figure 58 Muhittin Binan, Başaran Apartment, İstanbul, 1940s. Adapted from: "Başaran Apartmanı (Harbiye)", 50-53.

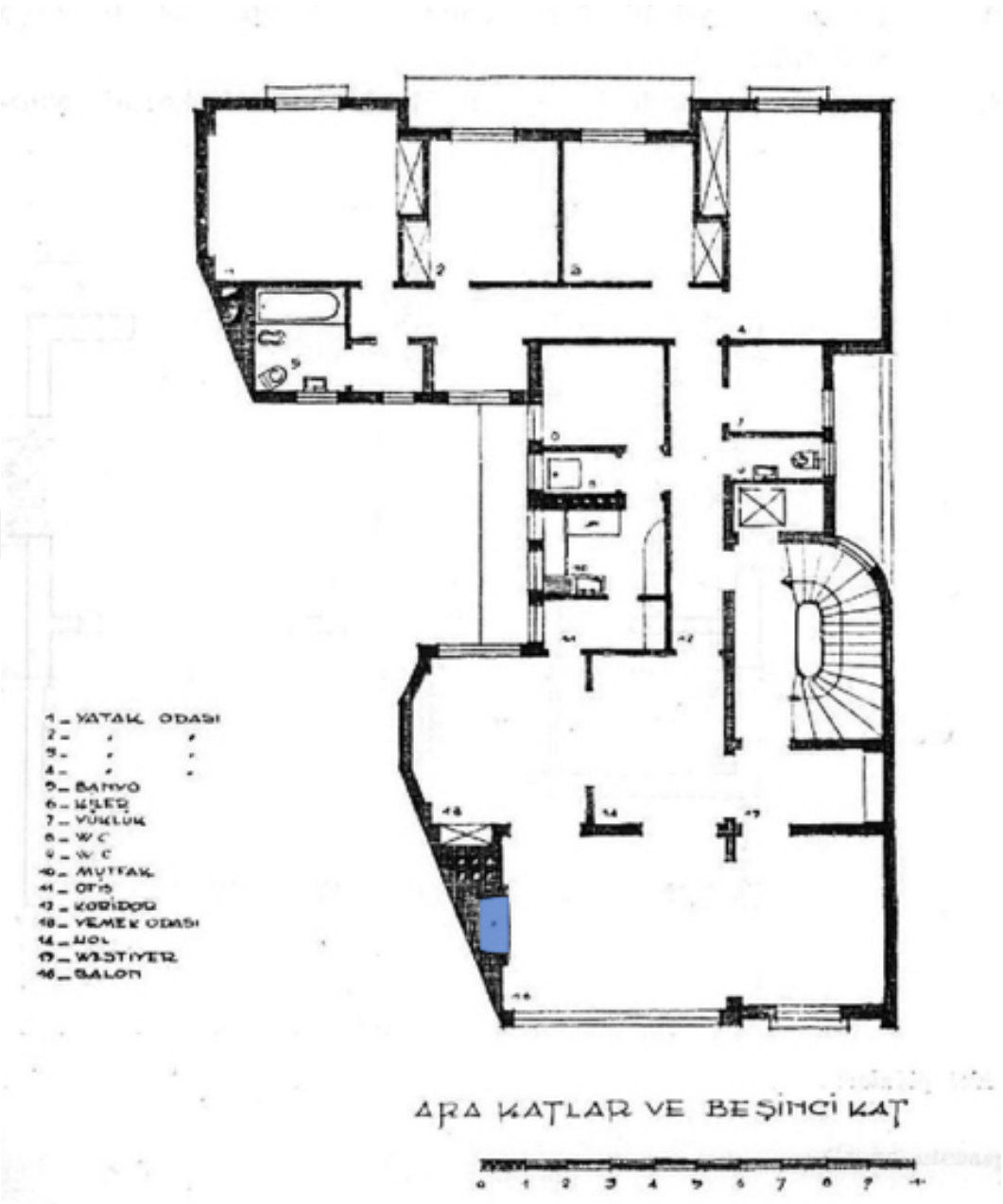


Figure 58 (Continued)

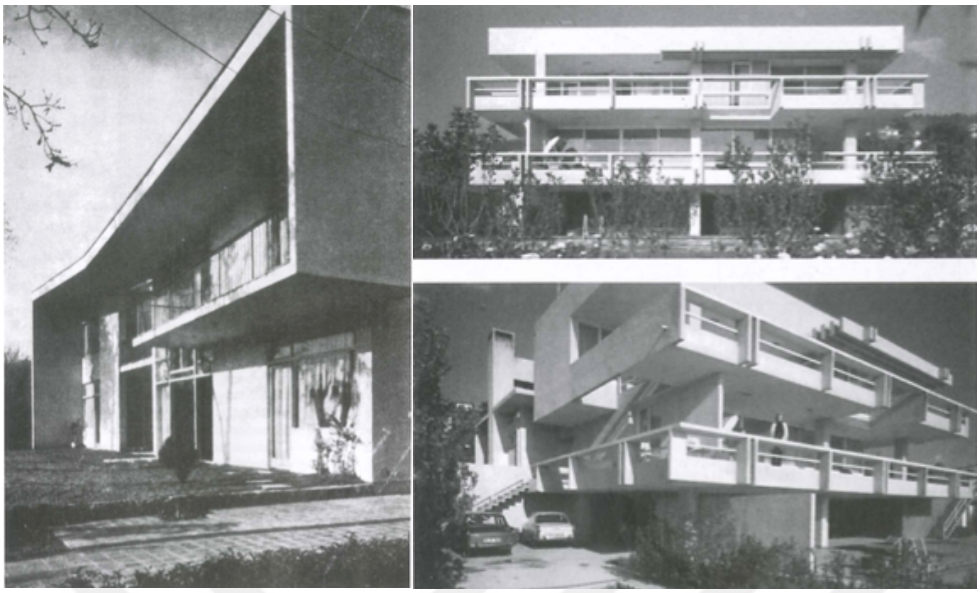


Figure 59 On the left: Utarit İzgi, Haluk Şaman Villa, Istanbul, 1959. On the right: Abdurrahman Hancı, Ali Aksel House, Istanbul, 1972.

Source: Bozdoğan and Akcan, Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Turkey, Modern Architectures in History*, 143-145.



Figure 60 Sedad Eldem, Rıza Derviş Villa, Istanbul , 1956.

Source: Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Turkey, Modern Architectures in History*, 146.

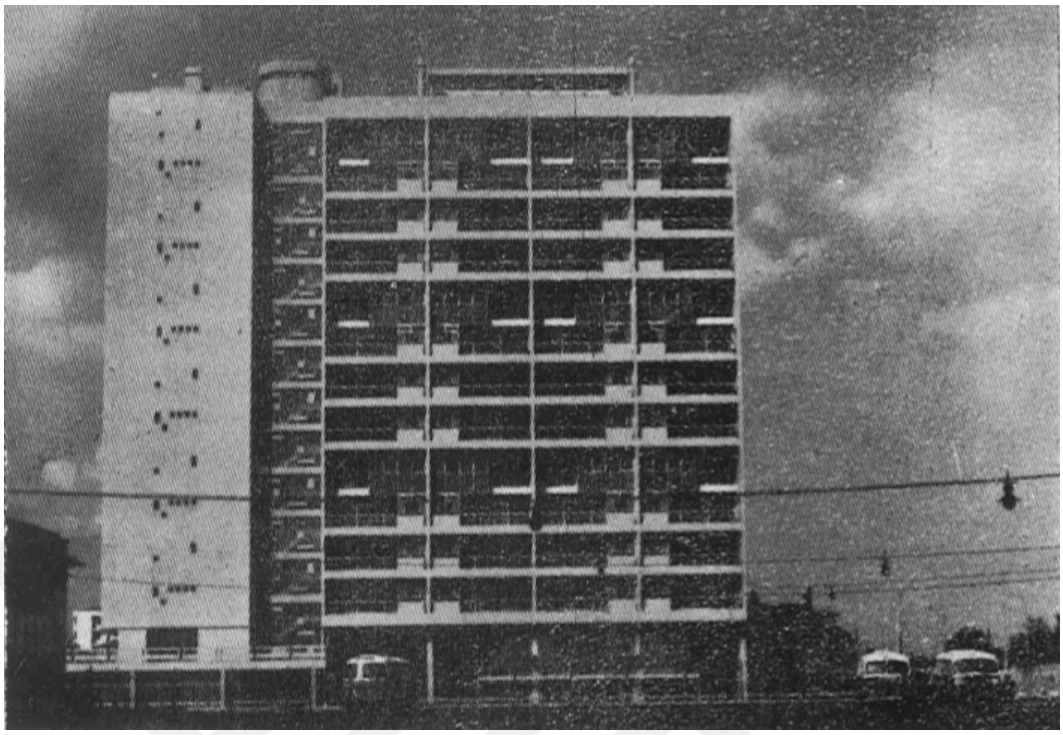


Figure 61 Melih Birsel and Haluk Baysal, Hukukçular Housing, Istanbul, 1961.

Source: Haluk Baysal and Melih Birsel "Hukukçular Sitesi", *Arkitekt,* 1970, no. 4 (1970): 157, http://dergi.mo.org.tr/detail.php?id=2&sayi_id=215.



Figure 62 Television advertisements from the 1970s

Top left: Turkish brand Kondor's television advertisement in the 1970s: "Having established our country's first and only television factory, Kondor has now offered Turkish television to our people after the "guaranteed" radios.". Top right: Arçelik television advertisement dated in 1975: "Arçelik has waited until today to present a television worthy of the name of Arçelik to the families of more than millions who use its various products. Evaluating the experiences made, it developed a television by taking into account the conditions of our country and establishing a strong Television Maintenance Service throughout the country before it was offered for sale. And now Arçelik offers you the television you've been waiting for. Enjoy, and you will use your Arçelik television with confidence." Bottom left: A television advertisement of National brand in 1975: "The world's number one television…From Japan!". Bottom right: Philips television ad from 1974: "The world's largest and most experienced in television production".

Source: author's collection.



Figure 63 Television advertisements from the 1970s

Left: A television advertisement for the National brand in 1975: "The National owner does not miss any goal... Let your TV be National!" The ad depicts television as a medium for the leisure and entertainment by promoting it in association with the football. Right: Radiola brand television ad from 1974: "Happy days with Radiola... Your day starts with Radiola. You open your eyes to a new day with the sound of your Radiola brand radio. The hours pass. The music rising from your Radiola turntable continues your joy. And in the evening, your Radiola television rivets this joy with its precise image, loud sound, beautiful appearance."

Source: author's collection.



Figure 64 Two Radiola television advertisements from 1974 (left) and 1975 (right).

The left image shows a television transmitting the image of two windsurfers. Right: the television image contains a cowboy riding a horse that is assumed to refer to American Western movies.

Source: author's collection.



Figure 65 Top: Tuncay Çavdar and Giorgio Giovannini, Kemer Holiday Village Club, Antalya, 1973. Bottom left: Altuğ Çinici and Behruz Çinici, Tatsan Güllük Resort Town, Muğla, 1976. Bottom right: Erkal Güngören, Yüksel Pulat House, İstanbul, 1976.

Source: "Kemer Vacation Village", Archnet, accessed May 28, 2020, https://archnet.org/sites/312/media_contents/21045. "Tatsan Güllük Tatil Kenti'nden fotoğraflar - Photos of Tatsan Güllük Resort Town", Salt Online, last modified March, 2016, https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/87055. "Yüksel Pulat Evi: Fotoğraflar - Yüksel Pulat House: Photographs", Salt Araştırma, last modified February 18, 2020, https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/205413.



Figure 66 Television advertisements from the 1970s.

Left: The Aga brand television ad dated in 1974: “Aga is between us. Known as Aga; who is our soulmate with its words and its music; You are together again with Aga, who has not left your side for years. Now, not only with its radio but also with its television and record player, you are sought after with a more prosperous world of sound and vision.” The ad emphasizes the togetherness, familarity, and warmth that fits to the hearth analogy. Right: Telefunken brand television ad from 1973: “Telefunken convenience… Don't you want the comfort of doing your duty to your child?” The comfort brought by television, which is the center of attention in the advertisement image, is higlighted.

Source: author’s collection.



Figure 67 Two anonymous domestic interior photographs from the 1970s that reveals the central positioning of television.

Source: author's collection.



Figure 68 Philips television advertisement in 1975: "I brought the first Philips television to the neighborhood… People, who watch *it,* want to buy Philips.".

Source: author's collection.



Figure 69 Top left: Remzi Jöntürk, *Yaralı Kalp* (1969). Top right: Memduh Ün, *Ölmüş Bir Kadının Mektupları*, 1969. Bottom left: Orhan Elmas, *Yağmur*, 1971.

Adapted from: Murat Film, "Yaralı Kalp - Filiz Akın & Ediz Hun", Youtube, last modified September 14, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zQU5jCEdEqM. Fanatik Klasik Film, "Ölmüş Bir Kadının Mektupları - Eski Türk Filmi Tek Parça (Restorasyonlu)", Youtube, last modified October 31, 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3DurpTyLusw. Erler Film Türker İnanoğlu, "Yağmur | Ediz Hun, Hülya Koçyiğit | Türk Filmi", Youtube, last modified June 7, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VUwxN0XdPnI.



Figure 70 Atıf Yılmaz, *Ah Güzel İstanbul*, 1966.

Adapted from: Fanatik Klasik Film, "Ah Güzel İstanbul - Eski Türk Filmi Tek Parça",Youtube, last modified October 31, 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oayTH9LneNs&t=5407s.



Figure 71 Top left: Türker İnanoğlu, *Sabah Yıldızı*, 1969. Top right: Mehmet Dinler, *Yuvasız Kuşlar*, 1970. Bottom left: Mehmet Dinler, *Melek mi Şeytan mı?,* 1971.

Adapted from: Erler Film Türker İnanoğlu, "Sabah Yıldızı | Filiz Akın, Ediz Hun | Türk Filmi", Youtube, last modified November 23, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cr12ax7p4Xo. Gülşah Film, "Yuvasız Kuşlar (1970) - Tek Parça (Filiz Akın & Ediz Hun)", Youtube, last modified August 14, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4Wf_eHgl3j0&t=4093s. Melek Film," Melek Mi Şeytan Mı? (1971)- Türkan Şoray & Tarık Akan", Youtube, last modified August 13, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8oKtwB6QX2E&t=4600s.



Figure 72 Top left: Mehmet Dinler, *Funda*, 1968. Top right: Muzaffer Aslan, *Arım, Balım, Peteğim*, 1970. Bottom left: Remzi Jöntürk, *Yaralı Kalp*, 1969.

Adapted from: Melek Film, "Funda (1968) Tek Parça - (Kartal Tibet & Hülya Koçyiğit)", Youtube, August 13, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6sUX_R0Ze_c. Gülşah Film, "Arım Balım Peteğim", Youtube, May 6, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aBSXXUNVSjw. Murat Film, "Yaralı Kalp - Filiz Akın & Ediz Hun", Youtube, last modified September 14, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zQU5jCEdEqM&t=1795s.



Figure 73 Fahir Seden, *Yaz Bekarı*, 1974.

Adapted from: Erler Film Türker İnanoğlu, "Yaz Bekarı | Tarık Akan, Gülşen Bubikoğlu | Türk Film", Youtube, last modified December 18, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7lCsAxVRb6A.



Figure 74 Top left: Lütfi Ö. Akad, *Vesikalı Yarim*, 1968. Top right: Muzaffer Aslan, *Ağlıyorum*, 1973. Bottom: Mehmet Dinler, *Üç Sevgili*, 1972.

Adapted from: Çiçek Film /Şeref Film, Vesikalı Yarim (1968) - Türkan Şoray & İzzet Günay | Restorasyonlu", Youtube, last modified February 5, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j8qdnqwjRJA. Gülşah Film, "Ağlıyorum Türk Filmi", Youtube, last modified May 5, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rUA9Bau3CoY. Melek Film, "Üç Sevgili (1973) - Tek Parça (Tarık Akan)", Youtube, last modified August 12, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6C1zWzFziJo.



Figure 75 Top: Oksal Pekmezoğlu, *Baba Bizi Eversene*, 1975. There is a piano and fireplace in the sitting part of the parlor-dining room suite, while a television is placed in the dining part. Bottom: Zeki Öktem, *Kaynanalar*, 1975.

Adapted from: Erman Film, "Baba Bizi Eversene (1975)- Restorasyonlu - Barış Manço", Youtube, last modified December 12, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_zEmwA5qwZw. Erman Film, "Kaynanalar (1975) - Tekin Akmansoy & Leman Çıdamlı", Youtube, last modified April 7, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZYFmvtT2pjE.

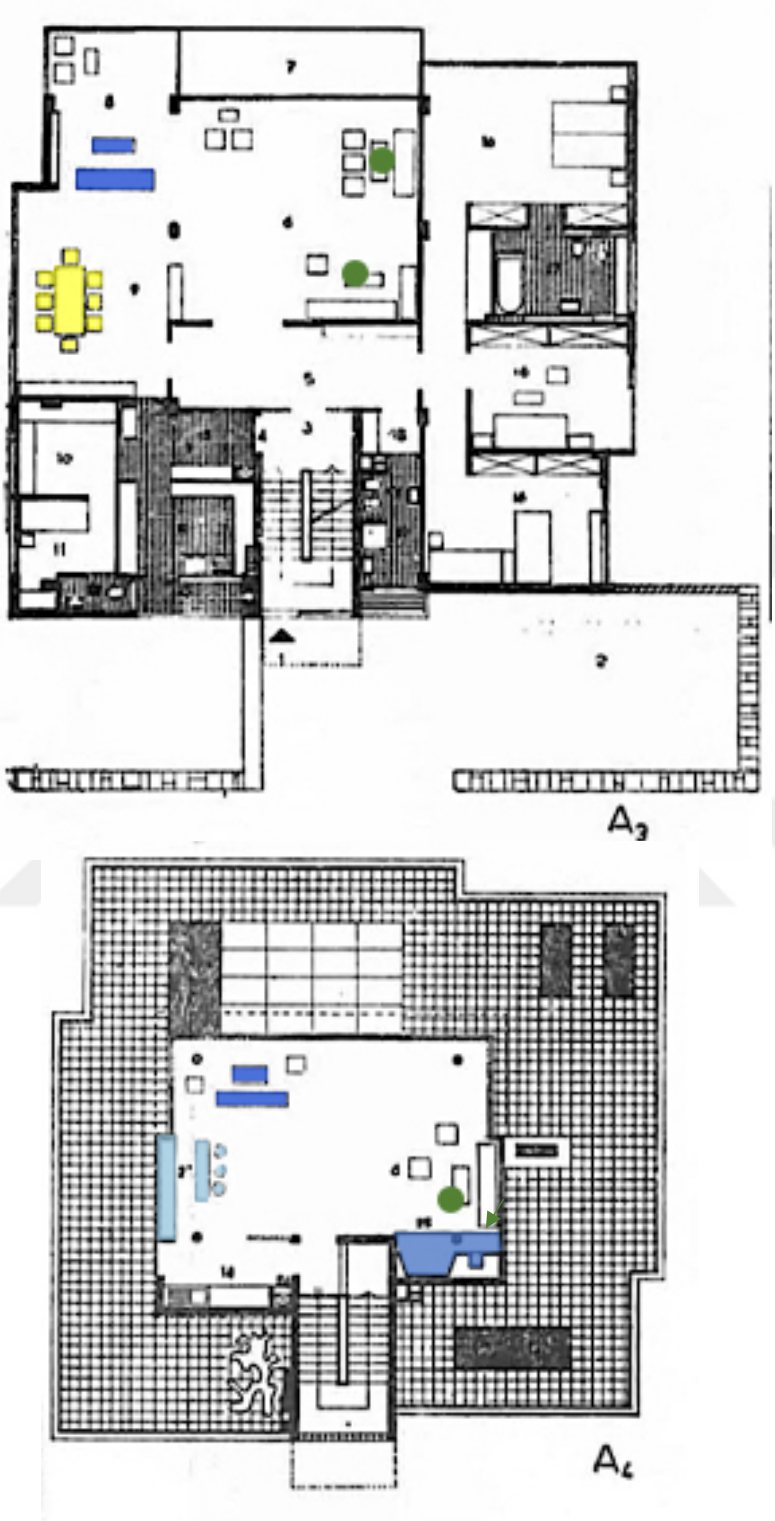


Figure 76 Haluk Baysal and Melih Birsel, Birkan Apartments, Block A and B, İstanbul, 1955.

Adapted from: "Birkan Apartmanları (Bebek)", 6-9.



Figure 76 (Continued)

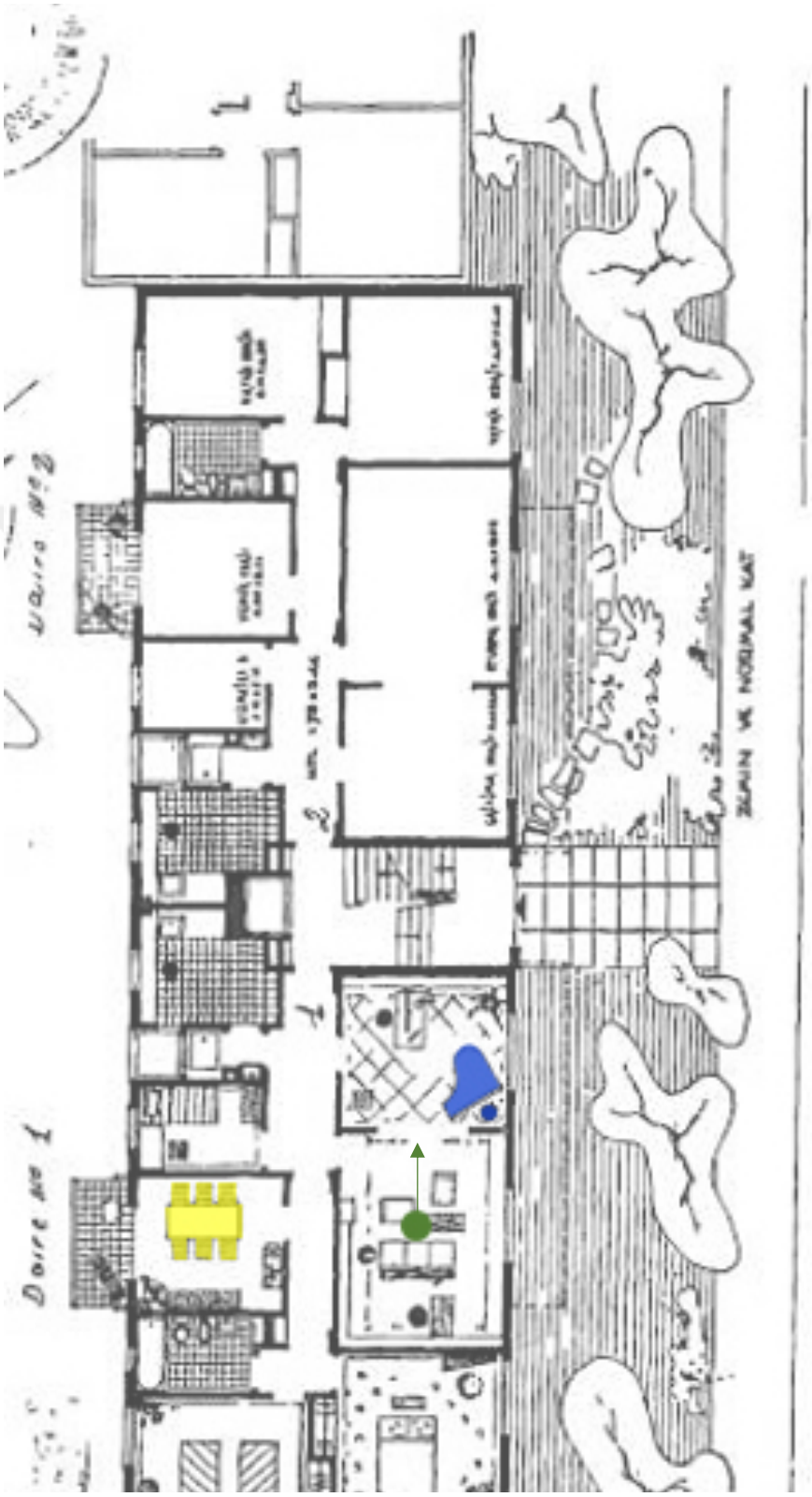


Figure 77 Demirtaş Kamçıl and Rahmi Bediz, İsrailevleri, Ankara, 1955.

Source: "Sivil Mimari Bellek Ankara 1930-1980 Yapı Envanteri: İsrailevleri", Koç Üniversitesi Digital Collections, accessed June 14, 2020, https://libdigitalcollections.ku.edu.tr/digital/collection/SMB/id/1275/rec/90.



Figure 78 Demirtaş Kamçıl and Rahmi Bediz, Übeyde Elli Apartment, Ankara, 1957.

Source: Bayraktar, Batuman and Ayhan, ed., "Übeyde Elli Apartmanı", 105.

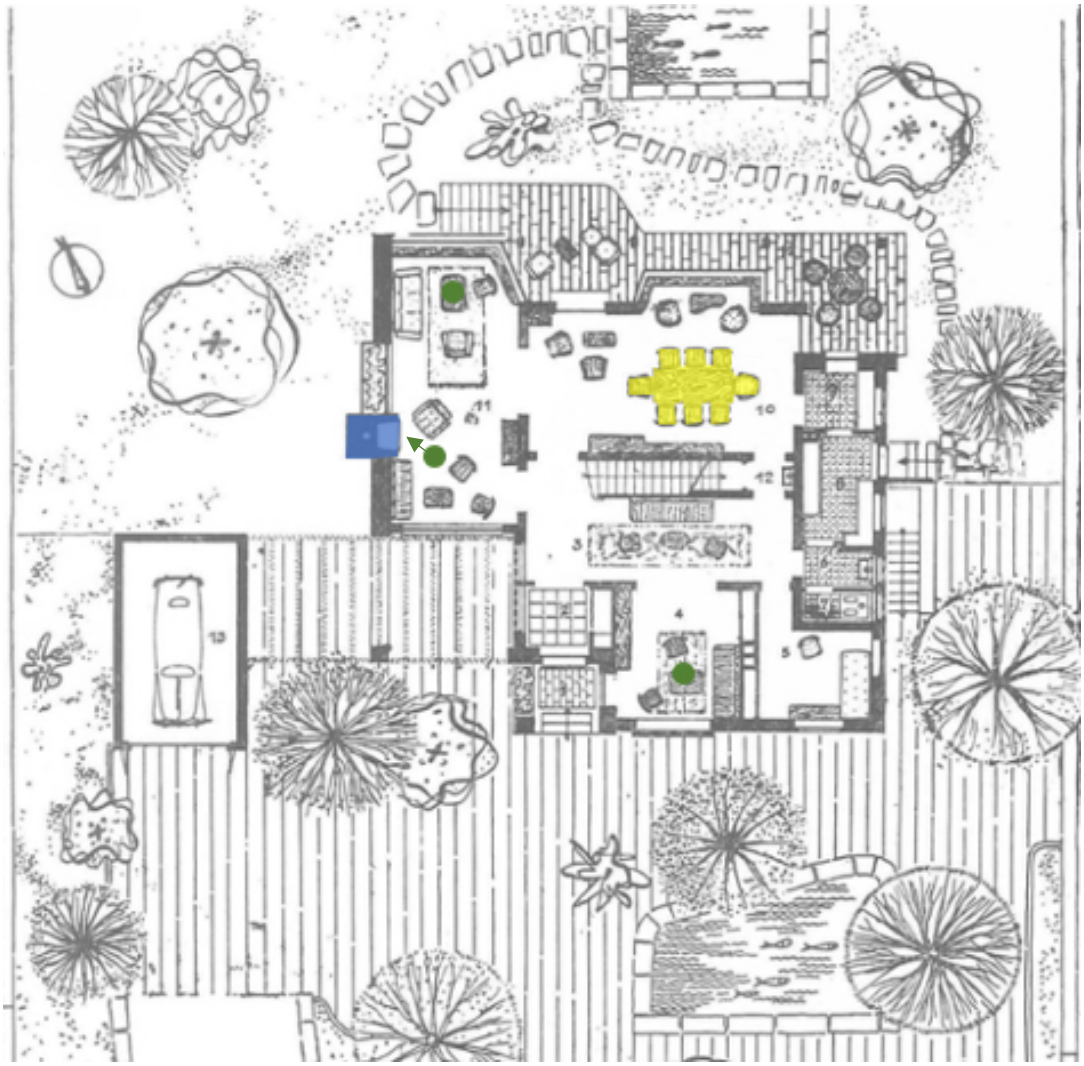


Figure 79 Muallim Halit Femir and Feridun Akozan, Mehmet Aker House, Bursa.

Source: “Bay Mehmet Aker Villası”, 215.

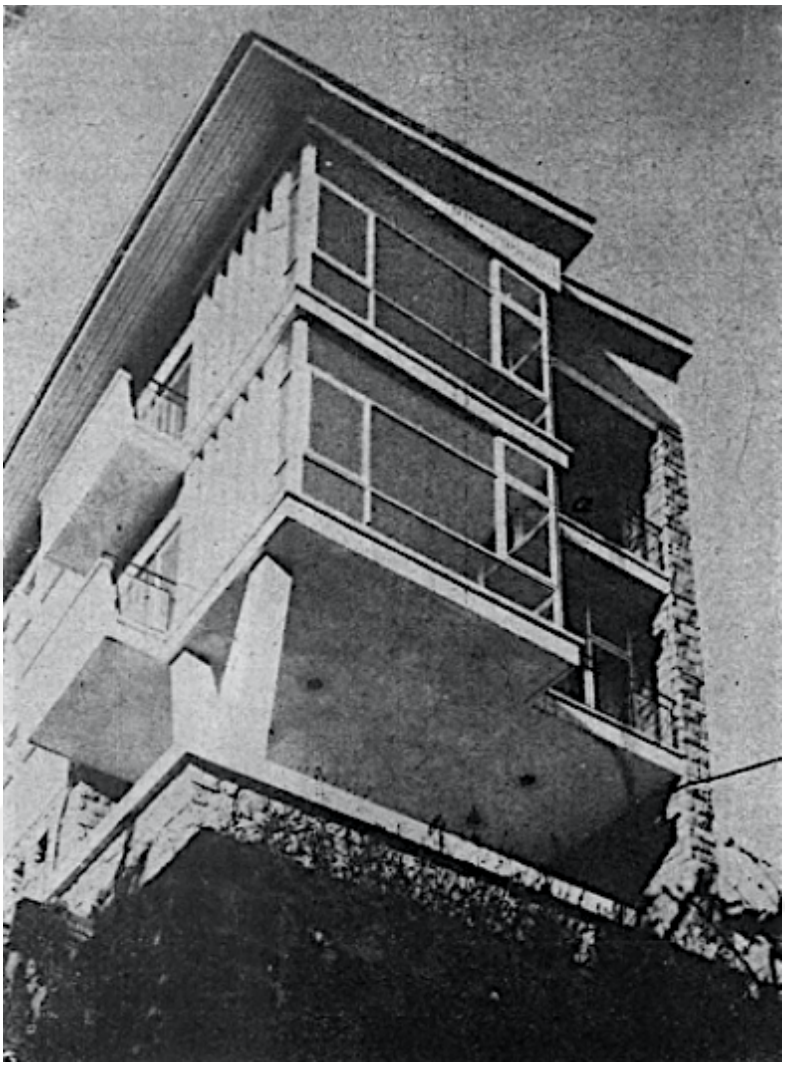


Figure 80 Ekrem Yenel, A Villa in Bebek, İstanbul.

Adapted from: “Bebekte Bir Villa”, 109-110.



Figure 80 (Continued)

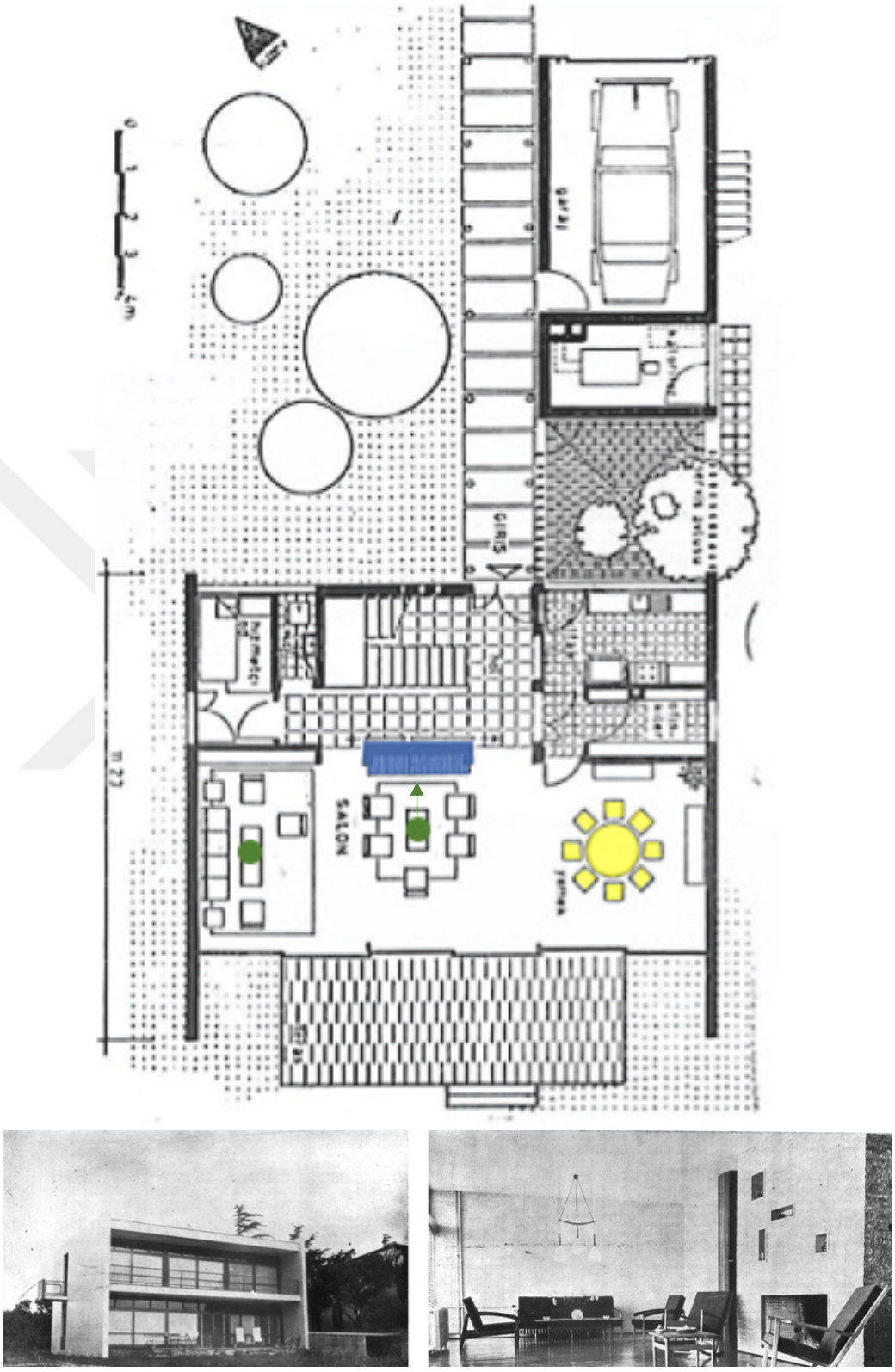


Figure 81 Muhteşem Giray, Özgür House, İstanbul.

Adapted from: "Küçükyalı'da İki Villa", 10-11.

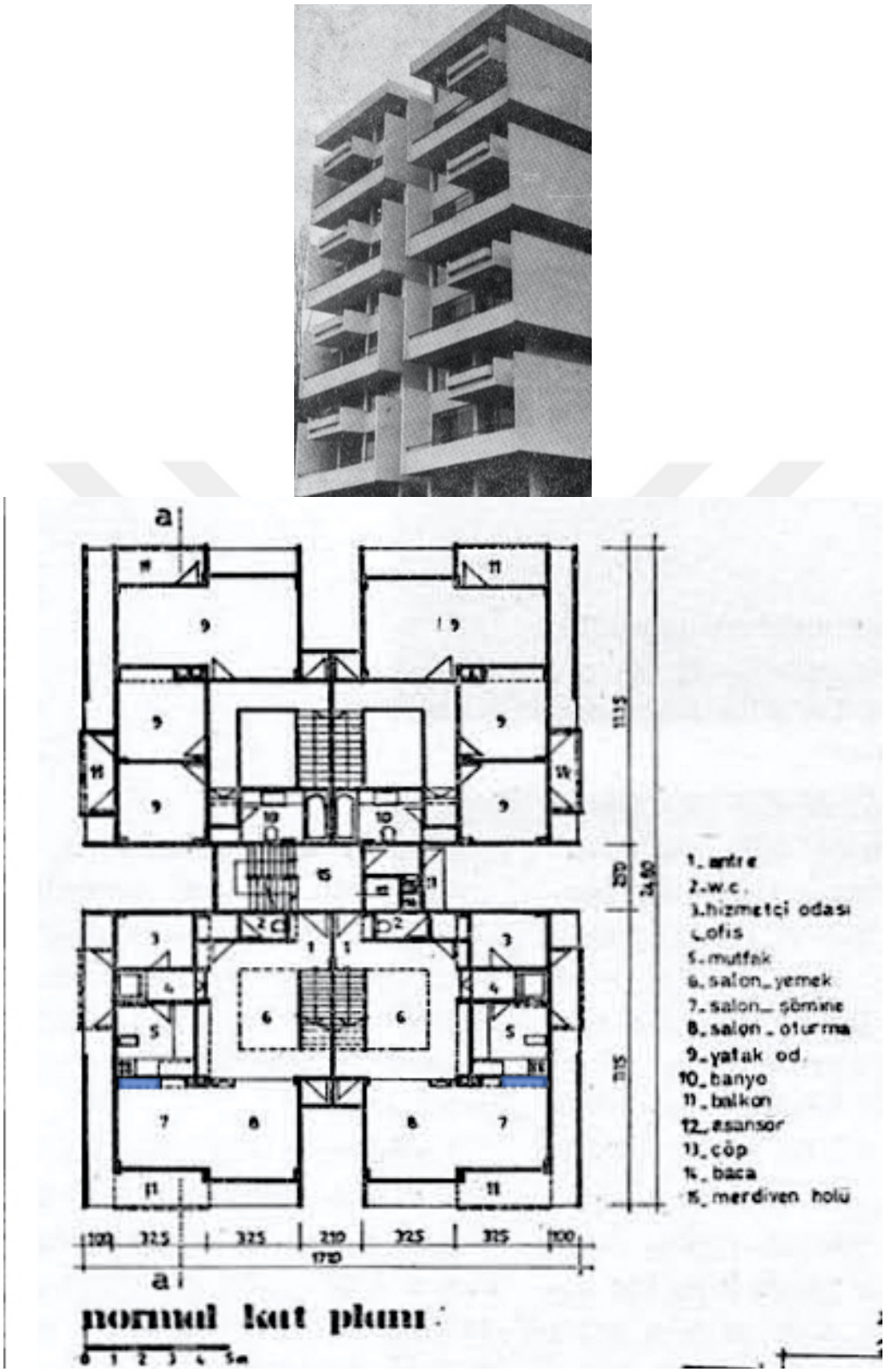


Figure 82 Ergün Ersöz, Duplex Apartment on Bağdat Street, Bursa, 1970s.

Adapted from: "Bağdat Caddesinde Dubleks Apartman", 127.

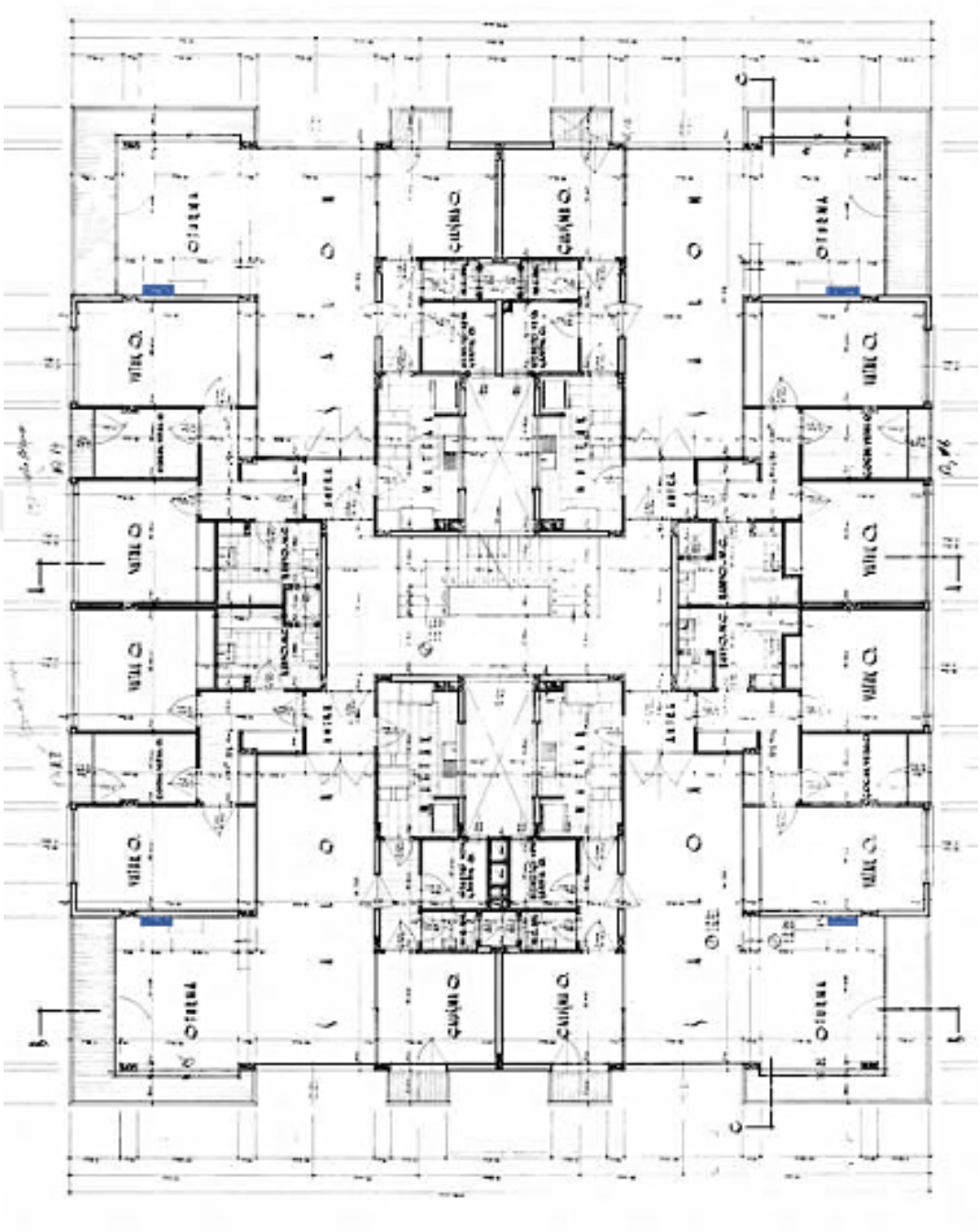


Figure 83 Nejat Ersin, RER Apartment, Ankara, 1964.

Source: “Sivil Mimari Bellek Yapı Envanteri Ankara 1930-1980, RER Apartmanı”.

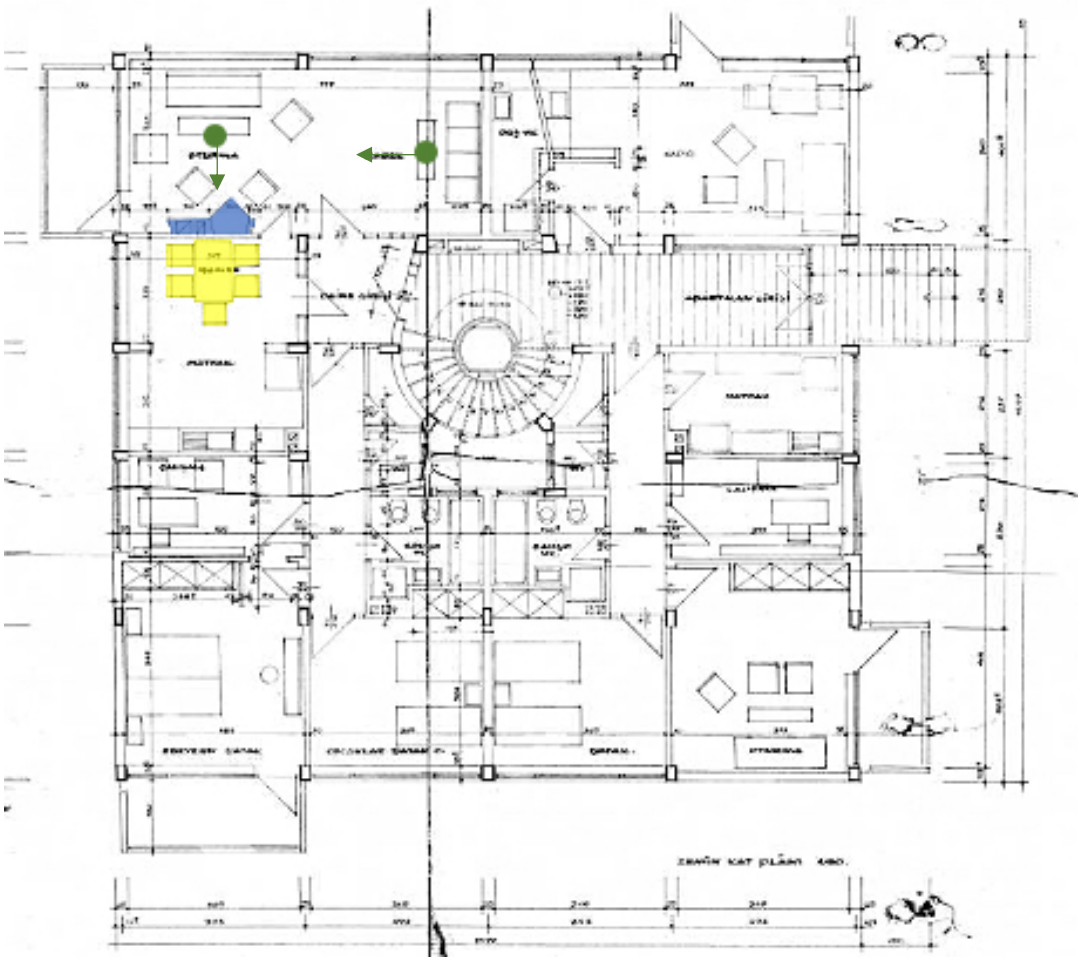


Figure 84 Vedat Dalokay and Nejat Tekelioğlu, Basın Sitesi I, Ankara, 1960.

Source: “Sivil Mimari Bellek Yapı Envanteri Ankara 1930-1980, Basın Sitesi I”.

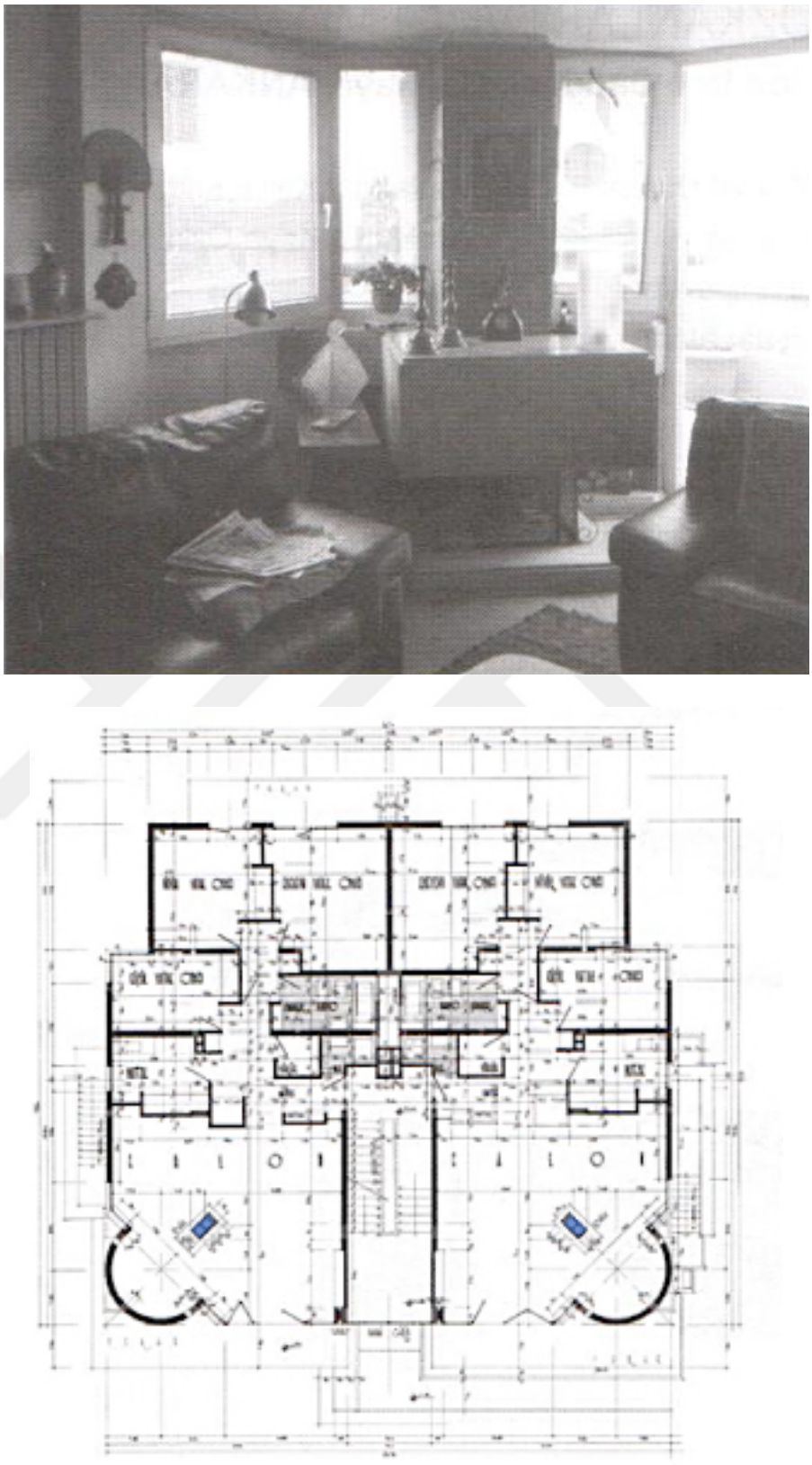


Figure 85 Danyal Tevfik Çiper, Çelebiler Apartment, Ankara, 1966.

Source: Cengizkan, *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar*, 147.



Figure 85 (Continued)

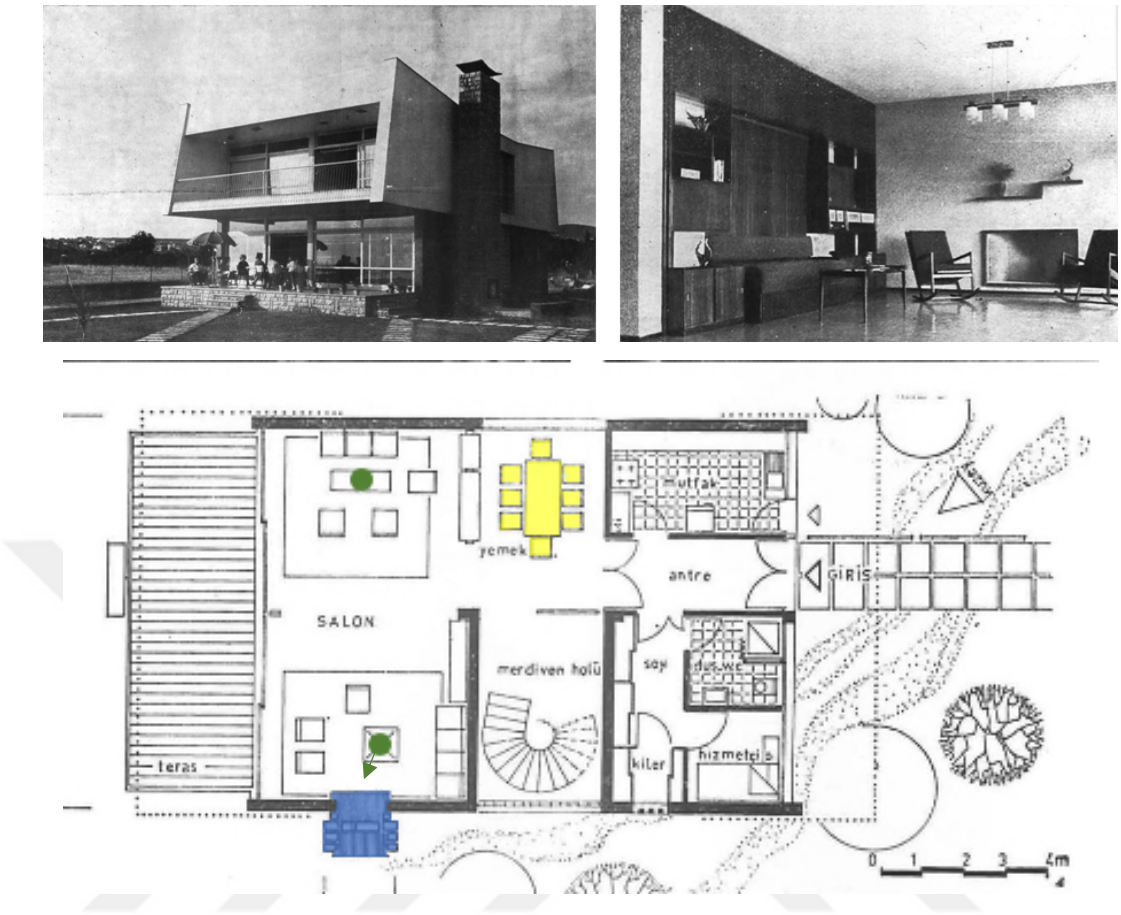


Figure 86 Muhteşem Giray, Uzunoğlu House, İstanbul, 1964-1965

Adapted from: "Küçükyalı'da İki Villa", 8-9.



Figure 87 Lemi Varnalı, Çankaya İş Bankası İkramiye Houses, Ankara, 1968.

Source: “Sivil Mimari Bellek Yapı Envanteri Ankara 1930-1980, Çankaya İş Bankası İkramiye Evleri”.



Figure 88 Nejat Ersin, Cinnah 19 Apartment, Ankara, 1954-1957.

Source: “Cinnah 19”, Arkitektuel, accessed July 1, 2020, https://www.arkitektuel.com/cinnah-19/.

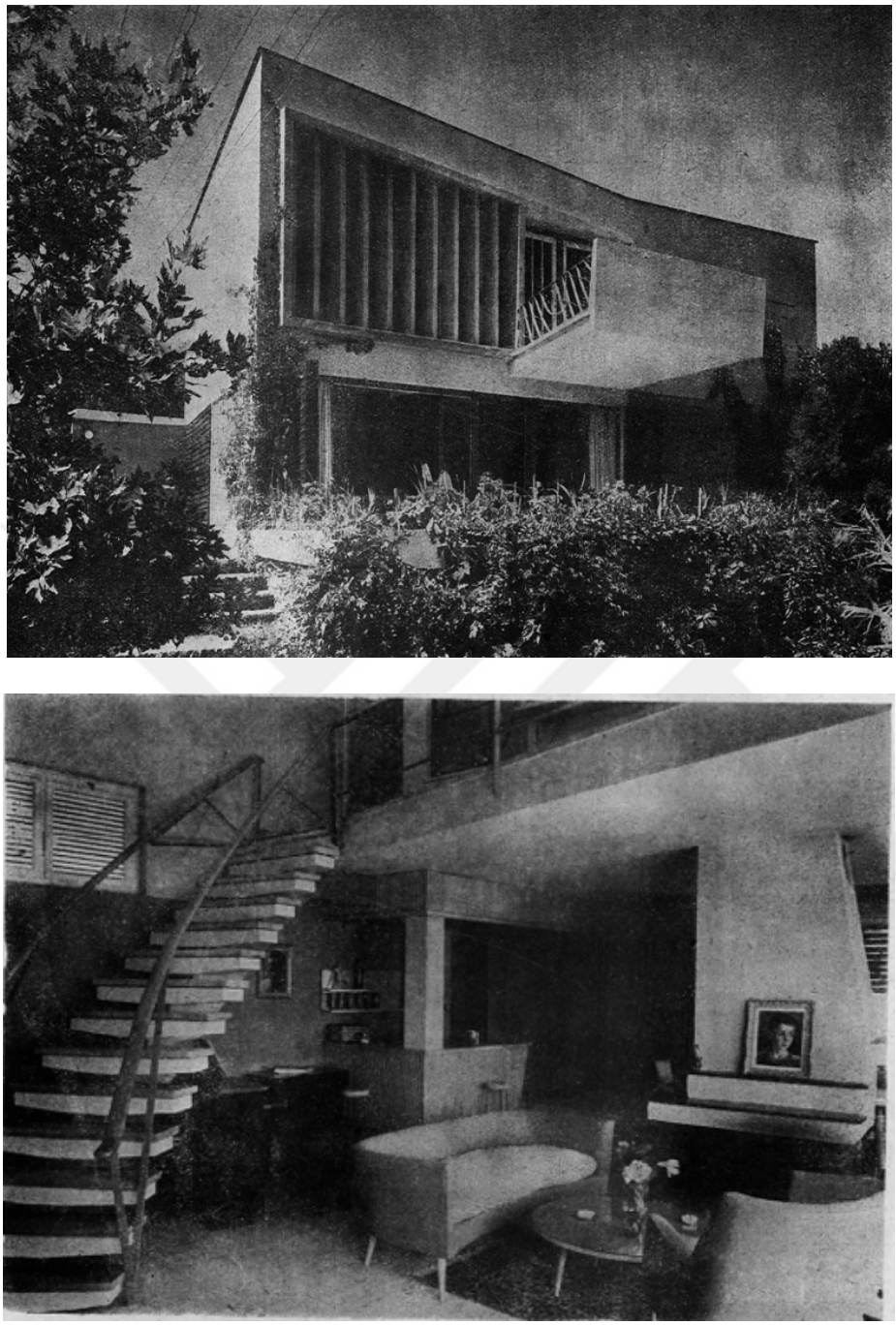


Figure 89 Ercüment Bigat and Arif Bilgesü, Arif Saltuk House, İstanbul.

Adapted from: "Mühendis Arif Saltuk Villası", *Arkitekt*, 1958, no. 2 (1958): 55-60, http://dergi.mo.org.tr/detail.php?id=2&sayi_id=232.

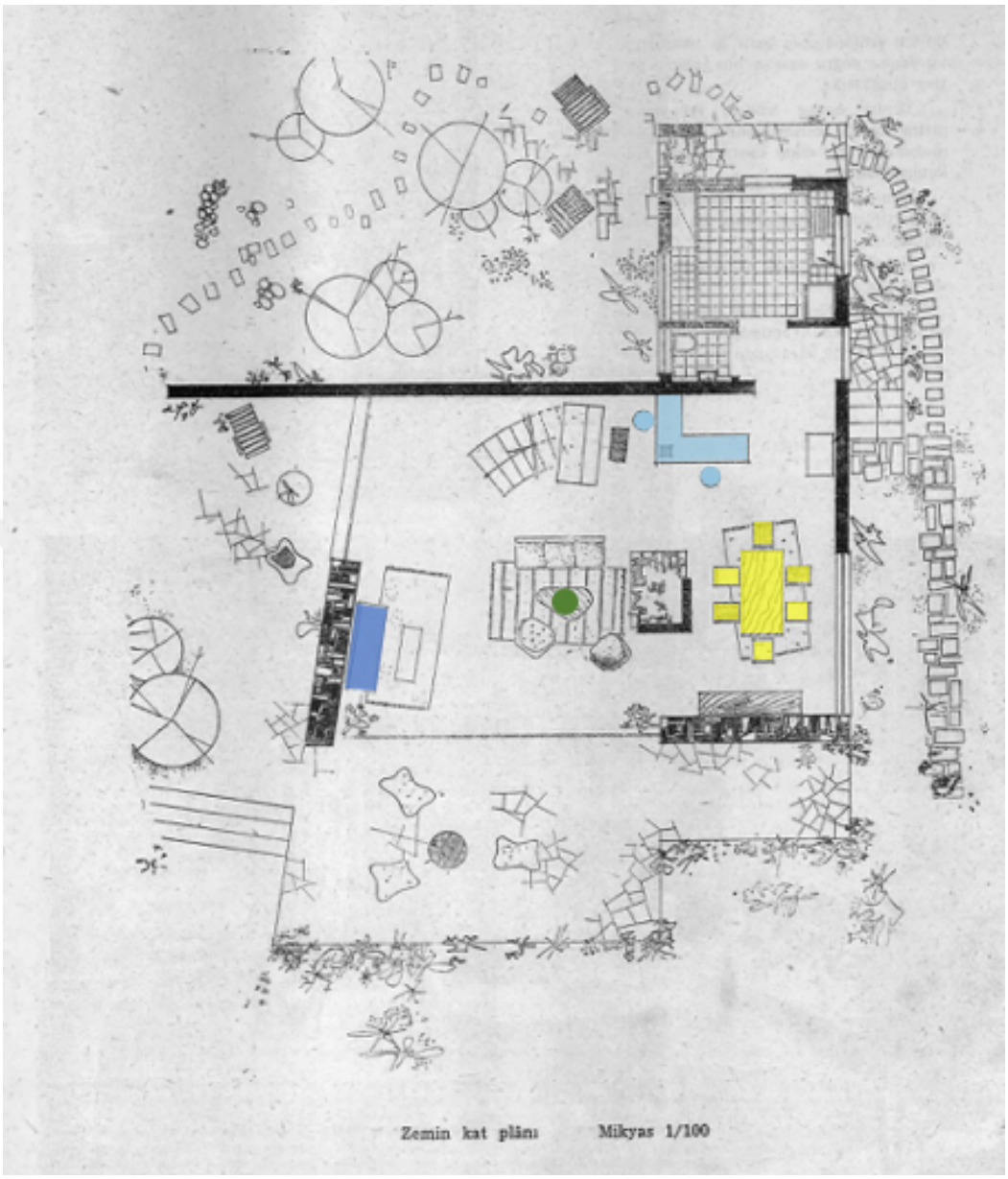


Figure 89 (Continued)

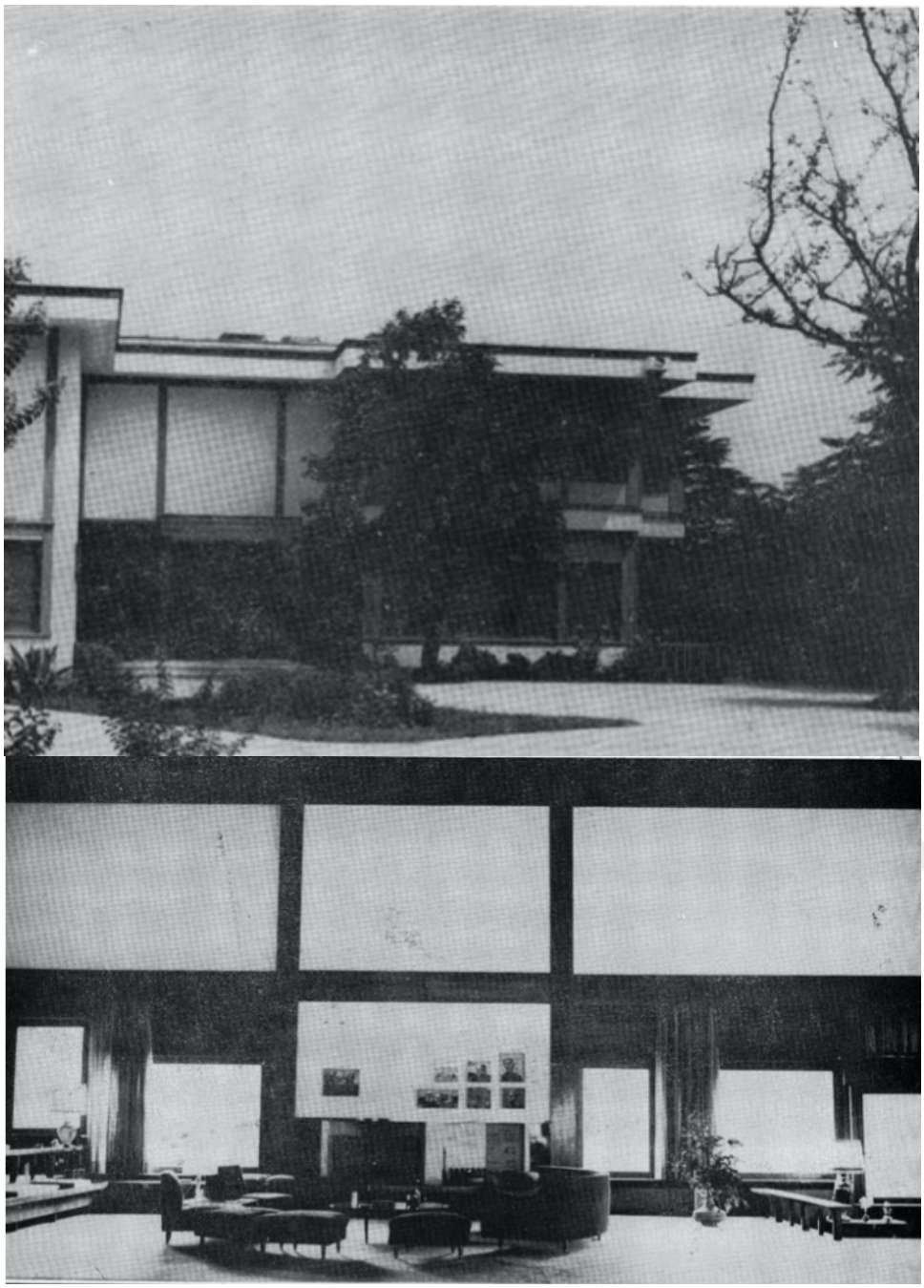


Figure 90 Emin Necip Uzman, A Villa in Boğaziçi, Yeniköy, İstanbul.

Adapted from: “Boğaz içinde bir villa”, 53-54.



Figure 90 (Continued)



Figure 91 Siera radio ad published in1966: “It is a radio worthy of your home and taste with every model.”

Source: author’s collection.



Figure 92 Star brand radio ad published in 1953: “See, listen,decide… The pleasure and beauty of making Star radios is unmatched. Walnut furniture, solid and careful craftsmanship, attractive display immediately catches the eye.”

Source: author’s collection.
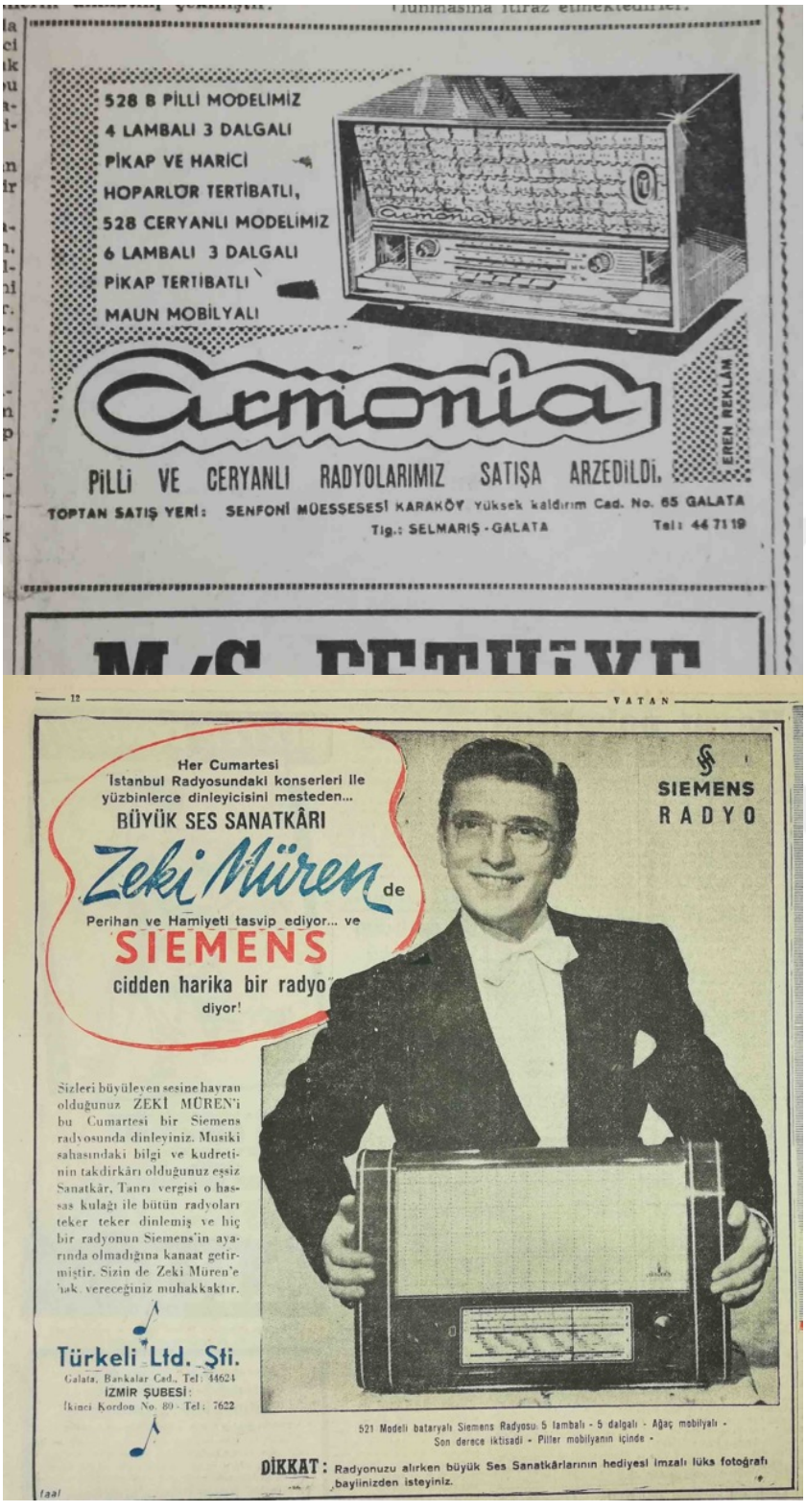


Figure 93 Left: Armonia radio advertisement from the 1960s that includes "mahogany furnished" among the technical properties. Right: Siemens radio advertisement dated in 1953 that promotes the radio with "wooden furniture".

Source: author's collection.



Figure 94 Anonymous photographs of domestic interiors that show radio placement in the parlor, the 1970s.

Source: author's collection.

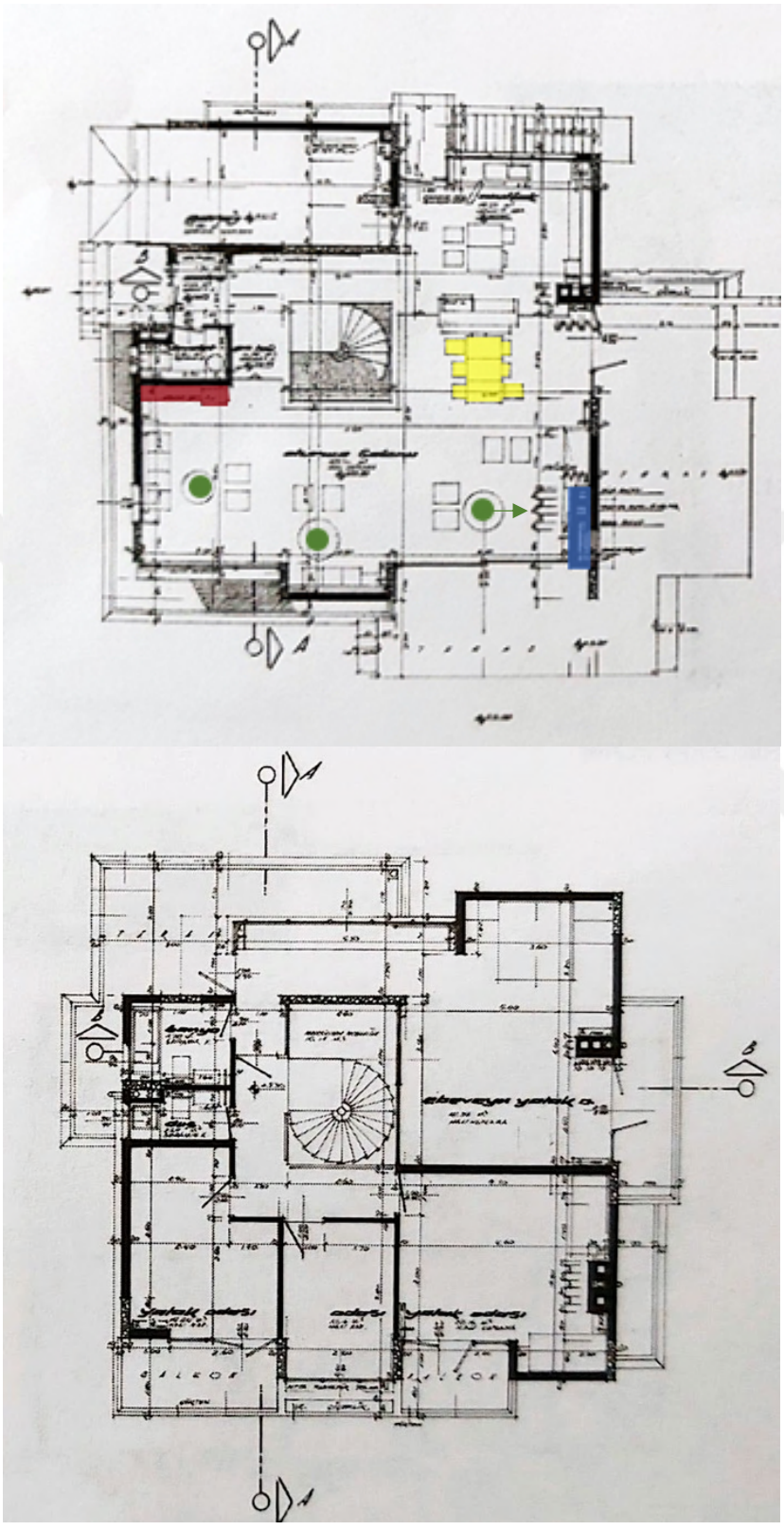


Figure 95 Danyal Tevfik Çiper, Villa Project, Ground Floor and Upper Floor Plans.

Source: Cengizkan, *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar*, 122.

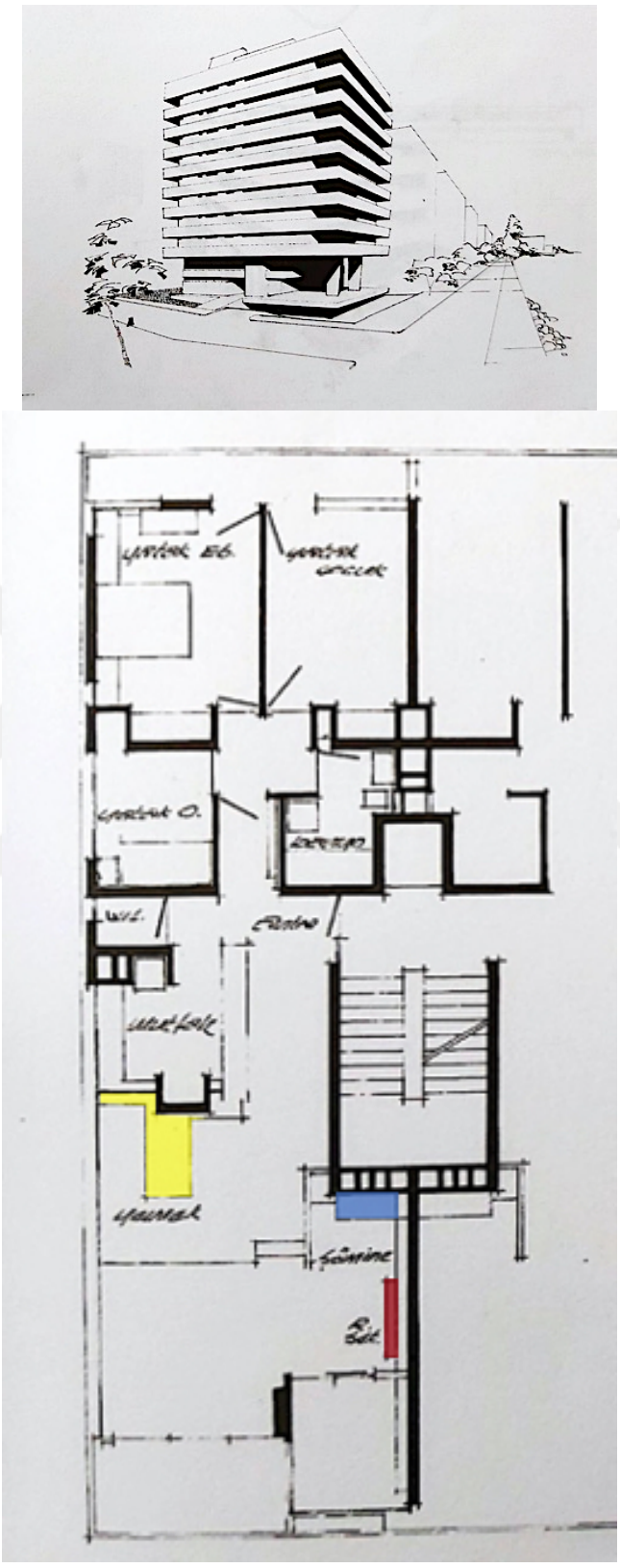


Figure 96 Danyal Tevfik Çiper, an Apartment Project, Plan and Axononmetric Drawing.

Source. Cengizkan, *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar*, 175.

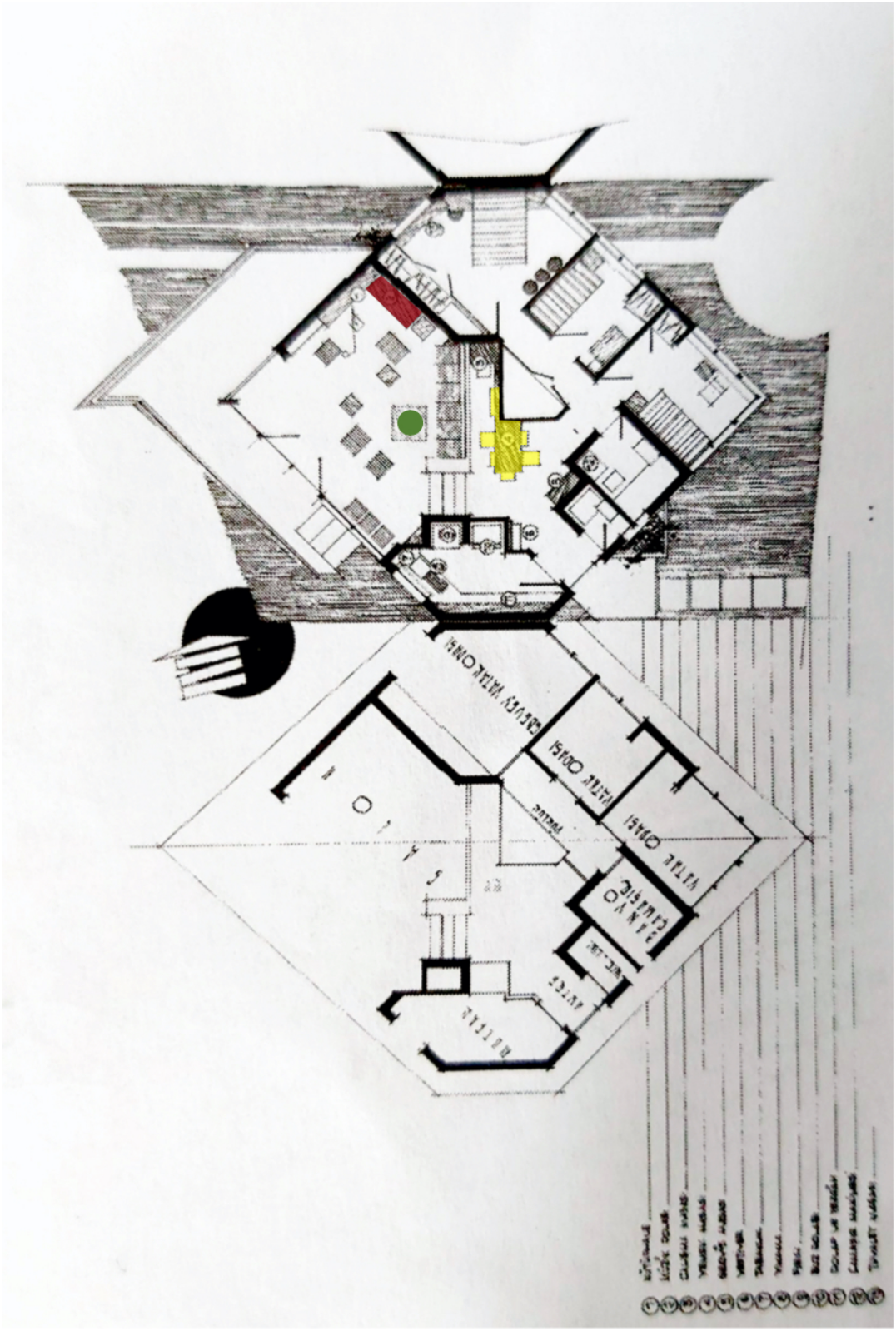


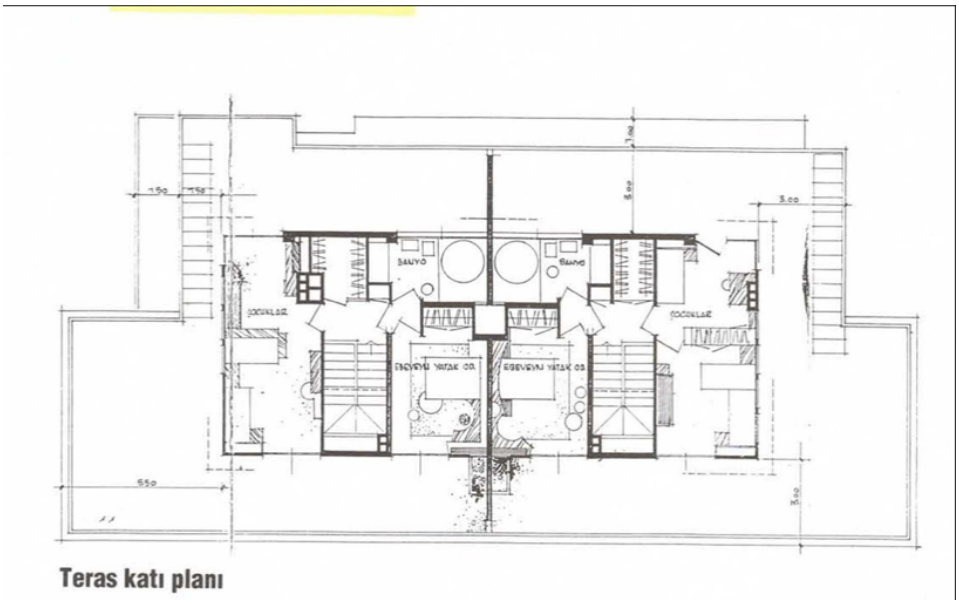
Figure 97 Danyal Tevfik Çiper, Erdem Yuva Building Cooperatives, Plans of Type 1 and Type 2 Zonguldak.

Source: Cengizkan, *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar*, 85.



Figure 98 Danyal Tevfik Çiper, Erdem Yuva Building Cooperatives, Plans of Type 3, Zonguldak.

Source: Cengizkan, *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar*, 86.



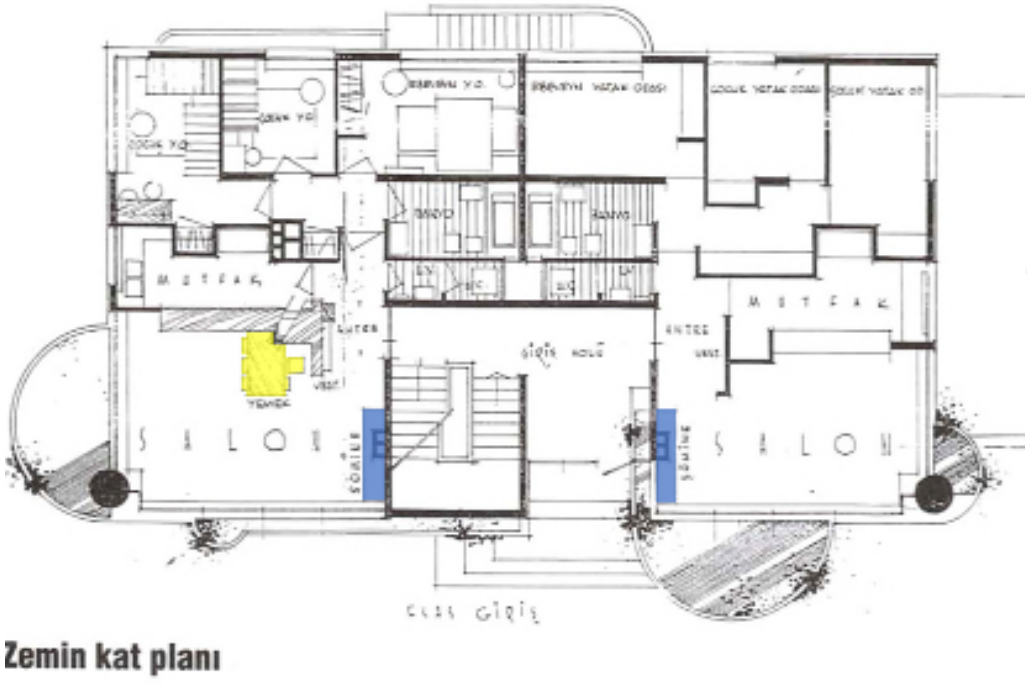
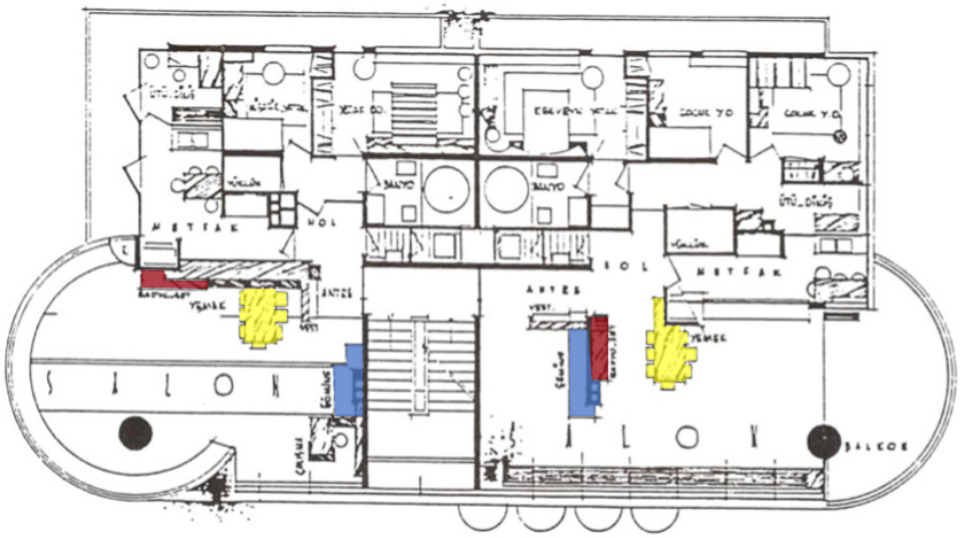
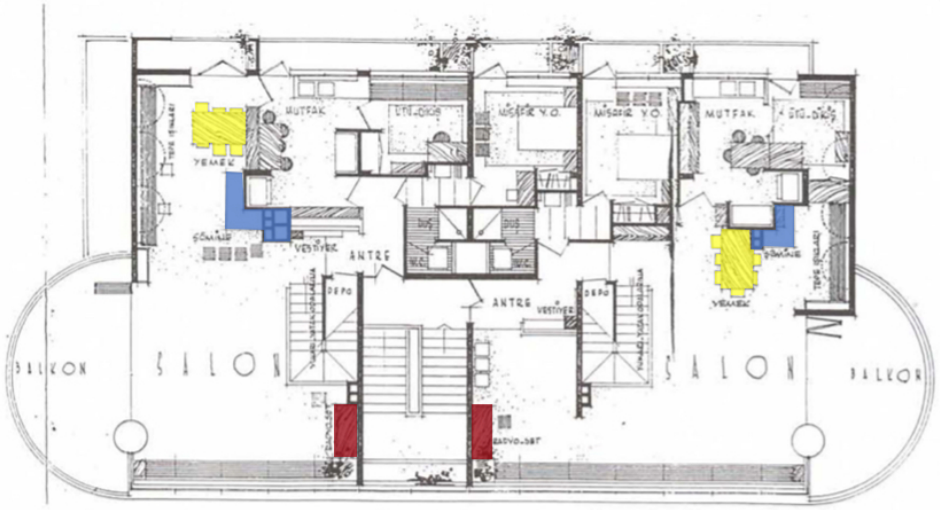


Figure 99 Danyal Tevfik Çiper, Özkanlar House, Ground Floor, First Floor, Second Floor, and Terrace Floor Plans, Ankara, 1968.

Source: Selda Başbuğoğlu, Interview with Danyal Tevfik Çiper, "Danyal Çiper", *Mimarlık*, no.264 (1995): 27, http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=323.



Birinci kat planı



İkinci kat planı

Figure 99 (Continued)

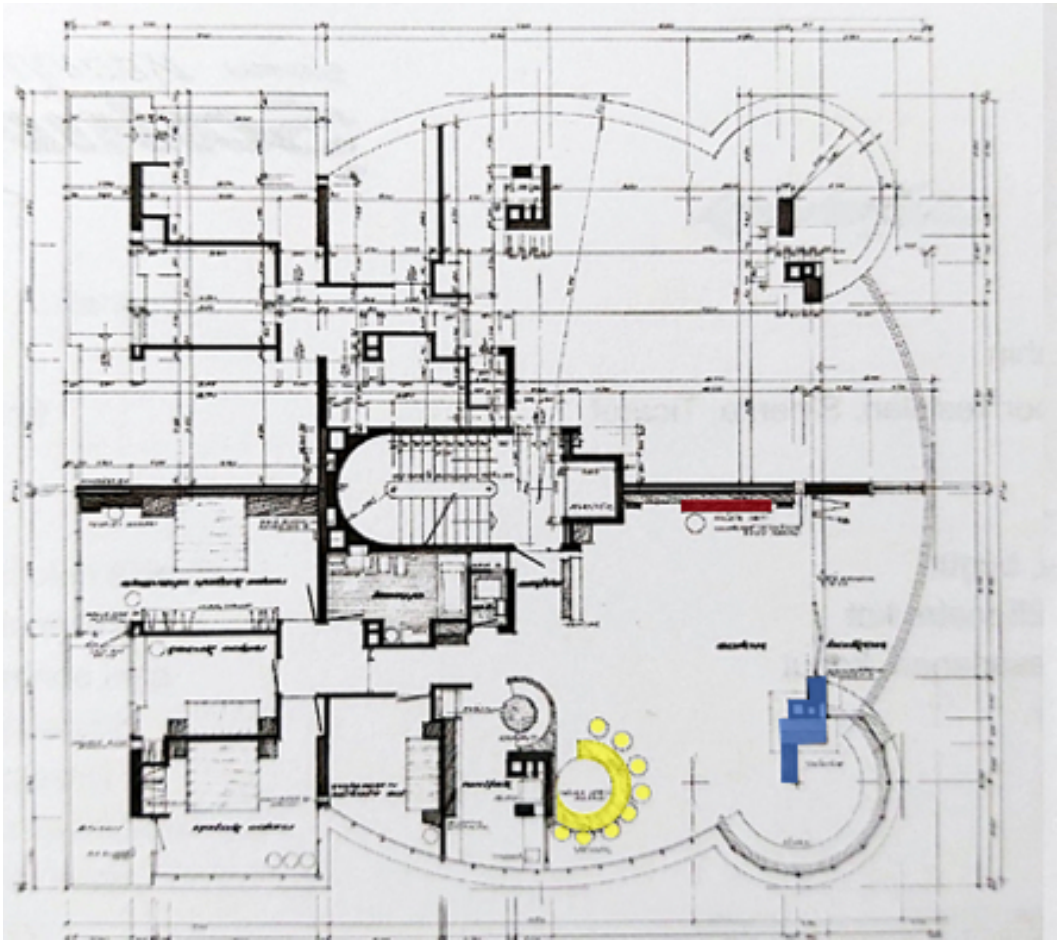


Figure 100 Danyal Tevfik Çiper, Pozcu Apartment, Typical Floor Plan, Ground Floor Plan, and Mezzanine Floor Plan, Mersin, 1980.

Source: Cengizkan, *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar*, 153.

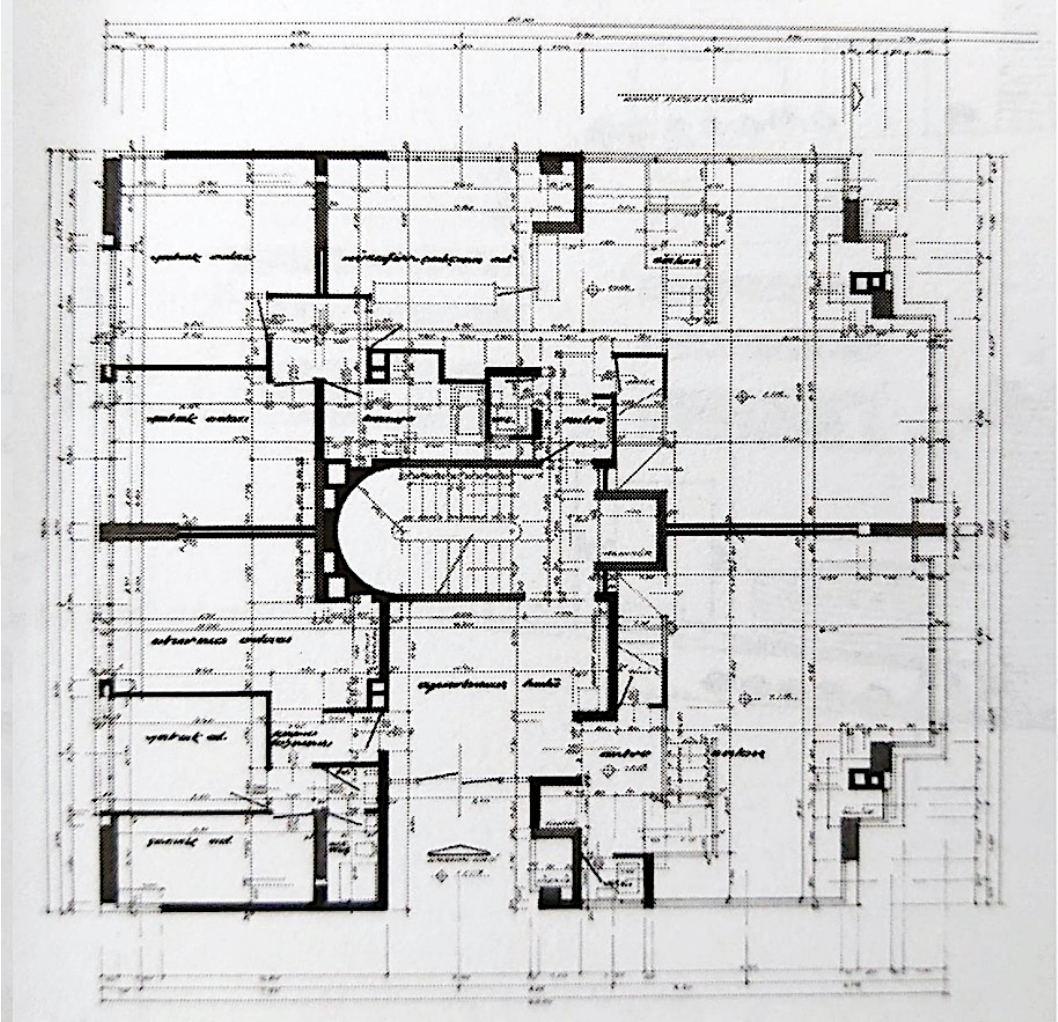


Figure 100 (Continued)

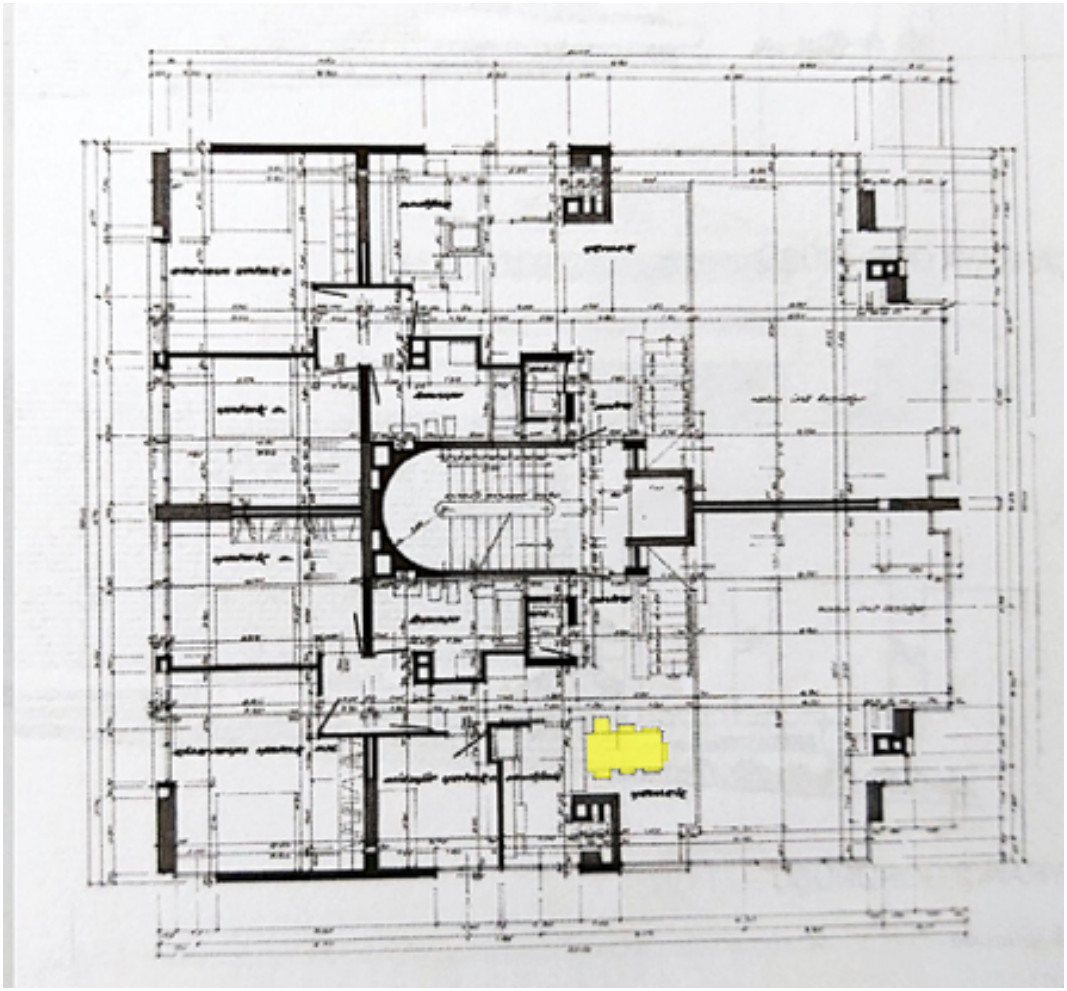


Figure 100 (Continued)

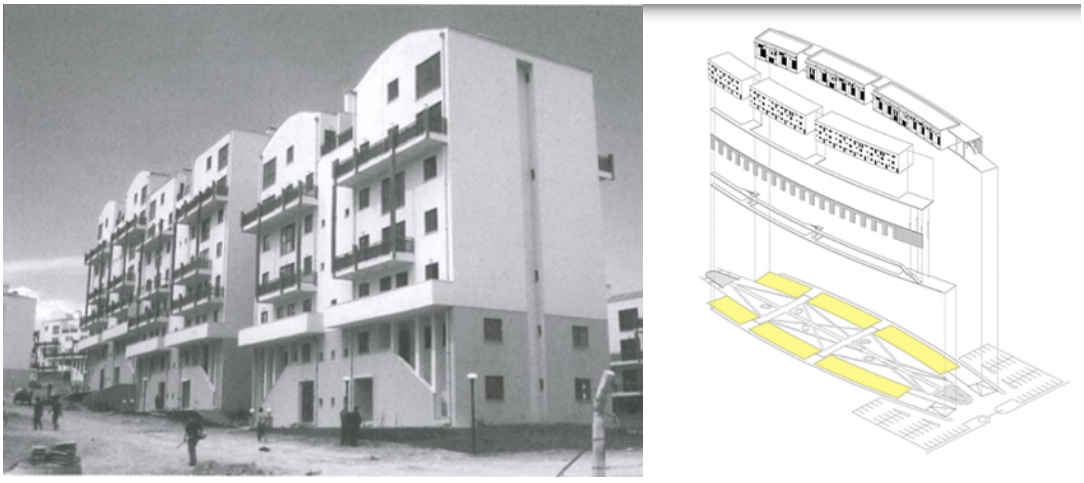


Figure 101 Left: Ahmet Gülgönen, Eryaman Housing, Ankara, 1996. Right: Han Tümertekin, ATK Lodgings, Istanbul, 1998.

Source: Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Turkey, Modern Architectures in History*, 249. "ATK Lojmanları", HS Mimarlık, accessed June 15, 2021, http://hsmimarlik.com/isler/atk-lojmanlari/.



Figure 102 Top left: Merih Karaaslan, Nuran Ünsal and Mürşit Günday, Sürücüler Terrace Houses, Ankara, 1989. Top right: Altuğ and Behruz Çinici, Deputy Housing Complex, Ankara, 1984. Bottom left: Turgut Cansever, Demir Houses, Bodrum, 1987. Bottom right: Mehmet Konuralp, Sağra Lodgings and Guest Houses, Ordu, 1984.

Source: "Sürücüler Housing", Archnet, accessed March 29, 2020, https://archnet.org/sites/962/media_contents/21655. "TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanları (Atakent Sitesi) genel görünüm fotoğrafları - TBMM Deputy Housing Complex (Atakent), general view photos", Salt Araştırma, last modified September 15, 2018, https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/76166. Neslihan T. Dostoğlu, "Modern Sonrası Mimarlık Anlayışları", *Mimarlık*, no. 263 (1995): 50. Dostoğlu, "Modern Sonrası Mimarlık Anlayışları", 48.



Figure 103 Yavuz Turgul, *Aşk Filmlerinin Unutulmaz Yönetmeni*, 1990.

Adapted from: Erler Film Türker İnanoğlu, "Aşk Filmlerinin Unutulmaz Yönetmeni | Şener Şen, Pıtırcık Akerman", Youtube, last modified February 22, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jj_FQRjvC4I&t=1s.



Figure 104 Orhan Aksoy, *Kiracı*, 1987.

Adapted from: Fanatik Klasik Film, "Kiracı | Kemal Sunal Eski Türk Filmi Tek Parça (Restorasyonlu)", Youtube, last modified November 24, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4nRQCiaSg-U.



Figure 105 Kartal Tibet, *Milyarder*, 1986.

Adapted from: Arzu Film, "Milyarder", Youtube, last modifiedJuly 30, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l5qgnAgpDLw.

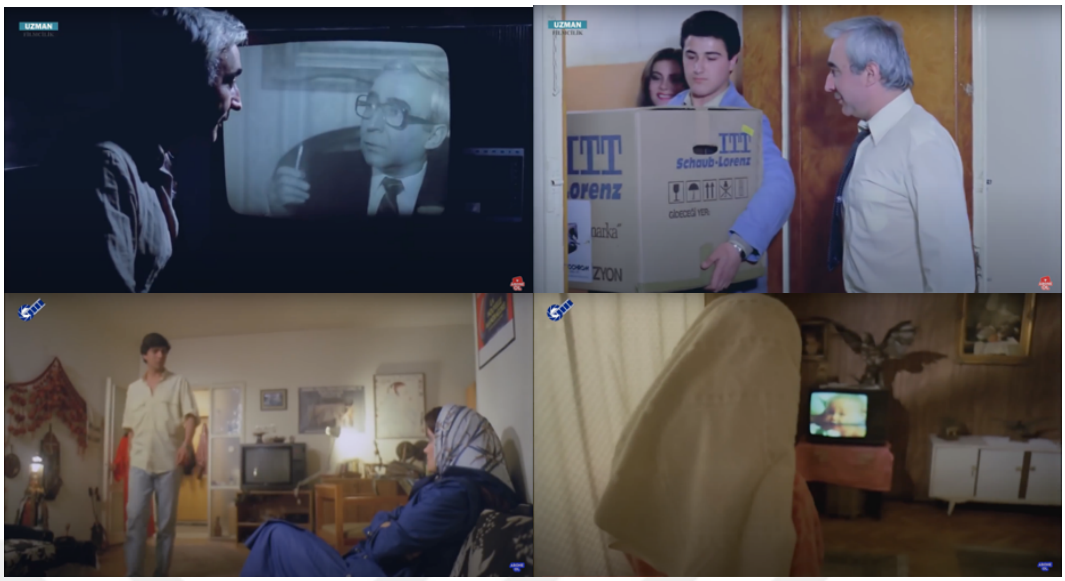


Figure 106 Top: Başar Sabuncu, *Çıplak Vatandaş*, 1985. Bottom: Atıf Yılmaz, *Aahhh Belinda*, 1986.

Adapted from: Uzman Filmcilik, "Çıplak Vatandaş - Türk Filmi (Şener Şen)", Youtube, last modified January 7, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BIJMcUsFFt4. Gülşah Film, "Aaahh Belinda - HD Türk Filmi (Müjde Ar & Yılmaz Zafer)", Youtube, last modified May 17, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tEBfVDRuNyY.



Figure 107 Ertem Eğilmez, *Namuslu*, 1985.

Adapted from: Uzman Filmcilik, "Namuslu - Türk Filmi (Şener Şen & Ayşen Gruda)", Youtube, last modified January 8, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s4Bu9suUTPs.



Figure 108 Left: Yalçın Yelence (453 episodes) and Erkavim Yıldırım (5 episodes), *Bizimkiler*, 1989-2002. Right: Tükenmezkalem Film Grubu, *Kaygısızlar*, 1994-1998.

Adapted from: Fanatik Nostalji Diziler, "Bizimkiler 2. Bölüm | Nostalji Diziler", Youtube, last modified October 29, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iJW3oMe2Uro. Kanal D Arşiv, "Kaygısızlar 1.Bölüm - Full Bölüm", Youtube, last modified June 29, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m22q0-3CYaU.



Figure 109 Top: Nail Çakırhan, Çakırhan House, interior photograph showing a portable television, Muğla, 1971. Bottom: Utarit İzgi, Nafi Bak House, bedroom with a portable television ü, Ankara, 1972.

Source: "Çakırhan Evi Türkiye". "Ulus'taki Nafi Bak Evi fotoğrafları - Photographs of Nafi Bak House in Ulus".

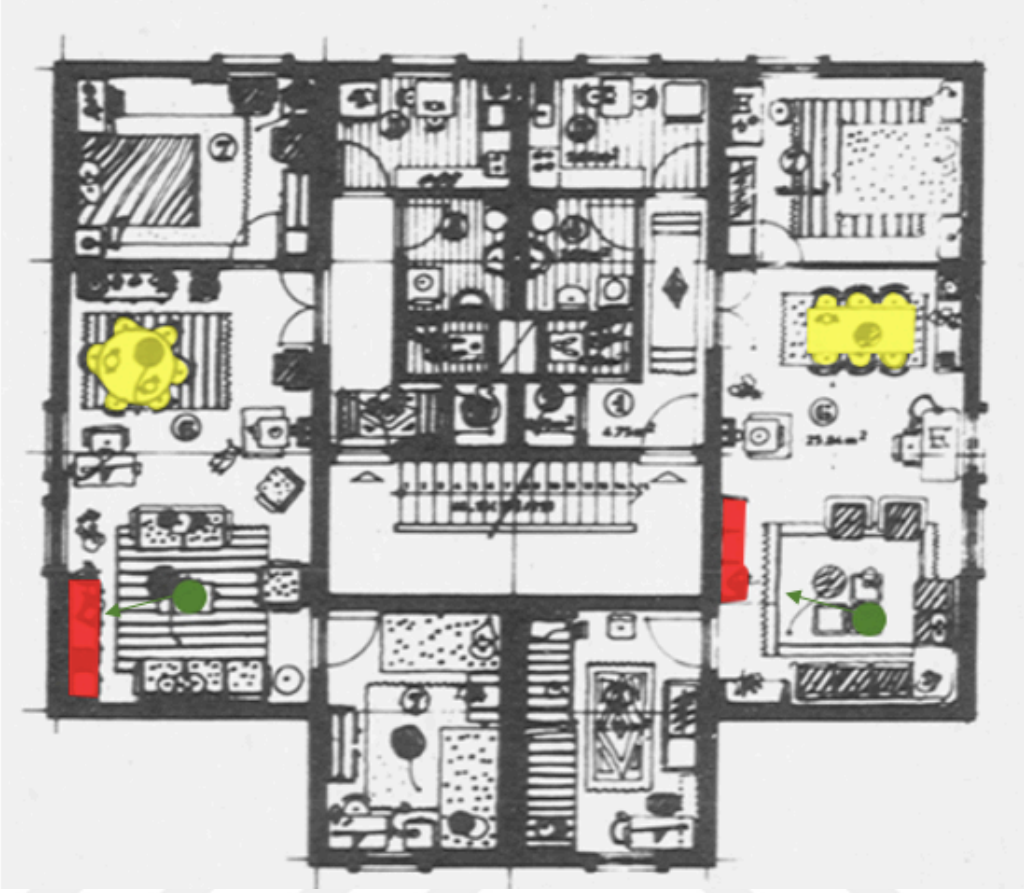


Figure 110 The prize-winning Project plans of the National Architectural Project Competition for Rental Housing, 1982.

Source: “Gecekondu Önleme Bölgeleri ve Geri Kalmış Yörelerde Kiralık Konut Ulusal Mimari Proje Yarışması”, 13-31.

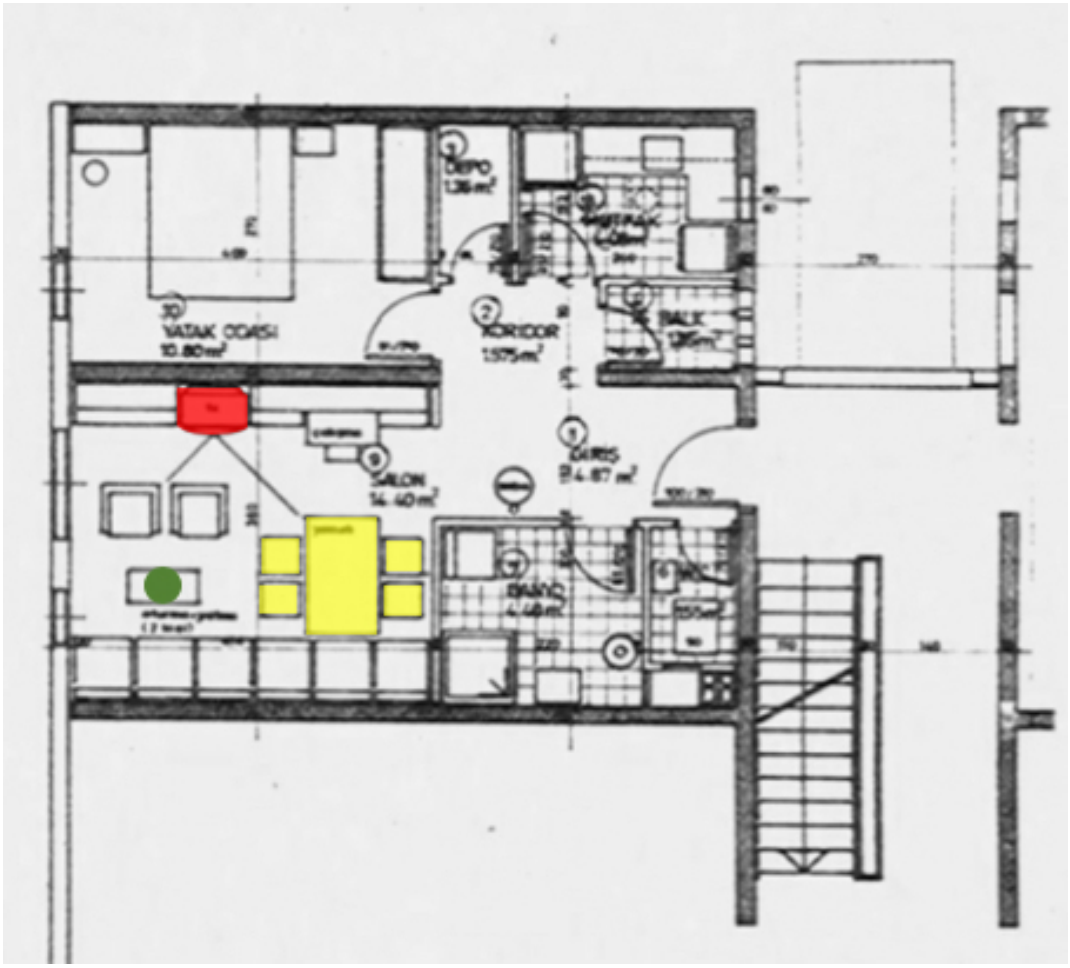


Figure 110 (Continued)

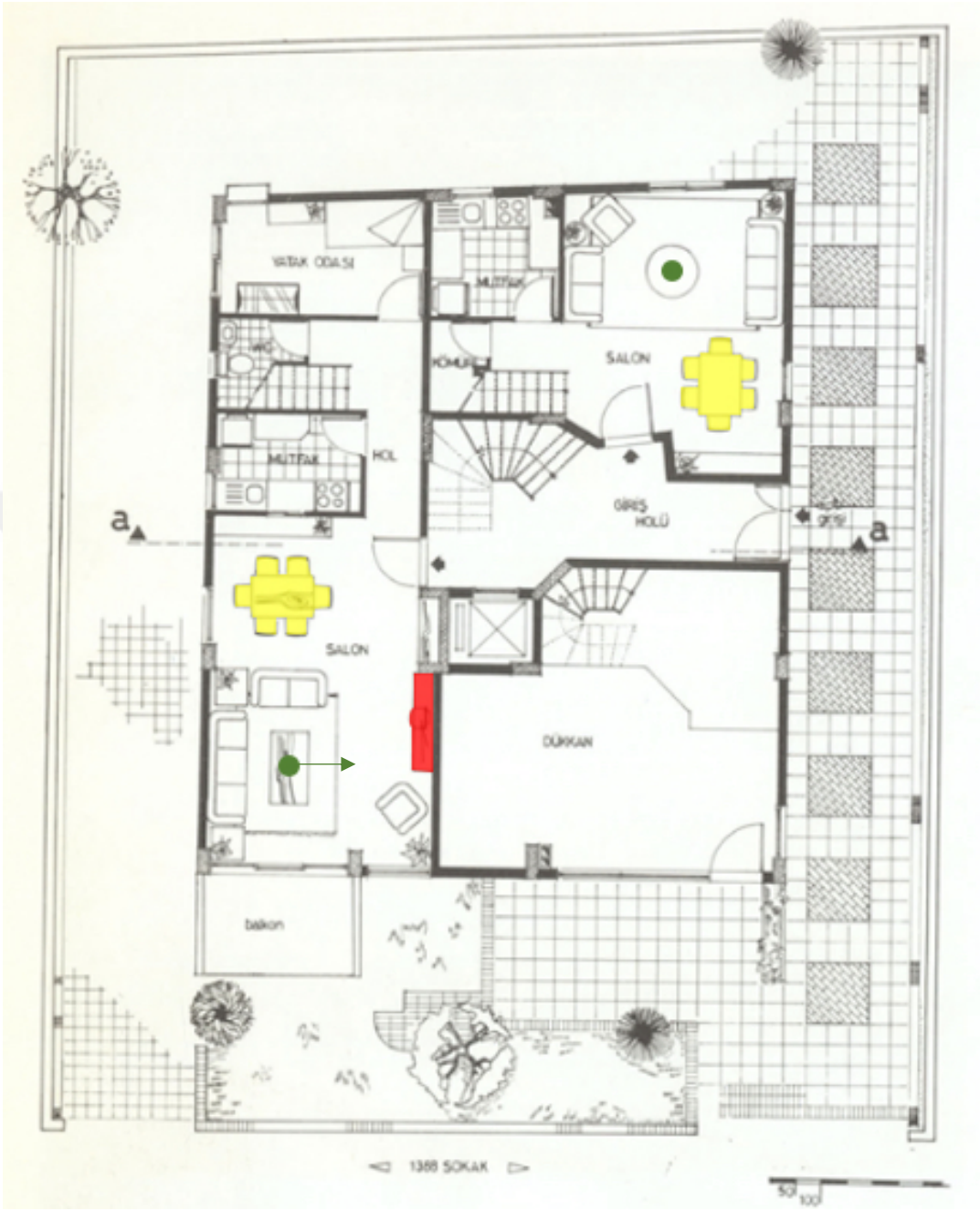


Figure 111 Hüseyin Egeli, Evin Apartment, ground floor plan, İzmir, 1984.

Source: "Evin Apartmanı", 54.



Figure 112 Hayzuran Hasol and Doğan Hasol, Zeytinoğlu House, photograph from the three part parlor, section drawing, fourth level and ground level plans, İstanbul, 1988.

Adapted from: Yapı Endüstri Merkezi, *Konutlar*, 31-38.

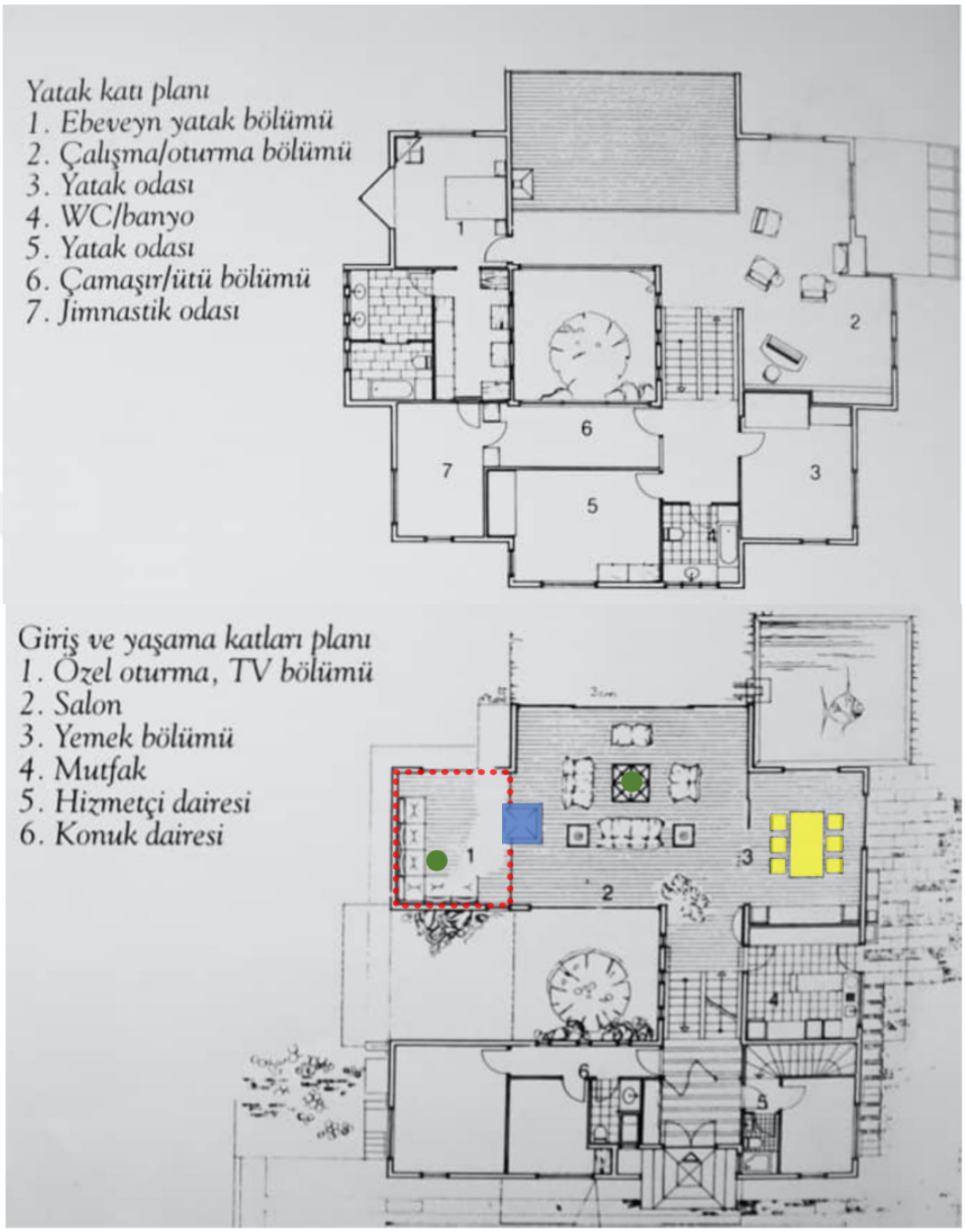


Figure 112 (Continued)

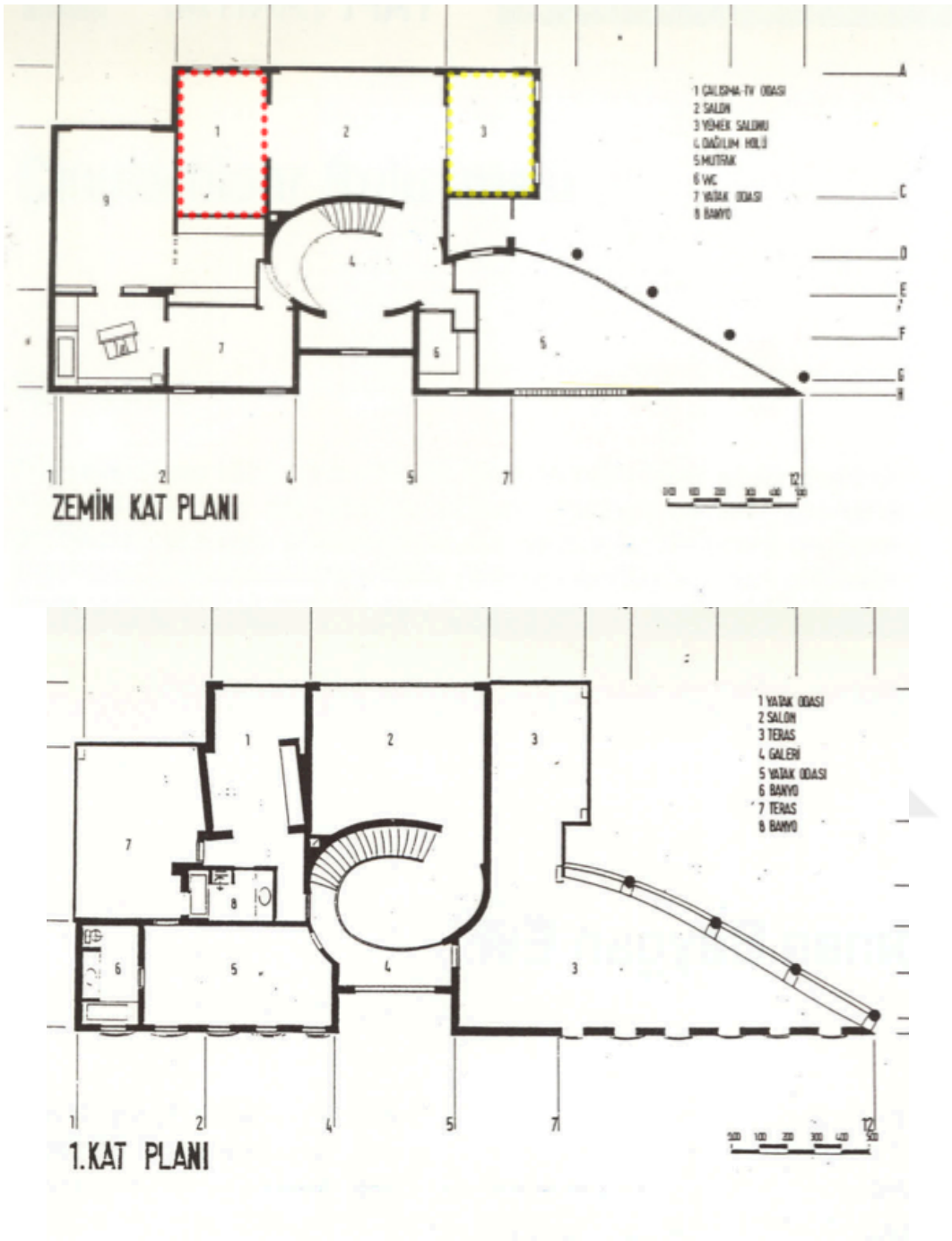


Figure 113 Joys Israel, Teoman Baygan House, İzmir, 1991.

Source: "Teoman Baygan Evi", 48.

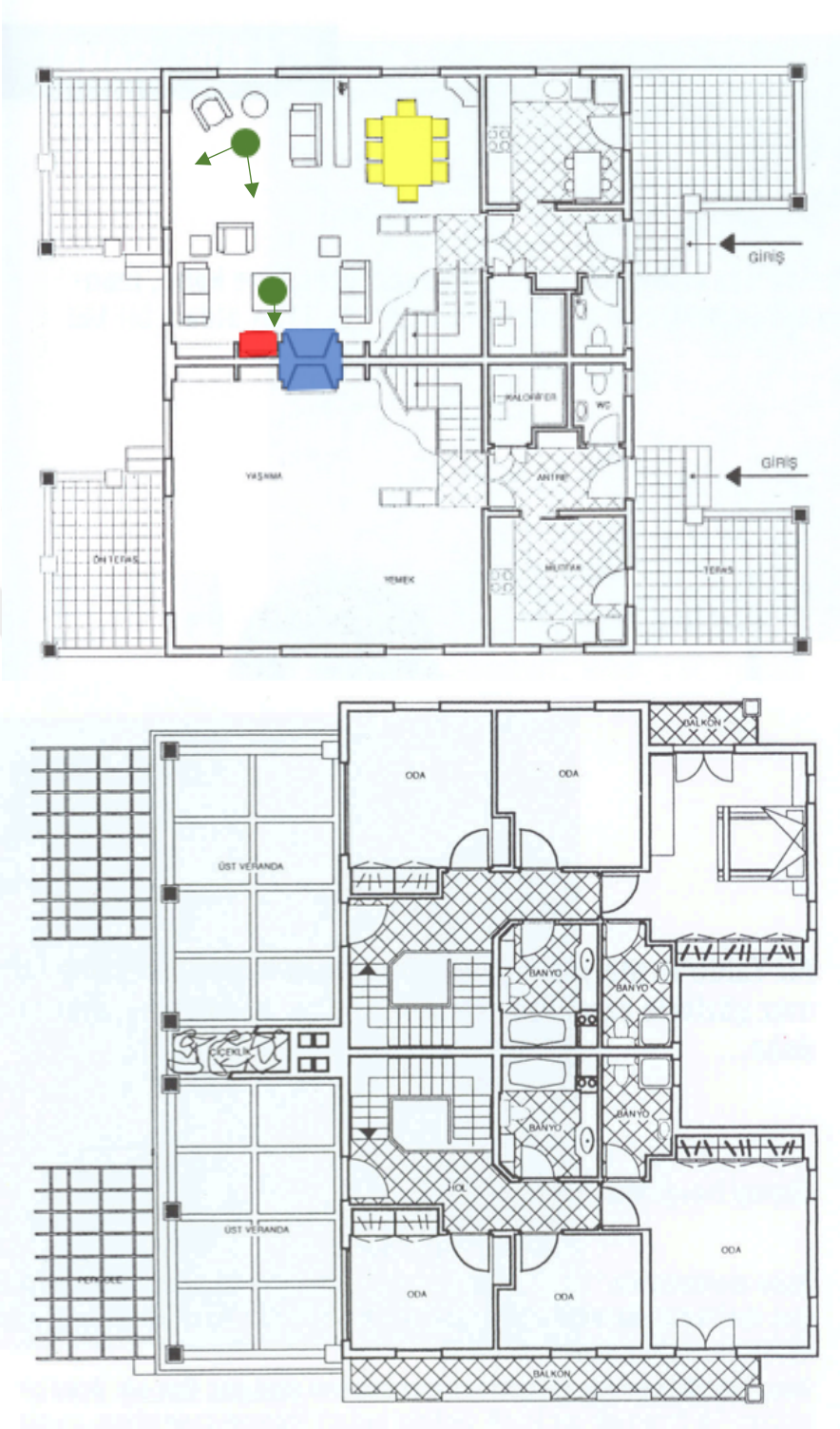


Figure 114 Özen Otağ, Esin Önder House, plan drawings, İzmir, 1992-1993.

Source: "Esin Önder Evi", 49.

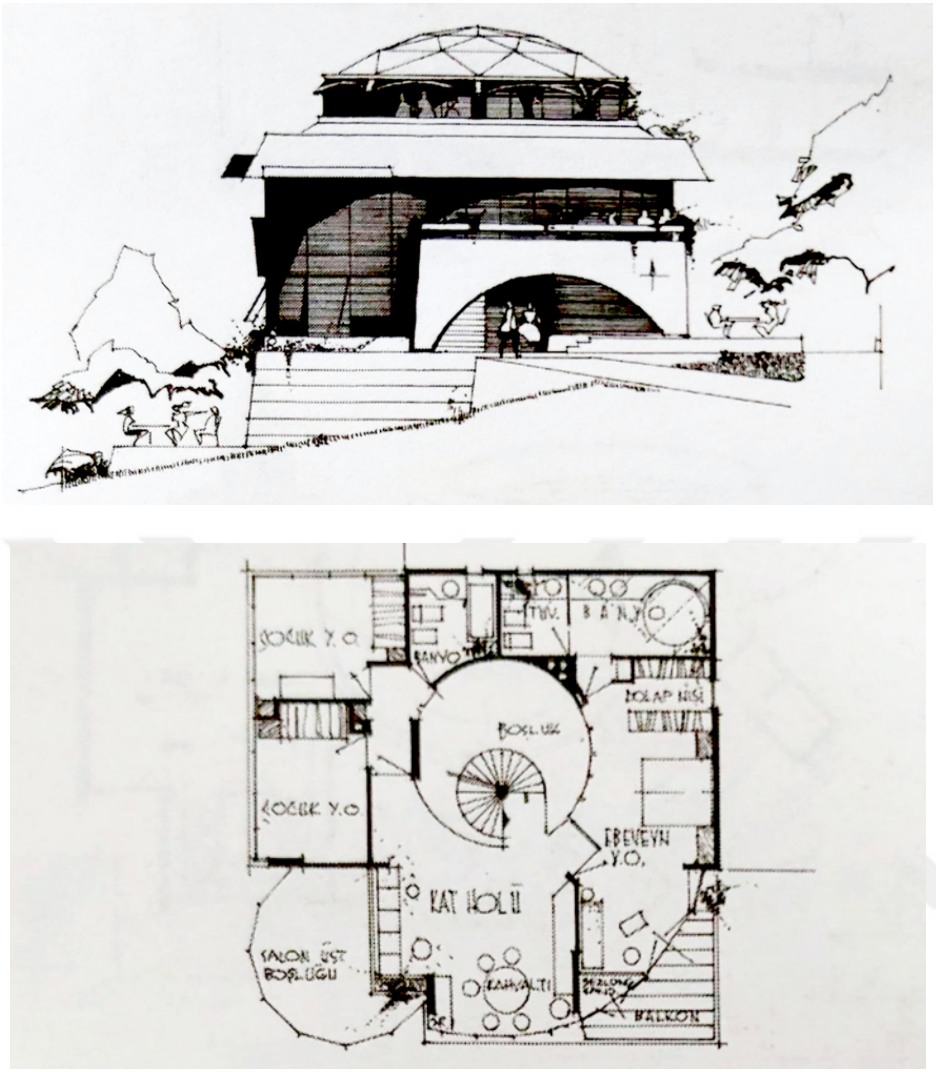


Figure 115 Danyal Tevfik Çiper, Alacaatlı House, elevation, basement floor, first floor, and ground floor drawings, Ankara.

Source: Cengizkan, *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar*, 126.

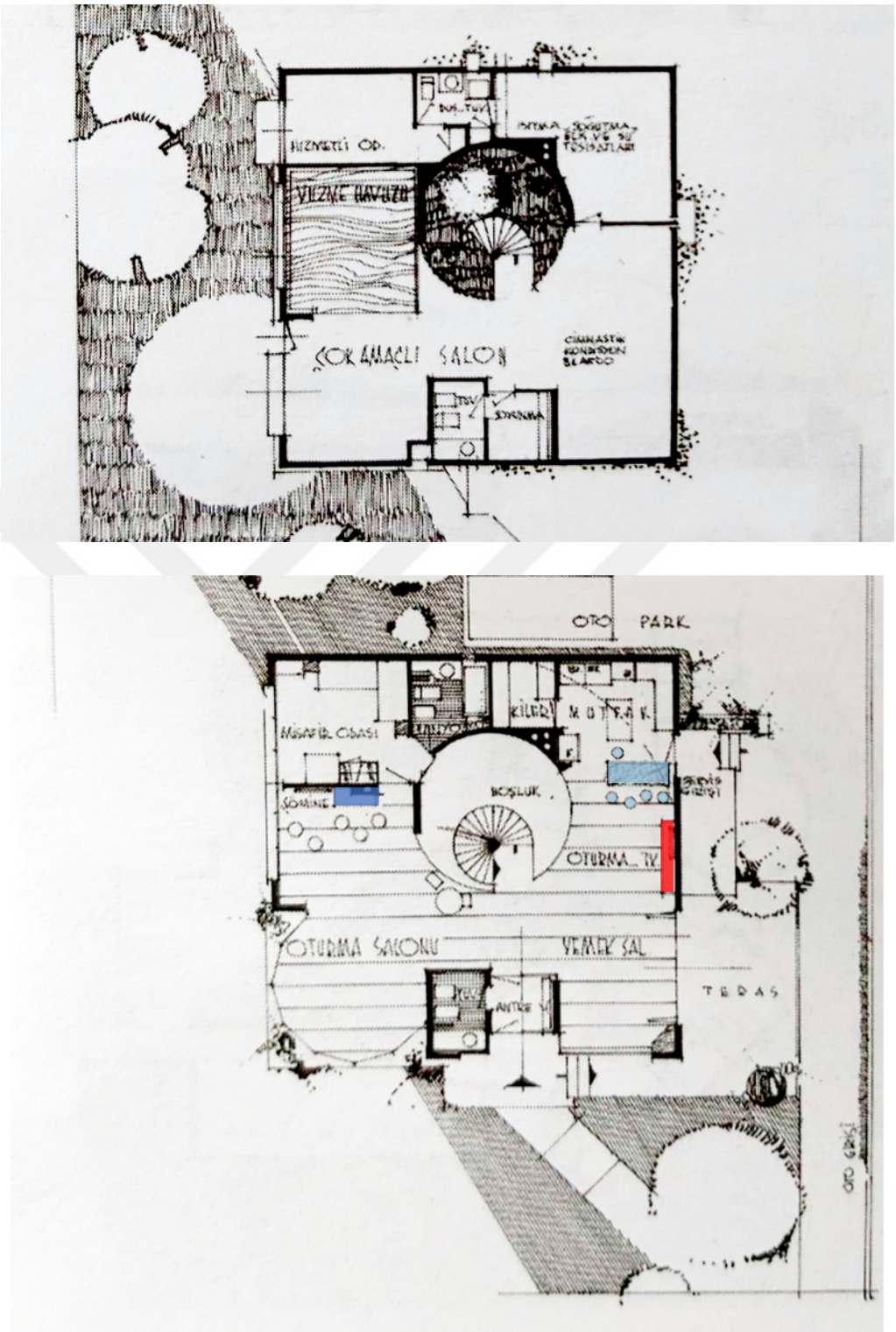


Figure 115(Continued)

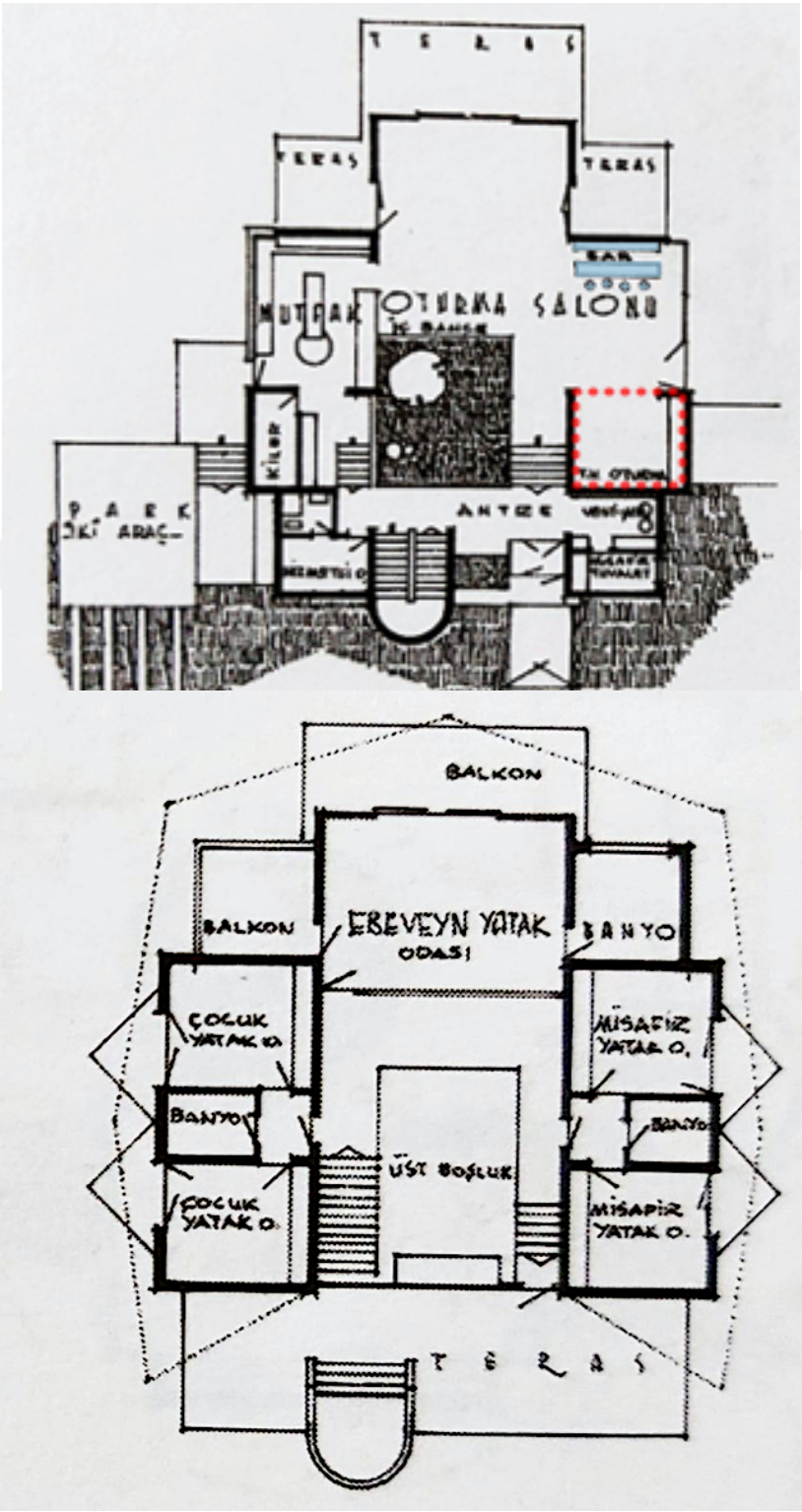


Figure 116 Danyal Tevfik Çiper, A Villa Project, ground floor and upper floor plans of type 2 (top two) and type 3 (bottom two).

Source: Cengizkan, *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar*, 133.

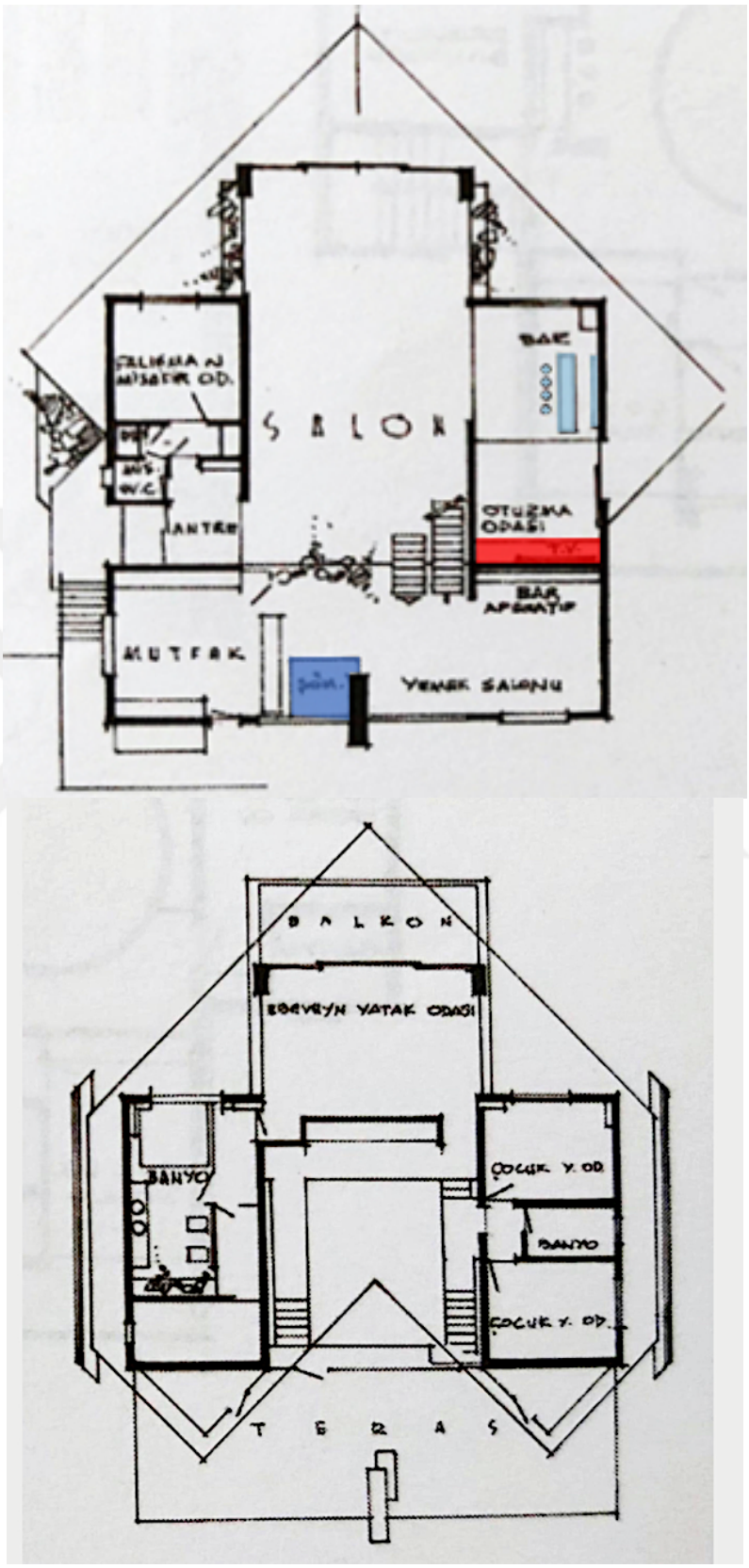


Figure 116 (Continued)

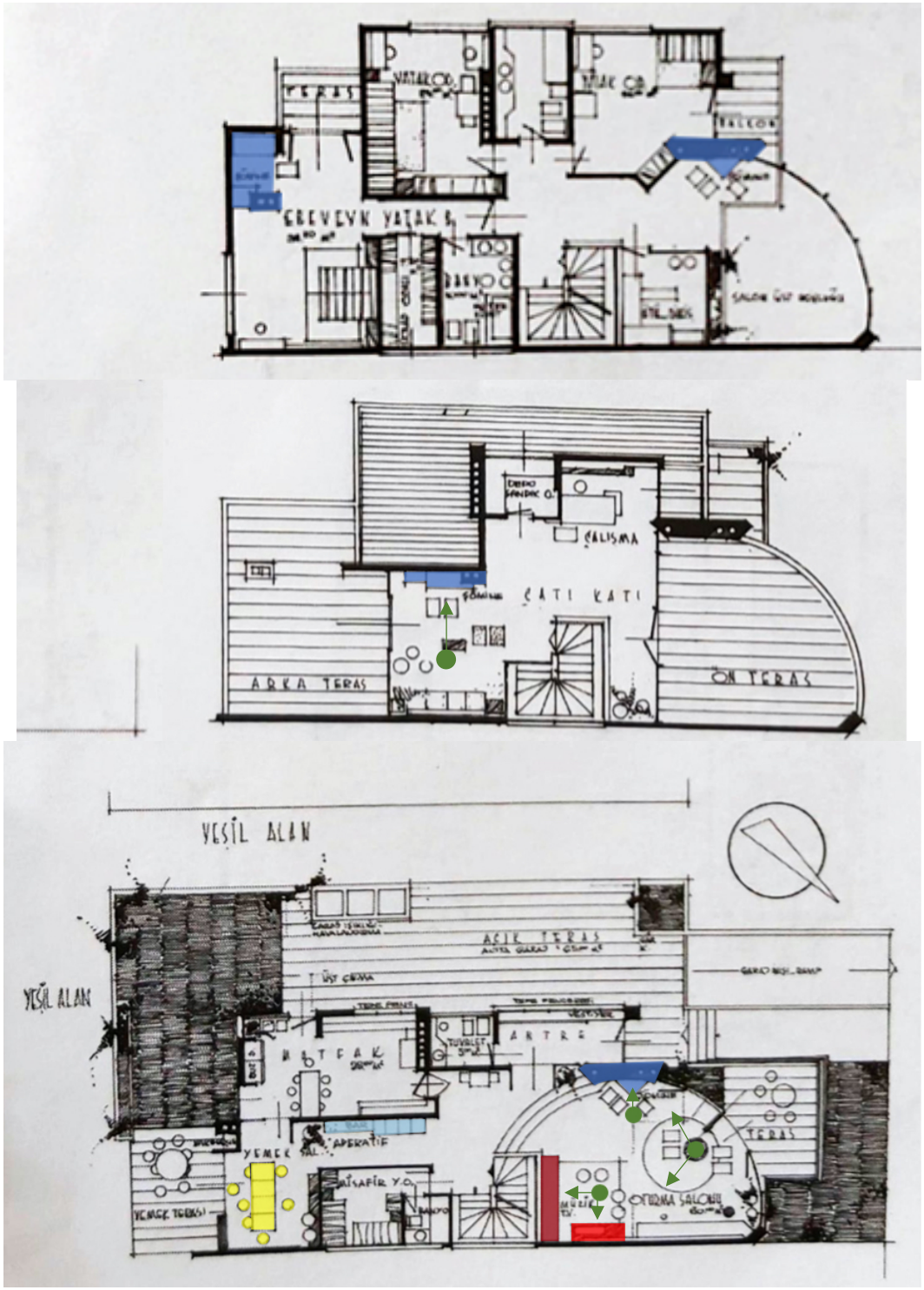


Figure 117 Danyal Tevfik Çiper, İncek Houses, upper floor, ground floor, penthouse, and basement floor plans.

Source: Cengizkan, *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar*, 129.

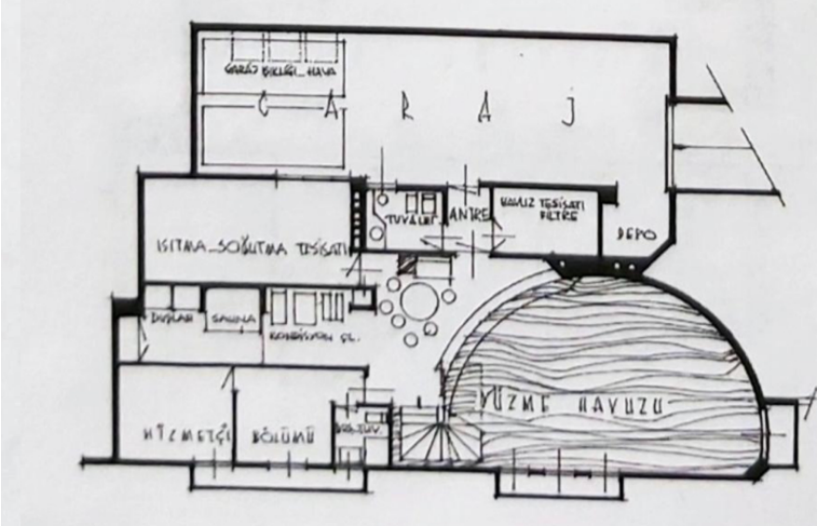


Figure 117 (continued)



Figure 118 Güngör Kaftancı, Square House, interior photograph and floor plans, İzmir, 1991.

Source: Yapı Endüstri Merkezi, *Konutlar*, 49-52.

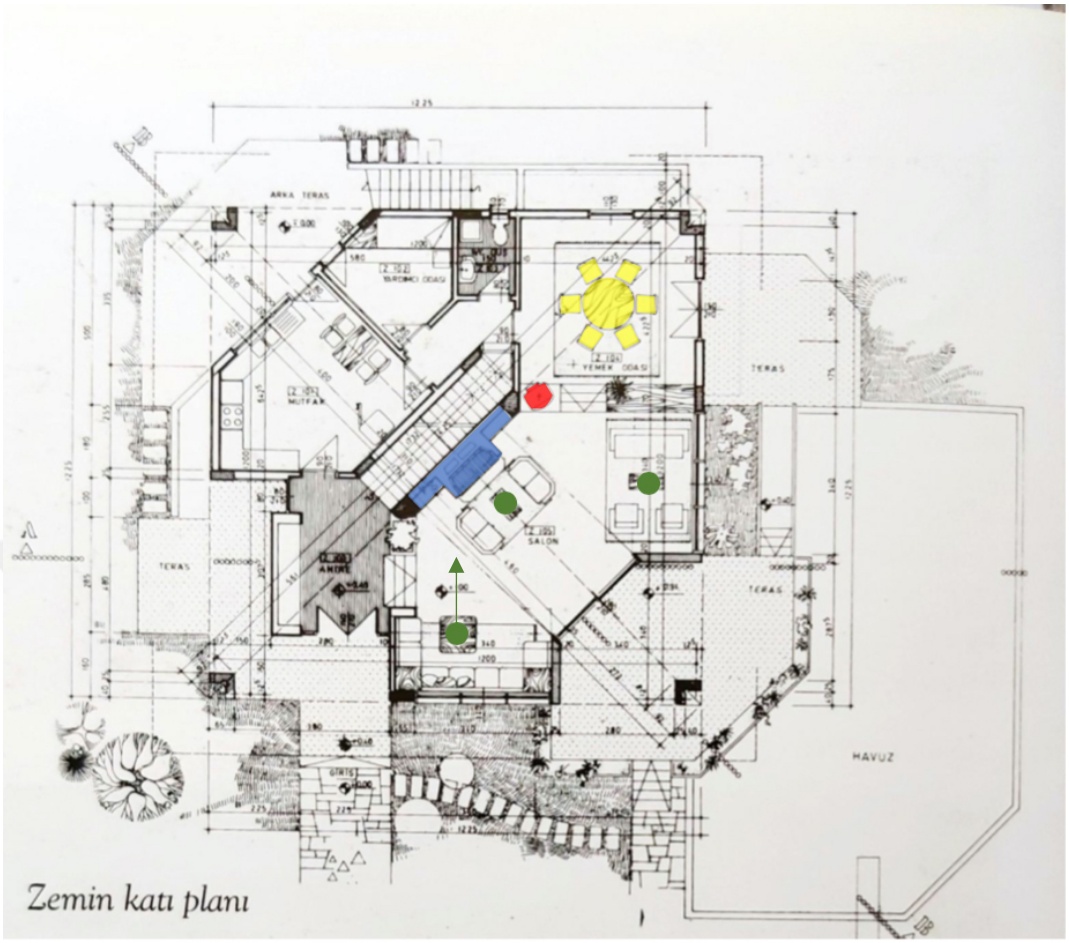


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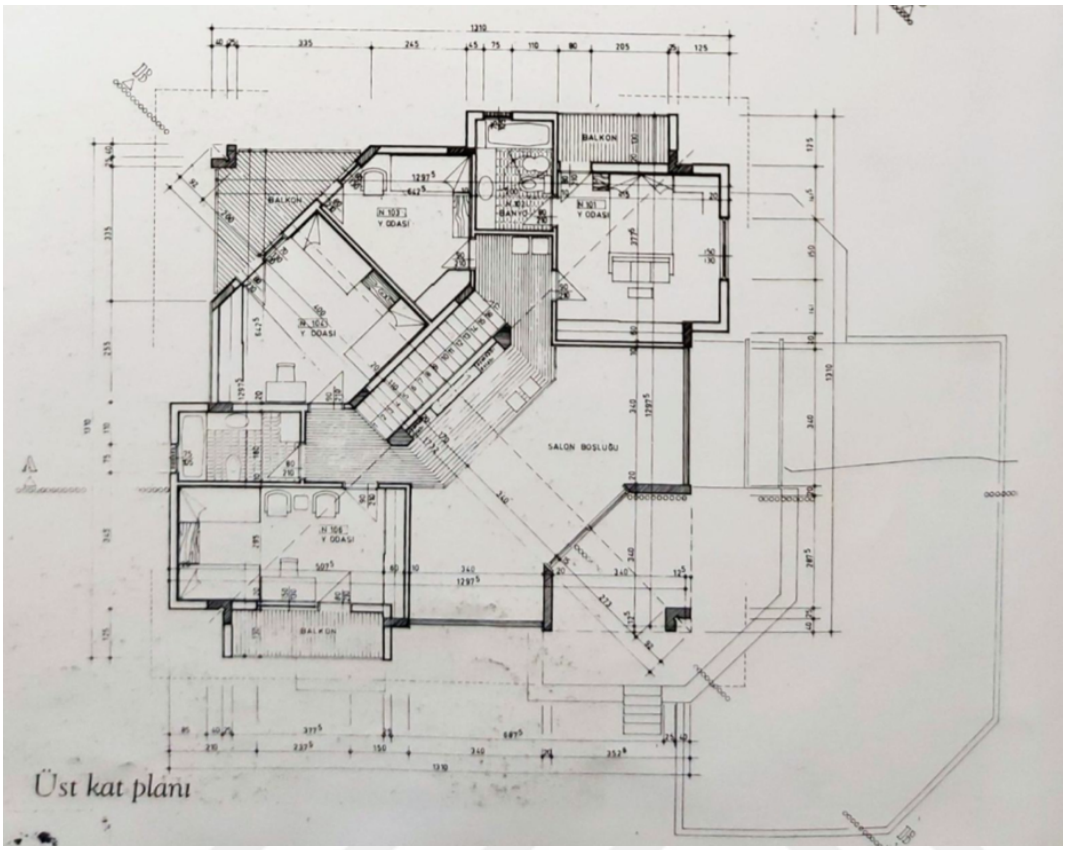


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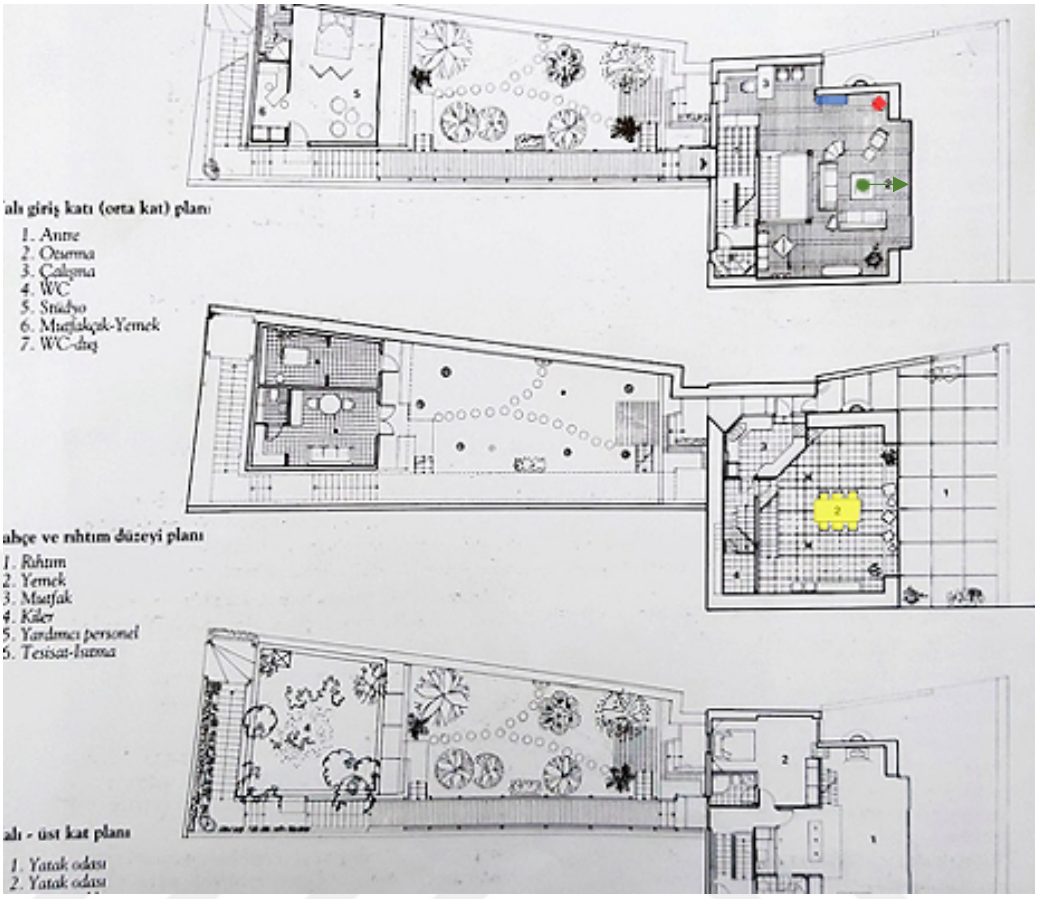


Figure 119 Hayzuran Hasol and Doğan Hasol, Hasol House, floor plans, İstanbul, 1994.

Source: Yapı Endüstri Merkezi, *Konutlar*, 39-46.

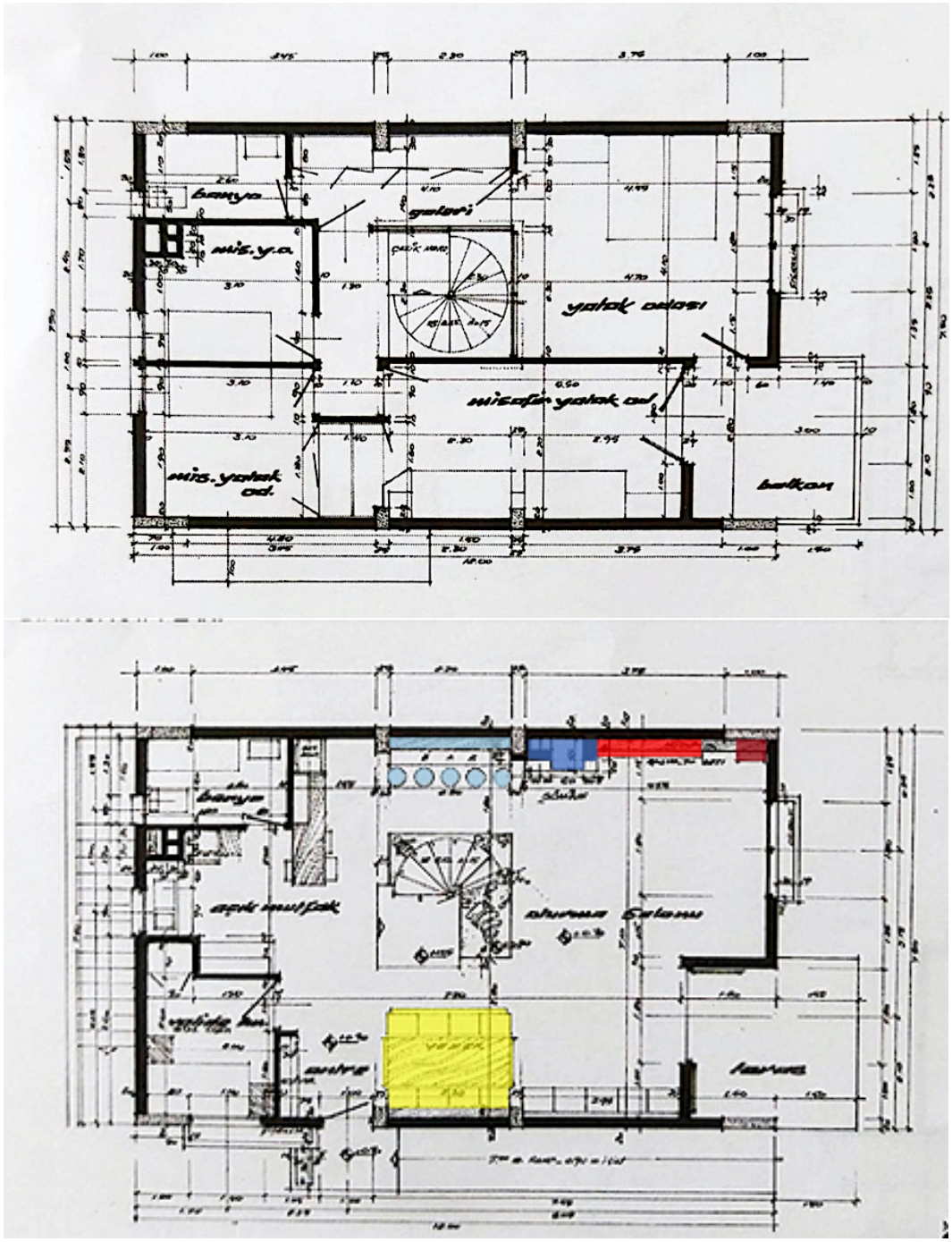


Figure 120 Danyal Tevfik Çiper, Sevinç Atamer House, plan drawings, İzmir.

Source: Cengizkan, *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar*, 128.



Figure 121 Utarit İzgi, Erdem Hamami House interior with television set, İstanbul, 1985.

Source: "Erdem Hamamı Apartmanı İç Mekân Düzenlemesi Fotoğrafları - Photographs of the Interior Design of Erdem Hamamı Building".



Figure 122 Erkal Güngören, İyem House, interior photograph showing television, İstanbul, 1986.

Source: "İyem'lerle Bezeli Bir Ev / Erkal Güngören (1986)".

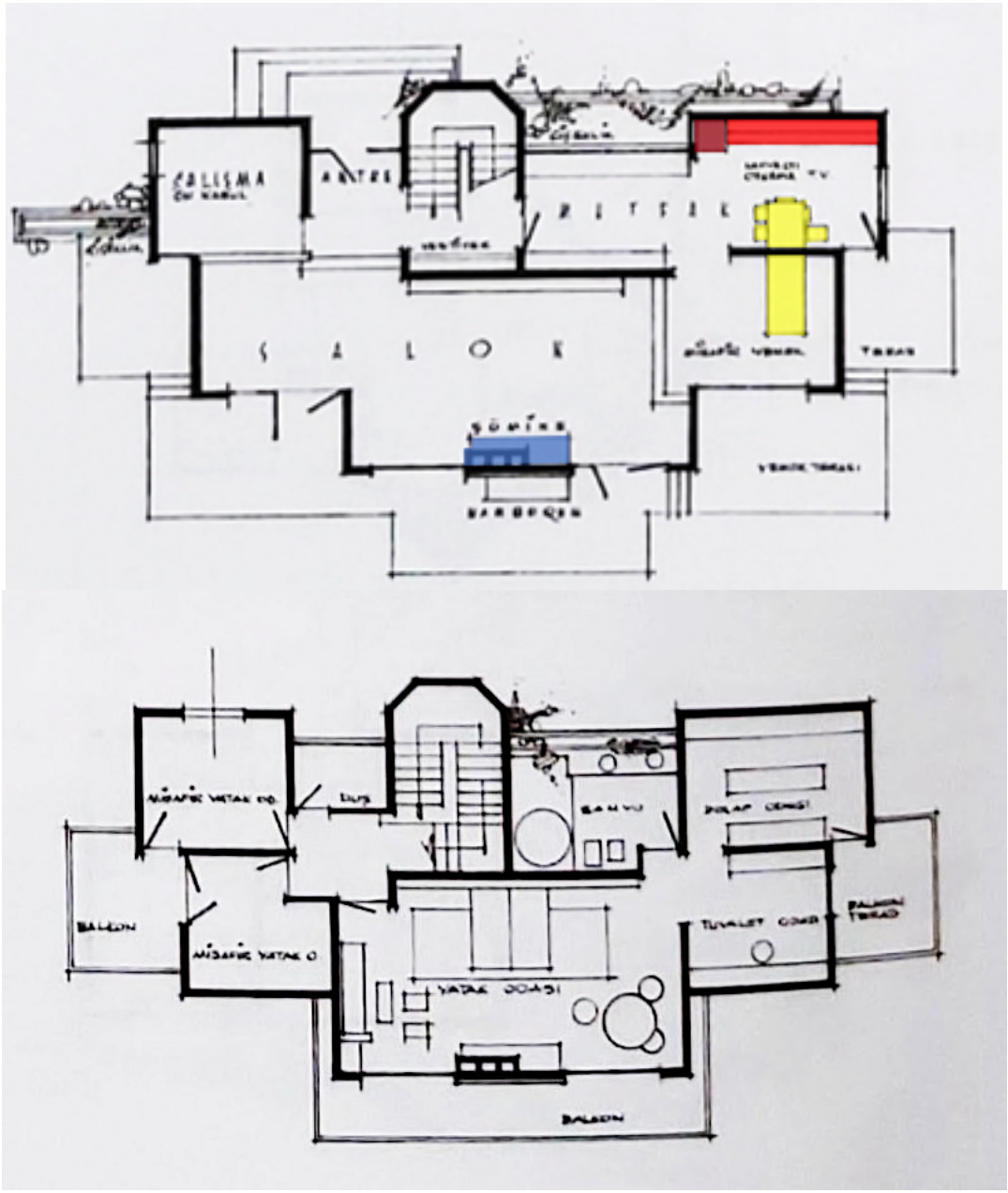


Figure 123 Danyal Tevfik Çiper, İhsan Tırı House, floor plans, Ankara, 1998.

Source: Cengizkan, *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar,* 108.

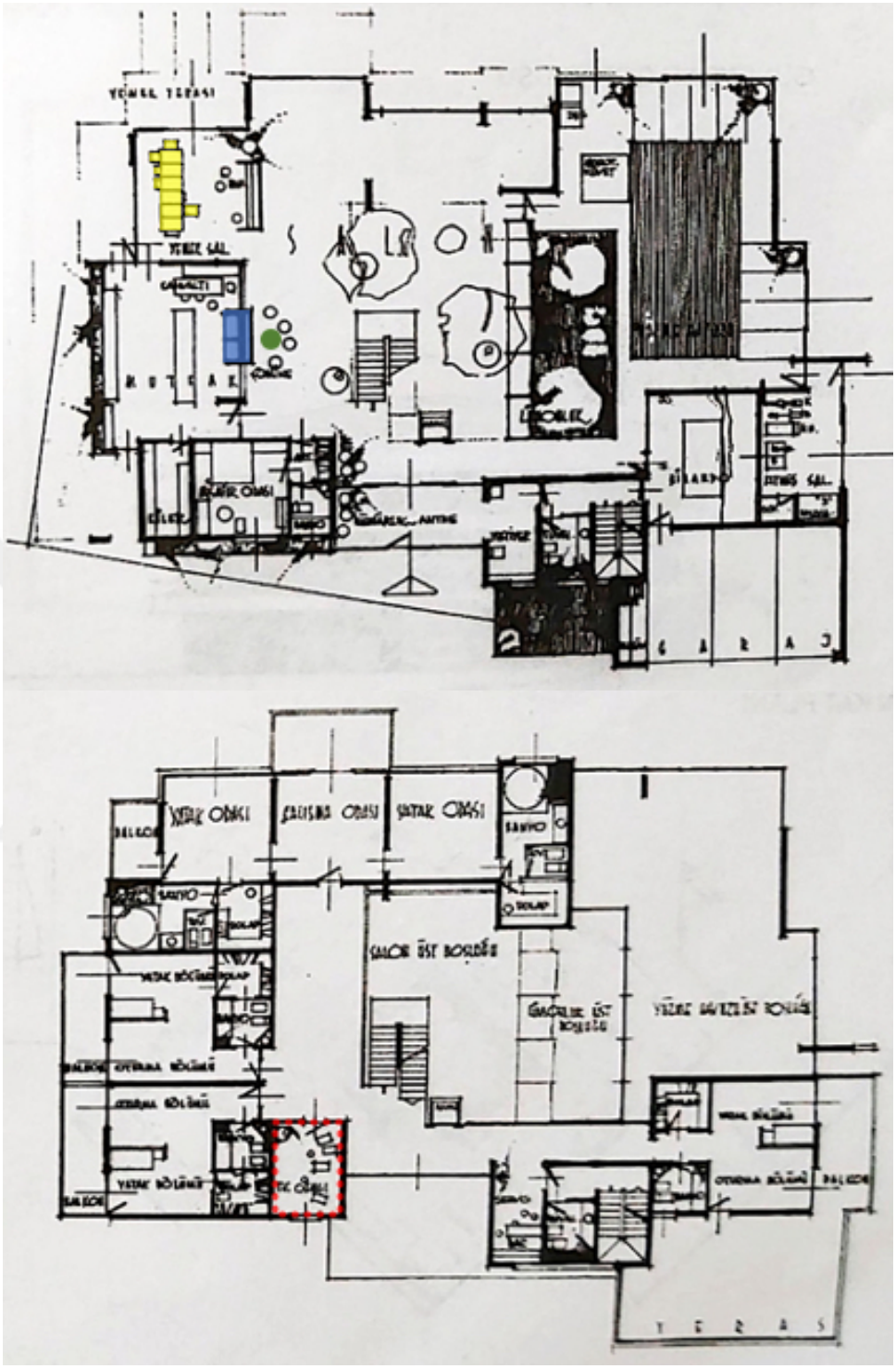


Figure 124 Danyal Tevfik Çiper, Gölbaşı İncek Houses, Type 1 floor plans, Ankara, 1999.

Source: Cengizkan, *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar*, 109.

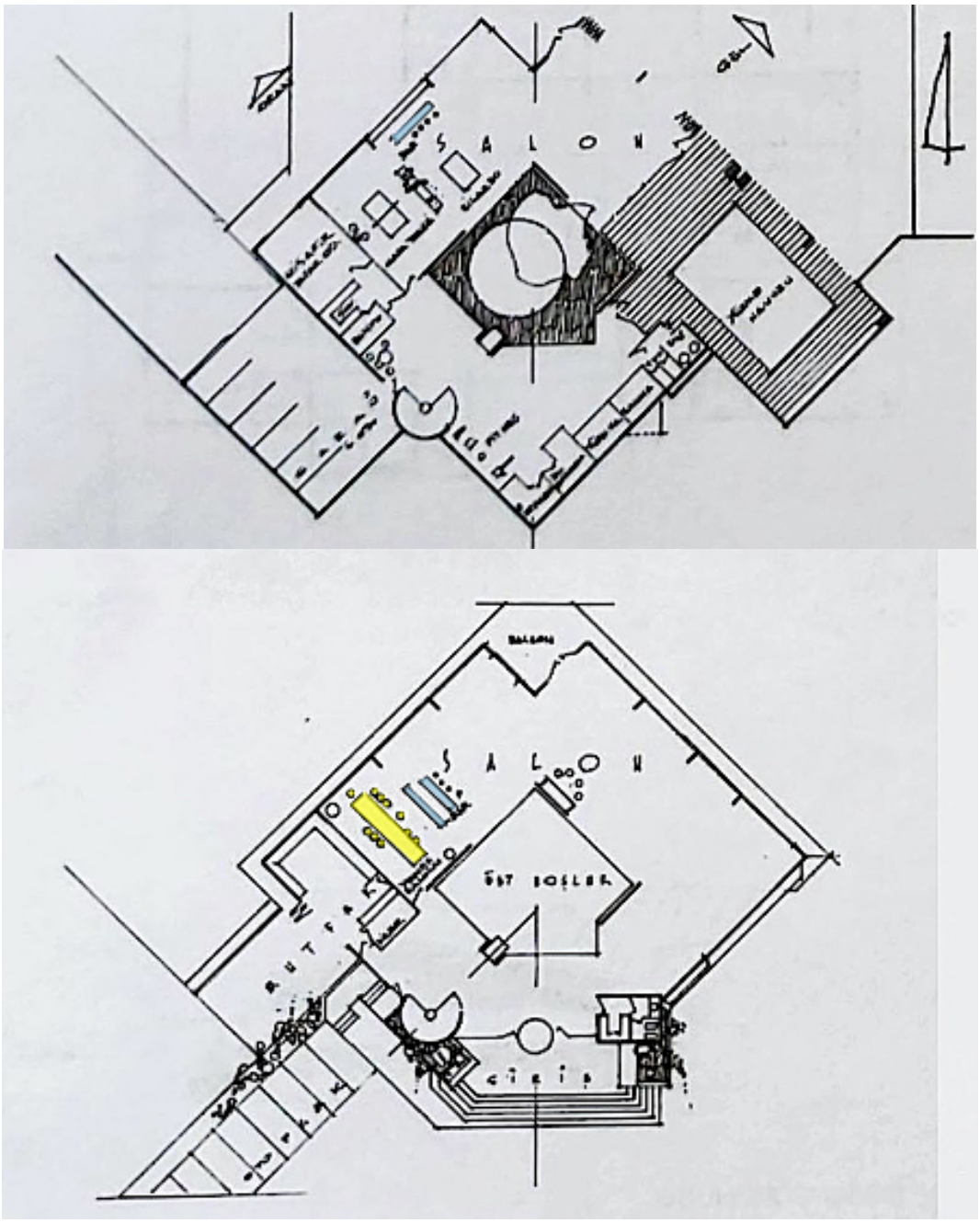


Figure 125 Danyal Tevfik Çiper, Gölbaşı İncek Houses, Type 2 floor plans, Ankara, 1999.

Source: Cengizkan, *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar*, 110.

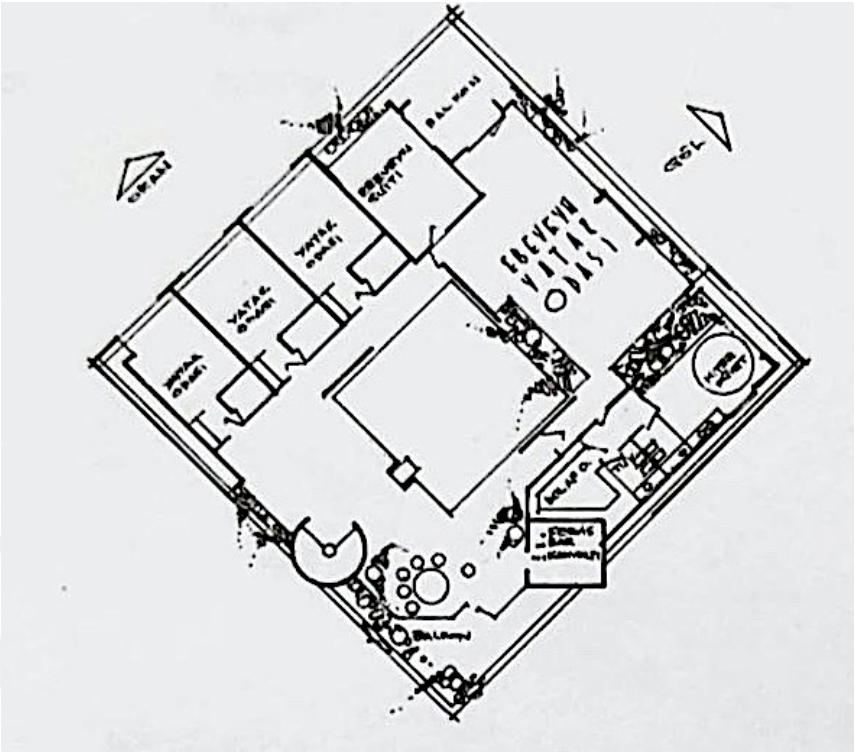


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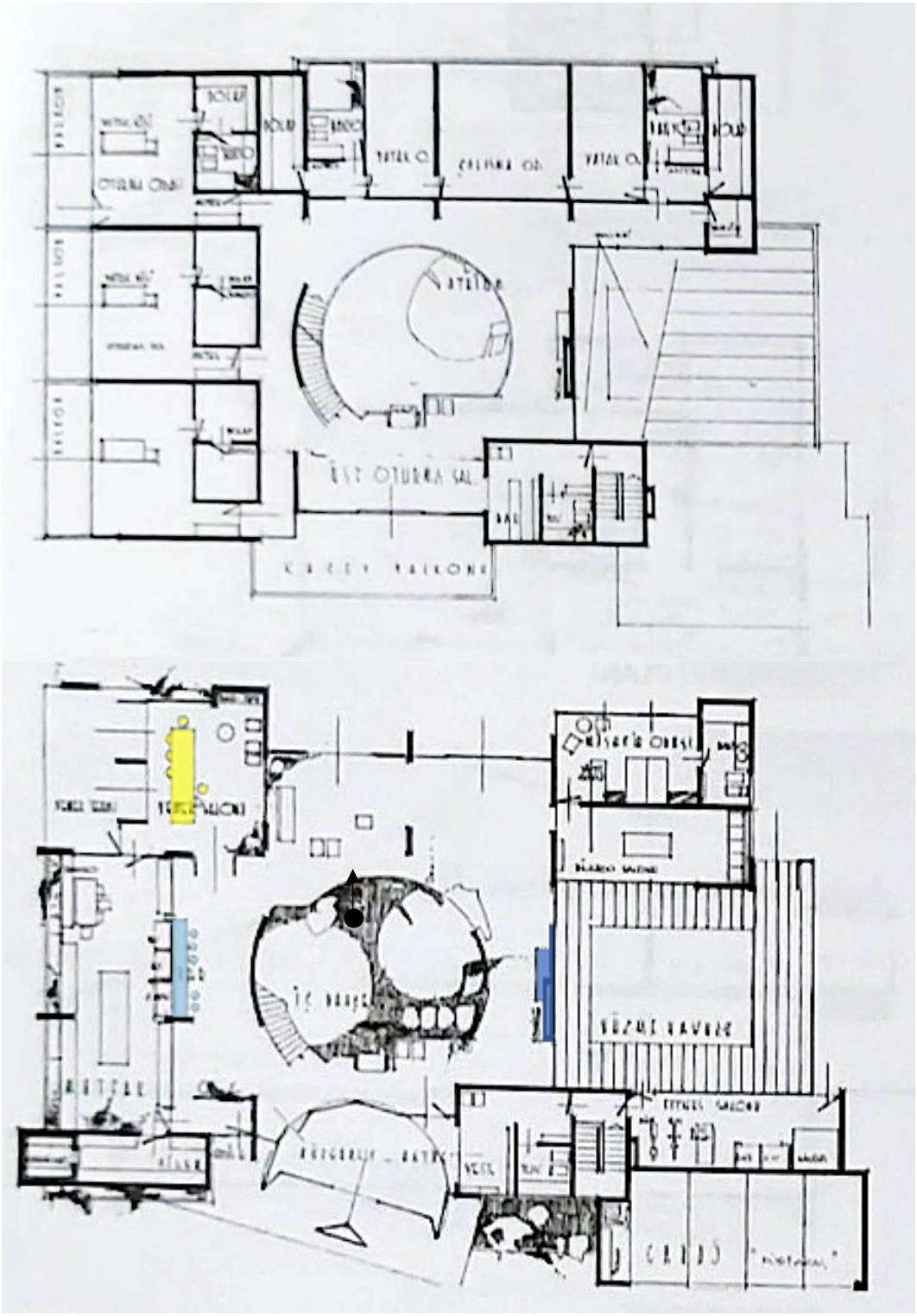


Figure 126 Danyal Tevfik Çiper, Gölbaşı İncek Houses, Type 3 (top two) and Type 4 (bottom two) floor plans, Ankara, 1999.

Source: Cengizkan, *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar*, 111.

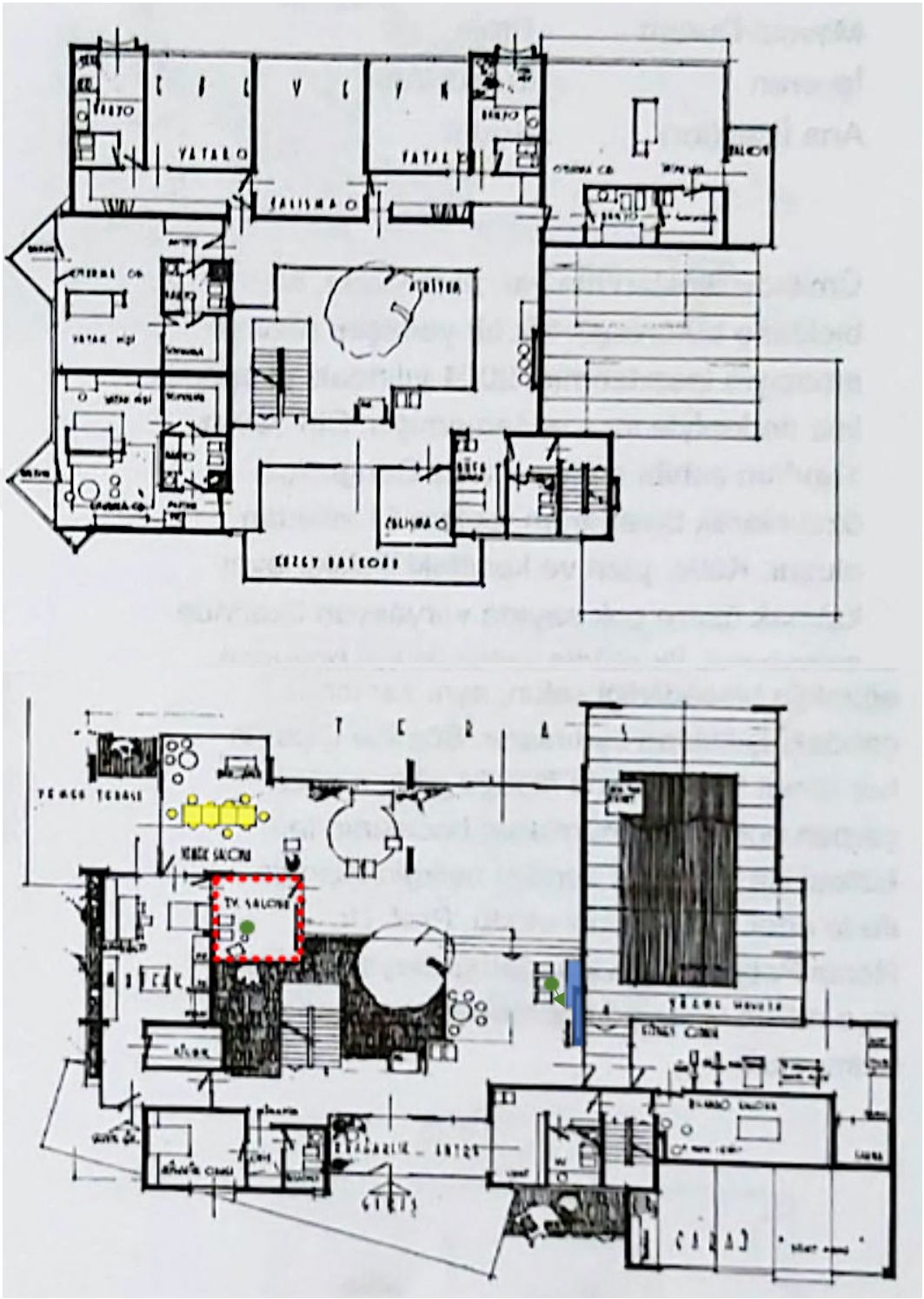


Figure 126 (Continued)



Figure 127 Utarit İzgi, Sami Kamhi House, interconnected bedroom and living room, İstanbul, 1986.

Source: “Sami Kamhi Villa: Photographs”.

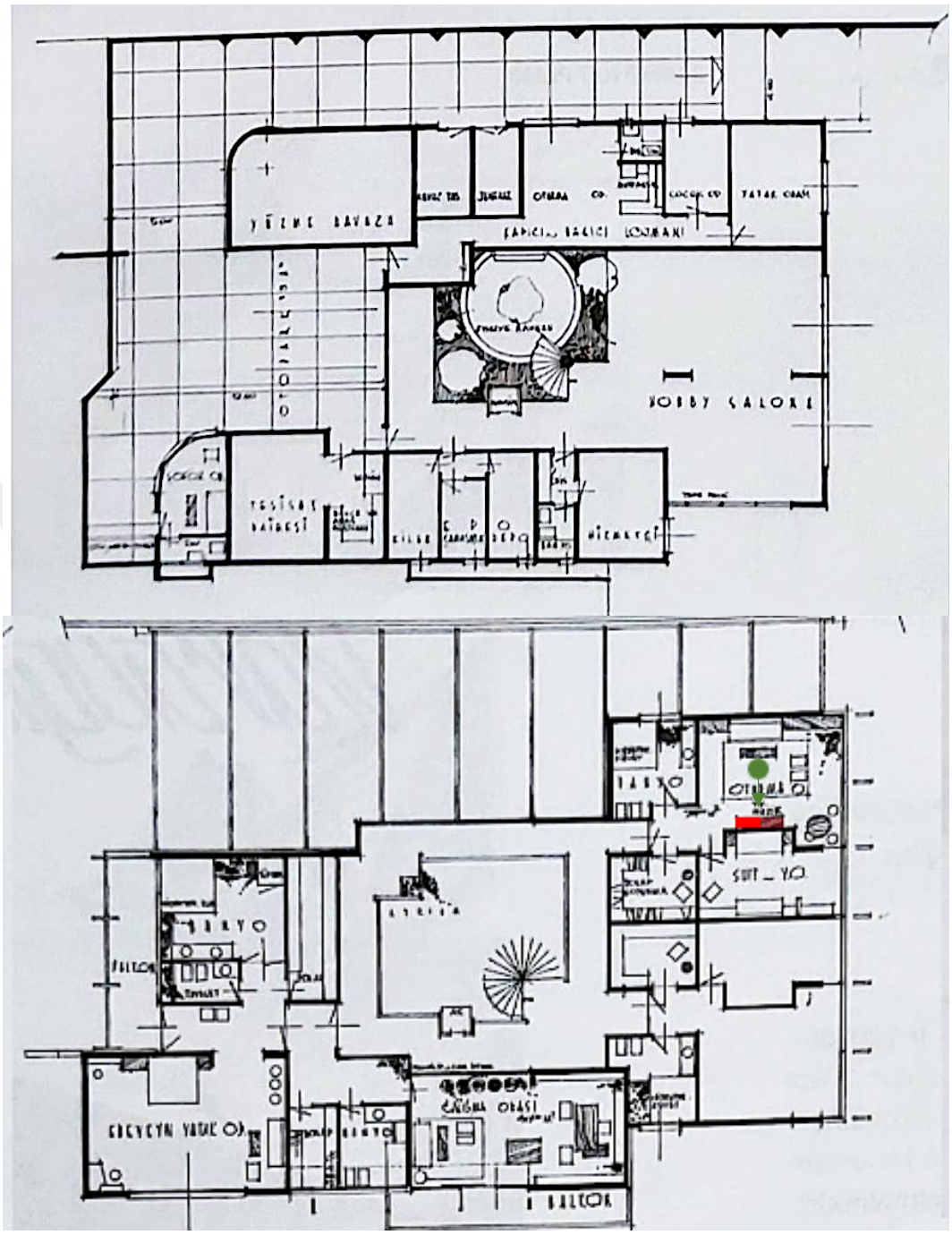
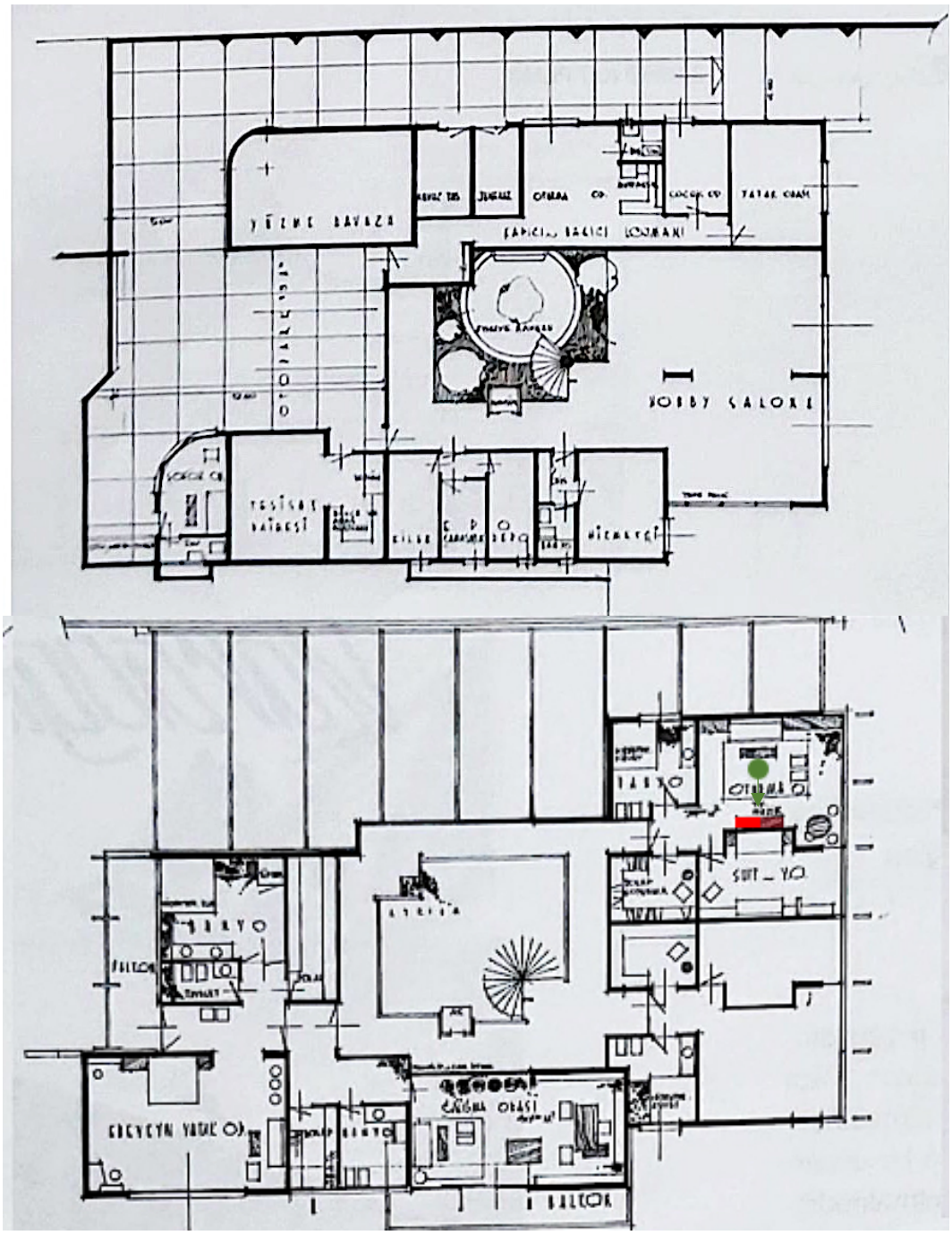


Figure 128 Danyal Tevfik Çiper, Yavuz Cengiz House, basement, upper, and ground floor plans, Ankara, 2001.

Source: Cengizkan, *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar*, 117.


YÜZME HAVUZU
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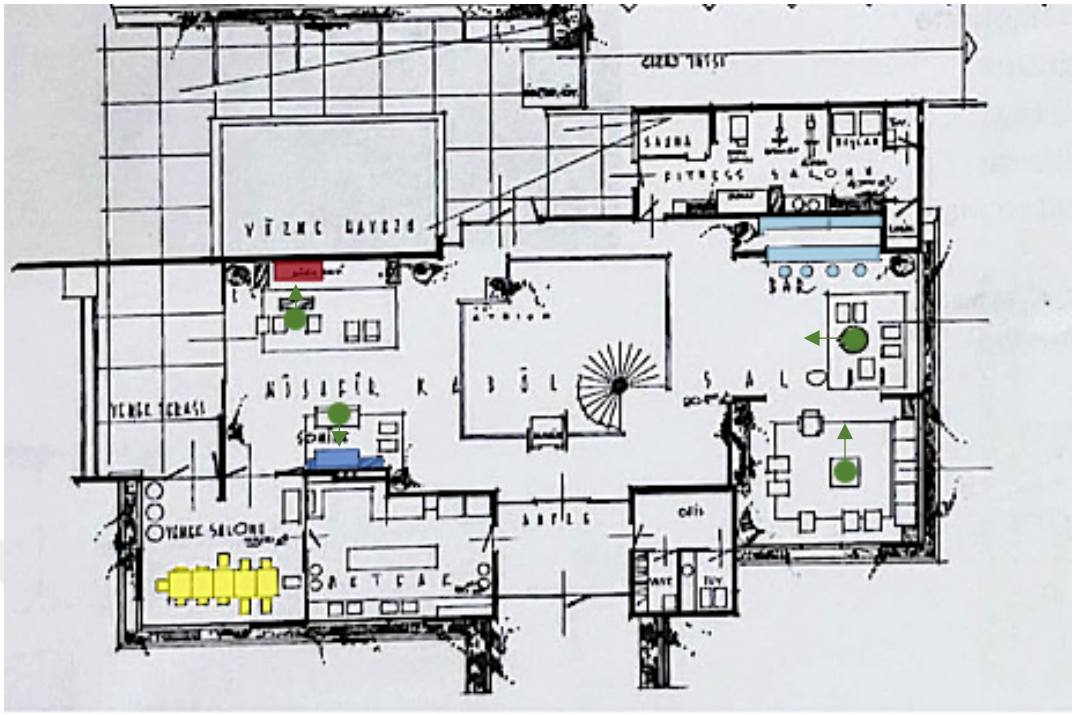


Figure 128 (Continued)

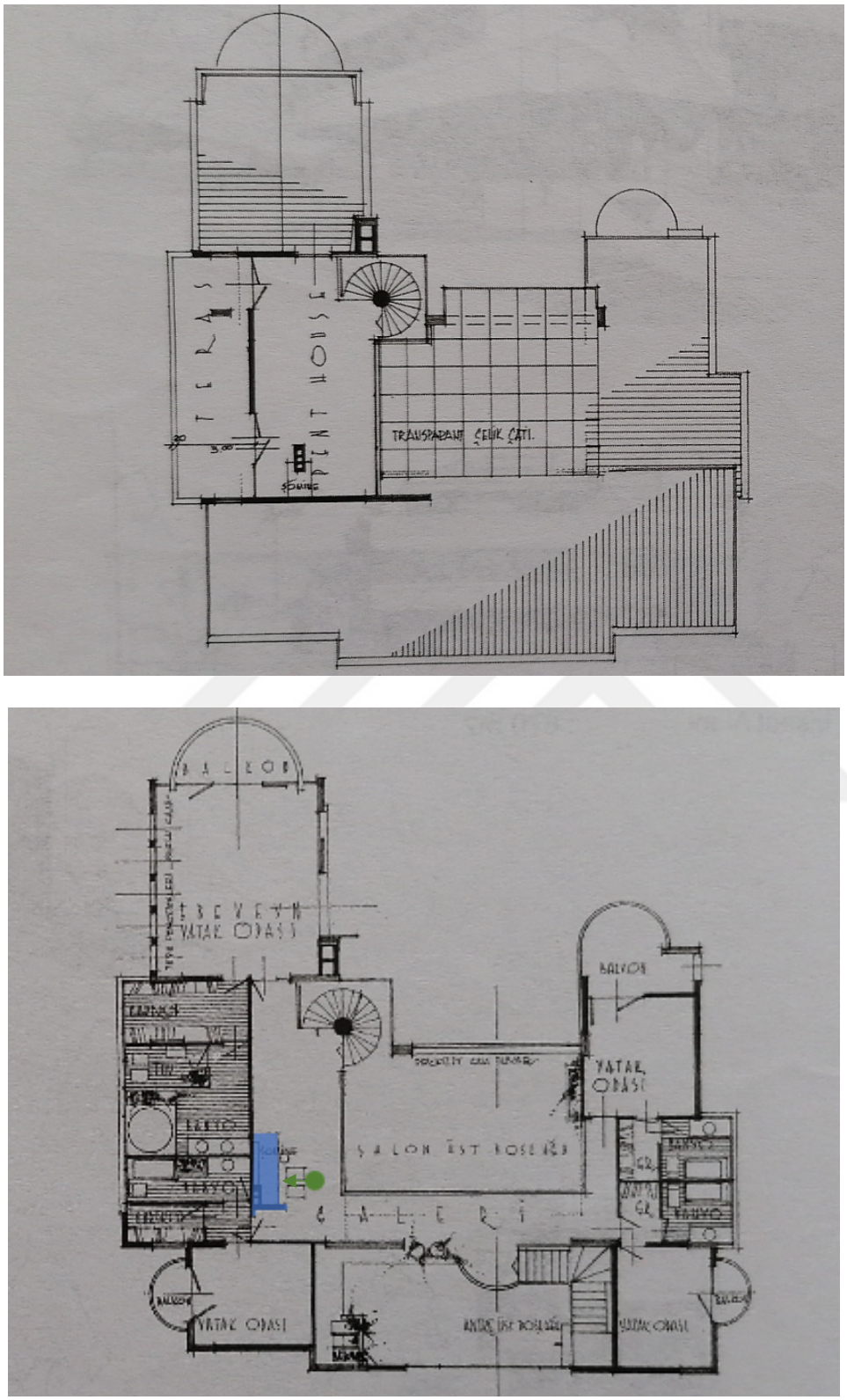


Figure 129 Danyal Tevfik Çiper, Unrealized Villa Studies, Ankara, 2001.

Source: Cengizkan, *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar*, 130.

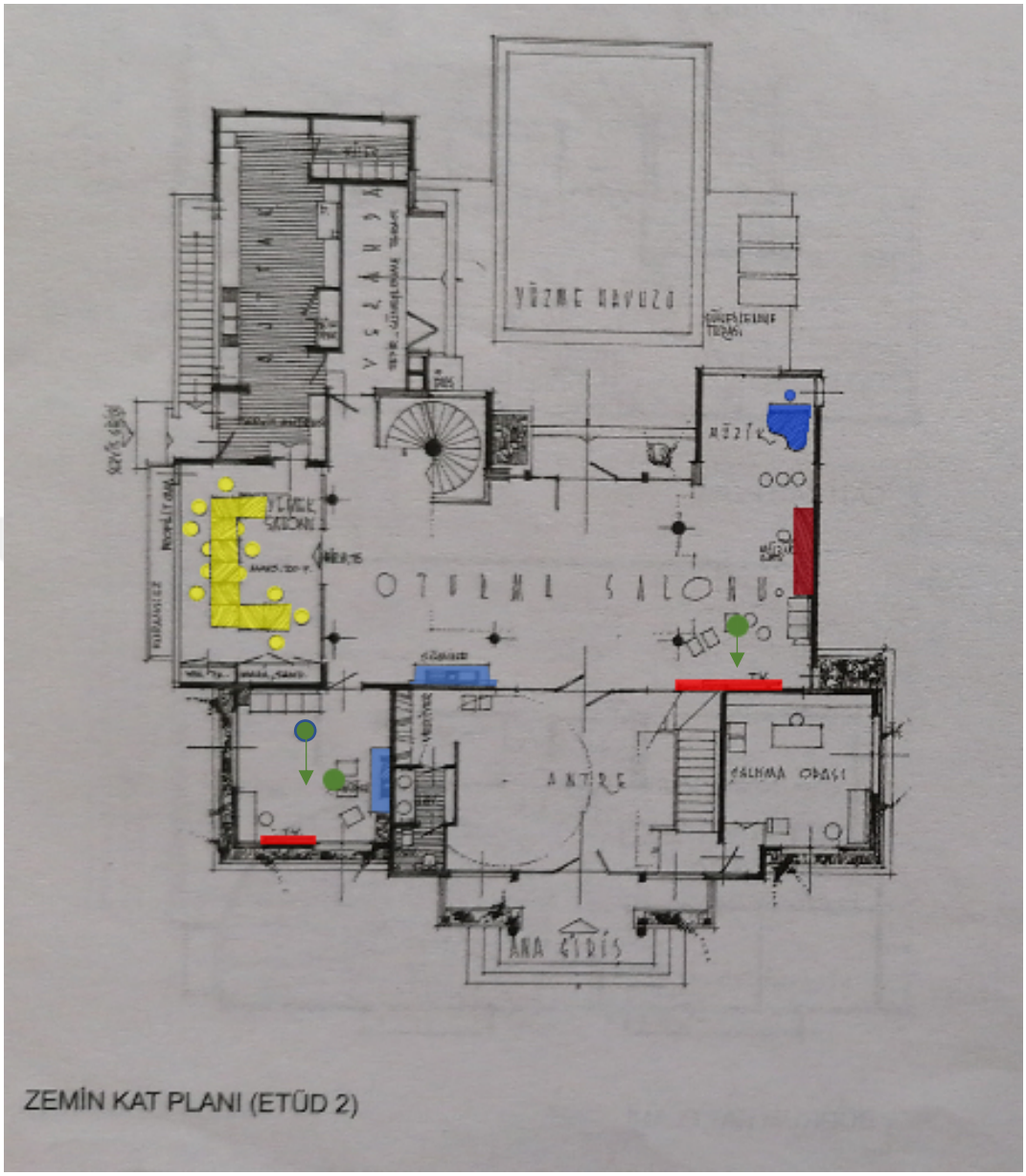


Figure 129 (Continued)

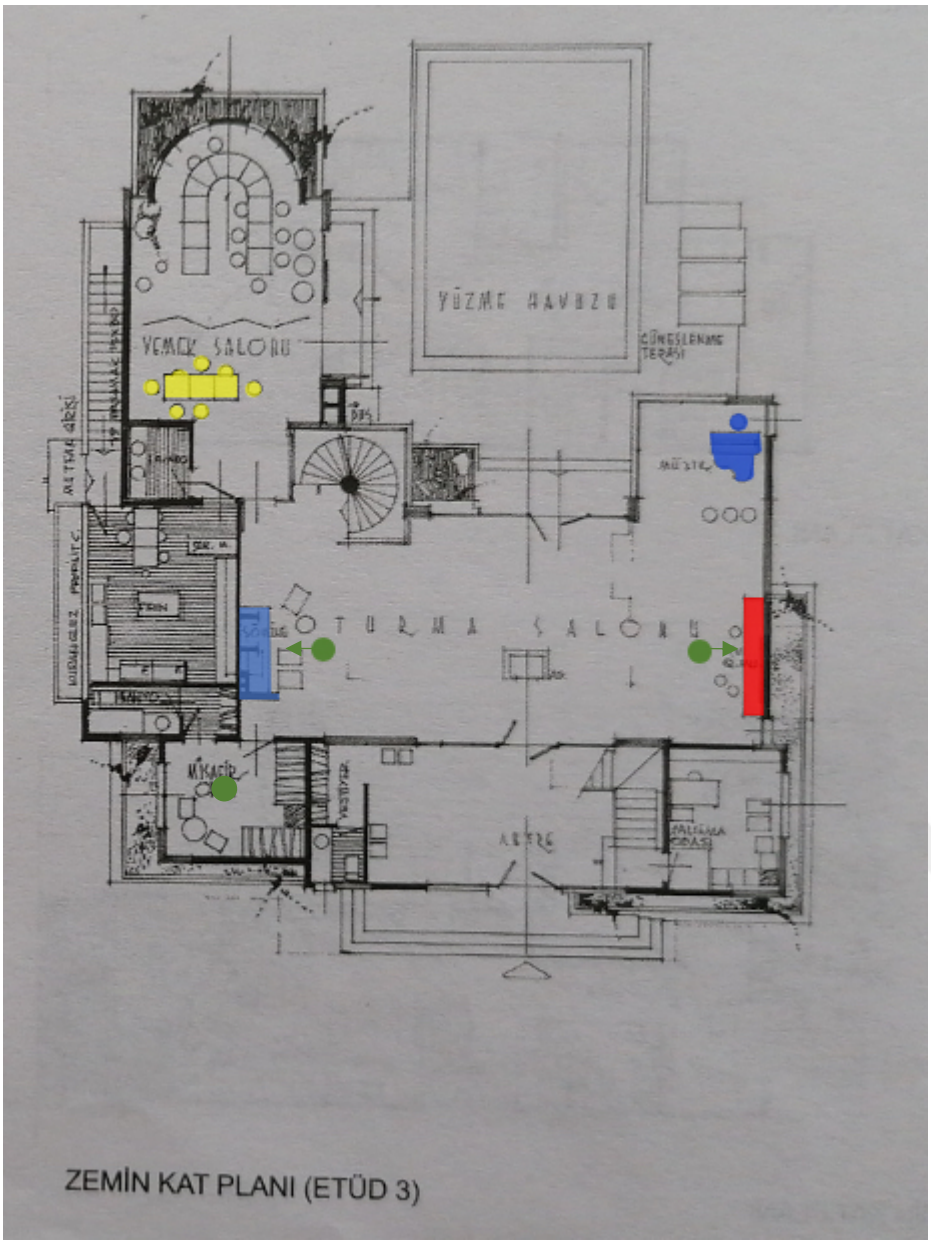


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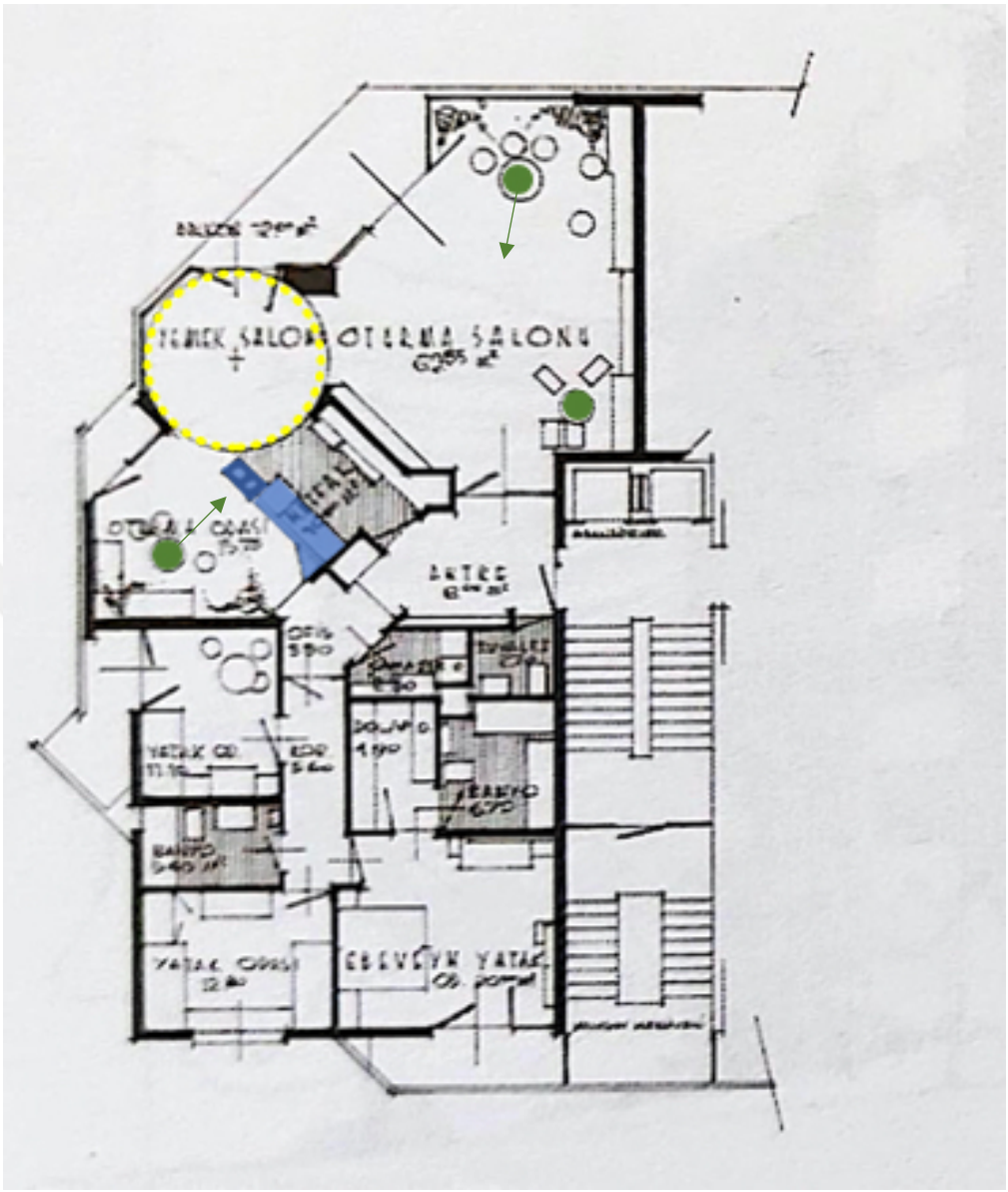


Figure 130 Danyal Tevfik Çiper, Ümitköy Blocks, studies on circular plan, Ankara, 2001.

Source: Cengizkan, *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar*, 166.

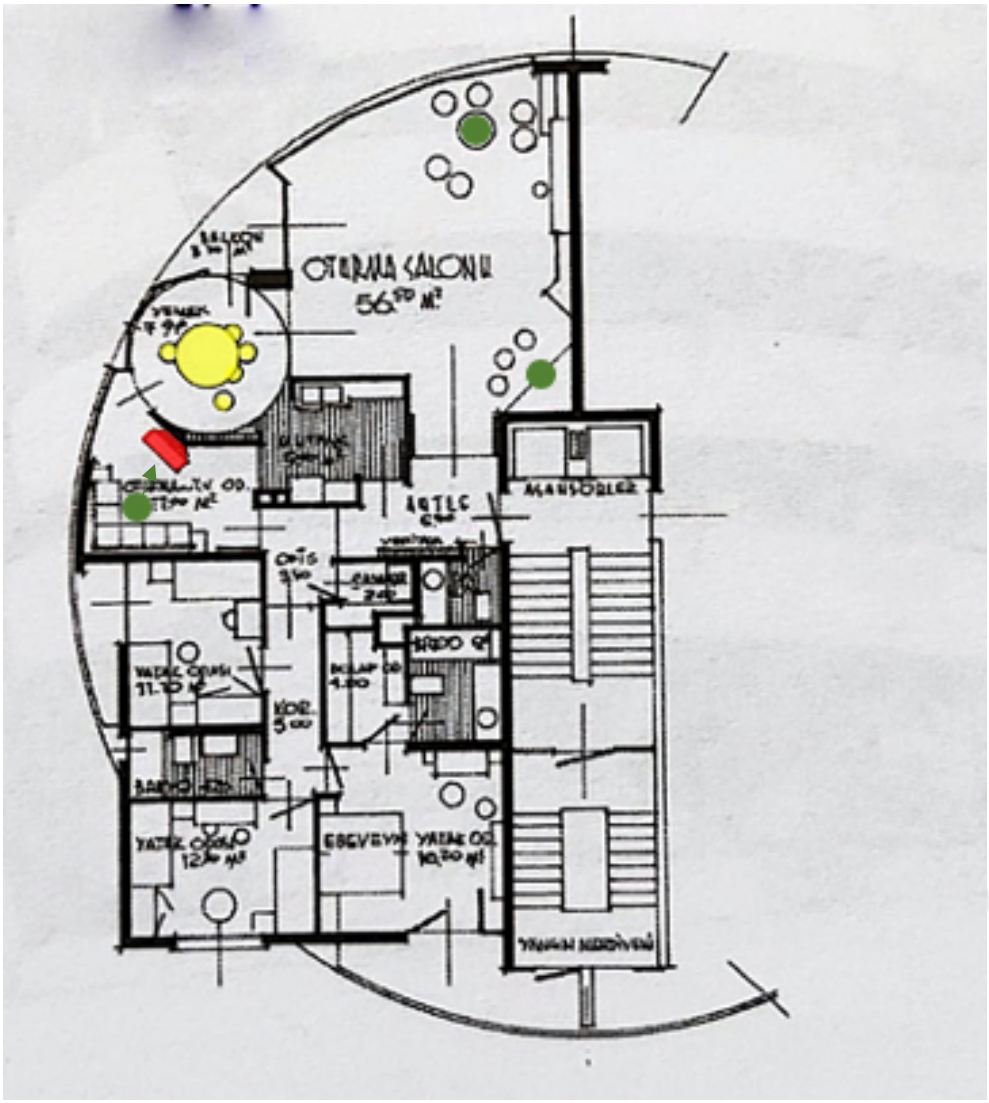


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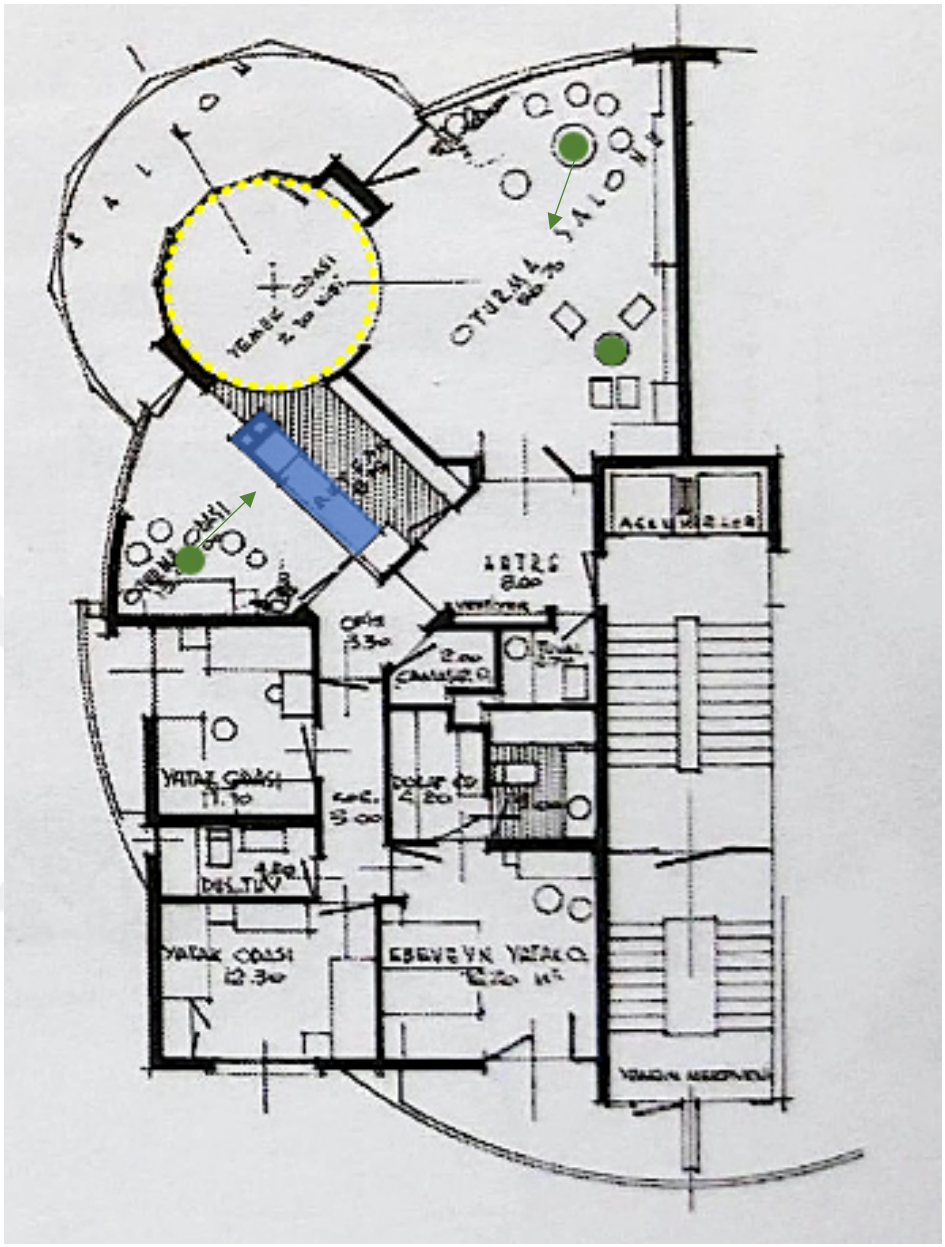


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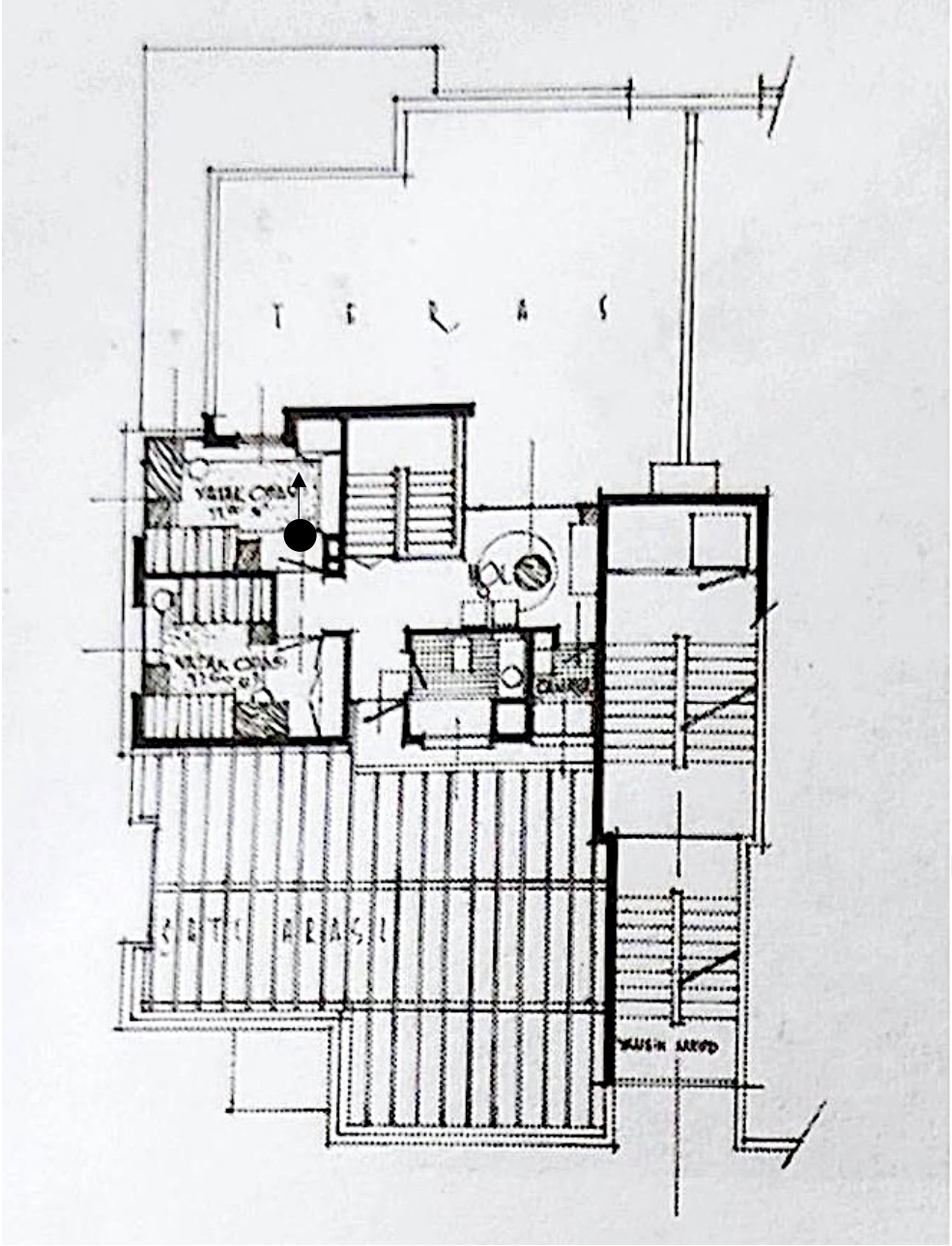


Figure 131 Danyal Tevfik Çiper, Ümitköy Blocks, the duplex rectangular plan type 1 upper floor and ground floor, Ankara, 2001.

Source: Cengizkan, *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar*, 167.

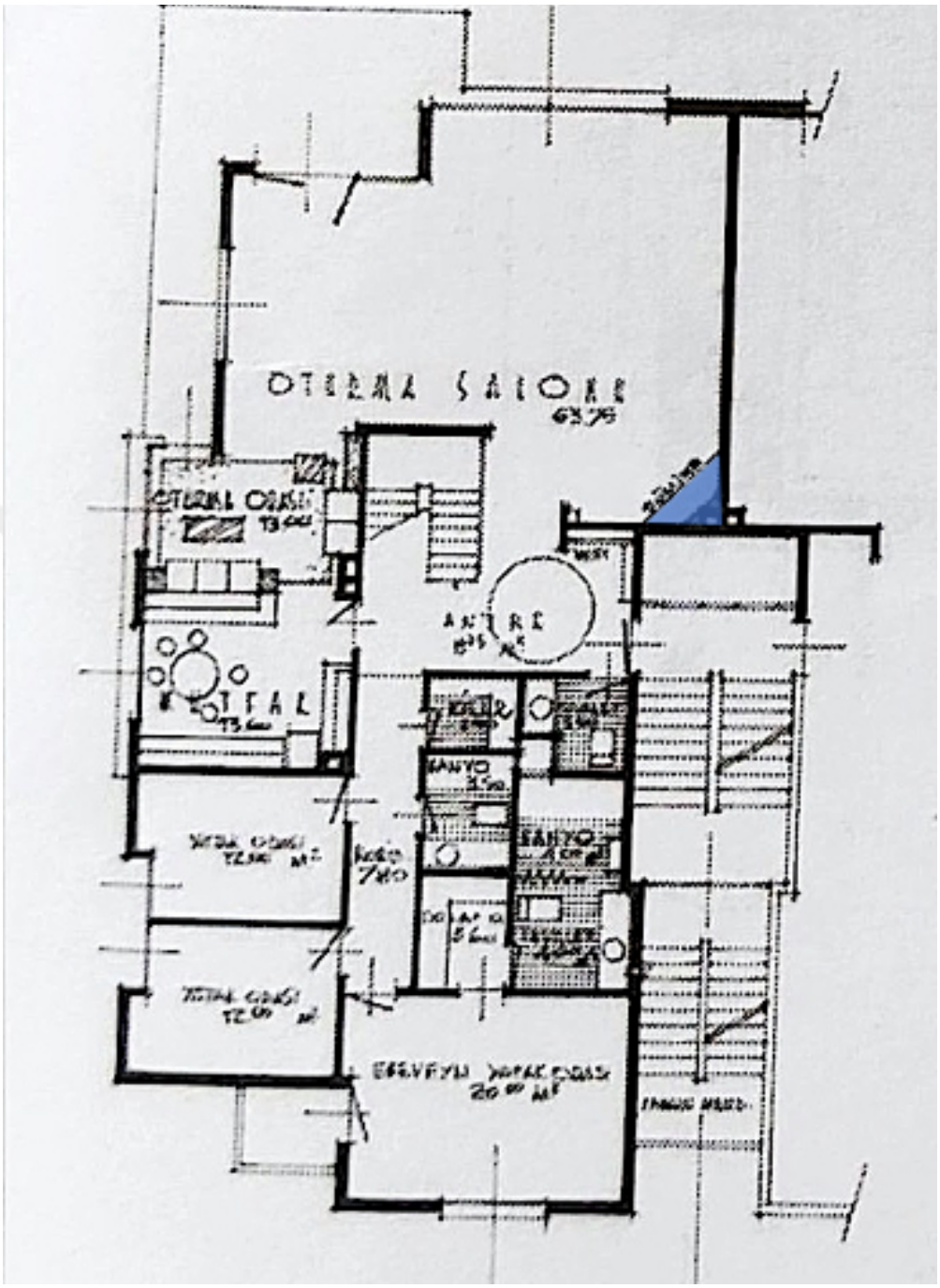


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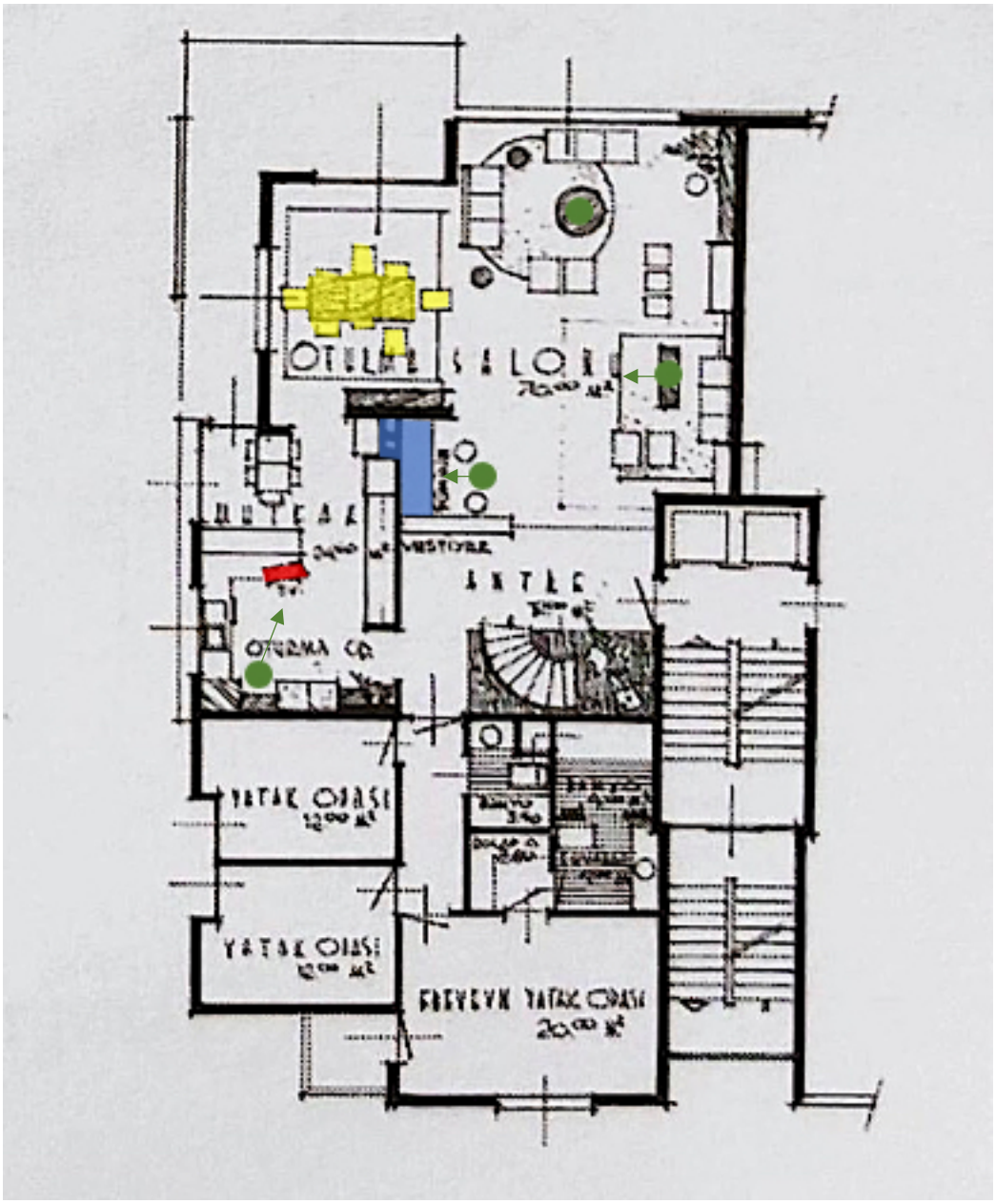


Figure 132 Danyal Tevfik Çiper, Ümitköy Blocks, the duplex rectangular plan type 2 ground floor and upper floor, Ankara, 2001.

Source: Cengizkan, *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar*, 167.

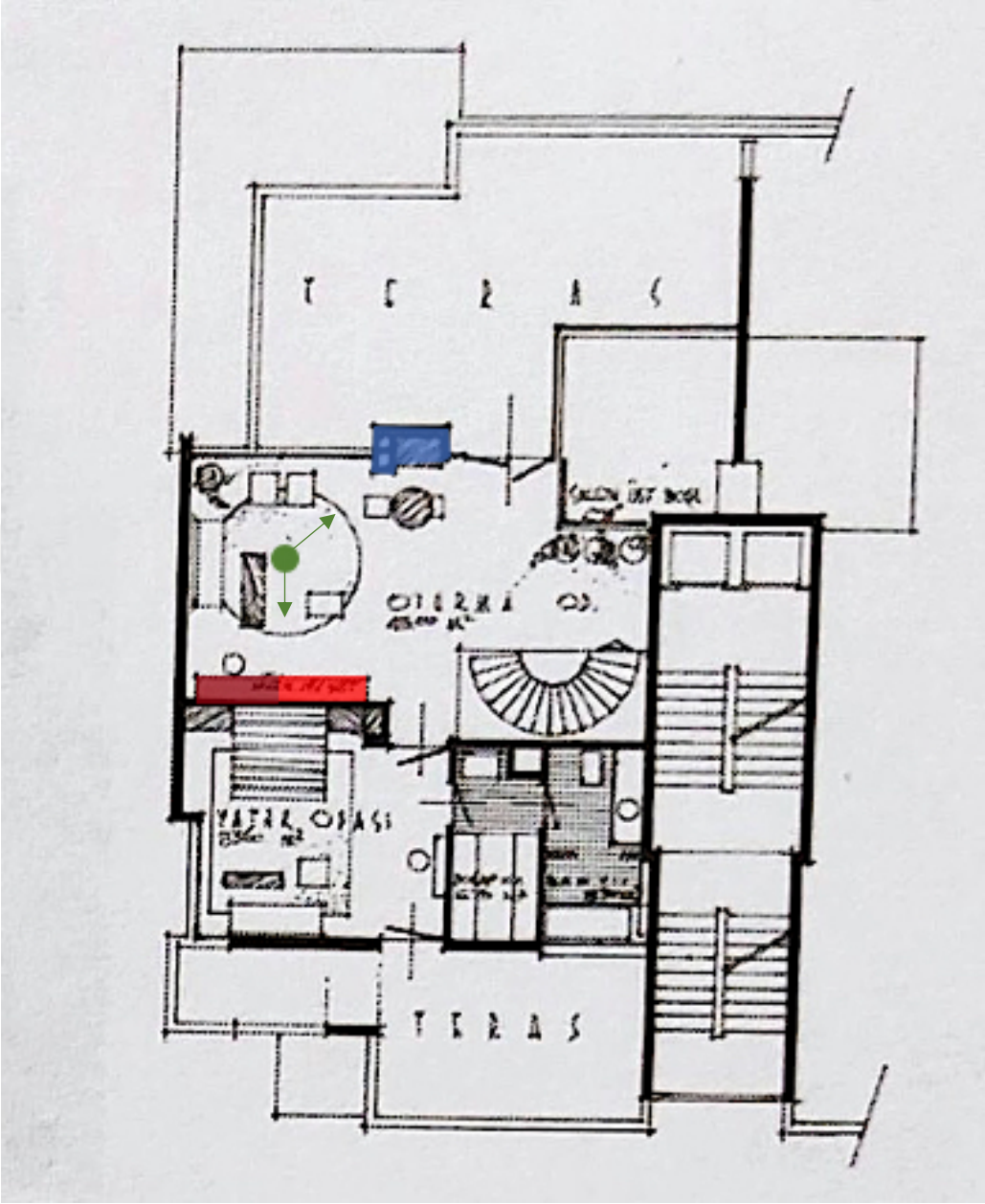


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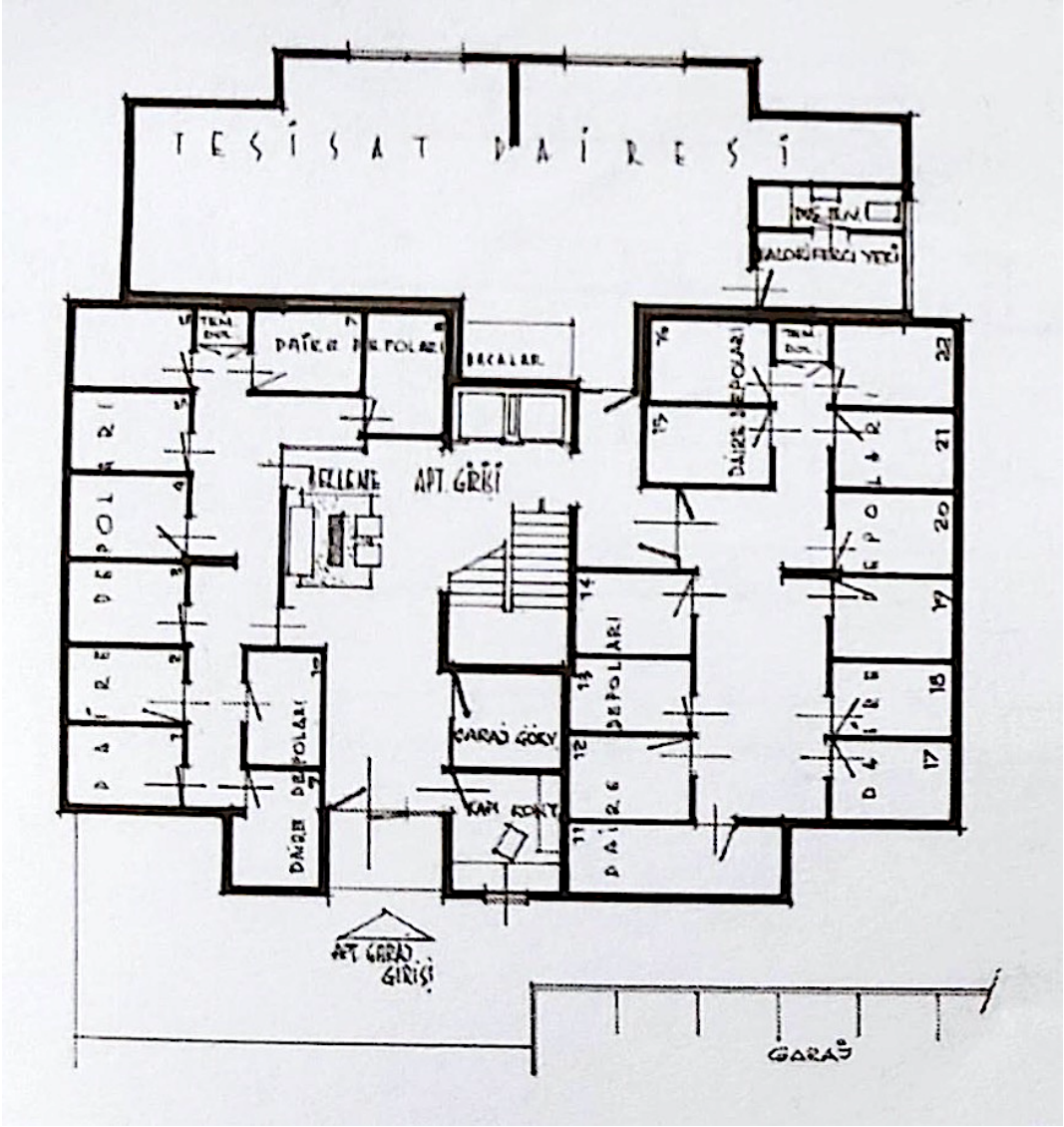


Figure 133 Danyal Tevfik Çiper, Ümitköy Blocks, the rectangular plans of basement, ground floor, and typical apartment plans of the building, Ankara, 2001.

Source: Cengizkan, Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar, 167.

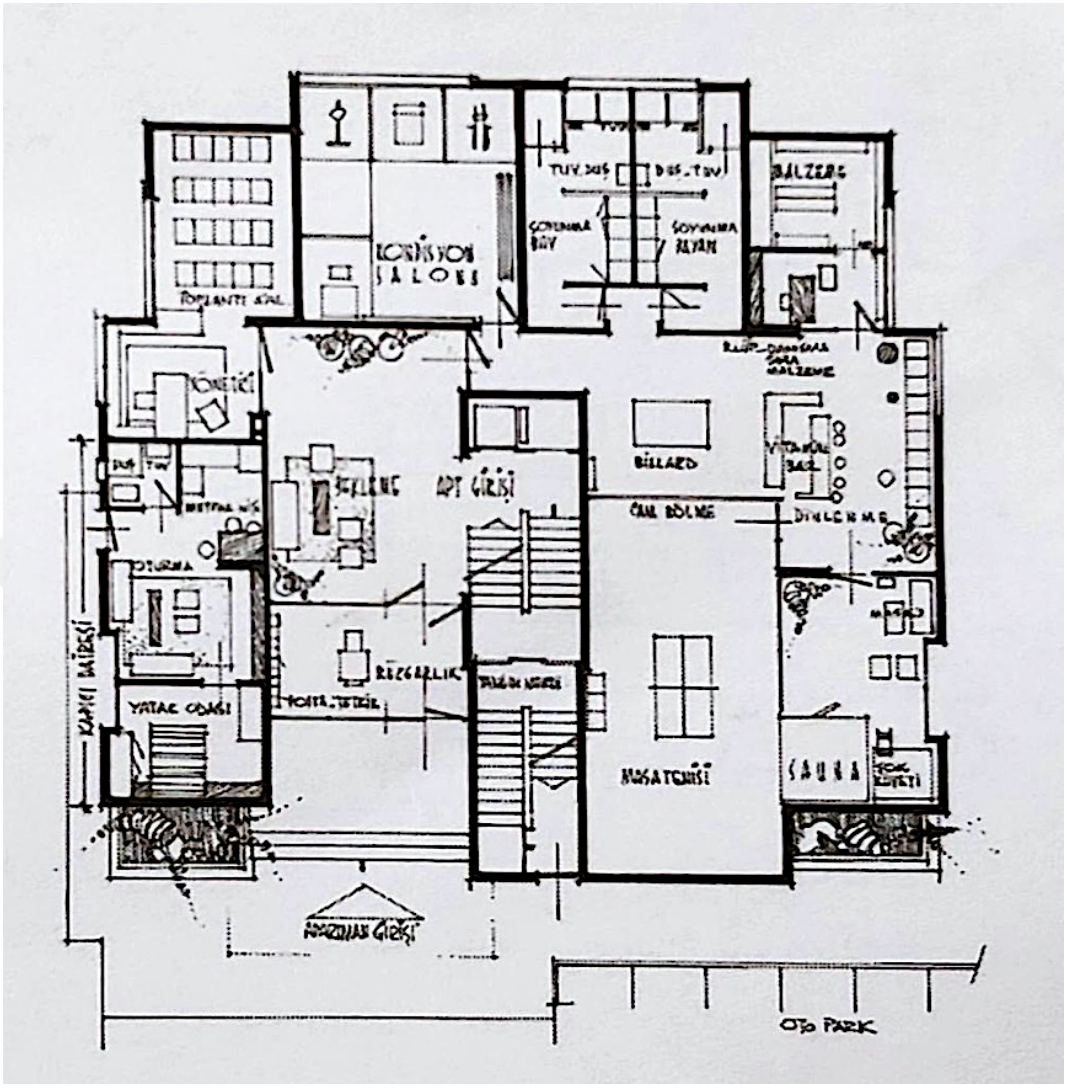


Figure 133 (Continued)

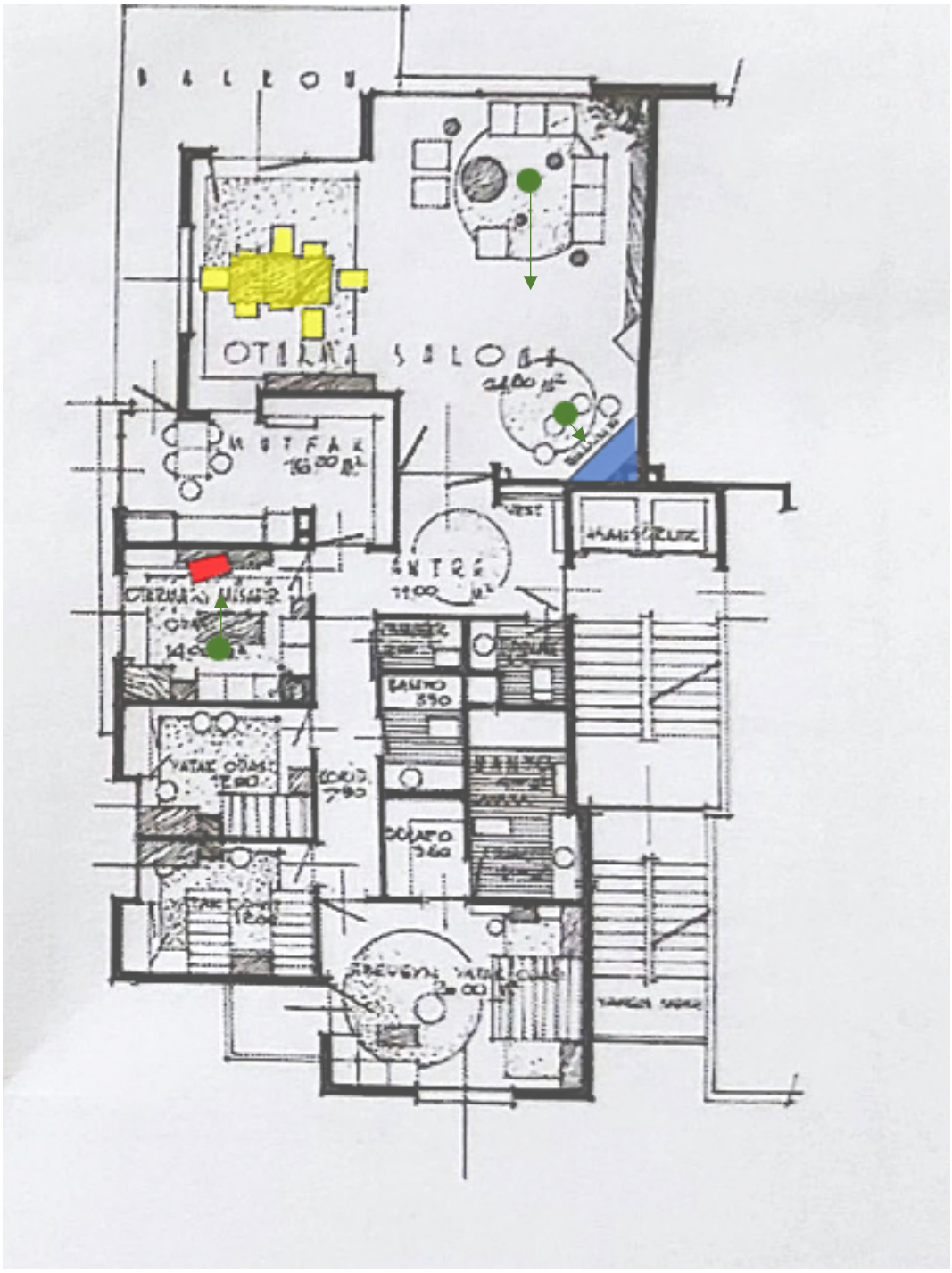


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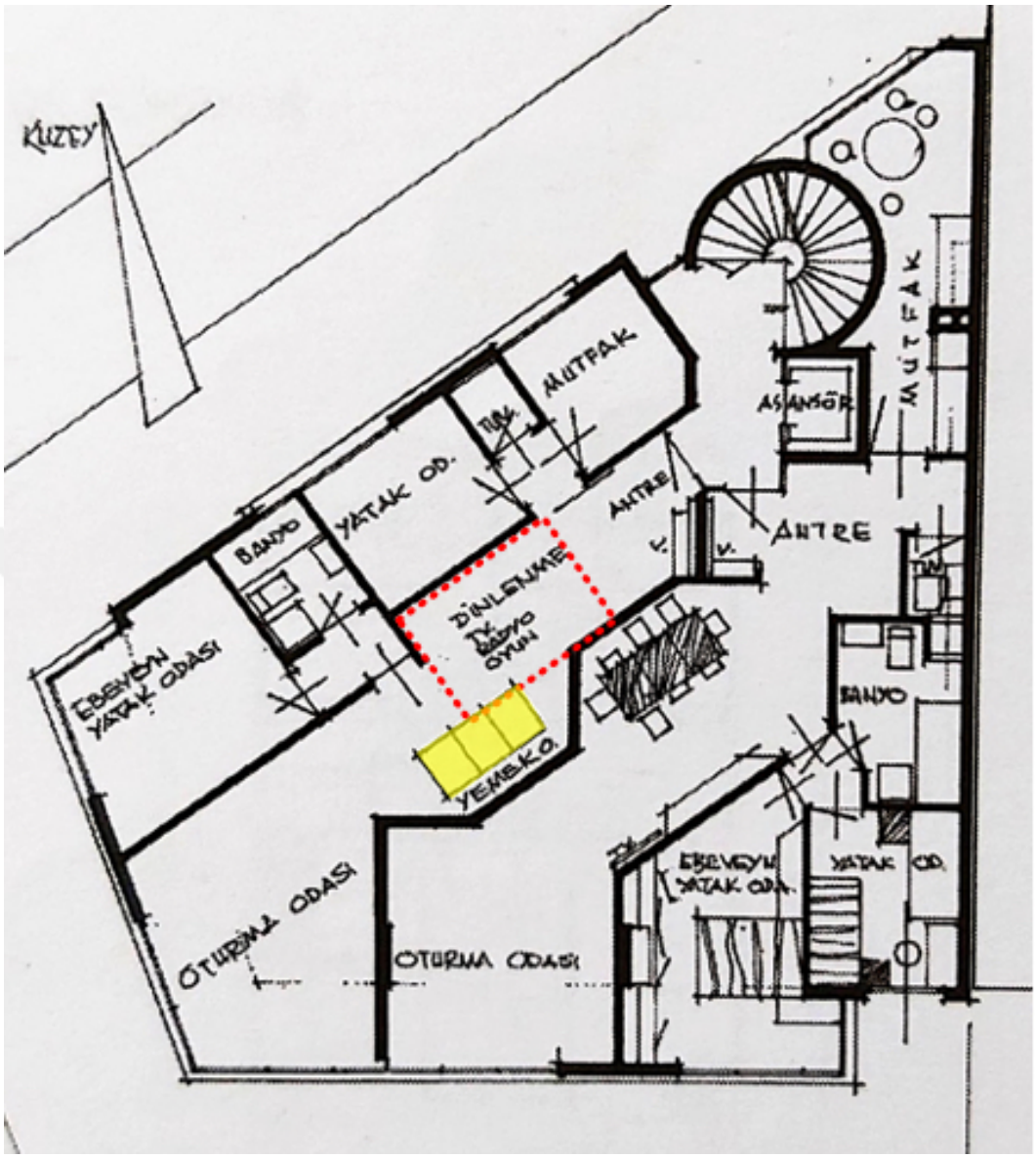


Figure 134 Danyal Tevfik Çiper, An Apartment Plan, 2006.

Source: Cengizkan, *Tavizsiz Bir Modernist Mimar*, 169.

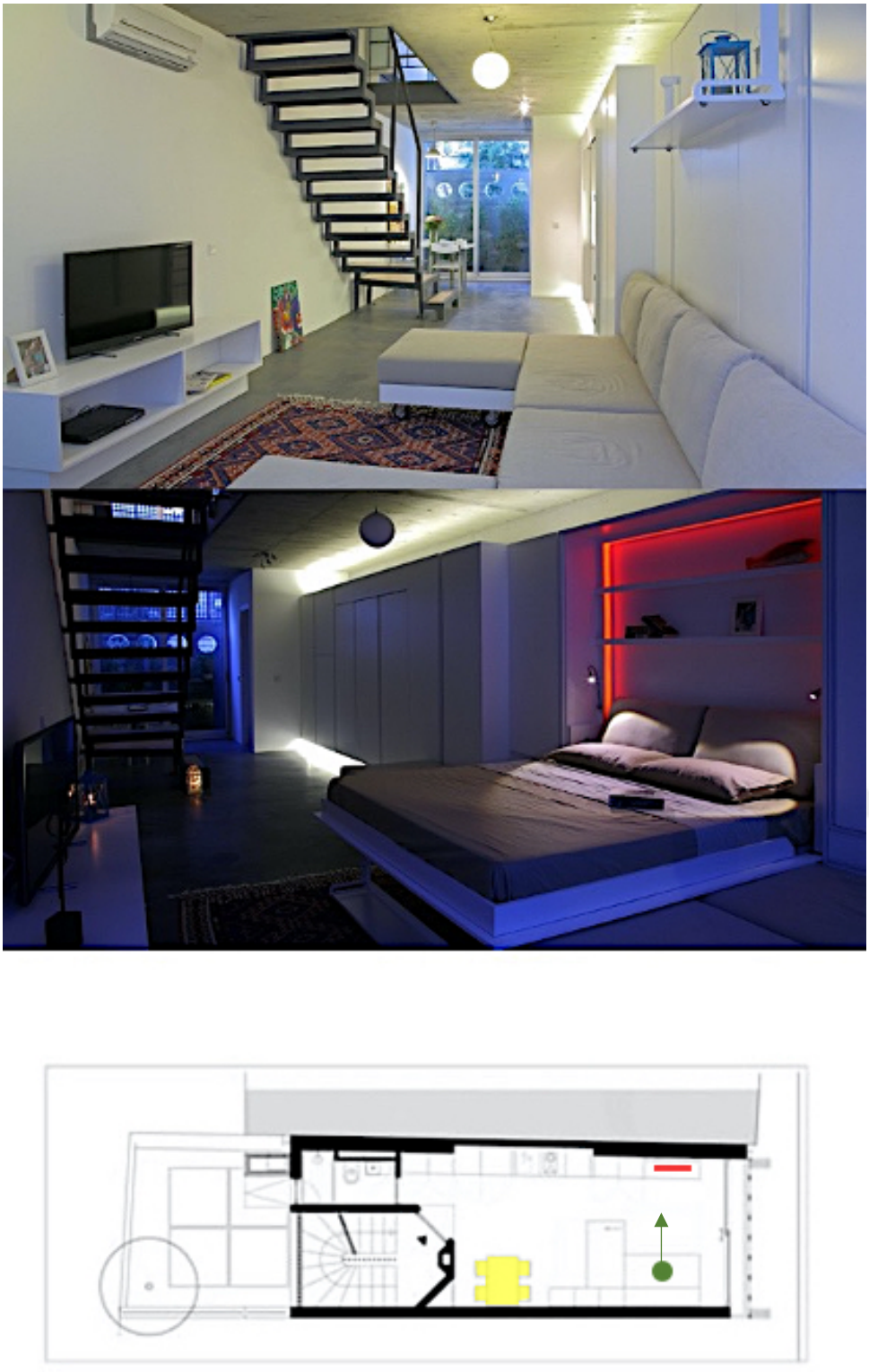


Figure 135 Çinici Architecture, Mikroloft Yarasa, İstanbul 2012.

Source: Gür, "Evin Topografyası: Çinici Mimarlık'ın Mikroloft Projeleri", "Mikroloft 1 Yarasa", Çinici Mimarlık, accessed July 2, 2020, http://www.cinicimimarlik.com/tr/mikroloft-1-yarasa/.



Figure 136 Çinici Architecture, Mikroloft Bulut, İstanbul 2013.

Source: Gür, "Evin Topografyası: Çinici Mimarlık'ın Mikroloft Projeleri", "Mikroloft 1 Bulut", Çinici Mimarlık, accessed July 2, 2020, http://www.cinicimimarlik.com/tr/mikroloft-2-bulut-2/.



Figure 137 Top: HP Computer Ad, 1990: "The only complete solution in computer-aided design from HP." Bottom: Cadsoft brand 3D Architectural Design and Drawing Ad, 1998: "Complete solution in architectural design and drawing".

Source: *Mimarlık*, 28, no. 4 (1990): http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=301. *Mimarlık*, 36, no. 2 (1998), http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=339.

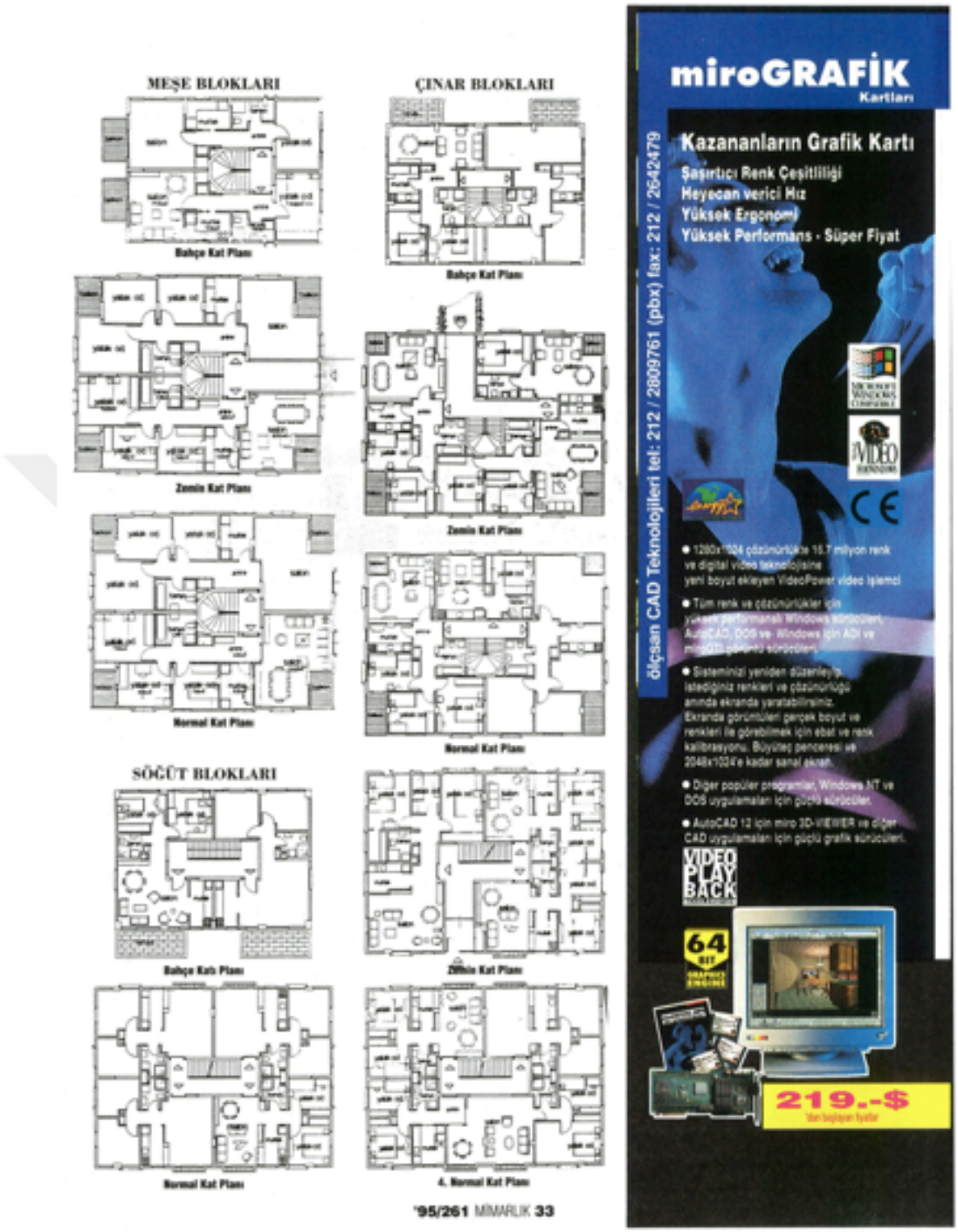
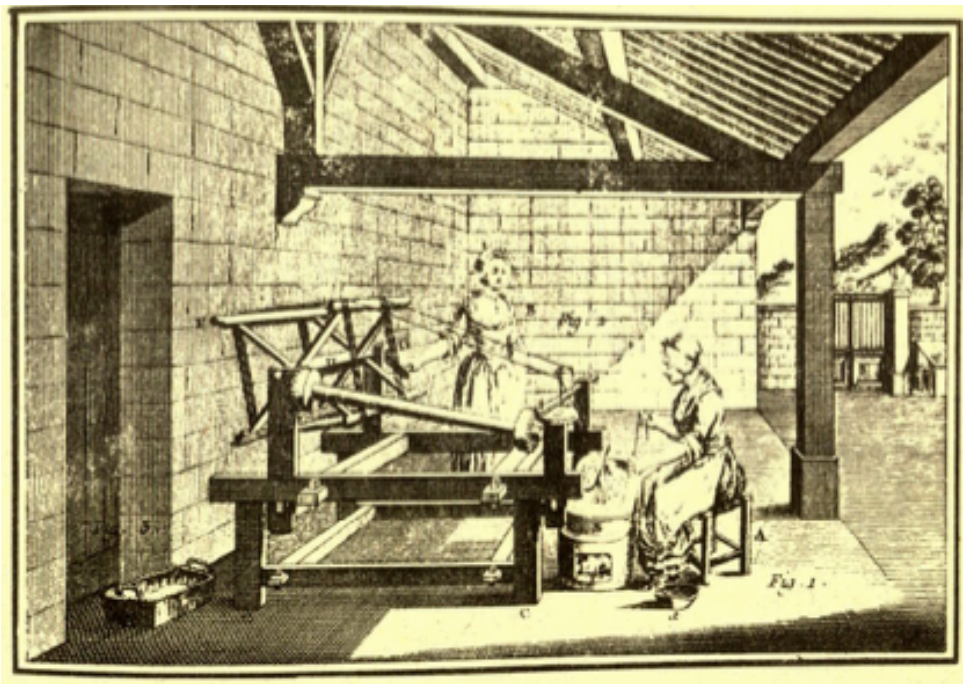


Figure 138 Soyak Bağlarbaşı Housing Plans and a miroGrafik brand graphics card advertisement placed side by side.

Source: Eryıldız, "Konut Sorunu ve Toplu Konut "Çözümleri", 33.



Evde iş: 17. yüzyılda evde ipek ipliği imalatı

20. yüzyılda evde bilgisayarla gazete yönetimi

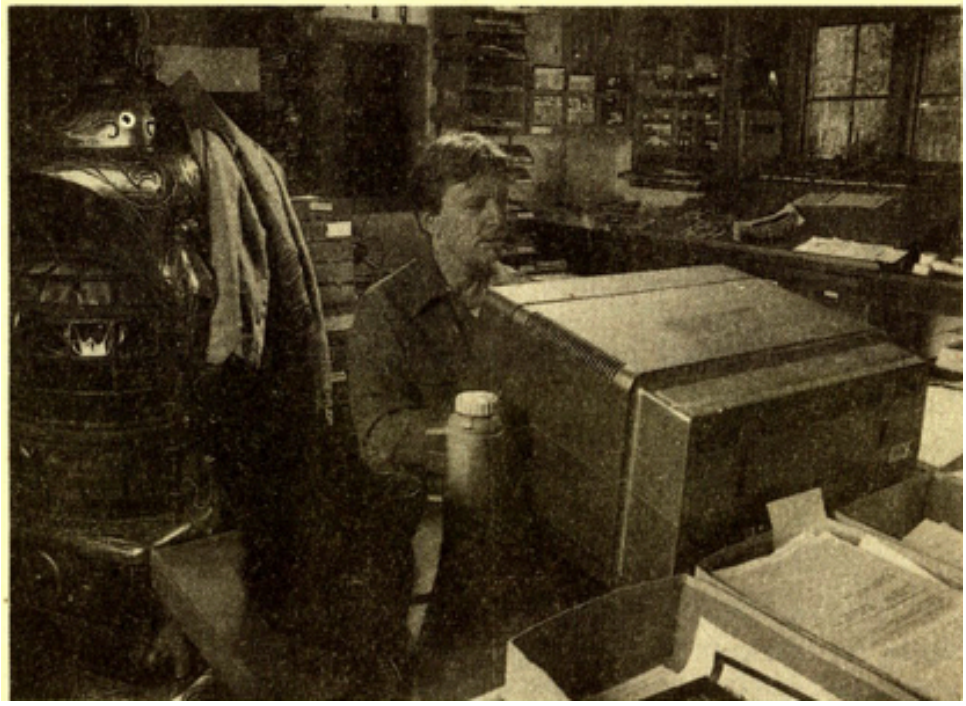


Figure 139 Comparison of former and new ways of working-at-home. The illustration above depicts a 17th-century example of home manufacture of silk thread, while the photograph below shows a 20th-century person running a newspaper from home via a computer.

Source: Acar and Adam, "Herşeyin Zamanı ve Yeri : İşyeri Konut Ayırımının Bütünlüğü", 22.

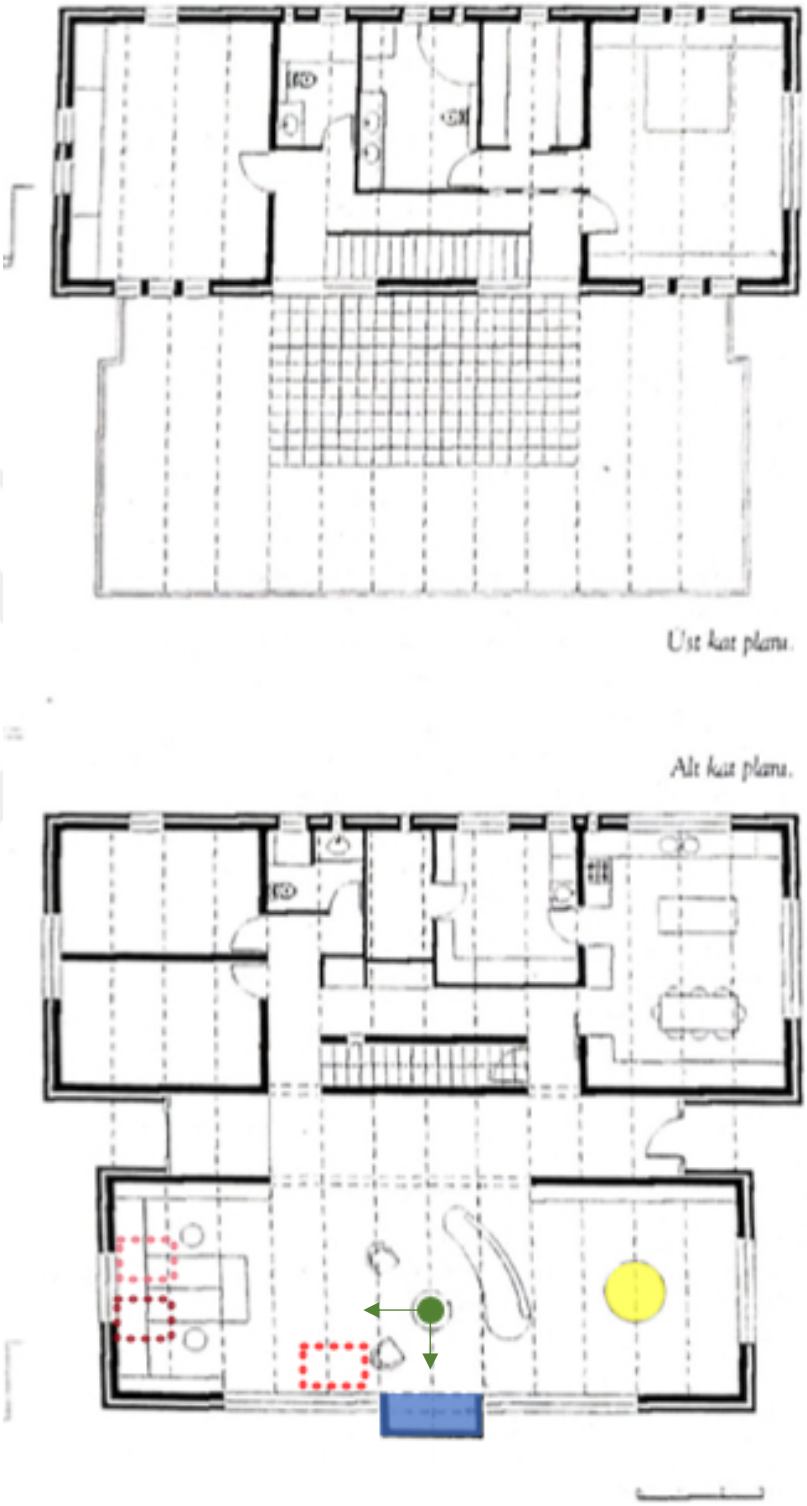


Figure 140 Nevzat Sayın, Prefabricated Model House, Istanbul, 1997.

Source: Yapı Endüstri Merkezi, *Konutlar 2*, 38-49.



Figure 140 (Continued)



Figure 141 Ahmet İğdirligil, KB House, Muğla, 2001.

Source: “KB Evi”.

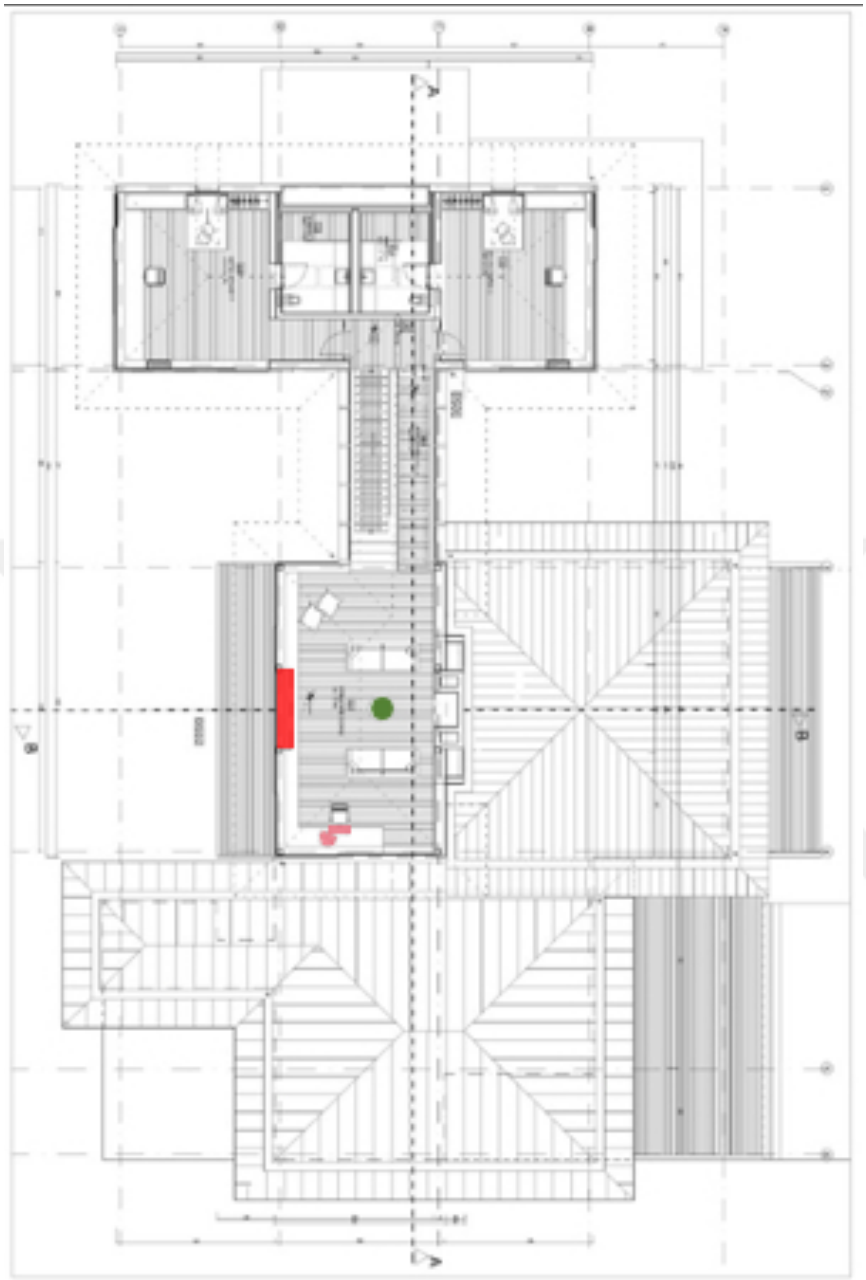


Figure 142 Durmuş Dilekçi and Emir Uras, A House in Kemeburgaz, Istanbul, 2005.

Source: “Kemerburgaz’da Bir Ev”.



Figure 143 Esin Dorsan, STO House, Istanbul, 2010.

Source: “STO Evi”.

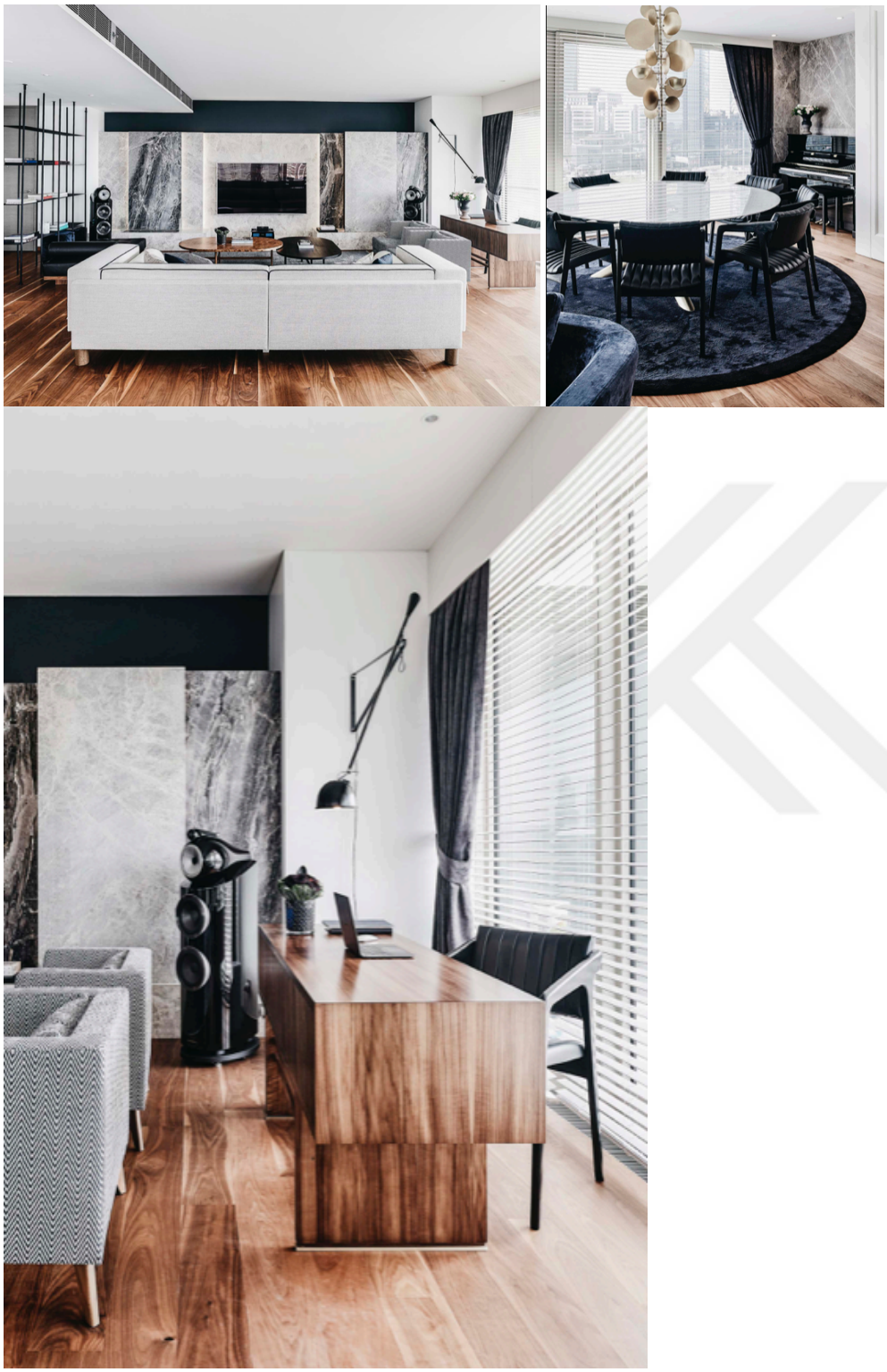


Figure 144 Mahmut Kefeli, Kerem Erçin, İdil Hamarat, Alper Değer, and Yağız Atakan Gedik, Türkmen House, Istanbul ,2015.

Source: “Türkmen Evi”.



Figure 145 Cengiz Şentürk and Büşra Karatay, YN Altuniç Villa, Samsun, 2017.

Source: “YN Altuniç Villa”.

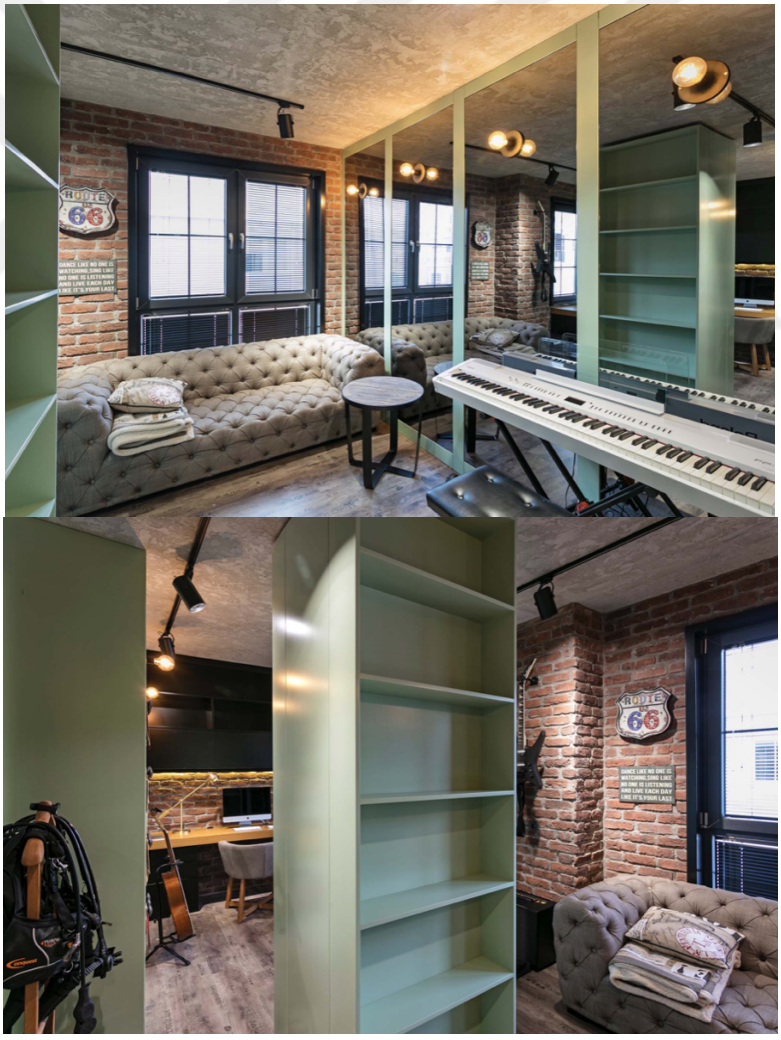


Figure 146 Kemal Serkan Tokis, Y Loft, Antalya, 2017.

Source: “Y Loft”.



Figure 147 Nesli Sarıkaya Dağdibi, U. Gedik House, Istanbul, 2017.

Source: “U. Gedik Evi”.



Figure 148 M. Turhan Kayasü, Mert Kayasü, and Elif Köktaş, Kaş Villa, Antalya, 2013.

Source: “Kaş Villa”.



Figure 149 Özlem Güler Atliman and Cihan Atliman, Levent House, Istanbul, 2016..

Source: “Levent Evi”



Figure 150 Belgin Koz, S.A.K. House, Ankara, 2016.

Source: “S.A.K. Evi”.



Figure 151 Mahmut Kefeli, Kerem Erçin, Alper Değer, and İdil Hamarat, Kemer Country, Istanbul Villa, 2018.

Source: "Kemer Country'de Bir Villa".



Figure 152 Neslihan Pekcan, Şahbaz House, Istanbul, 2007.

Source: "Şahbaz Evi".



Figure 153 Can Demir, D House, Düzce, 2013.

Source: “D Evi”.



Figure 154 Seyhan Özdemir, Sefer Çağlar, Gökhan Uzun, and Kerim Özkan, NEF 163, Istanbul, 2013.

Source: “NEF 163”.



Figure 155 Dicle Hökenek, SA House, Istanbul, 2016.

Source: “SA Evi”.



Figure 156 Ümit Çiğdem, Nest Home, Izmir, 2016.

Source: “Nest Home”.



Figure 157 VIA Mimarlık, Alyapark, Istanbul, 2017.

Source: “Alyapark Apartmanı”.



Figure 158 Setenay Erkul and Hakan Habif, Bahçeköy Villa, Istanbul, 2018.

Source: “Bahçeköy Villa”.



Figure 159 Osman Mısırlı, A House in Büyükada, Istanbul, 2007.

Source: “Büyükada’da Bir Konut Projesi”.

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Evsellik ve evselliğin mekânsal karşılığı olarak ev, özellikle modern dönemde çokça tartışılan ve sürekli değişime uğrayan görüngülerdir. Evsel alanın oluşumuna ve tanımına ilişkin idealler ve gerçekler, ekonomi, teknoloji, kültür, iletişim, enformasyon, tüketim, mahremiyet ve kamusallık gibi birçok aktörün içinde bulunduğu karmaşık ilişkiler ağıyla bir arada şekillenir, değişime uğrar ve meydan okumaya tabi tutulur. Evsel alan tüm bu etkenlerin yankı bulduğu ve daha da önemlisi gerçekleştirilmesine aracılık edildiği bir laboratuvara benzer şekilde işlev görür. Bunlar arasından, endüstriyel üretimin ve kültürün merkezinde yer alan ve kitle kültürü ile yakından bağlantılı kavramlar olarak ortaya çıkan medya ve kitle iletişimi, ev ve evsel alanda önemli etkilere sahiptir. Bu bağlamda, konut, ev, evsellik, evsel alan ve özel alan gibi birçok kavramın ve bu kavramların fiziksel karşılığının gelişiminin ve somutlaşmasının güncel bir değerlendirilmesinde medya bağlantılı ve medya kaynaklı değişim ve dönüşümlerin dikkate alınması gerekmektedir.

19. yüzyılda Batı'da ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel bağlamlarda yaşanan değişim ve dönüşümler, ev ve medya arasındaki karmaşık ama karşılıklı ve dönüştürücü olan ilişkinin ilk dönüm noktası olarak kabul edilir. Bu dönemde Sanayi Devrimi'nin tetiklediği, sanayileşme, kapitalist ekonomi ve tüketim kültürü gibi pek çok alandaki gelişmeler medyayı hem üretim-tüketim döngüsünün bir ürünü hem de bu döngünün işlemesini mümkün kılan bir araç haline getirmiştir. Medyanın önemi sanayileşme ile sürekli artarken, ev ve konut ile olan ilişkisi tüketim üzerinden kurulmuş; dönemin reklamlar, kitaplar, dergiler, gazeteler ve benzeri yayın araçlarıyla kendini gösteren basılı medyası, yeni yeni ortaya çıkan endüstriyel kültüre uygun tüketim ve yaşam biçimlerini yayan ve hatta dikte eden bir mecra sağlamıştır. 19. yüzyılda kurulan medya ve ev ilişkisi, 20. yüzyılda elektronik medyanın evsel alana girmesiyle daha

doğrudan ve araçsal bir nitelik kazanmıştır. Hem özünde tüketim metaları hem de kamuya yönelik mesajların aktarıcıları olan radyo ve televizyon, evsel alandaki materyal ve immateryal tüketime ve aynı zamanda kamusal alan ve özel alan arasındaki bağlantıya aracılık etmiştir. Tüketim nesneleri olarak radyo ve özellikle televizyon, evsel mekânın organizasyonu ve kullanımında biçimlendirici bir rol oynamışlardır. Aktarıcı olarak ise, elektronik medya araçları evsel alana iletişimsel erişimi kolaylaştırarak fiziksel mesafenin ve mekânın sınırlarını aşmıştır. Radyo ve televizyonu takiben, kitle iletişim araçları ve iletişimde bir başka çığır açan değişim, 20. yüzyılın sonlarına doğru kişisel bilgisayarların ve mobil medyanın gelişmesine yol açan medya teknolojilerindeki minyatürleşme ve dijitalleşmedir. Kişisel bilgisayarlar ve mobil medya gündelik hayatın işleyişini yeniden tanımlayarak yerel ve küresel, kamusal ve özel, iş ve boş zaman arasındaki etkileşimi benzeri görülmemiş bir şekilde arttırmıştır. Ancak ulus-devlet politikaları, coğrafya, ekonomi, toplum ve kültür gibi faktörler ev ve medya ilişkisinde temel belirleyiciler olmaya devam etmişlerdir. Bu yüzden medya teknolojilerinin küresel ölçekte etkisi yadsınamaz olsa da medyanın "evselleşme" süreçleri büyük ölçüde bağlamsaldır ve vakaya özel olarak gerçekleşmiştir. Bağlamsal ve durumsal etmenler ve sınırlamalar medyanın evselleşmesinde kilit rol oynar.

Mimarların ve tüketicilerin evsel mekân tasarımı, tefrişatı ve kullanımındaki beğeni ve eğilimleri üzerinde de medya etkisi mevcuttur. Gerçekten de medyanın evselleştirilmesi, en başta evin mimari tasarımında, mimarların bu olguyu projelerinde bir tasarım parametresi olarak nasıl içselleştirdiklerini gösteren pek çok veriyle kendini gösterir. Bu bağlamda, mimari temsiller veya mekân temsilleri medyanın evselleştirilmesinin hangi yollarla, biçimlerde, süreçlerde ve kapsamlarda gerçekleştiğini göstermek için potansiyel kaynaklar olarak kullanılabilir.

'Evselleştirme', medya ve teknoloji aracılığıyla tanıtılan 'ürün' ve 'anlamların' evsel alana kabul edilmesi ve uyarlanmasında hane halkının aktif rolünü belirtmek için 1990'larda Roger Silverstone, David Morley, Leslie Haddon ve Eric Hirsch tarafından medya çalışmaları alanında ortaya atılan bir terimdir. Evselleştirme kuramına göre, haneler yalnızca medyayı ve medya ürünlerini benimsemek ya da reddetmekle kalmaz,

aynı zamanda onları evsel alana dahil etme ve hatta dönüştürme yeteneğine de sahiptir. Teori, medyayı temel belirleyici olarak algılamaktan ziyade, ev ve medyanın karşılıklı ilişkisini vurgular. Mimarlık alanında ise ev ve medya ilişkine farklı tepkiler doğmuştur. Beatriz Colomina'nın "The Media House", Terence Riley'nin "The Un-Private House" ve Shundana Yusaf'ın "Broadcasting Buildings" gibi mimarlık tarihi ve teorisindeki öncü çalışmalar, ev ve medya arasındaki karşılıklı ilişkiyi 'medyada ev' ve 'evde medya' olarak iki yönden tanımlamış ve incelemiştir. Yani, karşılıklı ilişki bir yandan özel alanın medyada temsili, diğer yandan medyanın eve dahil edilmesi üzerine kurulmuştur. Bu nedenle ev ve medya ilişkisi, özellikle evselleştirilme teorisi üzerinde bağlamsal olarak keşfedilecek potansiyel bir temadır. Bu yüzden tez çerçevesinde evselleştirme terimi, medya ve ev ilişkisini tanımlayan süreçleri detaylandırmak ve medyanın toplumsal ve kültürel olarak benimsenmesinin modern Türkiye bağlamındaki rolünü vurgulamak için kullanılmıştır.

Türkiye bağlamında medya ve ev ilişkisinin tarihi evsel modernliğin tarihinden bağımsız olarak incelenemez. Diğer bağlamlarda olduğu gibi Türkiye bağlamında da evsel modernlik algısındaki değişimler, evsel alandaki ve dolayısıyla evsel alanın tüketim ve medya ile olan ilişkisindeki değişimlere tarihsel olarak tekabül etmektedir. Bu çerçevede dört tarihsel dönüm noktası hem evsel modernlik hem de ev ve medya ilişkisinin kurulmasında önemli yere sahiptir. Bu dört tarihsel dönüm noktasından ilki 19. yüzyıl Osmanlı bağlamında gerçekleşmiştir. Bu dönemde sanayileşme ve modernleşmeye yönelik ilk adım, Avrupa ile paralel ve yakın ilişki içinde atılmış ve eğitim, ekonomi, siyaset ve sanat gibi birçok alanda bir dizi ilerleme ile sonuçlanmıştır. Dönemin ilerici ruhu gündelik yaşamda, özellikle de evsel alanda değişime uğrayan tüketici alışkanlıklarında, yaşam tarzlarında ve beğenilerinde kendini göstermiştir. Modernlik ile modern ev arasında ilk ilişki Osmanlı'nın seçkin ve zengin grupları aracılığıyla kurulmuştur. Benzer bir bağıntı, 20. yüzyılın başlarında erken cumhuriyet döneminde de ulusal sanayileşme ve modern ilerleme hedefleriyle uyumlu olarak ön plana çıkmıştır. Türkiye bağlamında evsel alandaki üçüncü modernleşme ve değişim dalgası, yaşam tarzının ve özel alanın 'Amerikanlaşması' ile özdeşleşen savaş sonrası dönemde meydana gelmiştir. 1950'ler ve 1980'ler arasındaki dönem, ev ve hane tüketiminin Amerikan modeli bir modernliğe yönelimine tanık

olunduğu bir dönemdir. Ve son olarak 1980 sonrası, neoliberalizm, küreselleşme ve postmodern kültür kesişiminde olgunluğa erişen medya ve kitle kültürünün eve nüfuz etmesiyle, evsel modernlik ve özel alan anlayışının yeniden yapılandırıldığı bir dönemi tarifler.

Bu tarihsel çerçevede, piyano, şömine ve Amerikan bar gibi dönemsel olarak popüler olan bazı ikonik tüketim nesneleri, Türkiye'de değişen evsel modernleşme süreçlerini gösteren mekânsal simgeler haline gelmiştir. Bu nesneler, Türkiye bağlamında yukarıda bahsedilen dört kritik dönemin tanımlayıcı üretim ve sembolik tüketim alışkanlıklarıyla beraber değişen evsel mekân üretimi, evsel modernlik algısı ve deneyiminin tanımlayıcı mekânsal "göstergeleri" olmaları yönünden diğer mobilya ve tüketim nesnelerinden ayrılmaktadır. Ancak, literatürde evsel alandaki sembolik tüketim değerlerini gösteren bu nesneleri tanımlamaya uygun bir terim bulunmamaktadır. Bu yüzden, tezde mekânsal sembolik tüketim öğeleri olarak belirlenen piyano, şömine ve Amerikan bar "ikonik tüketim göstergeleri" (iconic consumption markers) olarak adlandırılmıştır. Bu nesnelerin başka bağlamlardaki konumu ve adlandırılması ise tartışmaya açık ve bu tezin sınırlarını aşan bir konudur. Benzer şekilde fakat ikonik tüketim göstergelerinde farklı olarak, radyo, televizyon ve kişisel bilgisayar gibi elektronik ev medyaları, yalnızca aktarıcı olarak değil, aynı zamanda modernliği ve ilerlemeyi temsil eden sembolik gösterişçi tüketim nesneleri olarak işlev görmüştür. Piyano, şömine ve Amerikan bardan, ev mobilyası ve her türlü evsel gösterişçi tüketim nesnelerine kadar uzanan salt tüketim öğelerinin aksine, elektronik medya Türkiye bağlamı da dahil olmak üzere ev ve özel alan üzerinde dönüştürücü bir etkiye sahip olmuştur. Bu nedenle tez, dört tarihsel dönemden evsel mimari örneklerin bir incelemesini sunarak radyo, televizyon ve kişisel bilgisayarların evselleştirilme süreçleri ve bu süreçlerin ikonik tüketim göstergeleriyle kıyaslandığında mekânsal tezahürlerini ortaya koymayı amaçlar. Bu amaç doğrultusunda, 20. yüzyılın başından günümüze modern Türkiye bağlamında medyanın evselleştirilmesinin mimari pratik içerisinde evsel mekânın tasarımında, temsilinde ve üretimindeki mekânsal yansımaları odak noktası olarak alınmıştır.

Elektronik medyanın, evsel alandaki dönüştürücü etkisine rağmen, modern Türkiye'de mimarlık alanında yeri üzerine yapılan çalışmalar sınırlıdır. Bunlar arasında, Meltem Ö. Gürel'in yazdığı "Designing and Consuming in Modern Turkey" ve Esra Bici Nasır, Şebnem Timur ve Meltem Ö. Gürel tarafından yazılan "Living Rooms Occupied: Narratives on the Recontextualization of the "Museum-Salon" adlı öne çıkan iki çalışma, medyanın ve özellikle televizyonun eve girmesiyle meydana gelen ev içi mekânsal pratiklerdeki değişimi ortaya koymaktadır. Bu çalışmalar kapsamında medyanın ev üzerindeki dönüştürücü etkisini en somut haliyle ortaya koyan konu ise batıdaki modern ev ve evsel mekân pratiklerinin tarihsel gelişiminden farklı olarak Türkiye'ye özgü olarak gerçekleşen salon ve iç odalar arasındaki keskin ayrım ve bu ayrımın, 1970'lerde televizyonun ev içine girmesi ve 1980 sonrası kültürel atmosfer ile değişen evsel modernlik algısı sonucu çözünmesidir.

19. yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda başlayan sanayileşme ve modernleşme hareketi evsel tüketim ve kültürde birtakım değişim ve yeniliklere yol açmış; başta Galata, Pera ve Beyoğlu olmak üzere İstanbul'da yeni bir konut türü olarak ortaya çıkan apartmanlar bu değişim ve yeniliklerin canlı örnekleri olmuştur. Yeni apartman kültüründe, bir yandan geleneksel Osmanlı tevazuu kültürünün aksine mekânsal organizasyon, dekorasyon, mobilya ve nesnelerde gösterişçi tüketime yönelim dikkati çeker. Öte yandan da İslami mahremiyet anlayışına ve cinsiyet rollerine göre şekillenmiş evin içerisi ve dışarısı arasındaki keskin ayrımın ve haremlik/selamlık gibi mekanların yeni apartmanların getirdiği mekânsal yenilikler ve evsel pratikler ile birlikte terkedildiği görülür. Yeni tüketime, eğlenceye, sosyalleşmeye ve statü göstermeye yönelik alışkanlıklar ise – diğer işlevsel olarak belirlenmeye başlayan ıslak alan ve mutfak gibi mekanlar haricinde – evin en kamusal yeri olarak ortaya çıkan 'salon' üzerinden vücut bulmuştur. Salon, özel alan ve kamusal alan arasında bir arayüz görevi görürken, evin geri kalan kısımları kesin surette özel alan olarak kalmıştır. Yeni tüketim kültürü salonda uygulanıp sergilenirken gündelik evsel aktiviteler iç odalarda gizlenmiştir.

Ev içi özel alan/kamusal alan keskin ayrımı 19. yüzyılda Batı'da özellikle Viktoryen dönemde ahlak, sağlık ve cinsiyet rolleri gibi değerler üzerinden kurulan ev

ideallerinde de kendini gösterir fakat gerçekte olan evsel alan pratiklerinde pek uygulanmadığı görülür. 20. yüzyılın başından itibaren ise Beatriz Colomina'nın öncü çalışması "The Split Wall: Domestic Voyeurism" ve benzeri çalışmalar ile ortaya konulduğu üzere, Batı'da özel alan ve kamusal alan arasındaki ayrım, açık plan, çok-işlevli oturma odası ve yine Colomina'nın "x-ray" mimarlığı olarak bahsettiği cam cephelerle ortadan kalkmıştır. Elektronik ve minyatür medyanın evlere girmesiyle, McLuhan, Mumford, Graham, Baudrillard ve Virilio gibi birçok düşünürün de işaret ettiği gibi, kamusal alan ve özel alan arasındaki birbirine geçme durumu aşırı bir boyuta ulaşmıştır.

Batı'nın aksine, Türkiye'de geleneksel olarak ayrıştırılmış mekân pratikleri etkili olmaya devam etmiştir. 20. yüzyılın başlarında cumhuriyet dönemi seçkinlerine ait modern ev örnekleri olan 'kübik ev' ve apartman daire tipolojisi, geleneksel mahremiyet anlayışının yanı sıra işlev, rasyonellik ve sağlık kavramlarını takip etmiştir. 20. yüzyılda Batı'daki x-ray mimarisinin baskınlığından farklı olarak, büyük cam pencereli modern evler, Türkiye bağlamında avlu duvarları ve perdelerle dışarıdan ayrılmıştır. Evlerin içindeki kamusal ve özel alanlar, salon ve iç odalar olarak ayrılmaya devam etmiştir. Batı'da 19. yüzyıldan sonra modası geçip yerini çok-işlevli oturma odasına bırakan salon, 20. yüzyılda Türkiye bağlamında sadece misafir ağırlamak ve ailenin modernliğini, sosyal statüsünü ve gösterişçi tüketimini sergilemek için kullanılmıştır. "Müze-salon" ya da "evsel müzeleştirme" olarak adlandırılan bu uygulama, 1940 ve 1950'lerde zenginlerin oturduğu apartmanlarda, 1960'larda ise alt-orta ve orta sınıf apartmanlarında devam etmiştir. 1970'lerde televizyonun ortaya çıkışına ve 1980'lerde kitle iletişim araçlarının ve kitle kültürünün yükselişine kadar, evsel alanda kamusal ve özel, salon ve iç odalar, modern ve geleneksel arasındaki ikilik büyük ölçüde değişmeden devam etmiştir.

Türkiye'de 1970'lerde televizyonun eve girmesi, tele-misafir ya da telesafir olarak adlandırılan pratiğin ortaya çıkmasıyla birlikte, müze benzeri salonların resmi atmosferini ortadan kaldırmış ve salonları adeta küçük mahalle sinemalarına dönüştürüp evsel alandaki değişimleri tetiklemiştir. Televizyon, boş zaman, eğlence ve sosyalleşme ile ilgili kamusal ve özel etkinliklerini evin içinde bir araya getirmiştir.

Başka bir deyişle, kamusal alana atfedilen etkinlikler, televizyonla birlikte hem telesafir kültürünün getirdiği resmiyetsiz sosyalleşme ortamı hem de ses ve görüntünün evsel alana doğrudan aktarılmasıyla özel alan içerisine girmiştir. Öte yandan, daha önce diğer odalarda gerçekleşen ev içi boş zaman etkinlikleri, televizyonun salona yerleştirilmesiyle evin en kamusal alanında sergilenerek gün yüzüne çıkmıştır. Bunun sonucunda salon, 1970'lerde Türkiye'de Batı tarzı çok-işlevli oturma odasının özelliklerini almaya başlamıştır.

1970'li yıllarda televizyonun eve girmesiyle tetiklenen evsel mekân pratiklerindeki değişim, 1980'li yıllara gelindiğinde Türkiye'de tüketim, medya ve kitle kültürünün yükselişe geçmesiyle farklı bir boyut kazanmıştır. 1980'li yıllarda, neoliberal ekonomi politikaları, siyasi baskının getirdiği depolitizasyon, kitle iletişimi ve medyadaki gelişmeler gibi pek çok faktör kültür ve tüketimde radikal bir dönüşüme yol açmıştır. Yeni yeni olgunlaşan kitle toplumu içinde ortaya çıkan kültürel özgürlük ve çeşitlilik dalgası, depolitizasyondan dolayı tüketici tercihleri ve yaşam tarzları üzerinden kurulan yeni kimlik yapıları aracılığıyla dışa vurulmaya başlamıştır. Medya araçlarındaki artan nicelik ve çeşitlilik, popüler beğeniye ve kitle izleyicisine yönelik heterojen ve çoğul medya içeriklerinin yeniden üretilmesi ve dolaşımı ile sonuçlanmıştır. Yani nitelikten çok kitlesel tüketime yönelik bir nicelikten söz edilebilir. Bu nedenle, "akışkan modernlik", "postmodernlik", "postmodern durum" ve "üçüncü dereceden simülasyon" gibi isimler altında kuramlaştırılan ve bilginin ve bilgi teknolojilerinin minyatürleşmesi ve metalaşması gibi özelliklerle tanımlanan dönemin postmodern eğilimleri, 1980 sonrası Batı'da olduğu gibi Türkiye bağlamında da bilginin aşırı üretimi, sembolik malların dolaşımı, medya ve tüketimin yaygınlığı gibi semptomlarla kendini göstermeye başlamıştır. Bu postmodern eğilimler sanat, mimarlık ve gündelik yaşam alanlarında görselleştirme, metalaştırma ve modern ve geleneksel, yüksek sanat ve popüler kültür, küresel ve yerel, çağdaş ve tarihsel gibi ikililikleri uzlaştırma olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Ekonomi, kültür ve tüketimdeki değişim, evsel mekânın inşası, kullanımı ve deneyiminin yanı sıra kamusal ve özel alan arasındaki ilişkiyi derinden etkilemiştir. Batı'ya benzer bir şekilde, kitle kültürü radyo ve televizyon başta olmak üzere elektronik medya aracılığıyla eve nüfuz etmiş; ev, global ve yerel kültür ürünlerinin dolaşımının ve tüketiminin sağlandığı iletişim ağı

içerisinde bir düğüm noktasına dönüşmüştür. Böylece, bir yandan evsel tüketime immateryal bir boyut eklenmiştir. Öte yandan, artık her yerde var olan kitle iletişiminin mekânın sınırlarını aşarak kamusal ve özel alan arasındaki ayrımı ortadan kaldırdığı bu bağlam içerisinde, 1980 öncesi dönemde modern olmayı simgeleyen ev içi kamusal ve özel alan ayrımı, 1980 sonrası dönemde Türkiye'de evsel alanın geleneksel yanını temsil eder hale gelmiştir. Evsel modernlik anlayışındaki bu değişimin bir sonucu olarak, 1980'lerden sonra geleneksel olarak algılanmaya başlayan ve iç odalardan izole edilmiş olarak kullanılan 'salon' yerini çok-işlevli oturma odasına bırakmıştır.

19. yüzyıldan 1980'li yıllara kadar olan evsel mekân pratiklerindeki bu süreklilik ve 1980 sonrası dönüşüm, yine evsel alana mekânsal ve maddi tüketimin kabul edilmesi, dahil edilmesi ve yeniden tanımlanması konularında da bir süreklilik ve dönüşüm ile kendini gösterir. Örneğin, ikonik tüketim göstergelerinin evselleştirilmesi ile elektronik medyanın evselleştirilmesi arasındaki süreklilik, 20. yüzyıldan itibaren mimari tasarım ve temsillerin incelenmesi ile gözlemlenebilmektedir. 19. yüzyılda sadece Osmanlı seçkinlerinin yararlandığı Avrupa yaşam tarzının ilk ikonik tüketim göstergesi ve sembolü olarak özel alana giren piyano, dönemin yeni ortaya çıkan yazılı basınında genişçe yer bulmuştur. Dönemin Ceride-i Havadis gazetesi ve Servet-i Fünun romanları gibi örneklerle vücut bulan basılı medyası, salon veya salon-yemek odası düzeni içerisinde piyanonun kullanımını ve teşhirini tasvir etmiş olsa da piyanonun mekânsal değeri 20. yüzyılın başlarına kadar mimari pratiğe yansımamıştır. 20. yüzyılın başlarında erken cumhuriyet döneminde şömine, piyanonun yanı sıra modernleşmenin ve yüksek sosyal statünün bir başka ikonik tüketim göstergesi haline gelmiştir. Radyo, 20. yüzyılın başlarında bir aktarıcı ve gösterişçi tüketim metası olarak özel alana da girmiş olsa da piyano ve şöminenin aksine, yüzyılın ortalarına kadar mimari tasarım ve temsilde kullanılmamıştır. Piyano ve şömine, erken cumhuriyet seçkinlerinin yaşadığı müstakil evlerde, villalarda ve apartmanlarda modern ve kübik ev tasarımlarına dahil edilmiştir. Batı modernizmini örnek alarak modellenen bu modern evlerde, piyano ve şömine, makine estetiği, rasyonellik ve işlevsellik gibi modernist ilkelerle olan bağları tartışmalı olsa da işlevsel olmaktan ziyade sosyal olarak ayırt edici unsurlar olarak salonlara eklenmiştir. 1940'larda Boyacıköy'de Bir Villa ve Başaran Apartmanı örneklerinde olduğu gibi, salon ve

yemek hacmine bitişik olarak piyano veya şömine veya her ikisini birden yerleştirmek için üçüncü bir mekân üretilmiştir. Geniş bir alan gerektiren büyük boyutlu bir nesne olarak piyano, Makbule Atadan Evi'nde olduğu gibi salon/müzik odasının, yani en kamusal alan olan misafir kabul alanının tanımlayıcısı olarak kullanılmıştır. Piyanodan daha az yer kaplayan şömine, Birgiler Apartmanı'nda gösterildiği gibi ayrı bir şömine köşesi tanımlamak yerine salon-yemek düzeninin ana oturma grubunun görsel merkezi olarak konumlandırılabilir. 20. yüzyılın başlarında piyano ve şömineyi salon-yemek konfigürasyonuna entegre etme yolu, yüzyılın ortalarında da benzer bir şekilde devam etmiştir.

Yüzyılın ortalarında, piyano ve şömine apartmanların, villaların, müstakil evlerin ve konut kooperatiflerinin mimari tasarımında daha belirgin bir şekilde ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu dönemde Amerikan barı, savaş sonrası Amerikanlaşmanın bir sonucu olarak üst sınıf apartmanlarda, villalarda ve müstakil evlerde bir başka ikonik tüketim göstergesi olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. 1950'li yıllardaki İsrailevleri ve Übeyde Elli Apartmanı örneklerinde olduğu gibi piyano, bir önceki döneme benzer şekilde salon-yemek ikilisine ek olarak düşünülmüş ancak konumlandırılması açısından görsel bir odak noktası olmaktan uzak bir şekilde kullanılmıştır. Şömine için erken cumhuriyet döneminde olduğu gibi 1950'lerde Bebek'te Bir Villa ve Mehmet Aker Evi gibi vakalarda bir şömine köşesi oluşturulmuş ya da Basın Sitesi 1'deki gibi ana oturma grubunun görsel odağına yerleştirilmiştir. Bazı durumlarda 1960'lardan itibaren, şömine mimari tasarımda belirleyici bir faktör olarak salona entegre edilmiştir. Basın Sitesi 1 ve Çelebiler Apartmanı'nda şömine iç mekânı ikiye bölen bir mimari eleman olarak düşünülmüştür. Ayrıca Uzunoğlu Evi ve Çankaya İş Bankası İkramiye Evleri'nde cepheden çıkma yapmıştır. Misafir kabul ve yaşam alanında sıklıkla yer alan piyano ve şöminenin aksine, Cinnah 19 Apartmanı, Arif Saltuk Evi ve Boğaziçi'nde Bir Villa projelerinde Amerikan bar mutfak ve yemek alanı ile bağlantılı veya yakınına yerleştirilmiştir. Bu nedenle, yaşam ve yemek arasında bir geçiş alanı tanımladığı söylenebilir. İkonik tüketim göstergelerine ek olarak, yüzyılın ortalarında radyonun görsel ve mekânsal nitelikleri ön plana çıkmıştır. Danyal Tevfik Çiper'in gerçekleşen ve gerçekleşmeyen bazı ev projelerinin kamusal alanlarında radyonun mekânsallığı kendini göstermiştir. Gerçekleşmemiş olan villa, apartman ve Erdem

Yuva Binası projeleri, radyonun işitsel bir ortam olarak görsel yönlendirmede belirleyici olmayan kullanımlarını sergilemektedir. Buna karşılık, inşa edilmiş Özkanlar Evi ve Pozcu Apartmanı, şömineye benzer şekilde göze çarpan ve görsel olarak belirleyici bir unsur olarak radyonun mekânsal kullanımını sergileyen iki örnektir. Özellikle Özkanlar Evi'nin farklı kat düzenlerinde radyo ve şöminenin birbirinin yerine kullanıldığı gözlemlenebilir. Çiper'in villa projesinde salon ile oturma odası arasında bir ara yaşam biçimini ifade eden 'oturma salonu' tabiri ve apartman projesinde salon yerine ‘oturma odası’ kullanımı, salondan çok fonksiyonlu oturma odasına dönüşen bir eğilimi ifade etse de radyonun bu konuda bir etkisinin olup olmadığı konusunda kesin bir sonuca varılamaz. 1970'lerde televizyonun getirdiği tele-misafir kültürüyle başlayan yaşam alanının salondan oturma odasına dönüşümü, 1980'ler ve 1990'larda mimari üretime yansımaya başlamıştır. 1980 sonrasının ekonomik ve kültürel iklimi ile paralel olarak, televizyon ve kişisel bilgisayar, ev içi mekânın üretiminde, kullanımında ve deneyiminde daha belirleyici bir rol oynamıştır.

Piyano, şömine, Amerikan bar ve radyoya benzer şekilde, televizyon, Kiralık Konut Ulusal Mimari Proje Yarışması planlarında olduğu gibi mekânsal sınırlamaların olduğu durumlarda oturma-yemek alanı düzeninde oturma grubunun odak noktası olarak; Zeytinoğlu Evi, Teoman Baygan Evi, Esin Önder Evi ve Alacaatlı Evi gibi geniş alanın bulunduğu örneklerde ise yaşam alanı ve yemek salonu ikilisine üçüncü bir ek mekânı tanımlayıcı olarak tahsis edilmiştir. Zeytinoğlu Evi ve Teoman Baygan Evi'nde televizyon odası, oturma ve yemek bölümleriyle paylaşılan aynı hacmin devamı olmasına rağmen ayrı bir oda olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Esin Önder Evi, Kare Ev, Hasol Evi gibi pek çok örnekte televizyon ve şöminenin yan yana kullanılması, televizyon için kullanılan elektronik ocak metaforunu pekiştirmektedir. Öte yandan televizyona ve televizyonun tanımladığı mekâna, Alacaatlı Evi'nde şömine ve Amerikan bar; İncek Evi'nde radyo ve şömine; Sevinç Atamer Evi'nde ise oturma/yemek çekirdeğine bağlı ayrı köşeler tanımlayan şömine, Amerikan bar ve radyo eşlik etmektedir. Bu kombinasyonlar, yaşam alanlarında göze çarpan nesneler ve mekân tanımlayıcıları olarak ikonik tüketim göstergeleri ile elektronik medyanın evselleştirilmesi arasındaki benzeşme ve süreklilik argümanını desteklemektedir. Ancak televizyon, ikonik tüketim göstergelerinin ve radyonun önceki dönemlerde

ulaşamadığı bir şekilde ev içi mekânda dönüştürücü bir etkiye sahip olmuştur. Bu etkinin 1990'ların ikinci yarısında iyice belirginleştiği söylenebilir. İhsan Tırı Evi, Gölbaşı İncek Evleri, Yavuz Cengiz Evi ve Ümitköy Blokları, kamu ile özel, salon ile oturma odası arasındaki gerilimi somutlaştıran örneklerdir. 2000'li yıllardaki mimari vakalarda, salon uygulamasının terk edilmesi ve televizyonu evsel alanın merkezine yerleştirildiği yeni açık ve esnek plan tiplerinin geliştirilmesiyle bahsedilen gerilimin çözüldüğü görülür.

1970'lerde başlayan ve 1980'lerden itibaren mimarlıkta kendini gösteren televizyonun evsel mekân kullanımı ve deneyimi üzerindeki dönüştürücü etkisine, 1980'lerden itibaren bilgisayarların mimariye ve dolayısıyla ev üretimine getirdiği yenilik eşlik etmiştir. 1980'lerde Türkiye bağlamına giren ve 1990'larda yaygın mimarlık pratiğine entegre olan tasarım ve çizim programları, mimarlık pratiğinin doğasını değiştirmiştir. Bu açıdan kişisel bilgisayarın televizyondan farklı olarak evsel alan üzerinde yukarıdan aşağıya bir etkiye sahip olduğu söylenebilir. Öte yandan, 1980'lerden itibaren mimarlıkta, kişisel bilgisayarların özel alandaki rolüne ilişkin potansiyelleri ve algıları sorgulayan teorik tartışmalar ortaya çıkmıştır. Bilgisayarın hem iş hem de boş zaman fonksiyonlarını içermesine rağmen, bilgisayar ile iş ortamının ev ortamına nüfuz etmesi bu tartışmaların ana temasını oluşturur. Bilgisayarın evde çalışma ile ilişkisi, 1990'ların sonundan başlayarak mimari tasarım ve temsile yansımıştır ve bu durumun örnekleri 2000'ler ve 2010'lar boyunca çoğalmıştır. Nevzat Sayın'ın prefabrik model evi, kişisel bilgisayarın evsel mimaride ilk mekânsal yankılarının ender bir örneğidir. Bu örnekte bilgisayar, oturma ve yemek konfigürasyonuna üçüncü köşe olarak eklemlenen çalışma köşesine yerleştirilmiştir. Bilgisayarın ana çalışma ortamından ayrı olarak biraz yükseltilmiş bir masa üzerindeki konumu ve oturma odasının diğer iki bölümüne doğru yönelimi, işlevini vurgulamak yerine gösterişçi tüketim nesnesi olarak öne çıkarıldığına bir dair ipuçları vermektedir. Bu durumda bilgisayarın, ikonik tüketim göstergelerine ve diğer elektronik ortamlara benzer şekilde evselleştirildiği söylenebilir. Bununla birlikte, 2000'li ve 2010'lu yıllardaki vakalar, bilgisayarın gösterişçi tüketim nesnesi olarak kullanımı yerine işlevini vurgulamıştır. KB Evi, Kemerburgaz'da Bir Ev ve YN Altuniç Villa gibi birçok örnekte bilgisayar oturma odasında bir geçiş alanı olarak oluşturulan çalışma

köşesinde çalışma masasının üstünde yerleştirilmiştir. Y Loft ve Türkmen Evi örneklerinde yaşam ve yemek alanlarının yanında çalışma alanı için üçüncü bir köşe belirlenmiştir. Kaş Villası, Levent Evi, S.A.K Evi gibi projelerde bilgisayar ile donatılmış çalışma alanı yarı özel alan olarak ayrılmaktadır. D Evi, NEF 163, Büyükada'da Bir Ev gibi bilgisayarın yatak odalarında yer aldığı veya minyatür ve mobil medya olarak vurgulandığı durumlar da mevcuttur. Ancak her durumda bilgisayar tek başına mekânın işlevini yaratan veya karakterize eden belirleyici bir faktör olarak kabul edilemez.

Bu bağlamda, gösterişçi tüketim, boş zaman ve eğlence gibi aktiviteler ilk olarak 19. yüzyılda bir mekânsal yenilik olarak ortaya çıkan salon ile özel alana tanıtılmış; 20. yüzyılın başından 1960'lara kadar piyano, şömine ve Amerikan bar gibi mekânsal yeniliklerle özel alan içerisinde gelişme imkânı bulmuş ve 1970'lerden başlayarak elektronik kitle iletişim araçları, özellikle televizyonun yaygınlaşması ile kamusal alan ve evsel alan ayrımını ortadan kaldırıp aşırılaşmıştır. Tüketim ve modernleşmenin mekânsal tezahürleri, özellikle 20. yüzyılın son birkaç on yılında, elektronik medyanın özel alanı işgal etmesi ile giderek artan bir şekilde makine odaklı tezahürlerle yer değiştirmiştir; başka bir deyişle, elektronik medya bir tüketim aracı ve kitle kültürünün simgesi olarak evselleştirilmiştir. Bu anlamda, 19. yüzyılın sonlarından modern döneme kadar Türkiye bağlamında özel alanda tüketim medyalarının mekansallaştırılmasının benzer bir yaklaşımla gerçekleştiği; yani piyano, şömine ve Amerikan barın, radyo televizyon ve kişisel bilgisayarla benzer bir şekilde evsel alana kabul edilip uyarlandığı söylenebilir. Mekânsallıklarındaki ve yerleşimlerindeki benzerlikler ile bazı örneklerde birbirleri yerine kullanımları ve çoklu kombinasyonları, ikonik tüketim göstergeleri ile elektronik medya arasındaki benzeşme ve süreklilik argümanını desteklemektedir. Hem ikonik tüketim göstergeleri hem de elektronik medya, evin en kamusal alanı olan oturma ve yemek alanına eklemlenerek evselleştirilmiştir. İkonik tüketim göstergelerinden farklı olarak, elektronik medya, kamusal alanlardan özel alanlara doğru kabul edilme eğilimindedir. İkonik tüketim göstergeleri sembolik gösterişçi tüketimin simgeleri olarak evin en kamusal bölümü olan yaşam alanındaki yerlerini korurken, elektronik medya hem yaşam alanına hem de günlük özel aktivitelere entegre edilmiştir. Kamusal mesajların

aktarıcısı olarak çok yönlülüğü ve sadece sembolik gösterişçi tüketim nesnesi olmanın ötesine geçen çift kodlu özelliği ile elektronik medya özel alanda önemli bir yer edinmiştir. Radyo, televizyon ve bilgisayar, modernlik, sosyal statü ve tüketici alışkanlıklarının bir göstergesinden fazlasını sunarak; dış dünyayla direkt bir bağlantıyı mümkün kılmış ve hem maddi hem de kültürel ürünlerin tüketimine aracılık etmiştir. Kişisel bilgisayar örneğinde ise, çalışma ortamı ve üretim evsel alana girmiştir. Bu gibi özelliklerle elektronik medya evde ve gündelik yaşamda hayati bir öneme sahip olmuştur. Dolayısıyla medyanın, özellikle televizyonun ve kişisel bilgisayarın dönüştürücü etkisinin 1980'den sonra mekânsal pratikte ve mekân temsillerinde kendini göstermesi kaçınılmaz bir hale gelmiştir.

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