WHAT A KITCHEN CAN BE:

A FOOD-CENTRIC APPROACH

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

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ABSTRACT

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Alternative approaches for studying and designing the domestic kitchen need to be considered so that the space can reach its further potential. 'Food-centric approach' is one of the alternative ways that could be adopted which disrupts the centrality of the consumer. Food-centric approach aims to build a healthier relationship between human, food, cooking, culture, nature, resources, and the kitchen space. With the pursuit of a food-centric discourse, kitchen's history, an analysis of the kitchen space, and an investigation of its placeness are presented. Existing problematics of a globalized and standardized domestic kitchen such as the functionalist approach, the consumerist behavior that is often promoted, and the visuality oriented mindset adopted in kitchen design are put forward. Furthermore, how these relate to greater societal matters such as society's alienation from food and self are discussed. The domestic kitchen is where the individual's relationship with food is built; therefore, kitchen design has the capacity to address such problems. The existing architectural literature remains insufficient in delivering an extensive understanding of the kitchen that considers all its elements, specifically food, which is the very subject of the kitchen. A food-centric analysis of the domestic kitchen has the capacity to offer a more comprehensive understanding of the kitchen, including its relation to space and place. Considering alternative approaches would inspire theory, design, and the improvement of overall perceptions and conceptions that are in touch with food, cooking, and the kitchen.

Keywords: Domestic kitchen, food centric design, space, place, genius loci, phenomenology

ÖZET

MUTFAĞI YENİDEN DÜŞÜNMEK:
YİYECEK-MERKEZLİ BİR YAKLAŞIM

Deniz Gürata

Mimarlık, Yüksek Lisans

Tez Danışmanı: Bülent Batuman

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Ev mutfağına yönelik çalışma ve tasarımlarda, mekanın potansiyelinin ortaya çıkarılabilmesi için alternatif yaklaşımlar aranmalıdır. Tüketicinin merkezi konumuna müdahale eden 'yiyecek-merkezli yaklaşım' benimsenebilecek alternatif yollardan biridir. Yiyecek-merkezli yaklaşım, insan, yiyecekler, yemek pişirme, kültür, doğa, kaynaklar ve mutfak alanı arasında daha sağlıklı bir ilişki kurmayı amaçlar. Bu tez yiyecek-merkezli bir söylem ortaya koymak adına, mutfak tarihi, mutfak alanının analizi, ve mutfağın mekansallığına yönelik bir çalışma sunmaktadır. Bu çalışmada, işlevselci yaklaşım, genellikle teşvik edilen tüketimcilik, mutfak tasarımında benimsenen görsellik odaklı bakış açısı gibi küreselleşmiş ve standardize edilmiş bir ev mutfağı algısına yönelik sorunsallar öne sürülmektedir. Ayrıca, bunların, toplumun gıdaya ve kendine yabancılaşması gibi daha büyük toplumsal meselelerle ilişkisi de tartışılmaktadır. Ev mutfağı, bireyin yemekle ilişkisinin kurulduğu yerdir; bu nedenle mutfak tasarımı bu tür sorunlarla mücadele etme kapasitesine sahiptir. Mevcut mimari literatür, mutfağın tüm unsurlarını, özellikle de mutfağın ana konusu olan yiyecekleri ele alan kapsamlı bir mutfak anlayışı sunmakta yetersiz kalmaktadır. Ev mutfağının yiyecek-merkezli analizi, mutfağın alan ve mekanla ilişkisi de dahil olmak üzere, mutfakla ilgili konulara dair daha kapsamlı bir anlayış sunma kapasitesine sahiptir. Alternatif yaklaşımları göz önünde bulundurmak teoriye, tasarıma ve yiyecekler, yemek pişirme ve mutfak ile ilgili genel algı ve kavramların geliştirilmesine ilham verecektir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Ev mutfağı, gıda odaklı tasarım, yer, mekan, genius loci, fenomenoloji

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis is an interdisciplinary investigation on kitchen, linking architecture and food studies. 'Food studies' is an understudied yet growing research field that is becoming more and more important within the academy (Hamada, Wilk, et al. 2015). This study focuses on the domestic kitchen analyzing it with respect to the relationship between food and architecture. The thesis argues that the 21st century approaches towards the domestic kitchen design and use are highly functionalist and consumerist. The thesis proposes a 'food-centric' perspective focusing on the idea that a holistic approach towards the domestic kitchen can be adopted, both in its design and use. The 21st century contemporary kitchen has adopted a globalized design that is standardized, ignoring individual needs and inflexible (Singer, 2016, 110) which drives the users towards unconscious consumption and alienation (Downey 2011). The study suggests that the domestic kitchen is a space with a unique quality and the investigation of this quality will allow a widened perspective towards the subject enriching its design and use. In search of this unique quality and a food-centric understanding of the domestic kitchen the thesis investigates the experience of the domestic kitchen and how it is food-centric, shaping its theoretical readings in a phenomenological frame. It deems the existing discourse on the domestic kitchen to be insufficient with a narrow perspective that prioritizes the user/consumer. The thesis finds that the existing feminist and environmentalist criticisms towards the domestic kitchen inspiring with space to grow. This thesis presents how an overall shift in the conception of the kitchen is necessary and that adopting a food-centric perspective is one of the possibilities to achieve this. It provides theoretical groundwork that aims to inspire further studies that

will eventually cumulate and translate into design. The methodology of this thesis is to do a critical reading of existing historical and theoretical work that are about or can be related to the domestic kitchen, interpreting them in a food-centric manner to compose a piece that is a part of the envisaged food-centric domestic kitchen theory. Its three main chapters are composed as history, space and place, respectively, delivering a detailed investigation of the relationship of food and built environment within the frame of domestic kitchen. The thesis presents that the study of the domestic kitchen is deeply intrinsic with the study of self as well as the society.

A food-centric perspective acknowledges that the main subject of the kitchen is food, suggesting a shift in the conception of the domestic kitchen through this idea. Food is the source of life; food is what makes humans human. Food has a great role within the daily life, culture, history and environment. As food is related to all these subjects adopting a food-centric point of view towards the kitchen means to adopt a holistic perspective that addresses each subject equally. Centering the focus on food does not mean eliminating any other element because all matters of the kitchen are food related. Food-centric perspective suggests a dual centrality, still seeking human's interest yet while doing so it remains respectful towards resources, nature, and culture inviting conscious consumption patterns and a perspective that can go beyond functionalist approaches and visual oriented mindsets. Beyond mechanical functions, it is also interested in the experiences of its users and how these experiences are in touch with all senses and the sense of self. Furthermore, by taking the focus away from humans, food-centric perspective may allow the kitchen to be redefined in a way that can go beyond discriminative matters. A food-centric perspective brings an alternative path for all kitchen-related subjects could steer towards, hoping to inspire a more sustainable and fair relationship with kitchen and food.

1.1 An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Kitchen

The domestic kitchen, where food and architecture meet, is a space deeply immersed within the daily and domestic life. It is used by all, though in different manners. The contemporary clash between convenience foods and real foods (between fast food culture and slow food culture) shows its effects on how the domestic kitchen is used, which is different for each household while the situation in these households may also vary on a daily basis. Each culture has its reflections in the domestic kitchen and the practices of the domestic kitchen reflect back to culture. What is cooked in a kitchen is in relation with the culture of the household and to an extent this affects the use of the kitchen. On the other hand, a globalized food and kitchen culture exists, and the design of the contemporary kitchen is a part of this globalized culture. The standardization of kitchen's design (that generates from globalization) is a reflection of the changes and the current situations in the modes of production and socio-economic structures (Biel 2016; Mark 2011). The globalized 21st century kitchen can be thought of as a concept that allows a framework for this study to structure its discussions within. The kitchen is a wide subject with so much potential for further studies and it is beyond this thesis' capability to touch base with every determinant in the equation. This thesis realizes the fact that kitchen is a complex space that is intrinsic with culture and each kitchen is different from another. What is criticized here is, in fact, the case that the complexity of kitchen space is not acknowledged in design. The contemporary kitchen is moving towards a very standardized design that disregards the cultural baggage the kitchen carries. The concept of kitchen seems over-simplified.

The contemporary kitchen works on several levels. Its standardized design is a reflection of the contemporary rapid modes of production. Instead of encouraging the users towards holistic cooking, the standardized kitchen promotes consumerism

through its commodities, and a functionalist approach through its spatial design (Singer, 2016, 110). Just as contemporary architecture is criticized to be visual oriented disregarding other senses therefore the holistic experience of their users (Aravena 2015; Pallasmaa 1996), the domestic kitchen too suffers from this visual oriented mindset. Its design focuses on functions (storing, preparing, cooking, cleaning) and visual choices (such as the material selection), and these approaches result in rather mechanical kitchens. Of course, the kitchen is a space that must be functional, however the spatial potential cannot be captured with designs that solely focus on the mechanical layer or the visual one. The design of the kitchen is a product of the rapid pace of life, in return it encourages the lifestyle it is born from. The fast-food culture and convenience foods that are products of consumerism (and that also promote consumerism) are also products of the contemporary kitchen that is part of the fast mode of living. Every object and foodstuff within the kitchen are commodities that construct the food habits and identities of their users (which is explained further in the third chapter) (Trubek and Bowen 2008, 23). Commodification of foodstuffs, the functionalist approach towards the domestic kitchen, and the visual oriented design that encourages the consumerist use result in a placeless relationship with foods, detachment from self and overall alienation (as discussed by Marx in four forms (Petrovic 1963, 420-1), alienation from the product, the activity, species being and each other (Downey 2011), which are also further discussed in the third chapter). Looking at these points one can argue that the matters of the domestic kitchen are indeed matters of the individual as well as the society.

The existing literature on domestic kitchen has three main focuses: its history and culture, its design and its criticism. Kitchen related history resources are extensive, while there are resources that focus on history of foods, techniques, utensils and space,

there isn't a source that brings all these elements together investigating how they all evolve as a whole. Especially, throughout the duration of this study I have not come across a source that questions how foods affect space throughout history and vice versa. The literature on the domestic kitchen is specifically limited because it is a private space and the matters of it are confined behind the walls of many (Spain 1992, 235-6). The architectural studies on the domestic kitchen focus on its design standards and technologies (Baden-Powell 2005). The functionalist perception of the kitchen results in a vicious cycle where the focus of domestic kitchen related literature is functionalist, which, in return adds onto the functionalist perception of it to be further adopted.

Food studies belong in both natural sciences and humanities. They are used in many different fields such as anthropology (Hamilakis 2010), archaeology (Işın 2018), sociology (Simmel 1997), as well as being directly related to biology and agricultural studies. *Food Studies Research Network*, is a platform founded in 2011; they hold annual conferences publish books and journals and have created a community where the importance of food studies is acknowledged (Food Studies Research Network 2011). They aim to raise further awareness and are only at the beginning of doing so. They adopt four keywords: "Internationalism, Interdisciplinarity, Inclusiveness, and Interaction" (Food Studies Research Network 2011). *Food Studies Research Network* (2011) seeks "to explore new possibilities for sustainable food production and human nutrition, and associated impacts of food systems on culture". The fact that food and life are inseparable is what gives food studies its interdisciplinary nature. As food is deeply interbedded in social sciences and culture, its studies are also of concern of architectural studies while the most elemental space where food and architecture come together is the domestic kitchen. However, the studies that combine food and

architecture are scarce. The direct relation of food and space is mostly studied under agriculture and in the context of integrating food production spaces into urban life (Cabannes and Marocchino 2018; Biel 2016). In the overall literature of the domestic kitchen there seems to be a communicational gap between its elements: for history between the history of food, tools, and space; and for the overall literature, between history, theory, and practice.

When it comes to food and architecture two of the most influential works (which are few in number) are *Food and Architecture: at the Table* (Martin-McAuliffe 2016) and *Eating Architecture* (Horwitz and Singley 2004). Both are collections of articles of different writers hence providing a versatile point of view on the subject. *Food and Architecture: at the Table* (Martin-McAuliffe 2016) consists of four parts: *Regionalism, Sustainability, Craft,* and *Authenticity.* All are terms that are used both in architecture and culinary. The book takes these keywords as concepts and collects articles accordingly. It focuses on different sites from domestic environment to restaurants and spaces of production to spaces of consumption. It also investigates cultural links between food and architecture, like the chapter by Trubek (2016, 43-59) on sugarhouses of Vermont that are built as a part of maple syrup collecting culture. *Eating Architecture* is composed of conceptual parts as well: *Place Settings, Philosophy in the Kitchen, Table Rules,* and *Embodied Taste,* bringing many names as well as architectural and culinary concepts together (Horwitz and Singley 2004). Topics such as identity, industrialization, colonization, space-place, *genius loci*, locality, domesticity and modernization are addressed. Both books provide immensely valuable content on food and architecture, and as they are collections of different works their focus remains quite wide. This paves the way towards more studies on the

provided subjects but also leaves the reader with a sense of panic with the realization how much further studies are needed in this area.

When one looks at the history of the domestic kitchen one sees that there is a rupture between the modern kitchen and its pre-industrial precedents. This has several reasons; first of all, the change in the main energy sources of the kitchen from wood and coal to gas and electricity has transformed the space into a more comfortable one making it possible to integrate it into the family life. This affected social and domestic life. Secondly, industrialization changed the modes of production, making the processes faster. The mass production caused an increase in consumption changing society's consumption patterns and driving them towards consumerism (Biel 2016, 11-7). This reflected onto both the consumption of food products and kitchen appliances affecting the perception towards both. Thirdly, the fast pace of production industrialization brought reflected onto the pace of life making it more rapid and hectic with each passing decade. This resulted in the functionalist approach towards the kitchen while consumerism and functionalism towards kitchen fostered one another. The drastic changes within the kitchen that resulted in different social and domestic dynamics lead way to criticisms of the kitchen.

The criticisms of the domestic kitchen usually provide the most valuable milestones in its evolution. The two most important criticism discourses on domestic kitchen are feminist literature of the late 20th century and the sustainability criticisms of the 21st century. The feminist criticisms are criticisms of the overall domestic environment of which domestic kitchen is a part of. The criticisms of the kitchen generally focus on the imposed housewife role of the women and how these relate to space. The sustainability criticisms address the contemporary lifestyle criticizing both architecture and food habits. Space and food are addressed together in urban contexts.

Both feminist and sustainability criticisms, while focusing on the domestic kitchen, always highlight the further effects of the matters of the domestic kitchen on society or environment.

Colomina (1992) examines domestic designs of Le Corbusier and Adolf Loos putting forward examples of how these modern structures contain gendered spaces that represent and impose stereotypical female figures. In these representations the inside, the home, the private environment is feminine space while outside, the city, "the realm of production" is male (Rendell, Penner and Borden 2000, 103). In the film *d'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* (Corbusier 1930) woman is confined within the house where as the man arrives from the outside, again highlighting the segregation of male and female spheres. In *Wie Wohnen wir gesund und wirtschaftlich,* (Jahn 1926-1928) an important Bauhaus film series promoting modern living, the woman is shown working within the kitchen, her identity inseparable from her housewife duties and the kitchen is defined as the space of the woman. A further reason why the studies on domestic environment and the domestic kitchen are so scarce can be related with this idea that perceives domestic inside as female environment and the productive outside as the male environment. Gürel and Anthony (2013) argue that the architectural history is not gender or race inclusive and is dominated by the same publications of white-male writers. Even though the gender inclusivity of the domestic kitchen is evolving, its discourses controlled by such mindsets, may have been deemed unnecessary until very recently due to the fact that it was perceived as the space of the woman, i.e. not worthwhile.

The first wave of feminism had struggled towards achieving equal rights for women as men; as well as aiming the decrease of domestic labor for women (Hayden 1982; Brunell and Burkett 2021). The second wave of feminism reached its peaks in

the late 20th century and its focus was the domestic environment and the role attributed to the women (Hayden 1982; Brunell and Burkett 2021). In examples provided by Colomina (1992) or the above-mentioned films one sees that modernity, in contrast to its progressive nature, promoted conventional, stereotypical women figures. The women are defined by their domestic roles and domestic spaces impose this. As Simone de Beauvoir (1956) puts it, the women were the "second sex". The struggle that was the outcome of the cumulation of such cases was defined by Betty Friedan (1963) as 'the problem that has no name' referring to women's loss of identity.

Until the 20th century the kitchen was the workspace of servants (Bech-Danielsen 2012). After modernization it became the workspace of women which was one of the central concerns of second wave feminist criticisms (Hayden 1982; Brunell and Burkett 2021). Early feminist critiques argued that the kitchen-work, along with the rest of the domestic chores, put women into a second-class status while their labor was not economically recognized (Friedan 1963). Even today, the role of the woman in domestic life is a highly debated subject and the mindset that sees woman as a serving commodity is still to be overcome.

Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky had designed the Frankfurt Kitchen to reduce the labor of women as much as possible (although she admitted that she had not spent time in a kitchen herself and to design the kitchen she had to observe many women working in their kitchens) (Fiore 2020). However, it is argued that the standardization of kitchens according to women was one of the elements that imposed kitchen to be the space of the women (Arndt 2015). Spain (1992), traces the effects of spaces on gender segregation, arguing towards spaces that can take on the duty of doing the opposite. This of course, is a dual relationship and changes within the social structure reflect

onto spaces, which are also presented by Hayden (1982). Therefore, how the kitchen evolves indeed has the power to lead domestic roles further.

Brundson (2005) argues that early feminist theories, though immensely important for their time, have devalued kitchen work detaching women from anything that would lead them towards identifying with a housewife. Feminist architects such as Alice Austin and Ruth Adams have suggested removing the kitchen from the domestic environment to free the women from labors of it as early as 1930's (Spain 1992, 236). Stovall, Baker-Sperry and Dallinger (2015, 112) write that contemporary feminist activists who help with all the work within their communities, including cooking, do not associate feminism with cooking. The authors (2015, 111) argue that feminist theory needs to be harmonized with the kitchen.

The long-fought battle of getting women out of the kitchen has indeed resulted in a controversy where the woman struggles with many labels: if she cooks for her family she is labeled a servant in the eyes of the feminists, if she does not cook she is labeled less of a woman in the eyes of the society (Stoval, Baker-Sperry and Dallinger 2015). Moreover men, who now have entered the contemporary kitchen, hold another struggle when helping with the housework that are labeled as feminine, trying to discover a place for themselves within the domestic kitchen. Furthermore, gaining their economic freedom have not freed women from housework, many women struggle due to unbalanced division of house chores which are added to their workload outside the house (Stoval, Baker-Sperry and Dallinger 2015, 116). Instead of banishing the women from the kitchen, the contemporary domestic kitchen needs to be re-defined in a way that includes all genders. Kitchen work is genderless; all humans who eat have a right to and all who are able have a responsibility to cook (Stoval, Baker-Sperry and Dallinger 2015, 125). Such matters affect the perception towards kitchen loading it

with mental baggage that is not actually related to cooking. How the kitchen space transforms can be observed parallel to feminist critiques of it with one main direction that is the shrinking kitchen.

Besides the household work distribution, kitchen is now the battlefield of body image and diet culture (Brownell 1991; Featherstone 2010). Such subjects are the contemporary problems feminism is dealing with (Brundson 2005; Brunell and Burkett 2021). Foods have been commodified by media and consumerist culture while calories have become burdens. The domestic kitchen is either the place where one commits guilty crimes against their body image or where the penance of these crimes are paid (Featherstone 2010). Media's distorted opinions on how one's body should be therefore what one sees and wants to see in the mirror controls how one feels about their meals, therefore what is cooked in their kitchen (Jacobson n.d.; McQuire 2008; Oakes 2019). The diet culture, consumerism and food commodities overshadow, manipulate, and distort human's relationship to food and kitchen (Molloy and Herzberger 1998). This distorted relationship is an outcome of the abovementioned visual-oriented mindset. While it is indeed necessary for feminism to find a way to adopt cooking continuing to focus kitchen's evolution on feminism would be limiting.

The contemporary focus of food and kitchen related discourses is on sustainability and environmentalism. A great portion of these studies and discussions are focused on agriculture, sustainable food systems and urban environment (Biel 2016; Blay-Palmer 2010). It is possible to find sources that discuss the possibility of a more sustainable domestic kitchen (Dewberry and Sherwin 2002) or homes in general (Femenias 2016) as well as sustainable food consumption (Zidianaki 2013). However, discussions of sustainability through design generally remain functionalist offering solutions that do not necessarily oppose consumerism. In fact, Alexandra Nutter Smith

(2010), explaining the concept of 'green consumerism', argues that green products are still commodities, and to reach a sustainable kitchen society needs a deeper shift of perspective. One sees that without changing the mindset that commodifies everything, a real change is not possible; because commodities are what encourage consumerism and alienation. Yet all contradicting views aside it can be collectively deducted that the world has indeed arrived at a point where globalization and industrialization of food have become a crisis, creating sub-crises such as health problems (heart and blood pressure problems, eating disorders, cancer), global warming, increased carbon footprints, pollution, and endangered plants and animals. Furthermore, besides the industrialized and globalized food systems, there are other highly significant food related political problems such as hunger (Biel 2016, 4). The right to live, directly relates to the right to food while there are many communities that cannot exercise these. Food is a political subject and in return food related spaces including the domestic kitchen are also political grounds (Stoval, Baker-Sperry and Dallinger 2015, 118).

Slow Movements aim a more radical change as they directly address the main problem as the fast and consumerist pace of life (Slow Food n.d.; Cittaslow 2016; Cittaslow 2020). Slow City and Slow Food movements work towards a slower way of living with a central aim of enjoying life. Slow City works towards holistic cities where history, culture and life are celebrated and within these, food culture is acknowledged. Slow Food focuses directly on foods opposing fast food culture and promoting real foods. Carlo Petrini (2007, 36), the founder of Slow Food Movement, writes "food is the primary defining factor of human identity" revealing how the movement is not just about food therefore how Slow Food is the most parallel view to the food-centric perspective this thesis manifests. While the Slow Food Movement is a direct criticism

towards contemporary human's relationship with cooking and eating, there again seems to be a lack of resources when it comes to connecting the domestic kitchen architecturally to this movement. However, O'Brien (2004, 19) defends slow architecture in general, writing "patience, craft, sensuality and materiality, specificity, delight and contentment" can sum slow architecture which offers "appreciation and enjoyment of all that is careful, that is textured and that which stimulates the senses". Therefore, through such works a framework for a slow kitchen that brings slow food and slow architecture together can be imagined. (On the other hand, it should also be noted that while on an ideological level Slow Movements are of great value, Slow Cities and Slow Foods have now become brands and the whole movement has a capitalist and consumerist tone to it. Yet this thesis chooses the focus on the positive side, that is the inspirational ideology.)

21st century faces food crisis' because the pace of the world drives households towards readymade foods while globalized consumerist culture harms the ecology therefore the quality of the foods we put into our bodies. Kitchen is a socially and politically transformative site (Di Chiro 1987, 15). The evolution of the domestic kitchen will determine the future of sustainable food systems and it is the most elemental piece in overcoming consumerist ideologies. Consumerism (though it is indeed related with every area of social life) in the context of the food needs to be addressed from many aspects. However, none of the changes towards aiding the contemporary food matters can reach their aim unless the mindset of the consumer changes and for food related matters, how each individual's mindset is shaped goes through the domestic kitchen. This is the reason why awareness should be raised towards domestic kitchen. Furthermore, how domestic kitchen can affect the consumers positively goes through design, therefore the interdisciplinary study of food

and architecture demands many further studies. The search of a holistic domestic kitchen means a search of the better in every food related area.

1.2 Theory and Methodology

This thesis is an interdisciplinary study adopting several theoretical approaches. The history part brings together information from different disciplines (ranging from anthropology to architectural history) to provide a genealogical narrative of the domestic kitchen. The space chapter deploys social and architectural means of spatial analysis investigating the relationship between humans, contemporary kitchen and food. It analyzes the kitchen space by separating it into its elements and discussing how each relate to domestic kitchen's spatial identity. The place chapter builds on phenomenological concepts to build a food-centric approach towards domestic kitchen's placeness. It focuses on the food-centric experience and how this relates to place. This chapter also presents existing examples of designs that can be referred as food-centric such as the *Edible Schoolyard Project* (Singer 2016) and *Under* (Snøhetta 2019), connecting them to the discussed theories.

This thesis is a part of domestic kitchen's theory which needs many further studies. But also, the thesis serves the sustainability theory and its practices that oppose the unconscious consumerist mindset of the contemporary society and the effects of the Anthropocene Epoch (Feral Atlas 2020). Domestic kitchen is the place where food, architecture and society meld into one another. A food-centric investigation of it has the capacity to nourish the kitchen's design, furthermore it has the capacity to reflect the food-centric perspective onto society through design. The current mindset of the society, that is functionalist and consumerist, is a problematic, effects of which reach further than the domestic kitchen affecting the overall experience of the built environment as well as individual's relationship with nature and themselves.

Food and kitchen are the interest of many fields, however, there seems to be a communication problem between these disciplines. This thesis brings together architecture and food, the two core subjects of humanity, and shapes a study that is interdisciplinary. Besides bringing forward an interdisciplinary literature it also presents its own interpretations with discussion points that will inspire further research and theories which will lead the transformation of the kitchen. The thesis investigates what is an integrated, wholesome perspective towards the domestic kitchen is capable of. It seeks how senses interact with the kitchen suggesting that studying this through kitchen is highly fruitful due to kitchen's sensuous nature and eventually it can reflect onto other parts of the built environment. The thesis manifests the benefits of a food-centric kitchen. It aims to deliver a detailed work regarding the domestic kitchen in the hope that it will create a groundwork for further interdisciplinary studies of the domestic kitchen. This thesis sees this study as a part of the bigger picture where each spatial element shapes the perspectives of its users. Therefore, architecture is one of the tools in society's struggle to find balance between development focused living and nature.

1.3 The Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is composed of three main chapters: history, space, place. The second chapter, *Food Follows Fire*, is a brief history of the kitchen starting from the discovery of fire in order to allow the reader a glimpse of the immense accumulation of knowledge the kitchen embodies. It takes fire in its center because tracing fire allows one to trace the spaces designated to cooking while it also is a connection between food, architecture and humans. The chapter delivers how food and architecture start their evolution together and how their paths continue to overlap. The knowledge of kitchen's history creates a base for further discussions to nourish from. The history

chapter starts from the discovery of fire and draws a framework of the evolution of domestic kitchen until the start of modernization. It takes East Mediterranean as its geographic center due to the area's multi-cultural nature that includes cultures of West and East while Anatolia and Mesopotamia, where many agricultural civilizations were born, fall within the boundaries of this area. It needs to be highlighted that this chapter covers large time gaps and forty pages are most certainly not enough to cover a full historic narrative of the kitchen therefore this thesis humbly asks for its readers' forgiveness regarding the lacking pieces. The history chapter was preferred to be structured this way to construct a sense of the weight human's relationship to cooking carries and this was tried to be done in a framework that brings space and food together.

The thesis suggests that there is a paradigm shift between the pre-industrial and modern kitchens. The shift in the main energy sources causes the rupture between the modern kitchen and its predecessors. In reference to this paradigm shift the third chapter provides a detached analysis of the modern kitchen including the modern evolution of the domestic kitchen in this chapter. Then it analyzes the contemporary (21st century) kitchen, human's relationship to it and the role of food; all within the framework of kitchen's spatiality. It suggests that a deeper understanding of the contemporary kitchen is necessary so that it can continue to evolve in a way that would lead the society to be in a better relationship with cooking and food. The chapter suggests that society's understanding of the contemporary domestic kitchen is highly limited bringing forth the problematic of functionalist approach, consumerist behavior and the visual oriented perspectives towards it. Such cases are investigated through a discussion of food commodities and alienation. The chapter proposes that definitions of the kitchen are not able to capture the potential of it or deliver its unique quality. In search of a deeper understanding the thesis continues its analysis by separating the

kitchen into elements (food, humans, facilities, boundaries, actions, and experiences) and explains each. The chapter concludes by stating that while the absence of any of these elements would cause the kitchen's identity to be lacking the element of experience deserves further investigation.

The fourth chapter looks into the element of experience in relation to place theory falling under the context of phenomenology. The chapter provides a layered analysis of placeness of the domestic kitchen, it shapes a food-centric discussion around experience, the key element of phenomenology. It discusses how foods relate to the places of the kitchen, how places affect foods and the role of the experiencer. This chapter inspires from the theories of Heidegger and Norberg-Schulz and a food-centric theory is built on discussions that draw from their theories. The chapter studies concepts and matters such as the role of senses and memory regarding places, how experiences of the kitchen are food-centric affecting its places, and that to dwell is to be, and to build and farm (food and architecture) are at the core of existence. The chapter concludes with a section on the position of the experiencer within the constructed food-centric study. To do so the chapter steers away from phenomenology and looks into LeFebvre's (1991) theory that bodies create spaces and that bodies are spaces in the context of food where the food is discussed as the 'other'. Both the user and the food have their own spaces that tend to collide. The chapter lastly moves onto a discussion of the ego. This way the last section establishes the place of the experiencer in regard to the experiencer's actions, and their perception of self and space through foods. This section urges to shift its focus away from phenomenology briefly, in order to disrupt the centrality of the experiencer, i.e., human. It seeks a position for the human in the kitchen that is equal to the foods which is why it turns to Lefebvre's theory that suggests all living bodies have spaces.

It is important to acknowledge the importance of food in everyday life. For humans, ‘food’ is much more than something they consume for energy. The relationship humans have with food are of ancient bonds. How deep these bonds reach can be seen in many studies. For instance a theory suggests that the reason why humans like crispy foods is because their pre-historic ancestors used to eat bugs (Allen 2018, 20-23). Or similarly, the reason why softer and high-caloric foods are tastier is based on survival instincts that code foods that provide higher caloric intake as better into human’s evolutionary algorithm (Wrangham 2009). Foods control our likes and dislikes, furthermore they control our emotions and decisions. Hadhazy (2010) shows us that our guts have so many neurotransmitters that it is like our second brain: it affects one’s mood, how one acts, it can affect the decisions one makes, and also plays key roles in diseases. The stomach is capable of sending signals to the brain (usually it is the other way around with other body parts). A delicate aspect of foods are that they interact with all five senses, which is not common. Due to this, foods have a strong ability to trigger memory. Every day, we spare our time to eat, think about what to eat, to cook, to talk about food, etc. There are countless structures built just to produce and/or consume food in (restaurants, farms, factories, culinary schools, TV studios for cooking shows) and our food preferences are now giving us titles, identities, such as gourmet, vegan, and foodie. All of these present that how everything humans do are concentric with foods. Therefore, interdisciplinary food studies are bound to reveal far more insight in any subject that they are invited into.

Chapter 2

Food Follows Fire: A History of Food, Architecture and Kitchen

This chapter investigates the relationship of fire with humans, architecture and food. It studies the evolution of the domestic kitchen tracing how fire was used throughout history. Fire is the element that links humans, architecture and food, while all three combined produce the kitchen. Food, in its contemporary human context, started with fire; through cooking humans took a leap in their evolution. Kitchen, a space used for cooking and a room with high significance in the domestic life, also originates back to the discovery of fire. What was once an open fire transformed into the room that is now called the kitchen. Also, the advantages humans had against the wild revolve around fire, both the development of their survival and intellectual skills gained a different orientation with this discovery.

Taking fire as the common ground, one is able to find a link between food and architecture; fire is a step for a change of perspective. This chapter begins its investigation starting from prehistory and looks into the evolution of the domestic kitchen to capture the essential connections between the four elements (food, architecture, humans and fire) until modernization. The next two chapters take contemporary kitchen as their subject. This thesis has been structured to treat the contemporary kitchen separately because one sees that the modern kitchen represents a break in terms of use and perception. Therefore, this chapter provides the necessary knowledge to grasp how food and architecture are connected at their very core and how they shape humanity and are shaped in return. This thesis suggests that the contemporary approach towards domestic kitchen is highly functionalist and consumerist; to overcome this a shift in perspective is required. A more holistic

approach, which this thesis refers to as food-centric, requires an understanding of kitchen's history.

This chapter will show that fire is in the core of kitchen's existence and it was its spatial center until modernity. As humans evolved the fire got trapped inside walls and then in inventions. It transformed continuously and the cooking techniques followed. What humans ate changed as the techniques and kitchens did. Humanity cooked infinite number of meals and created as many recipes along, with a vast knowledge of how to treat food that was eventually backed up with scientific data. Overtime, science, food and industry melded into one another and the domestic kitchen became the playground of all. Before modernization fire was the heart and center of the kitchen which made it the main spatial determinant; however, with modernization fire took on a new form while the new technologies (made possible by gas and electricity) that entered the kitchen created new focal points.

The chapter starts by explaining the important role food has had in human development and how it is something that connects us to nature as well as being a means to know more about ourselves. Meanwhile it invites fire into the discussion as the word 'food' studied under the context of this chapter refers to cooked food. Then architecture steps in to create the duo of nutrition and shelter, the two elements that lie at the core of survival. After introducing these three vital components the chapter accelerates towards a discussion of the kitchen and its history, beginning from prehistory and touching base with important historical milestones concerning fire's use, chronologically. To be able to put the evolution of the kitchen into a context that would highlight its development this chapter takes East Mediterranean region as its geographic center. Anatolia and Mesopotamia where many civilizations have risen and fallen, and where due to the fertile nature of these lands agricultural communities were

born, are within the extent of this geography. East Mediterranean area allows a multi-cultural structure creating a base for culinary abundance.

Before looking at the evolution of the kitchen the issue of class needs to be highlighted. If one was to study the evolution of the kitchen according to only the latest inventions of the time one would find themselves studying the kitchens of the ruling classes. It can be suggested that there was never equality when the subject at hand is kitchen. Those in power (tribal chefs, kings, emperors, sultans, ministers, governments…) have always had wealthier kitchens; partly due to their wealth in comparison to the rest of their society, partly due to foods' symbolism as an indicator of power (Hamilakis 2010). Though such cases offer a rich variety of kitchen related subjects how kitchens differ between classes should not be undermined or otherwise the narrative would be restricted. When one looks at the evolution of the domestic kitchen through the scope of food one would feel the effects of class yet would not be limited by it. Of course, upper classes have always had better access to different ingredients and its luxuries. However, pleasures and nourishments food withhold, though enriched by, are not in direct proportion with wealth. They are also highly conditional to the skills of the cook. Of course, the technologies of the time greatly affect what one can make of the ingredients in hand and they should not be overlooked. What should be done is to be comprehensive, including different kitchens, methods, classes; to set this perspective and examine the clues food reserve about the kitchen, seeing what has been there all along, yet ignored. Below, I will attempt at an analysis that tries to achieve such a balance.

2.1 The Role of Fire

Food is one of the essential elements of survival for any living being. Through eating, living beings are able to take in the energy that is necessary for them to continue

their metabolic activities. Thousands of years ago humans -Homo Habilis- like all the other animals, spent most of their time searching for nutrients, and consuming them which required a lot of chewing time. Nuts, seeds, roots, insects, plants, vegetables and fruits, eggs, and if lucky meat of a hunted animal were the main elements of the Homo Habilis' diet, all consumed raw.

The discovery of fire marked the most drastic milestone of human evolution because fire was the reason why humans were able to develop intellectually. Fire allows the foods to go through chemical changes making them easier to digest and in some cases edible as for some foods the raw version is poisonous and inedible. Through cooking the time spent on chewing and digesting decreased; easier digestion led to shorter intestines which allowed a surplus of energy which was then used by the brain eventually developing into bigger brains. What they ate allowed the Homo Habilis to evolve into Homo Erectus and eventually to Homo Sapiens who in comparison have smaller jaws, bigger brains, shorter intestines and is the only human kind that currently is not extinct (Wrangham 2009). Humans are the only animal kind that cook their food. The intellectual development provided by cooked food has allowed the curious nature of humans to develop and gain a direction which eventually brought subjects such as art and science with it. Hence, it can be said that the history of humans, the history of 'us' begins with cooking. Which is why this chapter takes fire as its guide: how humans use fire defines how they cook, and how they eat defines them.

The necessity for nutrition and shelter have existed since the beginning of life and they have evolved ever since. These two necessities, essential to any living being, have come to take a special importance in human life. Even when humans could securely access sustenance and shelter, they kept improving what they ate and where

they lived; partly for comfort and convenience, partly due to an urge of imagination. Animals create their shelters with survival instincts; some animals are known to be collectors of *things*, which carry ornamental value; however, this draws the limit of space creating among animals. *Design* is never the act; animals create purely on instinct. On the other hand, humans are drawn toward questioning and always searching for the (relative) better. Through repetition of circumstances logic develops and through questioning there is always a quest to reach safer and more pleasurable circumstances.

The act of questioning and designing creates the main contrast between humans and animals; because it usually indicates that while animals continue their survival based on their instincts which allows them to live in harmony with nature while design usually defies nature. Nature has its own flow, but humans have always sought ways to bend and domesticate this flow according to their own preferences. This eventually formed the basis of human's contemporary way of living, detached from nature consuming its sources, ignorant of consequences. It is worth mentioning that understanding humans' relationship to nature and understanding ourselves lies in understanding foods; both how one cooks and consumes them.

The things that humans have created feeding on their intellect is a list one cannot begin or finish; but if one takes architecture as "the art and science of designing and making buildings" (Cambridge Dictionary n.d.) or spaces, as I do, then it is safe to say that architecture falls under this list. Therefore, the most straightforward way of connecting food and architecture is to say without cooking there would be no architecture. Of course, there are much more nuanced and in-depth ways of finding connections between the two, which I will try to tackle in the following pages, but for now let us bare this in mind and start building a food centric perspective from the

ground up while actually embracing how central food is to everything humans do and achieve.

Vitruvius suggests that the discovery of fire is what brought humans together, what allowed them to find one another leading way to communication and collaboration, “Therefore it was the discovery of fire that originally gave rise to the coming together of men, to the deliberate assembly, and to social intercourse” (Vitruvius 1914, 38). Humans, who started living in groups started building together as well. Wrangham (2009) adds further suggestions to this statement, saying that cooking in fact may have formed the basis of traditional male-female domestic roles where woman cooks for the man as she benefits from his protection.

Fire is the source of heat and light and everyone gathered around it; fire created a notion of togetherness back in the primitive times. A fire defines a space (Figures 1 and 2). The heat spreading from the fire creates layers to this space that cannot be seen but felt. It also defines a vertical space with the smoke it releases. This notion of space, a line between humans that control fire and everything else out there, are the first steps towards the notion of shelter, therefore architecture. Two basic elements of survival, nutrition and shelter, have started their evolution hand in hand, with the discovery of fire. As the techniques to use fire develop both cooking and architecture continue their evolution while new areas to use fire are continuously born.

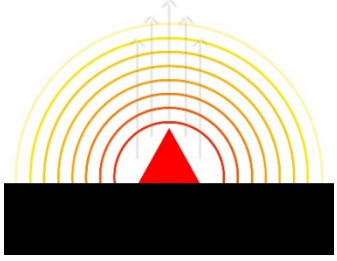

Figure 1 representation of space created around fire, vertical. Deniz Gürata, June 3, 2021.

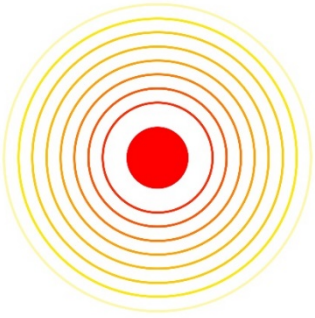

Figure 2 representation of space created around fire, horizontal. Deniz Gürata, June 3, 2021.

Humans have discovered different ways of taming fire which led to its use for many different purposes such as pottery, cooking (roasting, boiling, frying, baking, grilling, steaming…), weaponry (forged iron weapons, gunpowder weapons, fueled weapons…), lighting (torches, gas lamps, candles…), heating (hearth, fireplaces, water heating, heating stove…), clearing land for agriculture, communication (with smoke), hunting and also for rituals and cremating (Kidder 2013). Fire kept its crucial role in human life; it remained to be a source of heat, power and light. Different techniques and tools were invented for lighting fires and methods for taming it (torches, candles, oil lamp, chimney, ovens, engines…). It continued to be a weapon and be used in weapon making, it kept its sacred role in many beliefs and religions, and it continued to be used in tool making. Many of these ways of using fire are still valid; however, fire continued to be the main source for cooking food only until modernity.

When one looks at the history and the relation of architecture, food and fire there are certain milestones in terms of domestication of fire. One can observe how fire transforms from a hearth to a machine in which fire burns, to heat sources of the kitchen that require electricity. Parallel to this, one can observe how the space around the fire transforms from caves and tents to dwellings (houses) and eventually to a room (the kitchen). With the change in both fire and space, how foods are handled, cooked, eaten and perceived changes (Figure 3).

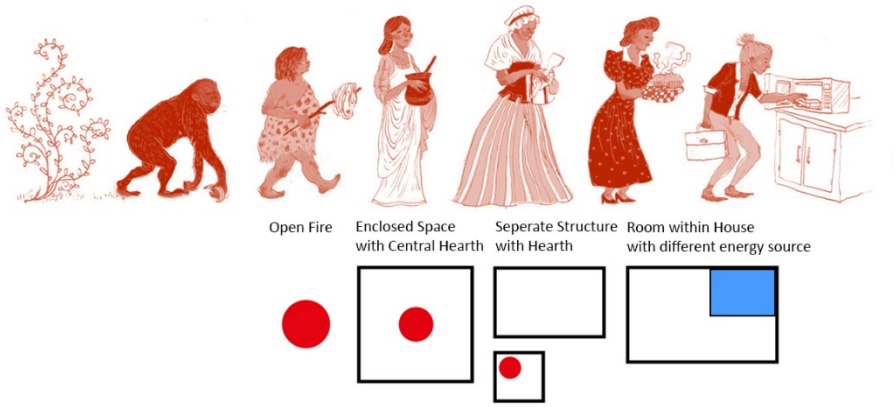

Figure 3 Graphic representation of evolution of the domestic kitchen in relation to fire. Deniz Gürata's interpretation of the image retreived from https://thedivorceinthesociety.wordpress.com/2015 Artist unknown. 03 July 2021

2.2 The Hearth

This section looks into a period where the notion of kitchen did not exist. In prehistoric times open fire was used for all activities such as heating, cooking and protection. I will begin with a discussion on fire and predictions on its importance in prehistoric periods creating a solid base for the relationship between space and fire and steps towards creating the notion of kitchen. However, while this section looks into the prehistoric use of fire, the subject of the hearth cannot be limited by this context because a hearth that hosted all the activities in a house was still a common thing until industrialization. How kitchen came to exist is not a straight path and this is not only in relation with the technological development of societies but also the class structure of these societies.

2.2.1 The Discovery of Fire

There are several theories on how fire was discovered. The common belief is that the first encounters were with fires caused naturally, for instance when a lightning would strike and set a forest on fire. Though one cannot know for sure the mentality of a human so far gone, one can only imagine the feelings seeing fire for the first time

would evoke. Such a scene would have been terrifying non the less, and a powerful image creating feelings of the divine, both a strong fear of the universe and nature, along with curiosity.

To be able to grasp a fraction of this mentality one needs to free their minds of everything they know; the comfort of a society, the prideful knowledge education brings, the warmth of one's own house, the streets lit by lamps. Then they should let themselves be immersed in darkness and the unknown in which one would hear a strong roar coming from the skies as the strong storm tears the earth apart followed by the oddest light that appears for only seconds. Its blinding with colors that belong to the sky, so surely sky must be falling. Yet the sky has done this before only to exist perfectly as it always did. But this time something is different, because on the horizon there is a light in a different color, growing by the second. It is the color of the sun, the light that shines every day that is swallowed behind a hill on and on, only to rise again. But the light seen now is at the wrong direction, and it is the wrong time of the day. When approached it becomes clearer that this light is not rising up to the sky but is spreading on the earth with wild waves. It is as if the light is alive, and hungry. It swallows the trees whole, it speaks through crackling and crashing sounds, it hurts the eyes and the smoke it lets out burdens the breath. The silky darkness of the night is shattered making visible the animals that are fleeing from every direction. It is a fearsome scene, and there is no explanation other than maybe the sun has fallen.

The first instinct for such a human would be to flee as well and pray to the forces of the Earth to keep its rage far away. However, it is also in human nature to be curious and find explanations. So, when the storm overcomes the fire and sun rises back to its place the pre-historic human would go back to the sight of the fire, with caution. It is still warm and though now the warmth is nice, like the sunlight,

everything has lost its color, turned into ashes or shadows of their past selves. The human can smell the bitter odor of destruction however there is a second smell that accompanies it, a smell that has no match. The human looks for its source only to see an animal that has not had a chance to escape, in fact there are several of them, more than she could hunt all her life. But they must surely be destroyed by the touch of the fire; then why is the smell so good? Torn in this dilemma the human approaches one of the animals, cuts across the burnt skin; under it lays a meat so tender. She takes a bite cautiously… and that moment everything changes; the cosmos is shaken to its core, because that moment is the beginning of humanity as we know it, the beginning of the long reign of humankind over the world.

When that human returns to her cave she is haunted by the fire. There are two things she cannot get over: The warmth in that place and the taste of a fire kissed animal. Eventually humans in different places witness several fires realizing the benefits they would attain if they were to control such a source of heat and energy.

It is a highly debated subject when was fire invented and tamed. The estimations differ between 1 500 000 to 500 000 years ago. The findings in Karain Cave indicate that for the case of Anatolia fire was being used in a controlled manner 92 000 to 110 000 years ago; these years fall under the Paleolithic Era (Işın 2018, 18). Fire was first used to scare away the animals or to lead them when hunting and later it was used for cooking.

2.2.2 Controlling Fire (The Paleolithic Era)

The discovery of fire played an important part in humankind's evolution. Wrangham (2009, 11) tells us that in humans' evolution two big leaps can be seen, one 2.5 million years ago and one 1.9 to 1.8 million years ago. He suggests that the first

leap was a result of eating meat and the second was a result of consuming cooked food. The second leap is the change from habilines to Homo Erectus (Wrangham 2009, 89). Humankind first learned to control the fire and then to create it when needed. In ancient times fire was created by friction first using two pieces of twigs then a specific mineral quartz called flint with stones and rocks (Emiroğlu 2001, 119). Nevertheless, the technique to light a fire was something that had to be learned and mastered, and the fire needed tending to be kept under control or to continue to burn; due to this, the existence of fire was something that urged feelings of gratitude. Along with safety it also raised fear depending on the context. When fear and gratitude combined fire came to have a sacred place and it has been central to many different types of rituals throughout history.

Though we cannot know for sure when cooking started we can tell that it was more than three hundred thousand years ago. In the Paleolithic Era, the first basic method of cooking was roasting or in other terms to hold an animal directly on to the fire, skin on. Then techniques were developed such as heating stones and pouring water over them or to fill an animal skin with water and hot stones to create an environment for boiling. Researches show that pots were used for rituals for a time period before they were used as cooking tools; using pots and pans for culinary purposes was an idea that developed later on (Wilson 2013, 25-35).

An open fire has the ability to bring people together, its nature is to be central to the space that hosts it as it radiates its warmth in all directions, i.e. in circles that have the fire in their center. Sitting together around a fire, sharing its warmth and light is the most primitive form of a community. Before the taming of fire, humans, like all animals consumed raw plants, seeds, bugs and sometimes meat. They were constantly on the move with two focal points: finding shelter for the night and finding food. Back

then humans were solitary creatures focused on finding nutrients; they did not live in large clusters as too large groups would mean insufficient amount of resources (Wrangham 2009).

An essential aspect of fire that contradicts the pre-fire human is sharing, a fire will burn and spread the same amount of light and heat whether there is one person sitting around it or ten. Collecting wood together to put a fire and keeping it going under the supervision of several is preferable to being on one's own and safer. Likewise, cooking over an open fire carries a similar essence. The chance of catching an animal with teamwork is more likely as groups of men scattered around an area decreases the chance of the animal in subject not being seen or caught. When such luck strikes and an animal is taken back to be cooked this also is a laborious procedure, whichever method is preferred.

Around fires were first societies built and responsibilities created. The fire needed to be protected, even on the move a portion of fire in the form of a smoldering log would be carried (Wrangham 2009, 169) so that the group could be under the protection of fire continuously and upon arrival at a new site there would be a fire right away. There were gender-specific social roles: as men went hunting women stayed behind and gathered; a hunting trip was not always successful, therefore communities were strongly dependent on what women gathered. If the hunt went successfully then there were responsibilities towards handling the carcass that was brought back. At night the group probably slept in shifts as a few needed to stay awake so that the fire would not die or the group would not be attacked. The notion of a kitchen did not exist; only a fire that was central to all activities.

Once humans learned to control and safely limit fire they started making fires inside the caves. This way the interior was warm, well-lit and fire was easier to protect. This was the first step towards making fire and light interior elements. However, cooking food would create extra odors and much mess, therefore it is possible that when fire was brought inside as a tool of light and warmth another fire was used outside for cooking. Also, methods such as using hot water, sand or stones to cook a certain food required elements that belonged to outside. If this were to be true it would mean that controlling the conditions of an inside space led to a need to give cooking a different area. The outside became where the food can be found (like an immensely vast pantry) and would be prepared and cooked. Leaving food related activities outside was the first step towards inventing the kitchen.

Until the Neolithic Period humans remained hunter gatherers. Their diet consisted of hunted animals, seafood, types of birds, insects, and gathered vegetables, nuts, seeds, and fruits. Root vegetables that could survive beneath the frozen ground were specifically important for the human's survival throughout the ice age. Early humans' perception of food and spaces that host food related activities is vague and based on presumptions that take the limited information we have as its base.

The known and assumed techniques for cooking were roasting on fire, spit-roasting, cooking on embers, covering meat with mud before putting it over the fire (primitive stages of cooking in pots, pottery evolved in 6000 B.C.), cooking in pits lined with hot embers or pebbles in which food wrapped in leaves would cook moistly, boiling by adding hot stones into water and the food into a type of container such as pits, shells, animal stomachs, stones (Tannahill 1973, 25-29). Such uses of fire and heat indicate a central formation of space with a singular dominant center. The space can host a large number of users creating a communal food production and

consumption environment. The fire is central to all activities that require heat therefore the space is not distinctively food specific.

2.2.3 Taming Fire, the Earth and the Animals (The Neolithic Era)

In the Neolithic Era humans transitioned to settled life. Until the discoveries in Göbeklitepe archaeologists believed that the reason behind this transition was to start farming. However, Göbeklitepe also shows that humans were building before they settled to farm indicating that inspiration to build permanent structures may have been first urged by feelings of the divine; also, it shows that the communities of 10 000 B.C. were intellectually more developed than studies until now led us to believe (Mann 2011). Based on this, one sees that architecture had started before the transition to settled life. However, the fact that early humans had to settle permanently to a location to farm is not affected by such discoveries. Instead of saying food is the main reason humans settled, one could make this interpretation: there were settlements that were food centric; food lay in the essence of such communities' existences. This may not be valid for a broad range of communities that have lived and be rather case specific; possibilities are still existent broadening with each discovery.

One of the earliest examples where we see the relocation of fire in the interior is Çatalhöyük. Çatalhöyük, a settlement in Konya that is known to be one of the most important examples in terms of collecting knowledge on early settlements. It is the biggest known settlement from the Neolithic Era where there are two sites: Eastern mound was occupied between 7400 to 6200 B.C and the Western mound from 6200 to 5200 B.C (UNESCO n.d.). Çatalhöyük settlements are composed of adjacent settlements that can be entered through their roofs (Figure 4). The structures are made of clay and logs used as pillars.

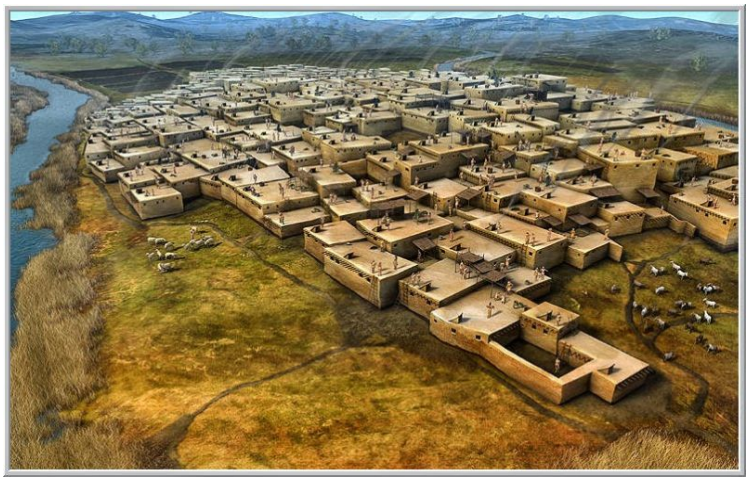

Figure 4 Illustration of Çatalhöyük Settlement (Source: www.arkeofili.com)

Çatalhöyük's importance for our discussion is that it is not only an early example of a communal society, but it also carries deeply rooted domestic structures; inside each settlement there is a hearth and an oven where all fire related activities including cooking were done (Figure 5). Here one sees that the kitchen is not separate but domestic life is strongly practiced and cooking is in its center. The arrangement of the structures allow the domestic and the wild to be sharply separated; there were strict social rules and as the site was built from ground up we know that people who lived there chose to live together (Hastorf 2012).

Figure 5 Drawing of a Çatalhöyük unit, illustration by Kathryn Killackey (Source: www.catalhoyuk.com/tr)

Another reason looking into Çatalhöyük is worthwhile is the extensive studies carried on the diets and food culture of this settlement. Christine Hastorf (2012) suggests that looking into a society's food patterns one can learn great deal of information about the social structure and how the residents of settlements lived, she also states that we should not only make lists of the foods and the utensils used but also map the movements of the food related activities. Hamilakis (2010) contributes to this idea by stating that researchers usually investigate the production of food but there is much more to be learned if we were to also study its consumption.

From the food remains on utensils, pots, pans and storage baskets and by analyzing the skeletons and teeth of humans, archaeologists are able to tell what type of foods the residents of Çatalhöyük produced and consumed, and how steady their diet was. They also know that both production duties and consumption of foods were shared equally between all members of the community (Hastorf 2012). Foods that were found in Çatalhöyük are: wheat, barley, rye, lentils, peas, lathrus, chickpea, vetch, sumac, hackberry, cherry, fig, almond, pistachio, herbs, eggs, meats of sheep, goal, wild cattle, deer, horse, pig, hare, birds, fish, bivalves (Işın 2018; Hastorf 2012). We see that some of the food were from wild sources while others are cultivated.

The interiors of each house are similar. Every house has its own ceramic oven (Figure 6) and hearth as well as separate spaces for storage. The space around the ovens, though used also for other activities, is designated to cooking while hearth or in some cases several hearths are central to all activities. The researchers believe that cooking was done on the rooftops (outside) in the summer and inside during the winter. The area with the oven is rather private yet at a dominating location looking over to the whole house. Hastorff (2012) argues that this shows the importance given to cooking as well as family life. As time passes the oven gets bigger and more central

with added equipment that allow multi-tasking which indicates that cooking and the cook become more important in time. This shift was parallel with evidence showing that individualization became more important in later periods of Çatalhöyük (Hastorf 2012).

Figure 6 Model of the interior of a Çatalhöyük unit, the entrance and the oven, modeled by Grant Cox (Source: www.catalhoyuk.com/tr)

The interpretations of the food habits of Çatalhöyük tell us the stories of its civilization. Food and related inventions are the key elements to learning the basic structure of societies like Çatalhöyük. The data we have on the use of fire relates this knowledge to space. Çatalhöyük is the perfect example to understand how one can connect food and space along with food-centric human activities. The question is whether one could use data on food to learn more about the space itself.

Çatalhöyük is a site of a commune that run on social codes based on regulating farming and family life. Each household had their own fire, cooked their own meals and had a sense of community along with domestic privacy. One sees that the structure of the society reflects directly onto their eating habits and the same rule applies the other way around. As Hastorf (2012, 65) writes “Perhaps more than any other human activity, the act of eating creates the person as well as the community”. Food studies

are already central to ethnographic studies leading way to knowledge on politics, economics, trade, social structures of past societies. Architecture should take its place among this list.

Çatalhöyük is a pinpoint in chronology regarding kitchen's history: In Çatalhöyük we see that the spaces still do not have a sharp separation indicating that the notion of kitchen has not been structured yet. However, separate storages and the fact that there is an oven designated to cooking when there is a separate hearth in the house indicate such an idea is forming and it strikingly appears central to a family life; an aspect that is familiar to the contemporary human. It can be deducted that when it comes to food humans have adopted patterns very early in history and these patterns have been embedded so strongly into the society that their core still remains the same. However, while this core remained the same the spaces and the acts onto which these patterns reflect transformed; the foods that are cooked in these spaces transformed; and the utensils that are used for cooking transformed. Which is why looking at the relationship between humans and space (when the subject is the domestic kitchen at least) can be limiting while looking into the relationship of space and food might be much more rewarding.

The most notable progress of the Neolithic Period is the fact that humans started to farm land and domesticate animals. Many following inventions were inspired by these occupations. To farm in other words meant that humans started to control earth and what comes out of it. Tannahill (1973, 32) names this act as "changing the face of the Earth". In the Neolithic Period humans took their first steps towards domesticating nature, controlling it. Today, a part of architectural inventions are based

on structures that seem to defy nature; this urge to not to bow down to nature but bend it according to human needs started with farming and domesticating animals. As humans sawed the lands and invented new ways to draw water to their sites they learned to use the laws of nature to their own benefit; their technologies developed this way. Harvested products needed to be preserved which led to new techniques and spaces for storing. The whole new dynamic of farming societies developed around producing, storing and consuming food. The discipline of farming created the basis of the social structures societies own today.

In the Neolithic Period sheep, pig, cow, goat were domesticated; they became resources of meat, milk, and fur; use of all three would evolve extensively keeping an utmost important presence in the human life to this day. Domestication of animals brought in a different dynamic in terms of space. Tending to agriculture required a society in solidarity with a certain division of labor. Animals required a similar social dynamic moreover they were new living beings under the responsibility of the humans; they had their own minds and instincts and humans had to learn to cooperate with such behavior forming the spaces accordingly.

An important outcome of farming was that humans started to grow wheat and crops alike; such as barley, oats, millet and rye. They used different methods such as grinding or boiling to turn the shelled kernels into edible dust; this dust was mixed with liquids and consumed. Later humans discovered that this paste can be cooked or baked into a wonderous new food which eventually evolved into bread. Once wheat products entered the table they never left and wheat products played a central role at the tables of many civilizations; the civilizations that do not have wheat central to their cultures such as China and India were the ones that adopted rice instead. Rice and wheat kept many civilizations full while adopting a powerful role in forming the food

culture of their civilizations which is also highly interlinked with their culture's in general.

2.2.4 Mesopotamia & Anatolian Civilizations

In Mesopotamia different types of breads were baked in different ways such as over hot stones, in hot ashes, in ovens, in pits. Grains and bread were given as salary. Risen bread appeared in Egypt where they had a specific type of wheat that came without shells around the kernels and it did not require any heating which made it possible for the wheat to go into reaction with yeast and rise the dough. However, risen bread remained uncommon for many centuries to come and was usually seen at the tables of the rich. Ale was another result of wheat products and fermentation which took its place at the tables of many civilizations.

Bread was accepted to be holy both in Mesopotamia and later in the Anatolian Civilizations of Hittite and Urartu (Işın 2018, 37, 53, 59). In Mesopotamia bread would be baked over hot stones, in ashes, in ovens and firepits (Işın 2018, 37). Researches show that bread continued to be an important food in all Anatolian Civilizations; in Hittite texts up to 180 different pastry and bread types can be detected (Uhri 2003, 58), in Lydia there were bread baking trays in almost every house (Işın 2018, 67). As it was easier and cheaper to feed communities with wheat rather than meat, wheat products became the everyday food of everyone quite quickly.

The known cooking techniques in Hittite civilization are spit roasting, stewing, frying, grilling and oven baking (Işın 2018, 55) showing us that along with the hearth oven were used as well as utensils such as cauldrons. In both Mesopotamian and Hittite houses, one comes across the use of courtyards though how they are structured therefore named varies according to location and climate (Kuban 2013, 17-23). This

(along with Greek and Roman housing structures) created the basis of how dwellings were structured for centuries to come showing their effects on the Ottoman structures (Kuban 2013, 17-23, 45-47). In Ottoman domestic structures there would be a hearth located in these semi open structures allowing the smoke to escape; courtyards were used, among many other activities, for cooking and meal preparation (Kuban 2013, 138). Though the information of spatial use for meal preparation is scarce in early Mesopotamian and Anatolian civilizations one could assume the courtyards were used in a similar way.

It is hard to tell when exactly the kitchen became a separate space; in Ancient Greece the patio was sometimes used in a way that carried the characteristics of a kitchen, in Roman Empire we see examples of separate kitchens at the houses of the wealthy. However, up until the 19th century we continue to see examples of an open hearth being used in houses, specifically in the houses of common people, that continues to serve to heat the house and cook the food. I will end the section 'The Hearth' here, under which I have discussed a rather more primitive version of using fire and gather the later stages to the evolution of the kitchen in the next section. Yet, as one continues to read one should continue to keep in mind that though given in a linear format historic events usually never are linear; even several millennia after kitchen became a separate room the open hearth central to the house was still found in many locations and homes. Today, in a world that is now balanced with globalized modern standards the kitchen is absolutely evolved beyond the hearth; in spite of this if one looks closely the reflections and remains of the open hearth still exist, in street foods, campfires and fireplaces.

2.3 Kitchen, a Room with Fire

The open fire and ovens with a fire burning inside remained to be the main heat sources in kitchens until industrialization brought iron stoves and ovens. Therefore, the cooking techniques remained similar to the earlier ages; however, humans being their innovative and imaginative selves kept creating different recipes trying out new animals and plants. Even though the fire source remained the same utensils kept improving introducing new methods into the recipes and actually with a controlled fire and appropriate pots all cooking methods (roasting, boiling, frying, grilling, steaming, poaching, simmering, braising, stewing) (J. Robuchon 2007, 337) were available. What changed was the use of space around the fire.

The idea of separating spaces that relate to food most probably appeared due to hygiene and comfort related issues. Humans knew that foods would go bad if not properly stored therefore storages were separated from living spaces that were warm due to the hearth even before kitchen was separated. The comfort reasons that I refer to are of course smoke, odor and messes that come naturally to the cooking process. These were preferred to be hidden especially in wealthier households where the owners also had servants to deal with the labors of the kitchen; another positive aspect of separating kitchens for such households was also to eliminate servants from the living spaces. In many cases, kitchens were completely separate structures as kitchens can be quite the fire hazard.

2.3.1 The Portable Kitchen: Ancient Greece

The sources are scarce regarding the spatial formation of kitchens in Ancient Greece. The data in hand is provided mostly by remainders of utensils and foods. We are able to form an idea regarding Ancient Greece's kitchens as well as the

civilization's spatial perception of the kitchen looking at these utensils and what is known about their diets.

In Ancient Greece the main diet consisted of types of porridges, bread, fruits, vegetables, fish, eggs, honey, cheese, olives and herbs. Bread was baked at home and also at large bakeries that we do not have much knowledge on (Sparkes 1962, 123). The fire burning ovens were made of clay and their contents were handled with sticks. There exist portable types of ovens (Figure 7); Sparkes (1962, 127) writes "Mobility is a marked characteristic of Greek cooking equipment". Another method of cooking was to use lit coals and a dome shaped cover (Figure 8) to heat the floor and use the heated floor to bake. Meat was consumed rarely, it was a food rather specific to religious sacrifices (Sparkes 1962, 123). When eaten, meat was put on skewers and roasted. Ancient Greece had a simple diet and neither the poor nor the wealthy were enraptured by gluttony. An occasional event where the food overflowed was the *symposion* where the guests would be served luxurious foods and drinks however the meal part was done quickly and the rest of the event was devoted to talking and drinking.

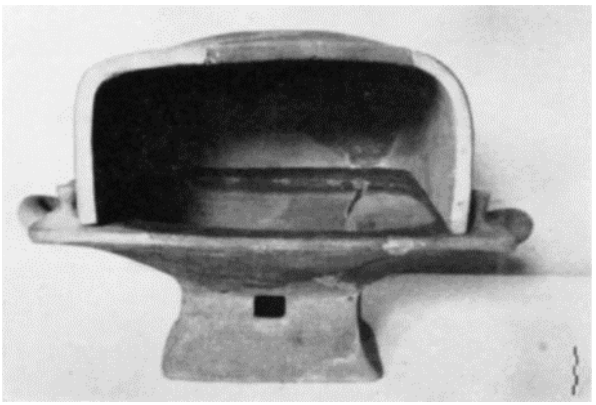

Figure 7 Oven and brazier from Ancient Greece, (Sparkes 1962, Plate V)

Figure 8 Baking covers from Ancient Greece, (Sparkes 1962, Plate IV)

Tannahill (1973, 80) describes Greece as an outdoor society where meals of the day were quite simple and were eaten outside. The Vari House and the Dema House near Athens and in dwellings found in Olynthos there are traces of fires that once burned there but an evidence that shows a fixed hearth or a fixed kitchen cannot be found (Foxhall 2007, 235-6). Sparkes (1962, 129) suggests that for the Greek home the idea of 'kitchen' was related to function rather than location. Hence one sees that Ancient Greece freed the food from the hearth; though their food related activities were not constantly done in their homes they also were not restricted by one specific fire that hosted all activities. Foxhall (2007) suggests that the hearths might have been communal, burning in agoras, sanctuaries and at feasts and were seen less in the domestic life. Roasting a whole animal was a communal activity where a fire that hosted many, both with its light and the animal roasting on it, burned outside the domestic environment. The portable utensils, ovens, grills (Figure 9) and braziers (Figure 10) were food specific equipment and the fires that burned in these ovens were lit only for cooking. Every time such a fire was lit the space around it became a temporary kitchen. One last note should be that cooking in Ancient Greece was a daily mandatory activity that came as a burden and seen as a laborious process as in the hot climate small amounts of food could be handled at a time (Foxhall 2007, 240).

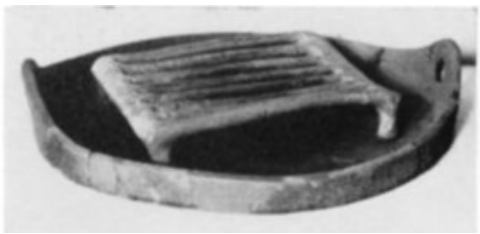

Figure 10 Grill and frying-pan from Ancient Greece (Sparkes 1962, Plate V)

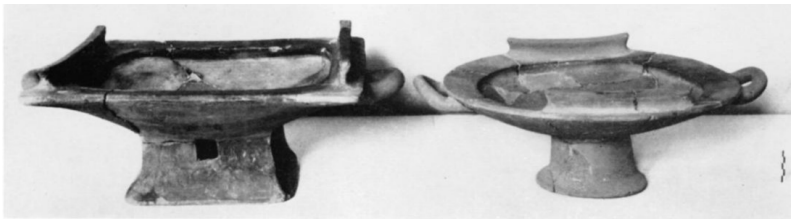

Figure 9 Braziers from Ancient Greece, (Sparkes 1962, Plate V)

Through the example set forth by ancient Greece one once again sees how foods of a specific civilization can reveal knowledge on their daily rituals and combined with interpretations on fire can transform into a narrative on food's relation to space. Historically this is a common practice though foods usually are not given in a direct relation to space. In later chapters I will use the technique, that is derived from this chapter, of understanding kitchen through foods to investigate the contemporary perception of the kitchen.

To sum up Ancient Greece contributes to the evolutionary line of the kitchen in three ways: Firstly, the portable equipment allow the cooking to be separated from the hearth contributing to a perception of a separate space to cook. Secondly, cooking and eating become a rather individualized activity. Lastly, cooking related activities were not only separated from the hearth but also took place in different locations bringing a new dynamic to the cooking process. The practices of Ancient Greece can be considered as a transitory stage where one sees examples of communal cooking to domestic or individual cooking with different spaces hosting these activities.

2.3.2. The Hidden Kitchen: Ancient Rome & Roman Empire

Ancient Rome's food culture reflected greatly from Ancient Greece and all places that were conquered. Işın (2018, 126) indicates that Ancient Rome's kitchen was the ancestor of the European cuisine. Glory and extravaganza are what comes to mind when one mentions Ancient Rome, and its foods. Roman Empire's food and kitchen culture (including the Byzantine Period) is a continuation of Ancient Rome showing the same characteristics. Roman Empire reigned in broad borders therefore it cannot be assumed all parts of it had the same level of development. This period covers a broad range in time; the focus of this period is not on different uses of fire but experimenting with new ingredients and creating recipes.

Grains and grain pastes, bread, salted fish, cheese, olives, vegetables and fruits were a part of the common diet while the wealthier dined at tables filled with luxurious and exotic meals covered in spices and heavy sauces (Işın 2018, 126, 129) (though sauces may also have been used commonly in all parts of the society). Various types of meat were consumed among which are veal, game meats, seafood and snails. Meat was consumed by the upper classes and kept its place of being ceremonial for the rest of the community due to its price. There were many types of breads, from savory to sweet, from cooked in ashes to baked in ovens; loaves, rolls, croissants, cakes cookies; flat, raised, soft, crisp… Millers had also become bakers and types of breads could be bought at bakeries.

Meals were cooked over braziers, fried or baked in ovens. However, cooking was avoided as much as possible by the poor due to lack of fuel and fire hazard (Tannahill 1973, 93). Roman Period perhaps is when the deep contrast between the foods eaten by the wealthy and the common reached one of its peaks. Repercussions of the Roman cuisine lasted at least for 1500 years reflecting onto Medieval European Cuisine and the Ottoman Cuisine, onto the tables of the royals. The imagination put into the creation of dishes and curiosity regarding new taste combinations were also having a peak especially with condiments of trade available.

Roman houses usually had a *peristyle* plan (Figure 11), a space organization common in Greek domestic architecture that included a courtyard surrounded with columns and corridors becoming the main circulation system. The houses were divided into private and public areas, the private areas are where activities such as bathing and sleeping took place and during the day these were the areas the women, children, servants and the slaves would be. The public part of the house was where all the wealth of the homeowner would be presented and the guests would be hosted. Of course, there

were different house types, wealth played an important role and its impact onto domestic architecture reflected in size and luxurious decorations (Dupont 1993, 90-102; Ilgın 2008, 31-46).

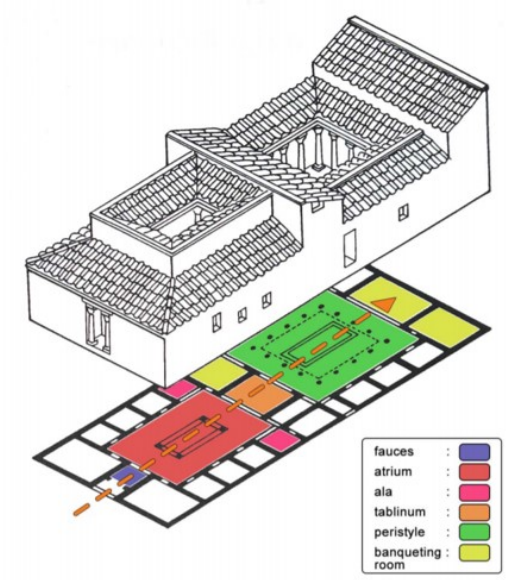

Figure 11 Typical Roman Atrium House with a Peristyle (Ilgın 2008, 6)

The kitchen was a small room in the Roman houses located in the private part of the house, usually next to the bathrooms so that they would share the heat of the kitchen. In the kitchen there would be a sink and a fireplace (Figure 12) that may also contain a built-in oven which, besides cooking, would also be used for heating water for the bathroom. The fireplace had an opening on the wall so that smoke could escape. Roman houses had gardens; in some of these vegetables and herbs were grown along with flowers while in some houses garden was dedicated to only plants and flowers and the house owner would have a separate and bigger garden for the food supplies to be grown (Dalby and Grainger 1996, 13-9; Dupont 1993, 90-102; Ilgın 2008, 31-46).

Figure 12 Illustration of Ancient Roman kitchen showing the fire place (Source: http://apuntes.santanderlasalle.es/)

On the contrary to the uninspired ways of the kitchen's spatial design, the dining room, along with the atrium, was the most luxuriously decorated room in the house. In some cases there were two dining rooms; it could be situated in both sides of the house. The dining room was where the guests were hosted and entertained. Men would eat laying down on couches whereas women and children would sit. In later periods dining tables were adopted. The house had a separate hearth that was considered sacred where offerings would be made. The hearth had symbolic meanings, kept misfortune away, cleansed the house; the hearth always needed to be kept burning (Dalby and Grainger 1996, 13-9; Dupont 1993, 90-102; Ilgın 2008, 31-46).

In the Roman Period the kitchen becomes a defined room. It is separated from the rest of the house and has its own fire; cooking is separated from the house's hearth completely. We see an increase in importance given to dining and discovering new tastes and in a way the presence of food in the daily life increases; it becomes an intriguing subject. However, as the presentation of the food and its consumption gain importance and presence, the laborious parts including cooking are hidden away at a

far end of the house. Cooking is isolated from men as the production and consumption of food are from one another.

This separation continued to be the case for many centuries to come. Domestic structures belonging to the wealthy and the royal had kitchens of different sizes run by servants and slaves (Dalby and Grainger 1996, 13-9). The household, especially the women would take role in decisions related to cooking but would not be a part of the kitchen hassle. Meanwhile, the houses of the common people continued to have a hearth that took on the job of cooking. There were corners and sometimes rooms of the house that hosted different duties of the kitchen; sometimes a counter in the corner for meal preparations, sometimes an oven that is separate from the hearth, if the conditions, allow a sink. The room that was most consistently kept separate in all cases was storage and storing supplements required different conditions of the living areas (Dupont 1993).

In the Roman Period, as kitchen formed three different conceptions relating to it also took shape highly in relation with wealth and classes: For upper classes, kitchen was a room that hosted activities that needed to be kept hidden from the eye, even their own unless they wanted to visit the kitchen. Kitchen was a room for food preparation, meaning it hosted laborious activities which need be done by servants. However, kitchen was also a place of wonders; a place from where splendid feasts could pour out. With the right recipes the guests can be impressed and with each new ingredient new pleasures can be attained. The second notion of the kitchen belonged to the servants and slaves who worked in the kitchens of the royal and the wealthy. For some it was an extremely hot and smoked room where the worst chores of the house took place while for some cooking was a profession; in some kitchens there would even be cooks that were brought in for their skills which means the hierarchy the restaurant

kitchens withhold today had already started to form (Dupont 1993, 269-80). Either way kitchen was a place of hard work and discipline. The third conception belongs to the common people who do not have a kitchen but are accustomed to the idea of it through tales of the kitchens of the royals and through acquaintances who work in such kitchens. In these homes the above-mentioned corners of the house carry an essence belonging to the kitchen. For these houses cooking is a must activity with a poor selection of ingredients, it is a place of survival rather than pleasure, but it also is a warm place with warm food relating the kitchen to an idea of safety. Starting with Roman Period hearth is always a symbol of the family; in houses where kitchen exists as an idea but is not separated from the rest of the house this symbolic meaning merges with the kitchen.

Of course, culture and location had an impact on the formation of the house and kitchen related objects that came with it. For instance, in houses in the Mediterranean a large fire was hard to maintain both due to weather conditions and fuel scarcity which led to simple stoves that worked with charcoal to be developed, accompanied by a cooking culture with pans. In Nordic regions a hearth always burned and on it always a cauldron boiled (Tannahill 1973). Central Asian Turks were nomads changing their locations seasonally. They would set up tents and all their equipment would be portable. They had hearths that burned in the center of the tents (Emiroğlu 2001, 119). Due to their travelling culture they were accustomed to preserved foods like dried meat. In Eastern Anatolia communities had tandoors that were used collectively while the houses had simple stoves. In the Black Sea region the homes had both stone ovens and hearths over which a cauldron would boil (Emiroğlu 2001, 119).

2.3.3 The Hybrid Kitchen: Medieval Anatolia

After their victory over Byzantine, Seljuks started migrating to West conquering a large portion of Anatolia. The Seljuk cuisine was affected from Central Asian, Iranian, Arabic and Byzantine cuisines (Işın 2018, 194). The migration of Turkomans to Anatolia brought with it a nomadic culture showing its effects on both architecture and cuisine (Kuban 2013, Işın 2018, 194-5). One sees that the Medieval Anatolia is when the cuisines of all these cultures became hybridized. For instance, it can be observed that the word 'kebab' is still used in countries where the Great Seljuk Empire reached. Caravanserais of Seljuk culture had a great impact on the formation of this hybridized food culture as these were inns on trade routes where passer-byes from different regions would all dine together. The hybridized cultural structure is also visible in Seljuk structures. Medieval Anatolia is given here as a transition stage between primitive kitchens of Roman Period where kitchen was only forming and the Ottoman kitchens where kitchens were run with a military-like discipline and had spatial designs that reflected this discipline.

Animal breeding, just as it was an important part of Turkoman culture, had a significance in Seljuk food culture. In Seljuk cities there were kebab places and sheep markets (Merçil 2000, 67). Agriculture and orcharding was also important; Seljuks had advanced farmers who were able to graft. Seljuks brought rice to Anatolia, the rice recipes were affected from the Arabic culture. The similarities between Seljuk and Byzantine cuisines were strictly separated when it came to religious differences (Işın 2018, 195).

There were different cooking methods along with many different recipes. Kebabs would be cooked either by hanging in a fire pit / tandoor or spit roasted. Stews and soups would be cooked in cauldrons of different sizes over fires. Rice, wheat and

vegetable dishes were cooked in pots and pans over simple stoves. Breads and types of pastries had a variety of cooking techniques such as in tandoors, in ovens, buried in hot ashes, and on hot metal sheets (Işın 2018, 198-202).

In some Seljuk buildings there are kitchen-like structures separate from the main building (Kuban 2013, 47-8). These kitchen-like structures have a fire pit or a tandoor, stove, cupboards, shelves and cooking equipment. There would be a domic roof on top which would not enclose the top fully, creating a semi open cooking house that would let the smoke out. In places where such a structure is not convenient due to weather the structure would be enclosed or a part of the main building and would have a chimney or chimney-like outlet. One also sees that during Medieval Times in locations more to the West (such as England) kitchens were also being built as separate structures due to fire hazard (Wilson 2013, 120) therefore, one sees that the two geographies show parallelism.

A significant change in the quality of space relating to fire was when chimney was invented. In many structures across the history openings to let smoke out can be detected; types of industrial chimneys can be seen in Roman structures. The domestic chimney however, was invented in the 12th century (Encyclopaedia Britannica n.d.). Before the invention of the chimneys rooms where fire burned would be covered in smoke; separating the kitchen allowed this smoke to decrease creating a more enjoyable atmosphere for the ones who did not need to be in the kitchens. With the chimney's invention fire moved to the walls giving up its central role in space configuration.

For the case of kitchens, the chimney or chimney-like walls that lead the smoke resulted in stoves moving closer to the walls; in such cases the spatial formation is no

longer central but nodal still forming according to the fire as it is the most dominating element of the kitchen. Points of movement appear according to the number and place of stoves and tandoors which indicates that there are more centers to the movement in kitchen space. However, in other rooms of houses the position of the furniture continues to follow a central system. Kuban (2013, 197) mentions that this formation is inherited from the tent culture, the former tents of the Turk culture were circular and had the hearth in their center, the rooms of later structures, even though they do not have a fire in their center and the shape is rectangular, follow a similar spatial formation leaving the center empty and walls filled with furniture. In contemporary Turkey this urge to push all the furniture to walls and leave an open space in the middle has not been fully overcome; however, the spatial dynamic of kitchen have always continued to change when the use of fire did. This once again shows the controlling power of fire has over the kitchen; the activities and duties of kitchen revolve around fire.

2.3.4 The Glorious Kitchen: Ottoman Empire

The knowledge we have on Ottoman Empire kitchens and cuisine is extensive, especially regarding the royal kitchen as detailed books and lists were kept of all the purchases of the royal kitchen. Also, several Ottoman structures have been preserved providing concrete facts relating to these structures. The brief information provided under this subsection does not do justice to the extensive literature on the subject. The Ottoman Empire reigned over different and contrasting geographies including many cultures to its cuisine. Each new land conquered added different tastes and recipes. At the height of its power Ottoman Empire's borders reached from Hungary to Egypt. The Ottoman cuisine was built on a base created by the food cultures of Middle Asia, Persia, Arab, Seljuk, Byzantine, and Anatolia (Işın 2018, 211). Under the Ottoman

Empire Muslims and Christians lived together creating a common food culture. Rice became a central element to the cuisine taking a place almost equal to bread specifically at the tables of the wealthy (Yerasimos 2002, 13-4). Ottoman Cuisine also affected and was affected from the Western Cuisines, especially after 16th century and specifically in the 19th century.

The kitchens one comes across can roughly be categorized as royal kitchens, kitchens of the wealthy, kitchens of the common people, and the restaurants and food shops. The possible facilities of the kitchen were very much in relation with wealth and power. Much of the knowledge we now have belong to the royal kitchens as well as the restaurants as these were the places that kept detailed accounts.

The kitchens of the palaces were a separate structure composed of several kitchens built next to one another in a hierarchical way. These kitchens needed to feed a number that might reach up to thousands of people as the food of the whole palace was prepared there. The palace kitchens cannot truly be referred as 'domestic kitchens', however, as they provide us with immense knowledge on the relationship of food and space in this era, they are included in the history chapter. At Topkapı Palace (Figures 13-16) there are 10 kitchens, starting from South the first kitchen is for the meals of the Sultan continuing with the family of the Sultan, his wives, the officials of the palace and so on. The tenth kitchen was called Helvahane and it was where desserts were prepared (Tolunay Sandıkçıoğlu 2016, 54). The larger structure with its 20 overpowering chimneys (Figure 14) usually draws the attention and is mentioned in texts with amazement (Yerasimos 2002, 28; Soyer 2013, 77). These chimneys were structured to be on top of the cauldrons which is an example to the relationship of cooking and spatial design. The cooks in these kitchens had specific jobs, the kitchen was a place of extreme discipline; it had a strict system that might

remind one of military. The kitchens had rooms for the servants who worked there. The knowledge and expertise on the subject was transferred from master to apprentice. An important factor that allowed the Ottoman cuisine to develop so rapidly was that there were cooks that took on specific meals or courses as their specialty and worked solely on these.

Figure 14 A closer look at the chimenys of the Topkapı kitchens, photogrpahed by Jason Goodwin, 2014 (Source: jasongoodwin.info/)

Figure 13 Aerial view of Topkapı Palace with kitchens and thier chimneys visible in the front row (Source: www.gezi-yorum.net/istanbul-topkapi-sarayimuzesi/)

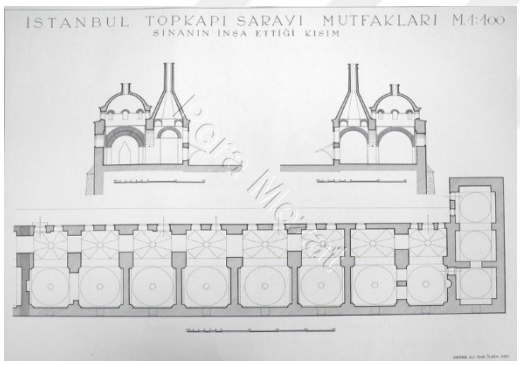

Figure 15 Architectural drawings of Topkapı Palace kitchens, drawn by Ali Saim Ülgen, 1951 (Source: www.peramezat.com Plate 243, Lot no 227)

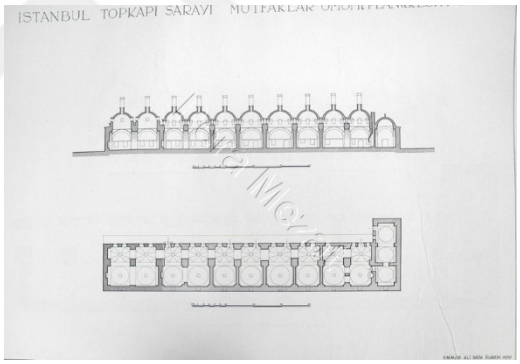

Figure 16 Architectural drawings of Topkapı Palace kitchens, drawn by Ali Saim Ülgen, 1951 (Source: www.peramezat.com Plate 242, Lot no 226)

Gardening kept its importance in the Ottoman Empire, in the gardens of the palace vegetables and fruits were grown to be used in the kitchens of the palace, the excess would be sold. In the Ottoman cuisine, vegetables had a place as important as meat. Many different dishes were cooked in the Ottoman kitchens; soups, stews, kebabs of different kinds, seafood dishes, poultry and meat dishes, dolma, egg dishes, breads and pastries, rice dishes, vegetable dishes, salads, and desserts are only a few main categories. Many different cooking techniques were used such as boiling, frying, stewing, roasting, grilling, broiling, and braising. The royal kitchens would be equipped with pots, pans, cauldrons and ladles of all sizes (Figure 17). Stoves were used in which a fire burned (Figure 18). Breads and pastry were baked in clay or brick ovens, over hot stones, in hot ashes, on hot metal sheets (sac), and in tandoors. A cooking technique that stood out and was acknowledged by the famous cook Alexis Soyer was slow cooking done over hot marbles or stones heated by embers (Işın 2018, 297). All knowledge of cooking and taste had cumulated in the Ottoman cuisine only to be mastered further reaching another peak of food culture and creativity in world history.

Figure 17 Kitchenware of Topkapı Palace kitchens, photographed by Shane Hawke (Source: hawkebackpacking.com)

Figure 18 Gravure of a scene from the Topkapı Palace kitchens (Source: www.mimarizm.com)

Figure 19 Gravures of figures from Ottoman royal kitchens, Jean Baptiste Vanmour, 1714, (Source:www.kuzubudu.com also can be found on Yerasimos 2014, 30)

Another important influence regarding the development of the Ottoman Cuisine was the foods served in mansions where dinner parties were held and households raced one another to come up with the better dishes. The dishes that were liked the most would later be cooked at the royal kitchens. The mansion kitchens had a full crew of their own and with more one on one interaction with the household the inspirational sources and feedback for the kitchen were more dynamic.

The knowledge we have on the kitchens of the common houses of the Ottoman Empire is limited as texts on Ottoman kitchens usually do not refer to these kitchens and the structures were commonly made of wood, perishing easily (Kuban 2013). We know that hospitableness and hosting guests properly had an important part in the daily life which consisted of offering foods and beverages to guests, therefore houses of all types had tasty treats to offer. Households of all kinds, within the bounds of their capabilities, would give importance to their cuisines which was also supported by the fact that many traditions included foods. Yerasimos (2002, 18) writes that in the 16th century only 6% of İstanbul houses had kitchens; the rest had stoves in their courtyards or bought ready meals as these could be more affordable compared to the fuel expenses of a home cooked meal.

The structured and systematic yet lively way of Ottoman kitchens show the importance given to food and an advanced level of perceiving its importance and possibilities. In the royal kitchens there were many fires, stoves and ovens burning at the same time, most of them only for food purposes. The fire and how to use it was established; the space and tasks it hold were organized. Kitchen was a properly defined and separate space with high significance.

2.4 Industrialization of Domestic Kitchen

2.4.1 The Western Developments

The 18th century brought Industrial Revolution and with it came the infamous material: cast-iron. Cast iron meant new opportunities for the kitchen as much as in any other area. Iron cast kitchen stoves that burned coal instead of wood were invented which meant transitioning from open fires to closed systems that can reach up to much higher heat levels. There were many debates on which was better. In the first half of the 19th century cast iron stoves had taken their place in the middle-class domestic kitchens. The Leamington kitchener (Figure 20), an iron roaster that could be turned into an oven by closing its valves that can also provide gallons of boiling water, won the first prize at Britain's Great Exhibtion in 1851 (Wilson 2013, 139). The cast iron stoves rapidly became popular; they had great market value as they used the new and upcoming materials of the Industrial Era (iron and coal) and having an iron stove required to get all the extra accessories that came with it. An advantage of the newly designed stoves was that heat was adjustable, which actually was a feature introduced with Rumford stove in 1795 (Tannahill 1973, 366-7). Being able to control the intensity of the heat meant new recipes with delicate cooking techniques.

Figure 20 "The original Kitchener, invented by William Flavel" (Source: theenglishhome.co.uk)

Coal burning closed systems were less of a fire hazard compared to an open hearth. However, they had their own problems; the iron, for instance, absorbed the heat of its interior and radiate it to the whole room, cleaning the ovens was absolutely time consuming, and the fumes coal let out were poisonous. One could say that the quality of the kitchen, in terms of comfort and safety, was not improved with the arrival of coal burning iron cast stoves. The fact that these stoves were popularly bought despite their disadvantages indicates they were *fashionable.* Having the latest technology in their domestic kitchens was a sign of wealth and class for families; foods cooked in a house were already an indicator of social status but with the Industrial Revolution the appliances the kitchen had become a social statement as well.

The actual leap was taken when gas fueled stoves entered the kitchens. At the beginning of the 19th century Frederick Albert Winston built the first kitchen stove that used gas as its fuel which, however, was not ready for use due to safety reasons (Emiroğlu 2001, 122). In 1814, gas was used in London to illuminate the city (Wilson 2013, 145). There was a period that lasted almost a hundred years between the

invention and the widespread use of gas cooking. In 1880's cooks had started to use gas fueled stoves realizing the ease it brought.

The Victorian Era bourgeois kitchens provide us with in depth knowledge on the post-industrial kitchens, these kitchens are like bridges between the non-electric and electric kitchens. The coal burning iron-range was characteristic to the Victorian kitchens, however in half a decade electric equipment started to be introduced to the same kitchens (Ravetz 1968). These kitchens operated with servants, the meals were well-structured, every object in the kitchen had their designated spots, and the kitchen had a very disciplined order (Beeton 2000). Most of the time gardens accompanied houses with such kitchens and all horticulture that would enter the kitchen would be grown in these gardens (Dodson, Thoday ve McKensie 1987). Hunting was also an important part of the Victorian culture. Dinner parties and the extravagance of the meals served as well as the aesthetics of the table setting were of utmost importance and planning of such things was done by the lady of the house which also shows us that domestic meals and events were labeled as feminine duties, opposition to which had also started in this era (Bhattacharya 2016).

Industrial Revolution also meant a change in the production, distribution and preservation of food. The first revolutions were in the farming department industrializing fertilizers and the sustenance for farm animals as well as the production of utensils (Tannahill 1973, 326) paving the way to mass production. In the 19th century the production of food was mechanized; products that required mass production such as bread or hard candy were produced by machines (Işın 2018, 366). Canned foods were produced first for the military (Emiroğlu 2001, 130-1) and then became available for the use of whole society (Tannahill 1973, 352-7). With developments such as pasteurization and freezing, foods were so well preserved that

they could be shipped anywhere (Tannahill 1973, 352-64). The discovery of additives and preserves was another milestone in food production; however, all of these techniques also caused imbalances in nutrition (Tannahill 1973, 373-86).

The changes that arrived with the Industrial Revolution were steps towards the kitchen becoming a part of the domestic structure. The cast iron stoves, though not easy or healthy to use, visually removed fire from the kitchen. The stove was still the central element in the kitchen and the hot iron still demanded a similar caution in moving around the kitchen however enclosing the fire was the first step towards the rupture that would arrive with gas and electric ovens. Another spatial change was due to the new storage techniques which were in the first phase of moving into the kitchen. Canning technology allowed canned goods to move into the kitchen while cooling technologies had started to remove the need for cool storage rooms that were separate from the warm kitchen. Both of these changes allowed kitchens to start shrinking in size.

2.4.2 The Case of Ottoman Empire & Early Turkish Republic

The 18th century brought the beginning of modernization in the Ottoman Empire; (Kunt, et al. 1988, 59) which accelerated a change and development in the domestic architecture and living (Kunt, et al. 1988, 402-3). In the 19th century the modernization process was at its peaks; the regimen was collapsing and the reform period of 19th century was an attempt to restore it. Buildings that use cast iron had started to be built in Istanbul (Kunt, et al. 1988, 411). Hotels, cafes, shops and other hospitality and entertainment spaces were built in a European style (Kunt, et al. 1988, 411-2). Industrialization showed its effects on the military structures and tools while number of factories continuously increased (Kunt, et al. 1988, 412). Western furniture and table manners were adopted in the court and upper-class homes (Yerasimos 2014,

42). Also, as a part of modernization (which would eventually lead to globalization), European recipes were adopted which reflected onto the restaurants; an example is French pastry and candy shops that opened in Istanbul (Işın 2018, 307, 314-5).

Alexis Soyer (2013), known for his portable Soyer Stove (Figure 21) among other designs (National Army Musuem n.d.), writes about his expeditions in Istanbul where he inspects and improves kitchens of British military hospitals, in 1857. He describes several kitchens: most of them are "full of smoke" with uncontrolled heats that cause everything to boil and burn (Soyer 2013, 106). We learn that wood and coal (of bad quality) are used, there are brick walls around the stoves, and furnaces are on the inside (Soyer 2013, 106-128). On the other hand, he also describes one of the main kitchens as follows "a superb kitchen, built, I believe, by the Turks, and fitted up with twenty copper boilers, set in white marble, holding about fifty gallons each" (Soyer 2013, 108). Nevertheless, all copper boilers and cauldrons he encounters are in bad shape and in need of tinning. It is also mentioned that in the kitchens a primitive form of spit roasting is used (111-2). Soyer uses terms like 'start the fire', 'manage the fire' 'reduce the heat' and mentions to reduce the heat men splashed water onto the fires (Soyer 2013, 129). Soyer also joins festivities held by the governor, where two sheep and two lamb are sacrificed and roasted whole on a grand open fire, spitted (Soyer 2013, 317-8).

Figure 21 "Opening of Soyer's Field Kitchen Before Sebastopol" Soyer 2013, 356. Soyer Stoves can be seen on the right.

Even though kitchens of British military hospitals do not represent the norm, such information allows us to build a framework for the facilities of mid-19th century Ottoman kitchens. Soyer (2013) does not clearly state whether the wood and coal he writes about burns in an iron stove but the general description leads us to believe these stoves are in fact open fires over which a cauldron boils. Işın (2018, 297) also states that during 18th and 19th century even baking in an oven was not the common technique for most dishes and traditional methods that used wood charcoal lit old-fashioned stoves were preferred. The fact that spit roasting over an open fire was preferred for a feast indicates this was the method that was considered special as well as a display of power. One sees that Ottoman kitchen become a hybrid one after modernization. Western recipes were adopted, and new tools were used while traditional forms of cooking were not abandoned.

Looking at the overall picture, one can say that the Industrial Revolution brought the fastest change kitchen had ever seen. Before it, in the center of kitchen was always a bright red and orange fire, though controlled not fully tamed. A tamed fire eventually allowed a better and more comfortable environment in the kitchen

which paved the first steps towards it becoming the nice place one likes to spend time in a leisurely manner as the way many contemporary humans do. Removing labor of tending to an open fire is also a step in removing the kitchens labor etiquette, so is the arrival of the machinery.

The hearth was seen as the symbol of family and a happy home. With the Industrial Revolution anything that resembles a hearth vanished from the kitchen. However, by that point fire and food had already become concentric symbols and even when the hearth disappeared, kitchen, the space of food, continued to carry the same symbol.

The new technologies in the kitchen, in a way, overshadowed the food along with it affecting a certain nuance in the spatial characteristic of the kitchen. For upper classes new recipes and exciting ingredients had become insufficient; the equipment in the kitchen was far more important. Besides the equipment the industrialized systems affected foods directly through canning, freezing and mass production technologies. This chapter has looked into the history of domestic kitchen starting from the discovery of fire and tracing it up until modernization. The modern and contemporary domestic kitchens will be scrutinized in the next two chapters.

Chapter 3

Contemporary Domestic Kitchen: Kitchen as Space

This chapter investigates the contemporary domestic kitchen and its relationship with its users and food. The chapter aims to reach an understanding of the contemporary domestic kitchen and its spatial elements in order to investigate further with a food-centric approach. The chapter starts by continuing the chronological historic narration up to this point providing a brief history of the past century. The chronology is split between different chapters due to the rupture there exists between the kitchens that used fires and the modernized contemporary kitchens that use electricity and gas. This rupture exists both technologically and socially effecting the perception and use of the domestic kitchen. After modern kitchen's history, the contemporary human's relationship to food and the domestic kitchen is discussed followed by an analysis of the definitions of the kitchen. Then the kitchen is separated into elements and each element is explained.

This chapter paves the path towards a criticism of society's current relationship with food and the domestic kitchen, concerning both its use and design. The current approach towards kitchen is highly functionalist and consumerist while the perception that flourishes from this approach is abrasive towards human's relationship with food. It is crucial to preserve and respect this relationship because as it was discussed in the previous chapter this relationship is what made humans human in the first place. Human's relationship to food and related subjects continues to define them; it acts both from within, through the ancient bonds, and from the outside as food related subjects are central to culture and society. And this cyclical relationship humans have with food

is primarily formed in and dictated by the domestic environment and the domestic kitchen.

As this chapter's discussions are in reference to 'kitchen as space' the word space needs to be defined. Space is defined in different ways which can vary according to the field in context. For instance, space can be classified as geographical space, living space and architectural space (Grütter 1987; Parsaeea, Parvaa and Karimib 2015). 'Space' holds multiple meanings while different space concepts can be interlinked with one another. This thesis is interested in living space and architectural space and what lies at their intersection. As the place discussions of the fourth chapter are based mostly on Heideggerian points this thesis also constructs its definition of space inspiring from Heidegger's views. According to Heidegger, space is not something fixed or tangible (Heidegger 1971 a, 55-83). The space is "the context in which people identify places for themselves" (Sharr 2007, 58). Mathematical space defined by x-y-z coordinates, the three dimensions, is the infinite void, however as it omits experience it is hollow (Heidegger 1971 a, 155-6). Heidegger presents that, distances illustrate spaces but cannot truly capture them (Sharr 2007, 59). The concept of space discussed under the context of this thesis is the space where experiences take place, i.e., where places exist (while places are accepted to be experienced spaces, as will be discussed in the following chapter). The space's potential to create places is what allows its existence. The space exists in relation to personal location and objects (Arnheim 1977). In slightly shifted words, space as void is open and abstract. However, it is not the space any human experiences because human perception works in a manner that situates the being in accordance with boundaries and objects; void cannot be perceived. The spaces of places, the spaces that are of this thesis' subject are perceived spaces. Schumacher (2008) writes that architecture "is the art of space-making", discussing

how the notion of space evolved. The notion of space-making is now not limited by the relationship of solids and voids because it is also about creating spaces that are heavy with latent places. The elements of kitchen create the kitchen space; design of the kitchen is directed at spatial elements. However, it should be kept in mind that the concept of space essentially includes place and an understanding of both is necessary to have a true grasp at either.

3.1 Human's Relationship with the Contemporary Domestic Kitchen and Food

3.1.1 Modernization of Domestic Kitchen: First Half of 20th Century

The domestic kitchen's mode of rapid progress that had started with the Industrial Revolution was highly interlinked with the changes in technology. Until the Industrial Revolution the kitchen revolved around an open fire which was domineering to the space due to its hazardous nature. Once the fire was enclosed the movement in the kitchen and its spatial dynamics started to transform. Gas stoves transformed the fire into the tamed blue flames that we now know. The most crucial leap kitchen design took arrived when electricity entered the domestic kitchen.

Electricity brought with it new appliances such as ovens, microwaves, toasters, and electric stoves which did not have a fire burning within them. Once fire and heat became things that could be turned on and off instantly trapped inside machines that mechanized this process, the fire became an object. The shift of the main energy source created a rupture between what kitchen was before and what it was on the way of becoming. The most vital source of this rupture may be convenience, in the sense that kitchen transformed from a laborious space to a leisurely one with electricity which revolutionized its overall use and perception. The kitchen became a space that was used by the family and not servants, it became a space that belonged to the daily life.

Furthermore, electricity brought the refrigerator and the freezer which revolutionized storage and therefore the ingredient and meal options in the markets. When the refrigerator entered the kitchen extra storage rooms lost their necessity and all food preparation related activities became condensed inside the kitchen's boundaries.

Appliances for food preparation were among the other electric based machines that entered the kitchen. Appliances such as mixers and mincers were introduced into the modern domestic kitchen. The new inventions affected the organization of the kitchen becoming a part of its new dynamic. The space could be smaller, it could become affordable so that all houses could have a kitchen, it could be standardized and globalized; just as the ideas put forth by the Frankfurt Kitchen (The Museum of Modern Art 2010). In 1926 Margarette Schütte-Lihotzky designed a low-cost, highly efficient, fitted kitchen that used modern technologies for Ernst May's social housing project in Frankfurt (Kinchin and O'Connor 2011). The Frankfurt Kitchen lay the groundwork for all standardized modern kitchens to come.

After invention of gas stoves, by 1901 one third of British households and by 1939 three quarters had a gas stove (Wilson 2013, 147). After the discovery of electricity (by Edison), R.E. Crompton and J.H. Dowsing invented the first electric stove in 1892 (Emiroğlu 2001, 122). However, due to financial and practical reasons electric stoves were not common until the 1920's. Cities had gas lines that allowed almost all parts of society to have the option of a gas stove.

For the case of Turkey, gas cooking entered the houses with liquefied petroleum gas which became quite common in the 1960's. Gas cooking was cheap and accessible. As cities had gas lines built, the LPG fueled stoves transformed into ones that use natural gas. Electric ovens were also on the rise becoming popular with upper

middle-class families. The houses that did not have an oven took their pastries they wanted baked to the neighborhood's bakery; these bakeries usually had masonry ovens (Emiroğlu 2001, 118-24). Electric stoves on the other hand, though an option, were not the common preference. Even today many contemporary kitchens have electric ovens and microwaves yet they still use gas stoves; restaurants where food is cooked professionally use gas stoves that can produce roaring flames. Eliminating fire completely from the kitchen is an uneasy thought. Even though the modern kitchen does not really allow a deep interaction with fire, humans of the contemporary society are still drawn towards fire (which results in romanticizing the use of it as is the case with campfires for instance).

Though the big cities were following the Western technologies closely, the same technologies would not spread all over the country at an equal pace. There were up to 60 year time gaps between Ankara, the capital of Turkey, getting electric and villages around the country (Emiroğlu 2001, 144-5). Therefore, there are large gaps between the kitchen appliances as well as the culture that developed around it when all cases in Turkey are considered together. On the positive side, this case has prevented the assimilation of some traditional cooking techniques and recipes allowing them to reach the media era to be recorded in rather permanent seeming ways.

The electric and gas kitchens caused the stove to lose its dominant role in space formation splitting the role with all the other machines in the kitchen. The kitchen 'work triangle', a design theory that seeks efficiency of movement (Figure 22), takes three main appliances in the kitchen (the stove, the refrigerator, and the sink) suggesting that there should be no interruptions within this triangle, i.e. the main movement space of the cook (Ranney 1949). The corner points of this triangle provide a nodal system however the nodes are now driven from new additions within the space

such as the refrigerator. One sees that the stove is no longer the center but one of the nodes which puts forward the renewed spatial dynamic of the modern kitchen (Figure 23). Efficiency was one of the main motives of modernization and the *objects* within the kitchen also served this motive.

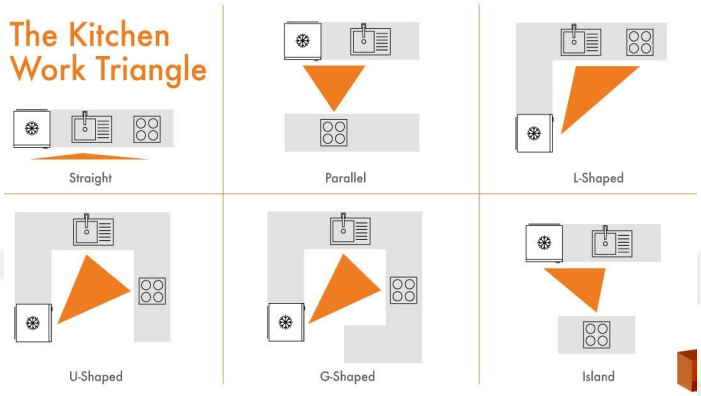

Figure 22 Different examples of the kitchen work triangle, from the blogpost "Kitchen Design: The Kitchen Work Triangle and Improving Your Workspace", Brianne Jones, February 2017 (Source: kbcrate.com)

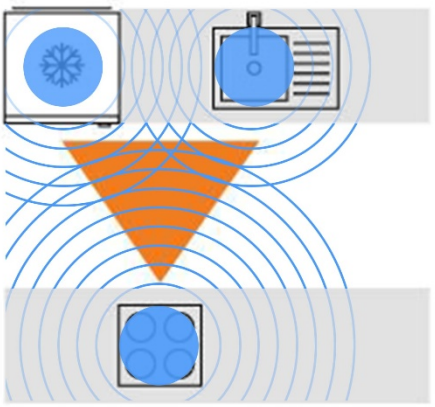

Figure 23: Graphic representation of movement in kitchen with 3 nodes adopted from figure .. , Brianne Jones, February 2017 (Source: kbcrate.com)

Mass production and the increasing variety of products (both in terms of food and appliances) along with kitchen's new spatial dynamics that allowed faster meal preparation and consumption led consumption patterns to transform building up to today's consumerist society. The developing technology steered the focus of the domestic kitchen towards its appliances. In pre-modern kitchens the household was not involved with the kitchen. Kitchen's indication of social status was not related to the appliances but the foods that came out of the kitchen and onto the family's and their guests' tables. When domestic kitchen became a part of the family life, the appliances of the kitchen also became a part of this social status with an ever-increasing importance which created the base of the functionalist approach towards the domestic kitchen.

The kitchen became a focal point of architectural design in the 20th century as before it used to be a space used mainly by servants and employees (Bech-Danielsen 2012, 457). Bech-Danielsen (2012) puts forward a very clear historic structure regarding how this came to be starting with the beginning of the 20th century when the kitchen was completely separate from the rest of the house. This period was followed by modernism bringing the above mentioned changes. Modernism addressed dwellings of the common society as well, who did not have any maids. Modernist kitchens focused on efficiency, fast work, affordability and hygiene. Instead of servants and maids the kitchen was the women/wife's work area (Giard 1998, 151-6) which eventually allowed the kitchen to acquire a more central place in the family life. Especially the addition of a small dining table caused the kitchen to lose its "mono-functional" form, becoming also an intimate social space (Bech-Danielsen 2012, 464).

The domestic kitchen is often referred to as the core of the modern house, the center of domestic living (Charytonowicz 2011). This provides us with an analogy between the fire and the contemporary kitchen in the sense that fire used to be seen as the center of the house. One sees that though fire and kitchen became detached, the hearth transferred its role to the kitchen. Even if it is a warm feeling to think of home as a place that nourishes from the kitchen, this was also an idea that nourished the gender specificness of certain spaces within the house as the idea that it was the women's, the mother's, duty to take care of the house and take on chores, including kitchen work (Massey 1994, 177-83).

Associating woman with home and man with the outside world is a deeply rooted idea that goes as back as pre-history when women were gatherers and men were hunters. In films that promote modernity such as *d'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* (Corbusier 1930) or *Wie Wohnen wir gesund und wirtschaftlich,* (Jahn 1926-1928) it

is possible to detect representations of women in relation to domesticity (Figures 23-26). The woman is presented as a domestic being, or even an object, that belongs within the boundaries of the house. The outside is marked as productive and male, while the inside is domestic and female (Rendell, Penner and Borden 2000, 103). The women is strongly associated with house chores, cooking and overall serving the residents of the house. Colomina (1992) examines domestic designs of Le Corbusier and Adolf Loose highlighting how they create gendered spaces that impose stereotypical figures and examines how they also promote these images through media content (Figures 27 and 28). In *Wie Wohnen wir gesund und wirtschaftlich,* (Jahn 1926-1928) only women are casted for the scenes that take place in a domestic environment. The film promotes the positive aspects of a modern house as it shows a woman doing kitchen work, cleaning the house, doing the laundry and so on (Figures 29 and 30).

Figure 24 Still from L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui, showing a man arriving at Villa Savoye with a car. Source: Colomina 1992, 103.

Figure 23 Still from Wie Wohnen wir gesund und wirtschaftlich. Source: vimeo.com/292714014, 06.50

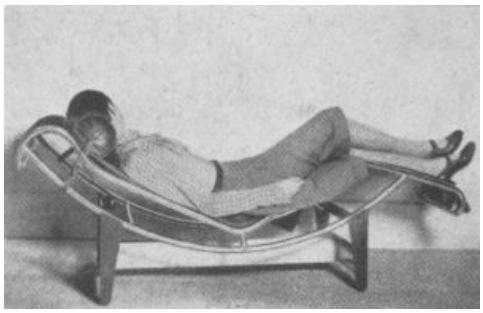

Figure 25 Chaise-longue in horizontal position, Source: Colomina 1992, 106.

Figure 26 Still from Wie Wohnen wir gesund und wirtschaftlich. Source: vimeo.com/292714014, 04.21

Figure 27 Still from Wie Wohnen wir gesund und wirtschaftlich. Source: vimeo.com/292714014, 05.31

Figure 28 Still from L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui, showing a woman in Villa Savoye. Source: Colomina 1992, 103.

Figure 30 Immeuble Clarte, Ginebra, 1930-32. Source: Colomina 1992, 105.

Figure 29 Still from Wie Wohnen wir gesund und wirtschaftlich. Source: vimeo.com/292714014, 01.59

The first half of the 20th century created the image of the housewife, the 'ideal woman', the "second sex" (Beuvoir 1956). In commercials that came out in the mid-20th century all over the Western world (with United States as the dominant founding father of this commercial ideology) one is able to see this concept creeping into the

minds of the society; housewives as the figure shown and as the commercials target audience (but the man of the house as the target buyer). These commercials reinforced the idea that domestic kitchen was a gender specific space (Figures 31-34); woman's role was to cook for her husband and take care of the house as the man earned their living, an idea that has not been fully overcome yet.

Figure 32 Acme Coffee commercial, 1963. Source: businessinsider.com

Figure 31 Kenwood Chef kitchen robot commercial, 1961. Source: businessinsider.com

Figure 34 Cover of 'Los Angeles Times: Home' magazine, December 1941. Source: adsausage.com

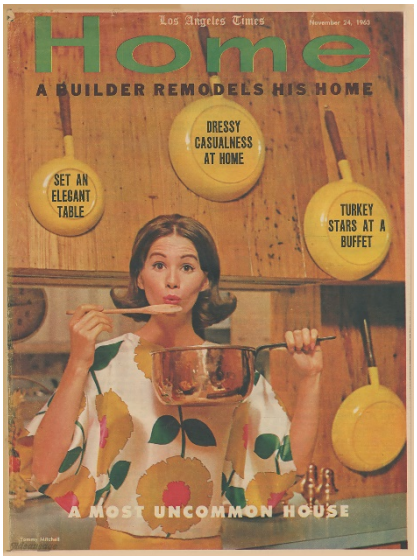

Figure 33 Cover of 'Los Angeles Times: Home' magazine, November 1963. Source: adsausage.com

Betty Friedan (1963) referred to the rising problematic as ‘the problem that has no name’. It was a problem that was common in a vast majority of cases where women were diminished to their domestic roles. Kitchen had become a gendered space. The overall design of the kitchen and its appliances targeted women establishing and encouraging the woman’s stereotypical domestic image. These images were of women who not only took care of the house and its residents but also looked pretty and happy all the time (Figures 35 and 36). The second wave of feminism addressed ‘the problem that has no name’, fighting towards individuality for women; towards their right to exist without a man and the right to be respected despite all differences (towards which a struggle still continues).

Figure 36 Kellog's PEP vitamin commercial, Source: sites.psu.edu

Figure 35 Total cereal commercial, 1970. Source: businessinsider.com

Space affects the way gender is understood and constructed (Massey 1994, 179). Therefore, the domestic kitchen space was one of the great concerns of second wave feminism. Removing kitchen from the domestic environment and turning towards community kitchens were among the most drastic solutions (Spain 1992, 232-8). The second half of the 20th century introduced the open kitchen and kitchen became

visually central to the house. The open kitchen was an indicator of kitchen's changing geography (Figure 37). The aim was to allow the one cooking the meals to also be a part of the living room activities. The open kitchen design seemed as if it were acknowledging the feminist criticisms of the kitchen however it really was a perfunctory solution that did not change the role of the woman. Furthermore, this design resulted in a mindset that saw the open design as an opportunity to show off with the kitchen appliances. This promoted the visual oriented, functionalist and consumerist mindsets the kitchen still suffers from.

Figure 37 Vintage image of an open plan house showing kitchen, dining room and living room, 1966. Source: clickamericana.com

The modern kitchen created a whole new market which focused on making everything easier with machines, and saving time. The kitchen became the medium for fashionable items that should be changed every now and then. The kitchen was one of the main targets of the commercials and its symbolic meaning as the core of the house was transformed into a tool in leading people towards commodity fetishism with a false sense of happiness attached to the kitchen commodities.

The aforementioned rupture between the past kitchens and the modern ones is both due to technology and the new place the domestic kitchen gained in society.

While becoming modernized the domestic kitchen also became globalized and standardized. The technological appliances that shape the kitchen are among products that are imported and exported; this dynamic market indicates that in the kitchens of any upper middle-class society, same (or highly similar) items can be found. From a functionalist perspective it would seem as if these kitchens are all the same; however, what greatly varies is the meals that are cooked in these kitchens. On the other hand, this variety is also in danger of being lost as the food culture becomes more and more globalized.

The case of the kitchen shows us the role of space in constructing social structures. The modern kitchen dictated a more practical space that did not demand a servant. Its inclination set the tone for further improvements of the kitchen that focused on transforming the kitchen to a more practical space. The rupture between the pre-modern and modern kitchens is also the case socially. However, instead of freeing gender roles from their ancient forms the rupture first triggered a different dynamic that still strongly consisted of these roles. The 20th and 21st century kitchens also have a rupture between them based on these social dynamics. The modern kitchen was associated with a housewife while the contemporary kitchen has only managed to liberate gender-specificity from the kitchen (again with a still on-going struggle). The former meant fully equipped kitchens while the latter means kitchens that are adapted to the fast pace of life, i.e. the shrinking kitchen.

3.1.2 Contemporary Domestic Kitchen: Late 20th Century, Present Day and Consumerism

When women started becoming a part of the business sector actively the dynamic of the domestic life changed and the kitchen lost its spotlight leaving its place to takeout menus. At this point both the perception towards kitchen work and gender

roles had started to change which allowed the male to eventually enter the kitchen while cooking became something other than a daily chore (Bech-Danielsen 2012). Today even though stereotypical, gender-specific, and discriminative mindsets exist, one is able to see contrary examples that are increasing rapidly and quite positively. Perhaps the challenge the contemporary kitchen faces is separating gender roles and the idea of *home,* reinventing the kitchens place in domestic life (Stoval, Baker-Sperry and Dallinger 2015).

Indeed, feminist critiques of the kitchen have resulted in the detachment of domestic kitchen from the feminist discourses (Stoval, Baker-Sperry and Dallinger 2015). Stoval, Baker-Sperry and Dallinger (2015) argue from a feminist and environmentalist perspective that feminism needs to address the contemporary circumstances where there is global health and environmental problems due to food issues. 21st century faces food crisis' because the pace of the world drives households towards readymade foods while globalized consumerist culture harms the ecology therefore the quality of the foods we put into our bodies.

This thesis believes in a gender-inclusive kitchen. Furthermore, the food-centric perspective it suggests works towards taking this idea a step further providing an alternative point of view that shifts its focus from humans to foods. It investigates how foods, the main subject of kitchen, affect space and are affected in return and how this can lead theory and design. Focusing on something other than human serves the deconstruction of existing ideologies about the kitchen, allowing a new ground to build up on.

The contemporary kitchen introduces a multiplicity of kitchen's physical focal points (stove, refrigerator, sink) while its social aspect introduces new elements that

have become part of the kitchen's spatiality. The contemporary kitchen is a case with examples of extreme opposites. With the highly developed readymade food and order-in sector some households use their kitchens at a minimum. Some home cooks have developed an interest in cooking that drives them to cook in the most modern ways possible, experimenting. There are households still loyal to conventional structures. There are houses that still don't have any modern equipment. The cases are endless.[1] There are two extreme approaches regarding the domestic kitchen; on one end there is ordering-in and eating ready made foods, associated with fast food culture and on the other there are meals that are home cooked from scratch almost ritualistically which is associated with slow food (Bech-Danielsen 2012, 467). The two opposites are usually practiced in all kitchens that belong to the global modern world where the whole household is trying to keep up with the pace of the world or for the opposite case ordering in can become too costly or unhealthy.

Bech-Danielsen (2012, 466) argues that "Choice of design became a matter of personality and identity"; the contemporary kitchen is a place of "self-realization", a way of personal expression that also "reflects values". The domestic kitchen has been standardized functionally but it is personalized through material, color, furnishing, details and object choices with a significant focus on aesthetics. Looking at the IKEA kitchen gallery (n.d.) (and regarding it as a leading globalized standard with a large

[1] And then there are the kitchens with raw foodist owners, a trend that requires laborious processes to create tasty meals that would provide the necessary caloric intake but none of these acts are 'cooking'. A raw kitchen means a kitchen without a stove, oven or any similar source of heat. From what has been structured in the previous chapter one sees that the heat source has always been the most central element to the kitchen's existence. However, with electric equipment the fire is lost to the kitchen and if raw food were to become the dominant diet it would mean the permanent absence of a heat source (Though such a case is highly unlikely looking at the vast majority who prefer their meals warm and cooked). This leaves us with the question: Could the contemporary kitchen be defined without its heat sources? The fires and how they were used, are the primary indicators detecting kitchens in ancient structures as well as for keeping track of the evolution of the kitchen. Yet, the contemporary uses of kitchen indicate kitchen has moved past singular definitions.

audience) here are some concepts and keywords given regarding the styles of the kitchens: “Modern”, “Traditional”, “Farmhouse”, “Green” and “detoxing”, “Affordable”, “fit for a Chef”, “Stylish”, “Cozy”, “Bright”, “Clean Energy”, “Sustainable”, “Environmentally Conscious” with the phrase “kitchen that truly reflects you” coming up from time to time. Here too one sees that kitchen design is about expressing one’s personality, and making statements, and also the latest trends.

The evolution of the domestic kitchen has taken a long journey changing faster than ever in the last century. After its standardization process it is now on a path towards personalization which is currently functionality and visuality oriented. The contemporary era has brought with it new kitchen typologies. However, these typologies are created through commodities and not the space itself; the creation of kitchen’s ability to serve its users is strongly related with the purchased objects while spatial design seems to be only offering substandard spaces. Schumacher (2008) states that the concept of space itself, the notion of creating “a void that can be filled with activities”, brought along with it functionalism. The contemporary kitchen space validates this point as the main design principle of it is to create voids between the three main functions of the kitchen for optimum articulation. In fact, (if the house is not being designed directly working with the end-user) architectural design of the kitchen tends to be limiting rather than flexible or inspiring (Singer 2016, 110) and behind this problematic lies the functionalist mindset.

Just as we are defining ourselves by the items in our kitchens we are doing the same thing through the foods we eat. In today’s contemporary world cooking is both a daily chore and an optional leisure activity. The globalized world has allowed various recipes and ingredients to travel into the kitchens of many, creating kitchen subcultures that are not defined by where people live but what they eat. Food trends and practices

of various kinds have appeared. By adopting different practices different food identities are created within the society which are exercised through media as statements of self-images (McQuire 2008; Jacobson n.d.; Oakes 2019). Even though kitchen design is going towards a globalized and functionally standardized route, each food identity requires kitchens that can meet their diets and cultural requirements. Currently this is made possible by appliances that are not a part of the kitchen but added on later. All these points indicate a multi-layered commodified relationship with the domestic kitchen.

3.1.2.1 Food as Commodity

Foods have always been used as indicators of power and social status. The capacity of one's kitchen and the variety of their imported goods have been social statements dating at the very least back to Ancient Rome, where kitchen had first taken a form and feasts were of great importance (Tannahill 1973, 85-104). Ingredients for cooking have been among the most imported products since the beginning of trade (Tannahill 1973, 47). Trade in some ways was associated with wealth; also having large food supplies meant one has power in terms of their ability to survive, adding the pleasure humans got from eating to this equation it was only normal for foods to become symbols of power (Hamilakis, 2010).

Marx (2015, 27) defines commodity as follows: "A commodity is, in the first place, an object outside us, a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another" continuing his explanation with definitions of use value and exchange value, both properties of a commodity. What is interesting to consider is that as soon as food became something that can be traded, something that can be bought, it gained a commodity characteristic as food had gained both use value and exchange value (Marx, Commodities and Money 2015, 27). The commodification of foodstuffs was

accelerated by the commercial sector. Commodification of foods and food related items is a key element in the formation of functionalist and consumerist contemporary kitchen. It is also directly related with human's alienation from self, food and kitchen. Supermarkets, readymade foods, various forms of commercials and media, and restaurants were among the elements that caused foods to transform more and more into commodities.

The problematic of consumerist patterns, therefore commodities that induce these patterns, in its core, relates to alienation. Alienation refers to a case where laborers are de-humanized. Marx suggests there are four forms of alienation: alienation from the product, the activity, species being and each other (Marx and Engels 1978; Downey 2011). Downey (2011) investigates the relationship of food and alienation based on these four forms while suggesting that when the subject at hand is food there is a fifth form of alienation that is from the earth.

Alienation from the product of labor describes the case where the laborer's time and energy (a part of them) is invested in the product but the product is taken away along with the part of the laborer invested in the product (Marx and Engels 1978, 72). Also, throughout this process the product is deemed more important than the laborer and the side effects of the labor, whether mental or physical, are overlooked. Alienation from the activity of labor refers to the case where the laborer trades his energy for wages (Marx and Engels 1978, 75). Something internal transforms into an external commodity no longer belonging to the laborer. The third point of alienation, alienation from species being, is caused because the laborer is working for wages in order to stay alive instead of themself, for something positive and nourishing. The laborer cannot see a greater good or something for the benefit of the society or themself. All three types of alienation result in the fourth form, that is alienation from

each other as the above given forms of alienation mean a detachment from self, environment and society.

Downey (2011) states to the fact that alienation from the activity of labor applies to food in two ways. First is the alienation of farmers and producers from their activity while the second is the alienation of society from food production. The second point is highly relevant to the matters of the domestic kitchen. It is a result and inducer of commodification of foodstuffs as well as the very reason of detachment from food and kitchen.

Bowen and Trubek (2008, 23) argue, "… consumers now interact with food primarily at the supermarket, where they engage with thousands of food commodities" within a global system "separating how and where food is produced from where it is consumed." This system indicates a form of alienation. In contemporary markets there are isles and isles of packed food; vegetables and fruits that are categorized, shined and labeled without any clues that indicate these come from the earth. There are cartons of milk, cups of yogurt and packs of cheese all thanks to many cows, sheep or goats that one will never come into contact with. And then there is the meat isle; different parts of hundreds of animals packed according to which cut they are, so detached that it is impossible to detect if any of the parts belong to the same animal; so detached that many would not be able to point out which part of the animal the cut they will be buying belongs to. Bowen and Trubek (2008) explain how contemporary humans have developed a placeless relationship to foods and introduce ideas to overcome this such as locavore movement which encourages society to buy only locally grown products that are raised in a certain radius (Trubek and Bowen 2008, 24). A placeless relationship to foods indicates an alienated relationship with food and acts such as the locavore movement allow a re-attachment (McWilliams 2009).

Downey (2011) also provides the example of ready-made food consumption that leads to health issues such as diabetes as an example of alienation from the product. One sees that the industrialized food systems cause alienation from the product both on the production and consumption end. In the name of continuing the industrialized food system the health of the laborers in factories (who work with chemicals and fumes) and the consumers (who eat the high sodium, high sugar, high additive products) are disregarded. Readymade foods bring the issue of placeless relationships with food to a whole another level. With readymade foods the case of minimum effort meals reoccurs which results in a lack of respect towards the labor both the ingredients and the preparation requires; a readymade meal is something to consume right away without much thought given, a commodity. The ingredients used are nonapparent let alone knowing their sources. Readymade foods are mass produced, placeless, and on consumer's end effortless commodities with a desirable factor of being labor free (again on the consumer's end). This effortlessness has direct reflections on the spatial use of domestic kitchen as well; a from-scratch-meal requires surface and space that allows movement for different phases of meal preparation whereas readymade meals only require a microwave leaving the necessity of a kitchen out of the equation.

A dining option that eliminates the need for a domestic kitchen space is provided by restaurants, which also play a major role in commodification of foodstuffs. Restaurants, along with meals, sell concepts of dining (some in a very direct way while others more subtly); they present desirable spaces and foods. A person's desire to dine in a specific restaurant, to purchase what they offer partially commodifies the food. Restaurants are places where one does not need to put in any effort into the meal they will devour besides choosing from a list. This means that the value and respect given

to the meal eaten is primarily related with its exchange value, which is another aspect that indicates foods purchased in such places are commodities. Also, the form of food-wage exchange within restaurants is a typical form of alienation from product and activity of labor (Marx and Engels 1978, 72-76).

Companies such as McDonald's is where all listed above come together: Fast, placeless, effortless (for the consumer) foods are served. They are associated with happiness, as the 'Happy' Meal of McDonald's directly suggests, and rewards (Happy Meal toys) through the help of commercials (Martinez 2010). They create an illusion of a world where eating a burger can redeem one out of their unhappiness while companies as capitalist as McDonald's make some of the biggest contributions to the systems that result in lives that one may refer to as *unhappy* in the first place (Giard 1998, 212). The whole idea behind fast food chains that bring together globalized, placeless foods associated with other commodities such as toys, is consumerism at its grandest and once one eats in a consumerist manner one loses mindfulness and appreciation regarding food which has greater repercussions because "Eating is always much more than just eating" (Giard 1998, 198).

The mentioned state of unhappiness is actually related to a detachment from sense of self which will further be discussed in the next chapter. Within the bounds of this section the detachment from sense of self can be explained directly with alienation from species being and alienation from each other. In food production the end result of the laborer's work is lost to them; they work to feed the society yet have no tangible knowledge of their impact. While on the consumer end the same thing works in a backwards way where the consumer has no knowledge of the labor behind the product and they have a placeless relationship with the food commodity. Such an ignorant approach results in alienation from species being (Downey 2011). In context of food

systems, as suggested by Downey (2011) these forms of alienation result in alienation from the ground. A smaller number of laborers now work on actual land while rest of the food production laborers work in factories. On consumer's end, the consumers do not have a notion of cultivation processes of their ingredients, furthermore they are distanced from land and how to tend to it. Humans are dependent on earth; however, the industrialized and urbanized society has drawn a barrier between society and land (Foster 2000, 73).

"The purpose of publicity is to make the spectator marginally dissatisfied with his present way of life" writes Berger (1972, 142). Commercial sector which has a sole agenda of creating commodities as objects of desire, has played its part in the food sector as well as the domestic kitchen. Some examples that directly relate to the domestic kitchen are the American commercials of the mid-20th century on new kitchen appliances and how one must have them that targeted housewife's (Figures 38 and 39). These commercials created an idealized image of domestic life; in such commercials the housewife is represented as an object that has to serve the house, the home environment is represented in a way that targets to influence the masses and the marketed object is represented as a need. These commercials were delivering what was fashionable to buy and as Giard (1998, 186) writes "For food, the common custom is reliant on fashion, as is the choice of clothing or ideas in vogue". Cookbooks, kitchen magazines, professional food photography, cooking shows and cooking or eating contests are all in favor of this statement. Overall, the house, the objects within, the wife, and the domestic life are delivered as commodities.

Figure 39 Brown soilfree oven commercial, 1973. Source: businessinsider.com

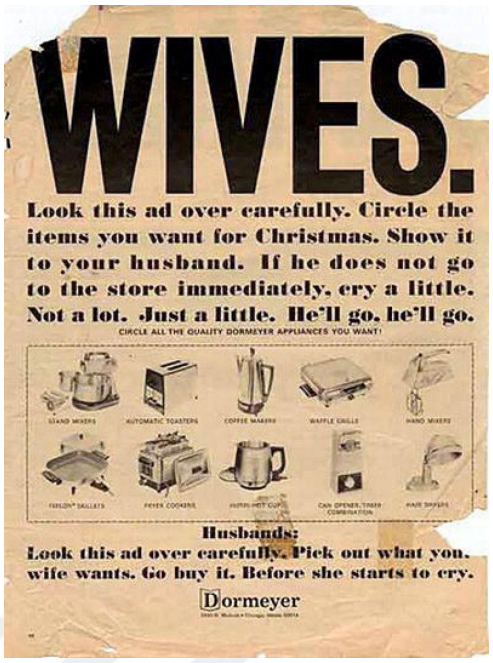

Figure 38 Dormeyer commercial, 1966. Source: businessinsider.com

Any food that appeared on any form of a commercial can be regarded as a commodity. Therefore, when foods are promoted as a part of a movement or labeled by governmental organizations as special products of terroir (Trubek and Bowen 2008), they again become commodities, even when these are positive acts that work for a better future regarding the food sector and environment. This truly is a vicious cycle because for systems to work no matter how local they are they need their products to be desirable, any label or adjective put forth in this regard immediately creates a commodity, and it seems as though contemporary humans have come to a point where they cannot perceive beyond the commodity characteristics of things neither can they hold their identities and motives apart from these commodities.

In today's social media oriented daily life everything can be commodified. Lifestyle posts are strictly oriented in showing images that the viewers would desire to own or be in. The influencers are paid by brands to use their products so that the products would be desirable (the exchange value of these contents have become rather complicated regarding all the algorithms and the number of platforms, companies and

persons involved). Social media turns everything from foods to spaces into commodities with images that capture these as desirable things that could be bought. Still life paintings can be compared to the contemporary case we have; still life painters used foods symbolically but were also fascinated with the idea of capturing these ephemeral substances (Berger 1972, 99; Staniszewski 1995, 88). Just as the 16th - 19th century oil painting collectors saw the paintings they collected as a representation of their accomplishments (Berger 1972, 83-100) the social media walls and profiles are today's representations of such. One also detects nuances of a similar mindset between the collectors of decades earlier who believed the objects in these paintings constituted a portion of their wealth (Berger 1972, 83-100) and the contemporary human who acts as if the content of their posts are tangible proofs of who they are. Individualization and self-expression have fought many battles adding new components to one's ability to create a personal image and today, with the build-up of centuries, food habits have become a part of this individuality.

One desires tastes, smells and textures yet one also desires these images. Eating is something partly visual, the perception of a meal is highly in relation with how it looks and one might find themselves craving a certain thing only by seeing its image. Considering how in Roman Empire foods were decorated in fancy ways (Tannahill 1973, 93-4) one sees how visuality of foods were always given high significance. However, it should be pointed out that such a significance results in contributing to the commodity characteristics of foods. Society is visually oriented which causes architecture (among many other fields) to suffer from this, because in visually driven designs aesthetics may overshadow the actual experience and how structures should address society (Aravena 2015; Pallasmaa 1996). As for the case of commodified foods, many seem to have no complaint against foods with substandard tastes yet high

prices as long as they are photogenic. This suggests a corrupted relationship with the kitchen and foods.

An example of a result of both a society that is visually oriented and where foods are a commodity is body image and health problems such as bulimia, anorexia, and obesity in cases of which foods have different places and purposes beyond the regular (Giard 1998, 192-5). Even when the perception of eating has not transformed into such health issues one can easily observe the visual oriented society focusing on their bodies the same way which causes foods to be seen as calories. This numeric approach to foods that requires strict calculations to have control over, may be considered as a new form of an exchange value where the value is not the cost given but rather taken in. All of the above given issues have caused eating to become something full of controverting ideologies with lots of mental baggage. One sees that the extreme importance given to visuality raises similar discussions in culinary and architectural matters; and mending to these matters in one is bound to affect the other. It should also be highlighted that visual oriented society is among the concerns of feminism where they address matters that relate to body image, self-esteem problems, and discrimination (Brundson 2005; Brunell and Burkett 2021).

Domestic kitchen is the place where all the discussed matters are in act, together. The domestic kitchen is filled with commodities, some are the equipment used and some the ingredients themselves. The kitchen is either the playground of fetishes of food related commodities or, as a result of other extremes such as readymade foods, is a space of ignorance. The domestic kitchen is where both society-bound acts and cooking are together; one's perception of foods and cooking can directly reflect onto space or the use of space. After all, the commodities within a space have the ability to define it; likewise spaces can shape commodities. For the case of the kitchen the

perception of foods shape the perception of the kitchen, it controls how one uses the kitchen and in the process of doing so it defines and redefines the space. Cooking is an expression of one's self while kitchen is a juxtaposition of the perceived commodities, their effect on the person and their translation to foods. This, in relation forms the space and how it is perceived creating an endless cycle. On the other hand, not to cook, ever, not to have the faintest idea on how meals one eats came to be means to be detached from an ancient practice that ties the whole humanity together. Though we may not find a way to de-commodify foods any time soon it would be beneficial to at least understand this relationship and examine the use of kitchen accordingly; it is sure to make expectations from and necessities of a kitchen clearer.

3.2 Analyzing the Contemporary Kitchen as Space

What makes a space into a kitchen? What and where do we call a kitchen or what does the word 'kitchen' recall in its contemporary sense? In the previous chapter this thesis established that locating the fire and how it was used allows one to detect the kitchen or the space that serves as a kitchen. This is the case for kitchens before electricity where fire was a crucially central element that dominated the space. However, this is not the case for the contemporary kitchen where other spatial elements that are definitive to the kitchen space have appeared. In a modern apartment it usually is easy to detect the area designated as the kitchen by detecting the proper outlets for a sink and stove. In apartments that at least have been slightly designed, the essentials of the kitchen are realized by having the necessary gaps for a refrigerator, a stove, a sink and sometimes an oven. The sizes and heights of these gaps differ according to which year the apartment has been built in. Today's apartments have relatively larger refrigerator spaces compared to the ones built a few decades earlier in middle-class kitchens. The oven moves from below the stove to the eye level becoming a built-in

feature, commonly situated above or below the microwave. Dishwasher remains under the counter, commonly close to the sink, sometimes accompanied by a washing machine in smaller apartments. The stove remains on the counter with electric and gas options. These are the most basic appliances that can be found in the contemporary kitchen however if one were to reduce them to the absolute essentials sink, stove and refrigerator (cleaning, cooking and storing) would be the top three. However, reducing the domestic kitchen to the detection of these outlets and existence of these appliances would be degrading to the cultural load kitchen carries, hence is the problem of the functionalist approach.

Meriam-Webster Dictionary's definition of the kitchen is as follows: "a place (such as a room) with cooking facilities" (Merriam-Webster's Dictionary 2020). Cambridge Dictionary writes: "a room where food is prepared and cooked" (Cambridge-Dictionary n.d.). As for Larousse Gastronomique: "A room set aside for the preparation of food" (J. Robuchon 2007). These three definitions lead up to more questions: Does kitchen need to be a room? If a space is dedicated to the preparation of food but no cooking is done in there, is it still a kitchen? Meriam-Webster's definition reduces the kitchen to its facilities but not to a room while the other two take the preparation of food central to their definition however reducing the kitchen to a room. An outdoor barbeque area is not called a kitchen though it carries several of its characteristics; a living room with an open kitchen is not called a kitchen but the area that is designated to food preparation carries the name; in a restaurant, a space that is solely dedicated to food, where the kitchen ends and dining begins is absolutely strict. However it may be defined, one sees and feels that kitchen has a strong territorial quality; it has borders. It also has a unique quality that is driven from the fact that the interest of kitchen space is food. This certain quality (that this thesis will try to capture

in the following pages, especially in the fourth chapter) separates the kitchen space from the rest of the house, it is self-definitive; wherever it may appear a kitchen can be instantly spotted.

3.2.1 The Elements of the Contemporary Kitchen

To be able to define the contemporary kitchen let us split it into its parts, different elements that build domestic kitchen's identity. Food, without discussion, is the first element. Second, the existence of a human is necessary without whom kitchen would not be. However, the role of the human may vary (the cook, the owner, the user, the designer, the host, the guest, the perceiver). I propose to categorize the rest of the elements as follows: Facilities, actions, boundaries, experiences. Foods and humans relate to all these elements in different ways and levels.

3.2.1.1 Facilities

There are six main food-related activities: Preservation, preparation, cooking, serving, cleaning (Abimis n.d.), and though not always limited to the kitchen, eating. Kitchen appliances can be categorized in the same way according to their uses while some may fall in several categories. Every object in a kitchen falls under 'facilities'; from pots and pans to cupboards and counter; from stove, oven, fridge and sink to electric appliances. Generally, appliances "reign" the kitchen and they tend to "transform the interior landscape" of it (Giard 1998, 210-1).

Wilson (2013, 5-8) states that food has always been a part of our lives arguing that the biggest difference in what we eat is created by the tools we use. She gives the example of her typical breakfast, toast, butter, marmalade, coffee, orange juice, saying that this breakfast when just looked at the food could have belonged to any period in the last 350 years but the specific way she makes it could only belong to today.

Therefore, she says that the equipment and techniques used tell us a deeper story. She also states that history of food has always been more important than the tools, yet the history of the tools is also as important because they allow the major changes. She too suggests there is a lack of integration the way kitchen and its history is handled. The kitchen itself is studied, the foods on their own are studied, the tools are studied but we seem to be overlooking the connections between these.

The facilities of a kitchen are visually what first strikes someone who enters the kitchen. They create first impressions such as the financial investment made to the kitchen, the amount of time and energy the owners spend in the kitchen or the decorative taste of the owners. The facilities of a kitchen hold many clues. They also define certain limits in terms of what one can and cannot do in that specific kitchen. Knowing all the facilities of a kitchen to the smallest piece, knowing where they are and how to use them means knowing the kitchen.

How these facilities are placed also usually defines how one moves in that space. The idea put forth with the kitchen work triangle (Ranney 1949) is derived from such a mindset. The kitchen work triangle (Figure 40), the principle that takes the fridge, sink and stove as its main appliances creating a triangular space with these three elements as its corners, suggests that this triangle is the main space the cook moves in and the movement should not be interrupted (Ranney 1949). As Giard (1998, 205) states “Everything in the kitchen was arranged according to a subtle geography of hot and cold, wet and dry, well ventilated and closed up”; kitchen is categorized into its own spaces according to tactile features. As the utilities of the kitchen are physical entities, they play a major part in the design of the kitchen; kitchens are planned according to the locations of the appliances and the assumed movement of the user.

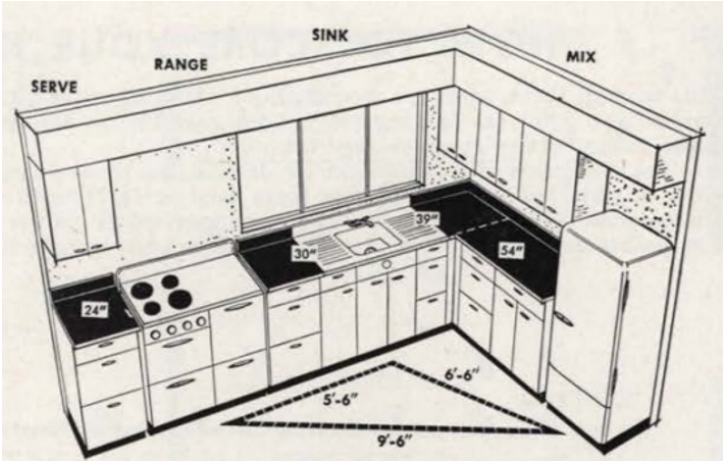

Figure 40 Kitchen work triangle, Ranney 1949, 5

When one enters a kitchen for the first time it usually does not give away the options it holds. At first, all kitchens are just an image, until one starts opening the cupboard doors, observing the utensils, understanding what one can and cannot do with them. However, facilities can be misleading; there are people who only need a good knife to work wonders and there are the ones who are just into the gadgets but not the cooking.

Facilities of the kitchen are what allow the cooking to be done. They create the rhythms of movement. Their locations define how the space is used. While they are used different spatial dynamics appear and disappear.

3.2.1.2 Actions

The major activities done in a kitchen are the food related ones given above: preservation, preparation, cooking, serving, cleaning, eating. Preservation means to keep perishable foods consumable by stopping or slowing down the development of micro-organisms and enzymes (J. Robuchon 2007, 926). Some methods of preservation are dehydration, saturation, coating, using preservatives, heating and refrigeration (J. Robuchon 2007, 926). Some condiments such as canned foods enter the kitchen already preserved. The preparation is all the work done to ready the

ingredients that will be used in cooking; chopping, dicing, mincing, grating, skinning, measuring, sifting, kneading, blending are only a few of the food preparation related verbs. Cooking is to “prepare food for eating especially by means of heat” (Merriam-Webster's Dictionary n.d.). There are moist methods (boiling, simmering, braising, stewing, poaching, steaming) and dry methods (frying, grilling, roasting, baking) for cooking (J. Robuchon 2007, 337). To serve or to dish up is to divide the food into servings to be eaten. This part may also include decorating dishes or the meal. Cleaning is the act of keeping the kitchen and its products sanitary; it can come after any of the above given stages. Cleaning includes acts such as cleaning the dirty dishes, discarding the meals or ingredients that have gone bad, cleaning the surfaces, washing hands or ingredients (washing ingredients also falls under preparation), for some kitchens the cleaning also includes cleaning the exterior of packed foods that enter the house and lastly dreaded extra cleaning chores that need be done every once in a while such as cleaning the aspirator. These five stages of cooking are acts specific to the kitchen; eating on the other hand, is also done in other rooms and most commonly in dining and living rooms. It is common to snack while cooking, quick meals are sometimes eaten in kitchens if the space allows. The kitchen, by nature is a messy place filled with dirty dishes and odors. Also as given in the previous chapter until the invention of gas stoves kitchen’s environment was exactly the opposite of enjoyable. Therefore, even though eating is the most direct relationship humans have with foods it is not a kitchen-specific activity.

The five steps of cooking plus eating, go hand in hand with the utilities of the kitchen and together they shape the physical kitchen. ABIMIS, a firm that creates professional quality stainless steel kitchens for domestic use (ABIMIS n.d.), provides the perfect example to summarize this case; they describe their work as follows:

> Abimis kitchens stem from a study of a chef's movements around the kitchen and then breaking them down. The aim is to make the 5 steps of cooking – preserving, preparing, cooking, dishing up and washing up – straightforward and consequential. … This new idea of cooking stems from the partnership between Abimis and several professional figures: the cook, the designer and the ergonomics expert.

Each of these actions creates a different spatial dynamic and as one sees in the methodology of Abimis these dynamics provide tangible patterns for design. Adopting such a perspective is indeed important in order to obtain a kitchen that performs well and in an ergonomic way. However, the design of a domestic kitchen, considering the central role it has in the domestic life, cannot be finalized with only its physical entities. The utilities and almost mechanically imagined movement that revolves around these, though create an important framework, are not enough on their own to define or understand the domestic kitchen.

DeCerteau's suggests that space is created by movement (DeCerteau 1988, 117). He (1988, 117) defines space as "practiced place". This presents an opposite approach to the way this thesis perceived space and place as in DeCerteau's definition space is born from place while this thesis assumes the opposite. Nonetheless, this thesis suggests a different application of DeCerteau's definition of space, incorporating it into its own definition. When done so the perceived space, in which all experiences take place, and produced space (space created by movement) are different forms of space. In other words this thesis inspires from DeCerteau's spaces suggesting that spaces that are created by movement are sub-spaces within the perceived space.

When one applies this to the kitchen, kitchen's element 'actions' becomes the focal point. The kitchen is designed assuming the space its actions could take place in, like it is the case with the kitchen work triangle (Ranney 1949). However, design perceives these actions as occupiers of space not creators. According to DeCerteau (1988, 117) "a place is (…) an instantaneous configuration of positions" of elements in "coexistence". The design of the kitchen, both its architecture and interior design, situates objects and open areas of the kitchen; therefore, the kitchen is designed by deciding how its objects will coexist, i.e. the places of the kitchen are designed. Then the actions that take place in relation to these places create spaces. Therefore one sees that throughout the history chapter spatial analysis of spaces dedicated to cooking were done through interpreting the movement therefore spaces created in relation to fire. One also sees that the rupture between the pre-modern and modern kitchens is in relation to their capacities to create spaces. Fire and the necessary acts to be around and cook over fire dominated the movement in pre-modern kitchens. While in the modern kitchen the spaces of the fire were minimalized and new spaces of other acts were included into the kitchen. In fact, one can deduct that the place making objects of the kitchen are stable and spaces that are born from these have qualities accordingly. On the other hand, fire was an element that was neither stable nor inactive; therefore spaces created by it were of movements that realized this.

Another element of the kitchen that is not stationary is food. They are things that coexist with the objects of the kitchen but they continuously transform. New ingredients are welcomed into the kitchen everyday while the already existing ingredients are cooked into meals. Then either the foods are creators of unstable, momentary places and their preparation, cooking, consumption and cleaning creates spaces that appear and disappear even more rapidly. Or foods are a threshold between

space and place continuously forming one or the other or causing a dual transformation.

Other than the above given acts kitchen is also a social space (Bech-Danielsen 2012, 465). The social activities in the kitchen are done around the food but not necessarily about it. These activities can be different things from cooking together to eating or simply talking. People can gather in the kitchen making the food preparations and chatting at the same time.

The kitchen's unique quality as a space affects all the activities done in it. The conversations in the kitchen have a tendency to be more intimate (Giard 1998, 191); because kitchen is never the room for a main event. For instance, a dinner party takes place at the dining room while the ones from this dinner that flee to the kitchen are able to escape the social boundaries of that certain dinner. If there is a topic that cannot be talked in front of the other guests than this conversation usually takes place in the kitchen because the kitchen is the perfect excuse for the disappearance of a few people from the party and the kitchen with its many sounds preserves the privacy of the conversation.

Also, the kitchen has a discipline. There needs to be a certain order because timing is important, there are sharp objects, there is fire, there are cups that can be tipped over, glasses that can shatter and hygiene is important. One cannot be careless while spending time in the kitchen; but this orderly experience (while stressful to others) can be like a dance to some. Every kitchen offers a different movement: "How can one find the right words, words that are rather simple, ordinary, and precise, to recount the sequences of gestures, bound together over and over again, that weave the indeterminate cloth of culinary practices within the intimacy of kitchens?" (Giard

1998, 199) Indeed, the actions, gestures of a person in the kitchen are simple yet determined with a certain harmony to them. To know a kitchen means to be able to move in that kitchen almost without thinking (Giard 1998, 153). Actions of a kitchen turn into a harmonious movement of some sort, in the kitchen not only the gestures of the body but also the mind is in act (Giard 1998, 200).

Furthermore, even when one knows how to use every inch of their kitchen, a different spatial dynamic is offered when someone else is in the kitchen and one has to do the work while talking and moving without interfering with the other person. It is a different experience for the visitor too, as they are in a kitchen that is not as familiar as their own. The spatial quality kitchen has highlights the positive sides as well as the challenges of sharing a space with someone.

Lastly, I shall briefly mention the 'recipe'; recipes dictate what to do with ingredients in hand in order to achieve a certain end-result. Under recipes facilities and actions are dictated. One can also draw from DeCerteau's (1988, 119) discussion on *tours and maps* that the design of the kitchen, how its facilities are located is its map in a way, dictating the movement not orally but physically (through seeing), while recipes (either written or spoken) are tours guiding the user's movement. Spatial dynamics that appear and disappear around movement are transformed into existence by the words of a recipe. The recipes also allow a common understanding of the kitchen related actions offering a language (Giard 1998, 180). What the recipe dictates is directly relational with the facilities available in a kitchen. The recipes contain knowledge and are direct records of kitchen practices.

There is more to discover about the kitchen and its design, yet the design cannot dominate what the kitchen will offer as it will be eventually created by its users. What

design can do is to continuously observe and be nourished from the understanding of such interactions. Both cooking related and social dynamics of a kitchen are affected by the fact that kitchen is the space of food and one needs to act in this space accordingly; in the kitchen space, food and humans form an integrity.

3.2.1.3 Boundaries

To keep a kitchen in proper order, to keep it running and to keep it clean every kitchen needs its own set of rules. These rules are not always uttered in words but are derived from each user's bringing up; how a person uses their kitchen is strongly related to their culture as well as the examples they see while growing up. Therefore, the rules of the domestic kitchen are highly flexible and different when different domestic kitchens are compared (however, it is preferable that how kitchens are used at least falls under common sense). Foods are perishable, therefore the kitchen, the space of foods, needs to form its rules to prolong this perishability as long as possible. The rules of discipline and hygiene the kitchen requires (both in relation to utensil and micro-organism related dangers) to have a different order than the rest of the house. This need creates a separation; activities of a kitchen need to stay in its boundaries while activities of the house need to stay outside of the kitchen. The kitchen's relation to food and food-related tasks creates its borders.

The kitchen's need to have boundaries is also related with comfort, both the cook's and the rest of the household's. As explained, the cook requires a certain personal space in the kitchen both to be able to move and create freely. In the meanwhile, keeping the sounds, the odors, splatters and the mess of the kitchen hidden when needed works in the favor of everyone outside the kitchen.

DeCerteau (1988, 123), writes about the boundary as an important element of space and place. He presents that boundaries have an organizing role and "there is no spatiality that is not organized by the determination of frontiers". According to Norberg-Schulz (1984, 15) boundaries create spaces by defining the quality of limited area. This idea indicates that the boundaries of the kitchen help define it, allowing its unique characteristic to be condensed within a limited area. This characteristic is able to stretch, but further it stretches the further the kitchen's identity would be lost.

Heidegger (1971, 154) writes that "a space is something that has been made room for, something that is cleared and free, namely within a boundary […]. A boundary is not that at which something stops but […] from which something begins its presencing". Sharr (2007, 56) elaborates further on Heidegger's points on boundaries writing that according to Heidegger space is also understood "as the context within which we're able to identify boundaries around places" and that "identifying a place involves determining a boundary of some sort". Both spaces, and places of these spaces, have boundaries. Within the house the kitchen's boundaries are usually strictly created by walls or counters. On the other hand, food related tasks and activities can go outside the boundaries of the kitchen from time to time. Bachelard (1994, 216) writes about the distinction between the outside and the inside; how they are asymmetrical and they are multiplied "with countless diversified nuances". Where kitchen begins and ends is like determining where the outside begins and inside ends, because it is about food and every space has a slight interest in it. The living room, for instance, is a space where people like to enjoy a dinner or a drink. There might be some circumstances where the users do not prefer to get up for tea after dinner and they move the electric kettle to the living room, or the cookie jar. One could also assume that there are living rooms with a microwave in them. Or take the street as an

example, in spring when people don't want to go inside not wanting to miss a second of new and fresh spring weather; there are varieties of street food all at their service, and the food is prepared right there: outside. There are many on-the-go foods available that one can mix the ingredients wherever they are. A barbecue picnic is also a strong example where the activities of the kitchen take place elsewhere. One sees that as the tasks of the kitchen are sometimes done in a space with a different identity. In these cases, some elements of the kitchen, (such as its appliances including a stove) are transported beyond the borders of the kitchen. These elements radiate the quality of the kitchen where there isn't such a defined space. These spaces still are not kitchens due to lack of other elements of the kitchen. However, as was the case in Ancient Greece, these are transitory spaces creating certain spatial quality's of the kitchen elsewhere. In these cases, the cooking point is the center and within a certain radius of this center kitchen-like spatial qualities appear, fading as further one gets away from the center. In such cases the borders of the kitchen are expanded, or transported temporarily. The boundaries of the kitchen stretch; or as Bachelard says "Intimate space loses its clarity, while exterior space loses its void" (Bachelard 1994, 218). Yet, as mentioned, the kitchen has a discipline of its own, and the proper order of it does not prefer to be stretched too far or it loses its unique quality. In fact, the kitchen too has the juxtaposition of claustrophobia and agoraphobia (Bachelard, 220) as it cannot be crammed up in a tiny inside, but with too much space it would lose its identity, its order. Maybe this is the reason why we prefer to think of the kitchen as a room, when it has a border (a wall, or a counter in the case of open kitchens) the kitchens identity is condensed, its physical boundaries allow kitchen to be fully present.

Walls and counters of a kitchen create the visible borders while the kitchen's condensed identity creates an intangible separation. However, foods also play with

these borders breaking through them with the sense of smell. When the wonderous smells of soups, stews, roasts, cakes and cookies seep through the physical borders of the kitchen and slowly spread around the house, the spaces transform because their users are affected by the smells. Through smells the borders are open.

3.2.1.4 Experiences

Experiences of the kitchen are the combination of all three elements explained above as they directly belong to the user of the kitchen; and the user's interaction with the kitchen means their interaction with the facilities and the kitchen's boundaries through actions. Experiences that belong to the domestic kitchen is a broad and open-ended subject. A portion of kitchen experiences are connected with necessity for instance; one must feed themself every day and whether or not these meals are cooked in their kitchen, the person usually interacts with the kitchen on a daily basis, one way or another, as kitchen is the space of food. When cooking is not a leisurely activity but a chore the kitchen becomes a space of laborious activities that come as a burden. From cooking to cleaning all experiences can become dull and negative. The kitchen can also be a space related with expectations. When odors cross the boundaries of the kitchen they fill the rest of the household with expectation; if a kitchen is used regularly expecting a new meal to come of out the kitchen becomes a routine. The kitchen can be a source of excitement if it is a place for experiments of different recipes. However, such examples aside, this section will focus on how experiences relate to memory and perception as these will nurture next chapter's discussion on space and place.

All experiences, though most forgotten, transform into memories as soon as the moment passes. The ongoing moment is a product of perception and the memory is the end result of it; however, memories are continuously shaped by the constant perceiving of new moments. Experiences of the kitchen are strongly interlinked with

the five senses. In fact, if one takes sight out of the equation they would realize that the kitchen can still provide intriguing experiences. It can even provide a spatial perception as the sounds of the kitchen are self-revealing, the temperature differences are quite drastic, and the smells rise from vapors and sources of different kinds. The kitchen's spatial experience has a textural and sensory quality to it. When all the elements of a kitchen come together, they provide an experience that can be captured with all the senses (and cannot be limited to one). Due to the fact that food interacts with all five senses, foods are strongly capable of triggering memories. Hence kitchen related experiences usually transform into memories that are less vague. However, these memories may not always be visual but olfactive, meaning smell related. Studies show that scent memory is the strongest one as it is directly related to the areas of brain responsible for emotion and memory (Walsh 2020), and taste is the second strongest (University of Haifa 2014). This is the reason why smell and taste of certain dishes have the ability to take one back to their childhood.

Feelings evoked by taste and cooking cannot be delivered only through scientific explanations as this would oversimplify the process and eventually destroy a delicate essence. The essence I am referring to cannot be captured by experiments, formulas and logic; but it may be delivered through literature:

> She sent out for one of those short, plump little cakes called 'petites madeleines,' which look as though they had been moulded in the fluted scallop of a pilgrim's shell. And soon, … I raised to my lips a spoonful of the tea in which I had soaked a morsel of the cake. No sooner had the warm liquid mixed with the crumbs touched my palate than a shudder ran through me and I stopped, intent upon the extraordinary thing that was happening to me. An exquisite pleasure had invaded my senses, something isolated, detached, with no suggestion of its origin. And at once the vicissitudes of life had become indifferent to me, its disasters innocuous, its brevity illusory – this new sensation having had on me the effect which love has of filling me with a precious essence; or rather this essence was not in me it was me. ... Whence could it have come to me, this all-powerful joy? I sensed that it was connected with the taste of the tea and the cake ... And suddenly the memory revealed itself. The taste was that of the little piece of madeleine which on Sunday

> mornings at Combray … my aunt Léonie used to give me, dipping it first in her own cup of tea or tisane. The sight of the little madeleine had recalled nothing to my mind before I tasted it; perhaps because I had so often seen such things in the meantime, without tasting them, … that their image had dissociated itself from those Combray days to take its place among others more recent; … taste and smell alone, more fragile but more enduring, more immaterial, more persistent, more faithful, remain poised a long time, like souls, remembering, waiting, hoping, amid the ruins of all the rest; … the whole of Combray and its surroundings, taking shape and solidity, sprang into being, town and gardens alike, from my cup of tea (Proust 1992, 60-5).

The feelings brought by a bite of madeleine, the delicateness of the captured feeling indicates the power food has. Nostalgia is "a re-experiencing of emotional pasts" while it also can be "a longing for times and places that one has never experienced" (Holtzman 2006, 367). Nostalgia is highly interlinked with foods and memory, as pointed out by Proust (1992, 60-5). It is in direct contact with memories and memories feed on senses. Therefore, gustatory (food related) nostalgia is quite common as foods are in relation with all five senses which makes nostalgia another significant element that relates to the kitchen (Holtzman 2006, 367) . In the case of eating or cooking every bite and smell has the potential to take one back to an experience momentarily; these experiences return with not specifically images of spaces but feelings of them. It is just a glimpse of a very personal and fading moment and many may not even realize it. Foods have the ability to create a connection between the past space and the present one (Giard 1998, 183-4, 188). The significance of understanding kitchen in a deeper level partially lies here. As kitchen is a space where all senses can be experienced it is the space where one can investigate a deeper relation to space and how to design it while a food centric perspective is the guide here. Foods allow a deeper understanding of one's sensual perception.

Kitchen also requires the use of memory, meaning being able to remember what to do and how to do it. Giard (1998, 157) writes "the process of culinary production requires a multiple memory: a memory of apprenticeship, of witnessed

gestures, and of consistencies (…) It also calls for a programming mind". The senses also come into action in this process allowing the mentioned consistencies while letting the cook know if the meal is under or over cooked, if something has gone bad, if the flavors are right etc. All activities in a kitchen require the interaction of all senses and the ability to interpret these correctly.

Without the experiences would a kitchen still be a kitchen? A kitchen that is not experienced, that does not hold any food related human activity is simply a space that was designed to be a kitchen but failed to be so while cooking related experiences can turn spaces into kitchens that were not designed to be so, i.e., the experience can define the boundary. Memories construct a person's perception of cooking and the kitchen, dominating their activities in the kitchen; the experiences of the kitchen are what carry the ancient know-how of cooking into everyone's pots and pans therefore, they may be the most crucial element between the four. The experience is the part where humans form bonds with foods and without these bonds kitchen cannot be. A shared meal is also a shared experience (perceived differently), recipes and tastes have the ability to create a collective memory forming intricate bonds within a community. Watching the gestures of someone is recorded in the mind that when called upon will come to control the observer's gestures (Giard 1998, 153-7), the know-how of being in a kitchen is passed down for generations, through foods a world of deepened sensual experiences are laid before humanity and to remain deaf to it would be to deny one's self from the source of their existence.

3.2.2 Redefining Kitchen

Let us return to the question: Could there be a kitchen without a heat source to cook? Stove, oven and such fall under the facilities of the kitchen and even though the kitchen would truly feel incomplete without them, if one's diet does not require any

cooking to be done then the space that holds rest of the food related activities is still, indeed, a kitchen. Though the kitchen was born from fire it is possible for it to obtain an existence beyond it. The contemporary domestic kitchen's spatial quality is dependent on all the elements listed and explained above. The absence of a heat source is acceptable if the kitchen still can fully serve its user to perform their food related activities.

The absence of any of these elements would cause a lacking in the kitchen's quality. Among all, food is of course the most vital element when it comes to the existence of a kitchen, yet 'the space dedicated to food' does not begin to cover what a kitchen is or indicate any definitive limitation; yet the path towards this core that defines the kitchen truly must go through food. Arguing that the previously discussed definitions of the kitchen by *Webster's Dictionary*, *Cambridge Dictionary*, and *Larousse Gastronomique* are all lacking, this thesis shall attempt at a redefinition that will have all the discussed elements in it: A kitchen is a space equipped specifically to host tasks related to cooking, boundaries of which are defined by the extent to where these actions can take place. It is able to host, as a secondary nature, social activities. Kitchen is a place highly interlinked with senses and memories.

It is a rather tedious definition and one finds themselves at a lack of clarity when trying to bring the element of experience into the equation. However one may try one sees that words are incapable of delivering what a kitchen really is because kitchen has a quality that straightforward sentences cannot capture; a quality that can be understood through experience. The 'experience' relates to place and phenomenology. The following chapter will elaborate on the placeness of the domestic kitchen and how place, food and human relate to one another. It will also delve further into the element of experience, discussing the phenomenology of the contemporary domestic kitchen

in relation to food. The kitchen's quality lies in its ability to offer places and how abundant these are in number is in relation to senses therefore foods; it relates to each user's experience in a way that, if analyzed properly, could even enrich the design of other architectural spaces.

Chapter 4

The Phenomenology of Domestic Kitchen

This chapter refers to place theory towards building a food-centric perspective of the domestic kitchen. Theories of space and place help us gain a better understanding of our relationship with the built environment that surrounds us, as well as our perception of it. Such theories also nourish designs in cases where the designers have a better grasp of their user's perception of space and places. Theories of space and place have laid the groundwork for many academical discussions which tend to lead the way to further inspiration and knowledge. Here, I will begin with the Heideggerian notion that 'place is experienced space' (Sharr 2007, 58). Therefore, the experience, driven from the previous chapter as one of kitchen's elements, is of high importance to this chapter which draws the discussion towards phenomenology.

The previous chapter has suggested that kitchen can be separated into elements in order to have a multi layered understanding of the subject. The discussed elements were food, human, facilities, boundaries, actions, and experiences. It was also stated that the domestic kitchen has a certain spatial quality that separates it from the rest of the domestic spaces. It has a completely different spatial dynamic but further than that it puts forward a different characteristic on a cognitive level which affects the perception related to the domestic kitchen. This perception is highly interlinked with emotions, memories, and therefore experiences. The reason behind the unique quality kitchen has, rises from experience and what brings it its uniqueness partly is how all senses are in act in a kitchen. The design of the contemporary domestic kitchen mainly focuses on the facilities and actions in relation to these facilities. However, further spatial possibilities, in terms of design therefore use, exist if the element of experience

is further dealt with. Taking these discussions as a point of departure this chapter will also refer to Norberg-Schulz's (1984, 5,10) definition (which is based on Heideggerian views) that 'place is a space with a distinct character' seeking the relationship of layers of placeness and kitchen's unique spatial quality.

This chapter, and the overall thesis it contributes to, aims to provide a theoretical understanding and an inspirational exploration of the experience of the domestic kitchen opposing the current visuality oriented, functionalist and consumerist approaches towards it (Norberg-Schulz 1984, 5, 21). All experiences of a kitchen, whether these are about or around foods, are food-centric. All five senses derive different experiential qualities adding onto the final experience. The experience under the context of this chapter is always food-centric which separates it from the possible previous approaches that consider experience as a design tool. A food-centric perspective, as stated in the introduction, means a holistic approach towards the kitchen that considers the elements listed, as well as culture, environment, nature, and food-centric requirements of users together. It understands and analyses each separately in order to form a whole.

The chapter will first discuss several Heidegger inspired points making deductions in relation to the domestic kitchen. The chapter will then move onto a discussion of *genius loci*, the spirit of place, relating it to matters of culture and society discussing the role of the domestic kitchen in regard to these. The part on *genius loci* discusses the aforementioned quality the kitchen has, how this relates to *genius loci* or in some cases it is the *genius loci.* The first two sections establish how foods create places through experience, what the physical reflections of food on place are, and how place affects food.

The third and final section establishes the position of 'self' in the food-centric kitchen. It draws from arguments of DeCerteau (1988) and Lefebvre (1991) to define the relationship of body with space adding food into the equation. The section discusses movement and space, boundaries of bodies and its relation to food and lastly ego.

4.1 Food-centric Places

This section investigates the experience of the domestic kitchen in relation to place theory. Using experience as a keyword leads the theory towards phenomenology, as phenomenology is a practice that acknowledges the depth and importance of the conscious experience (Moran 2002, 4-6). This section inspires from Heidegger's theories on space and place as well as the way he approaches concepts such as nature and dwelling. The section makes interpretations on the discussed points, drawing arguments that relate to the food-centric perspective and the domestic kitchen. The section also provides examples of existing designs that can be referred as food-centric, connecting these to the discussion of food-centric place.

This section adopts the definition of place as 'place is experienced space' a statement extracted from Heideggerian discussions (Sharr 2007, 46-62) . The experience of spaces create places, therefore each individual has different places belonging to the same space. Furthermore, new experiences of the same space creates new places for the same individual. Everything within the kitchen is about or around foods, therefore the experiences of the kitchen are food-centric. This section discusses places that are of food-centric experiences.

A phenomenological approach towards design is valued because it overcomes the black and white perspective of scientific facts bringing more color to design

theories; or in broader terms “Phenomenological appreciation offers a richer way to describe world” (Sharr 2007, 59). Likewise, this thesis aims to present the notions of kitchen in a richer way to inspire the way towards kitchen designs, that embrace the richness of their subject. Spaces are designed for their users, therefore spaces are designed to become places. The more places a space can offer the more it can be regarded as a good design; creating meaningful places is architecture’s task (Norberg-Schulz 1984, 5). In the case of the kitchen, regardless of a food-centric perspective, a kitchen design will lead to food centric-experiences and places that are of these experiences. However, if a food-centric perspective is adopted at the design stage the results can be much more rewarding for the users.

It should also be noted that the domestic kitchen provides the perfect context for the investigation of concepts such as nostalgia, memory and experience and their relation to space. The kitchen is the space of food, and how further one may evolve, the joy and necessity of cooking and eating shall remain primal, basic to being human and somewhat romantic. Human’s relationship to food is highly sensuous therefore in touch with emotions; in this manner culinary subjects are greatly in touch with rich experiences. On the other hand, built environment related to the production and consumption of food should be able to go beyond the romantic in the sense that its interest should reach beyond human emotions and interests. Food related built environment should seek an understanding of design that seeks nature’s benefit as well as spaces that allow a healthier relationship to eating and cooking, while making the human experience a part of this understanding.

For Heidegger, architecture is a medium that allows people to assume their physical place in the world. Sharr (2007, 2) writes “According to (Heidegger), people make sense first through their inhabitation of their surroundings, and their emotional responses to them”. Experience is essential to Heidegger’s definition of place; Sharr (2007, 58) delivers Heidegger’s view of space as the “the context in which people identify places for themselves” while the experience of spaces creates places (Sharr 2007, 58). Due to many varied experiences of different people, the world consists of an endless number of intersecting subjective places. A kitchen is the space reserved for cooking related activities; the designer designs the space imagining the ways it could become a place (of course the designer has their own places belonging to that kitchen but they are not related with the kitchen itself but the design of it). When the users of the domestic environment arrive, the kitchen space starts to produce places. In that kitchen, each individual has an infinite number of experiences and places that are products of these experiences. They obtain a general perception towards the kitchen through which some emotions of constant existence appear in effect with the perception of the kitchen. While the individual is usually aware of these emotions and what their general perception of the kitchen is, the multiplicity of kitchen as place works on a rather cognitive level. Places have deep connections to the person’s perception of the kitchen and the creation of their emotions. The production of new places are also related to the already existing emotions and judgements of the person which creates the base quality of their places.

One becomes nearer to places through the memorable qualities of space/places, both emotional and physical (Sharr 2007). As discussed in the previous section the kitchen provides an environment that is in relation with all five senses, especially the sense of smell is at a heightened state. The more senses a situation stimulates more

memorable it becomes while the smell memory is the strongest memory (University of Toronto 2018). These facts indicate that experiences of the kitchen are full of memorable qualities that are strongly in relation to what is being cooked and what happens in the process. To deliver the discussed point more clearly, the smell of a specific dish relates to certain memories therefore places; each ingredient that enters the kitchen, their combinations and the meals carry places. If there is a food cooking in the kitchen all the experiences of that moment are colored by its stimuluses. Furthermore, even when a meal is not being prepared, at least one of the senses (usually sight) is aware of the presence of foods. The more senses a kitchen is able to stimulate the more memorable its experiences are; this memorable quality allows the kitchen's experiences to be food-centric. The food-centric experiences of the kitchen allow places of food-related memories to be food-centric as well as other places belonging to the kitchen to have food-centric nuances.

With a Heideggerian methodology Martin-McAuliffe (2016, xix) discusses the Latin verb 'colere', to cultivate, as a primary connection between food and architecture. To cultivate, a verb that is "primarily agricultural" (Martin-McAuliffe, 2016, xix) is also one of the words discussed by Heidegger (1971, 147) in relation to building and dwelling and how the two relate to one another. While the word carries the meaning of cultivation it also has connotations of settling somewhere, tending land therefore dwelling. According to Heidegger's etymological deductions the German word 'bauen', to build is to dwell and to dwell is to build and cultivate (Heidegger 1971, 145-8; Sharr 2007, 40). Human dwells on this earth through nurturing it. Also, to dwell is to be; therefore to build and to farm, shelter and nutrition, are etymologically at the core of human existence (Heidegger, Building Dwelling Thinking 1971 a, 148) while cultivation is core to building therefore dwelling.

Heidegger separates building and dwelling from architecture. This allows him to "emphasize inhabitation and experience over the priorities of aesthetics" (Sharr 2007, 38). He also uses words such as 'residential' and 'housing' to put an emphasis on the production systems and how such structures are products for consumption stating that the consumerist priorities of professionals have caused building and dwelling to become detached. Being part of the residential building culture, the domestic kitchen is facing a similar challenge. Domestic kitchens are highly standardized, inflexible, unaware of individual needs, and built for the unknown consumer. Singer (2016, 110) states that "the shrinking kitchen in Western Europe could well be identified as an outcome of the shift towards convenience foods". She also states that the shrinking kitchen is not designed to be central to the house or to encourage culinary activities (Singer, 2016, 110). The standardized consumerist kitchen encourages consumption, a tendency towards convenience foods, and a detached relationship from nature and ingredients of nature, i.e. foods. To have a detached (or in other words alienated) relationship with food is to have a detached relationship with the kitchen and eventually from one's self (Downey 2011) which also leads the domestic kitchen to become less of a *place*. The shrinking kitchen is in contrast with dwelling; it lessens the feeling of 'home'. Dwelling is "connected to the mode of building that involves cultivating and nurturing" (Sharr 2007, 41) and cooking is how one dwells in the kitchen.

Singer (2016, 103-15), provides two examples that can be referred as food centric designs. The first is the design of the restaurant Chez Panisse, which included an open kitchen where visitors can watch as their meals are prepared. In 1982, open restaurant kitchens were not common and this was one of the first examples. Unlike the ones that existed, and even unlike contemporary ones, the purpose was not to turn

the cooking into a show; the purpose was not to entertain but to educate. Singer (2016), writes that her mother, the owner of Chez Panisse believed in 'real food' and wanted to remind their customers of the simple magic they could perform with true, fresh and local ingredients.

The second example given is the 'Edible Schoolyard' project also created by Singer's (2016) mother. The Edible Schoolyard is a project that uses an agricultural garden as a classroom, integrating it to the curriculum of all classes in different ways. The first model was developed in Martin Luther King Jr. Middle School in Berkeley, California and it has spread across the county since then (The Edible Schoolyard Project 2021). The methods used in developing the project are Montessori based. The design of the school came to eventually include a vegetable garden, an electric hearth in the garden kitchen, a chicken coop built by students, and a pizza oven. Rainwater is also collected. The school is able to produce enough vegetables and eggs to provide for the whole school's meals while also providing ingredients for other schools. The students prepare their own lunches. The Edible Schoolyard aims to overcome the "growing detachment from the land, the kitchen and the table" (Singer 2016, 111). The project has had impact regarding child obesity and health issues in general, however, it is stressed that the main aim of this project was to bring "children into a positive relationship with the land and the food" (Singer 2016, 114). Singer (2016, 114) also writes that "the sensuous pleasures of the garden and the kitchen inherently encourage children to absorb the values of the Edible Schoolyard, among them, friendship, care, responsibility, cooperation, deliciousness and beauty". The Edible Schoolyard is a food centric design, both in its education and built environment. I believe that it draws a great example of the possibilities food centric methodologies hold. Singer (2016, 112-3) names these two examples as "engaged consumption" stating that "Both of

these are attuned to a wider understanding of sustainability, emphasizing social equity and environmental responsibility". Both examples could be taken as guides towards designs that could aid alienation.

The two examples provided by Singer (2016) relate to the discussion of place (as experienced space), in the sense that it provides layered experiences and sensuous memorable moments. In the contemporary world our interaction with the built environment is highly minimalized; we interact simply by looking and passing through spaces. Food-centric designs offer new ways to interact with the space, and places are born from these interactions.

The domestic kitchen and how it is used by the family members is a key element in the development of a child. If the mindset of the Edible Schoolyard was to be adapted to the domestic kitchen its values can become integrated into the family life allowing the children to gain these at an earlier stage of life which would ideally lead way to individuals who are conscious in their consumption. A certain level of culinary consciousness would then imply a process of thinking; thinking holds the possibility of looking past objects, commodities and seeing them as *things* (Sharr 2007, 29-35). When foods are no longer commodities the whole nature of human's relationship to them changes positively. Heidegger opposed "the perception that the earth is a commodity to be exploited" putting forward ideas like humans should "remain one with the earth" always respecting it, that are now essential to sustainability movements (Sharr 2007, 44). This thesis supports these ideas asking to invite them into the domestic kitchen.

The transformation of commodities into things would also affect the perception of places. In a certain place, commodities are like props on a stage; they have faint

statements and duties assigned to them with expectations that are likely to be disappointed. However, the "characteristic of a thing is its possibility to bring people nearer to themselves" (Sharr 2007, 35). If one is to experience places through things rather than commodities, then they would be able to be at places that are nearer to themselves. Cooking is a criticism of the space around, the tools used and the ingredients. This type of criticism, discussed by George Steiner (1989, 3-50) through different examples such as dancing and composing, is a way of making sense of the world. Inspiring from Heidegger's, points cooking also is a form of poetic act which "involves the individual measuring themselves against their surroundings in an effort to make sense" (Sharr 2007, 88). Both statements suggest that cooking can be one of the tools in making sense of self. If one is able to have a stronger relationship with the food-centric placeness of the domestic kitchen then all in all, they would be able to make better sense of themselves.

Heidegger's claim that "building locates human existence" and that it also deals with "presences and absences" (Sharr 2007, 9-10) can be related with the previous question of whether a kitchen can be a kitchen if no cooking or meal preparation is done in it. Without food and food related activities a kitchen is nothing more than a room with some extra appliances. One should assume the kitchen to be a part of human existence, shaping their experiences and being shaped in return and foods to be the locators of kitchen's existence.

Heidegger argues that everyday activities are only distractions from what is real, they are a way to not to be mindful of our true existence and intensities of it such as life and death, "being and nothing" (Sharr 2007, 8). Eating therefore cooking is a basic act and necessity of being human, it is a part of human's 'true existence'. Like in architecture, the constant technological development in culinary subjects too (while

done to enhance the pleasure humans get from it) overshadows the understanding of what is real. All fancy ways of meal preparation and consumption are distractions from the true reason why humans cook: to survive. Like in all other subjects, humans require this diversion. However, an interesting irony is that foods, fruits, vegetables, and animals, all come from nature; all ingredients are things that were once living but when in the kitchen they are dead or dying. The kitchen is a place where life and death are at a constant clash on the background. The further a person is from the matters of the kitchen, the more they lose a food-centric sense (and are drawn towards convenience foods), the more they are able to avoid this clash. “Moments of awareness of our own presence,” are “often brought home to us by our senses, emotions and the phenomena of nature” (Sharr 2007, 12); cooking and eating, dealing with ingredients that are of nature, and experiencing the process and the result through our senses greatly hold the mentioned state of awareness (which a step in aiding alienation (Downey 2011)) .

The natural conditions dictate how a building should be shaped, which direction it should be oriented towards, how its roof should be, where to have gutters so as not to flood the insides, the size and number of its opening and so on. For the case of the kitchen the designers and the users should be open to the idea that nature is still in charge and some qualities of the kitchen can be improved if a similar dictation is allowed. Louis Kahn (Kahn 2003) states that “Even a brick wants to be something” suggesting that he asks what the building wants to be. For cooking, the best meals come to be when the same question is asked to the ingredients in hand. As for the domestic kitchen one should both ask the user what they want the kitchen to be, but also the question should be directed towards nature that is both outside (the surroundings, the nature) and inside (the foods).

"Food is what ought to remind us every day that we are of Nature" and "Food comes from Nature via Earth and through it becomes culture. It then returns to Nature" (Petrini, Bogliotti, et al. 2012-2016, 8). Seeking the above-mentioned awareness, can be associated with the ideology of Slow Movements, which suggest that humans need to seek a more harmonious way of living with nature, that they must slow down to both appreciate, respect and tend to the needs of it and themselves (Slow Food n.d.). Slow Movements in general fight towards a more sustainable world where cultural heritage, diversity and the quality of life are valued striving away from globalization and homogenization. The two base Slow Movements are Slow Food and Slow City recreating the duo of food and architecture. Re-remembering the connection between earth, food, kitchen and built environment is a key point in transformation of foods from commodities to 'things'; while adopting a Slow mindset is a step towards richer places therefore a positively diverse sense of self.

A global scale of awareness of food centric way of thinking has the ability to tend to far greater issues. Shifting the perspective from a consumerist, self-centered one to a sustainable food centric one addresses, as written in the congress paper *Central Role of Food* (Petrini, Bogliotti, et al. 2012-2016), issues of "fertility" and agriculture, "water", "air", "biodiversity", "landscape", and "health" while interacting with subjects such as "knowledge", "memory", "pleasure", "social relations", "conviviality" and "sharing". Furthermore, as stated in the previous chapter a food centric understanding of the domestic kitchen is a step towards a genderless, non-discriminative kitchen as it has the capability of going beyond human. Creating a domestic kitchen that could support and integrate such values would reflect onto the full domestic structure hence the society (Singley and Horwitz 2004, 15).

Pallasmaa (1996), states that sight is the only sense that can keep up with the pace of contemporary life; however, design should include all senses. Slow Movements suggest a slower pace of life allowing a base for such designs to be created, which is what Slow City is already promoting. Moreover, Zumthor (2006, 57) writes that "The strength of good design lies in ourselves and in our ability to perceive the world with both emotion and reason. A good architectural design is sensuous. A good architectural design is intelligent" and is there a better environment than the kitchen to practice design that achieves to be sensuous?

This section has discussed a phenomenological perspective of looking at the domestic kitchen. A phenomenological perspective takes experience as its focal point; this thesis established a food centric perspective by taking food related experiences as its center which also translates into a sense of food-centric place. The essential points of this section were as follows: foods play a role in the creation of places by their interaction with senses and memory. Kitchen's experiences are food-centric from which food-centric places may come to be. To dwell is to build and cultivate; to dwell is also to be. Building and dwelling have become detached because of consumerist behaviors; this has reflected onto the kitchens, creating a consumerist kitchen culture that encourages convenience foods and detachment from kitchen. Detachment from kitchen means detachment from dwelling which means detachment from self. Culinary consciousness is necessary, and kitchen is a tool in locating human existence (as it is a core part of human existence) while foods locate kitchen's existence.

This section investigated how food shapes places through experience and what else this may lead to in practice and perception. The next section will continue its

investigation by discussing how foods shape spaces, therefore places, physically and culturally while seeking connections between the domestic kitchen and *genius loci*. It will delve further into the unique quality of kitchen and the source of this quality.

4.2 Food as *Genius Loci*

Building up on a Heideggerian mindset, Christian Norberg-Schulz (1984, 5) writes that architecture gives "man an existential foothold". It concretizes the "existential space" and at a certain extent dwelling is the "purpose of architecture". Scientific understanding and functionalist approaches on their own are not sufficient to understand our surrounding or make sense of our existence. Hence, he turns to phenomenology of architecture. He defines space as an "existential dimension" and place as a space with a "distinct character" (Norberg-Schulz 1984, 10, 5). He writes that "concretization denotes the essence of dwelling" (Norberg-Schulz 1984, 23). The 'distinct character' and 'the essence' that are referred here are other words for *genius loci*, the spirit of place (Norberg-Schulz 1984, 6-8). Architecture translates *genius loci* to the physical realm through which meaningful places are created (and that allows humans to dwell) (Norberg-Schulz 1984, 5). Human's "identity depends on his belonging to places" (Norberg-Schulz 1984, 6) and *genius loci* is an element of place and belonging to a place.

The mentioned unique quality of the kitchen may very well be understood through the concept of *genius loci*. Everything humans do are acts of making sense of their existence. On the contrary (though not really contradicting) many of these acts are also distractions from the burden of existence. Both the investigation of *genius loci* and places are acts of making sense of our surroundings and creating mediums that can deliver our feelings to others. Because in making sense of ourselves, making sense together is a step. For the case of the domestic kitchen *genius loci* is one of the names

that can be used to describe the kitchen's unique spatial quality. This unique quality is in fact the *genius loci* of the kitchen, it relates to the character of the kitchen (Norberg-Schulz 1984, 10). This section first investigates the effect of place on food and how this bond relates to *genius loci*. It then studies the production of places through foods in relation to *genius loci* and the role of culture in this schema building the presented points up towards the relationship of *genius loci*, food and kitchen.

4.2.1 Taste of Place

This sub-section investigates how places affect foods: "… [O]ne who says 'place' also says 'season', one who says 'earth' also says 'heaven.' The *goût de terroir* (the taste of the earth, meant in the literal and not the pejorative sense) that typifies so many wines and foodstuffs is only the most immediate manifestation of this gastronomic specificity" (Weiss 2004, 26). Terroir is the most crucial keyword that is capable of revealing the effect of place on food. *Institut National de l'Origine et de Qualite (INAO)* is an institute that seeks this relationship and gives labels and certificates to promote the specific food products belonging to a specific area. Their (Institut National de l'Origine et de Qualite 2021) explanation of terroir is:

> A terroir is a specific geographical area where production takes its originality directly from the specific nature of its production area. Terroir is based on a system of interactions between physical and biological environment, and a set of human factors within a space which a human community built during its history with a collective productive knowledge. There are elements of originality and typicality of the product.

Both geographical and cultural aspects of a location create circumstances for certain ingredients or end products that cannot be created elsewhere. Labels such as *appellation d'origine controlee (AOC)* and *denominazione d'origine protetta (DOP)*

are given to food stuff that meet the locality requirements of these labels. For instance, only sparkling wine made in the Champagne region of France with a specific technique can be called Champagne; or Grana Padano cheese can only be produced in designated regions of Italy. These labels are recognized by European Union while France is the origin of this system that seeks to protect food culture and traditions. Countries outside Europe have their own labels, for instance in Turkey there are "geographically marked" products by the Turkish Patent and Trademark Office (Türk Patent ve Marka Kurumu 2014).

What terroir tells us is that the soil (with its minerals, living organisms and many varying components), the water, the climate (wind, light, precipitation…) used in the cultivation of a certain ingredient (whether it be a plant or livestock feeding on and from that land) affect the taste, shape, and constituents of that ingredient. Each ingredient carries in it a piece of the location it was grown in. Therefore, a person can literally taste the place of that ingredient. The other factors that take role in the formation of taste of place in a food stuff are human and environmental factors. Besides the natural and geographical elements the overall surroundings have an effect on the food stuff, which are the environmental factors. The techniques, therefore the culture is in effect, which are the human factors.

Cheese and wine are examples that are most related with terroir and AOC. Cheese is basically fermented milk. However, there are thousands of different cheeses. There are many variables such as the fat percentage and acidity of the milk used, which animals the milks come from (cow, sheep, goat, buffalo), the types of bacteria cultures, enzymes used in curdling, the cooking times and temperatures, the fermenting times and temperatures, the molding materials and techniques, aging process and so on (Connely 2010; Onur and Biber 2017). Roquefort, Brie de Meaux, Emmentaler,

Gruyere, Raclette du Valais, Gorgonzola, Parmigiano-Reggiano, Grana Padano, Mozzarella di Bufala Campana, Pecorino Romano are all AOC or DOP labeled cheeses of Europe. Bergama Tulum Cheese, Diyarbakır Örgü (Braid) Cheese, Edirne Feta, Erzurum Civil Cheese, Ezine Cheese, Van Herbed Cheese are among the Turkish cheeses that are geographically marked by the Turkish Patent and Trademark Office (Türk Patent ve Marka Kurumu 2014).

'Place' in the context of terroir, taste of place, refers to location. However, it can also carry the same meaning as in 'place is experienced space' through a food centric perspective as the experience of a location is what reflects onto the food. Both natural and cultural experiences are the pieces of that ingredients experience; and through it they become parts of the consumer's experience. Even if one is to exclude the experience from the definition of place in this context, one sees that when structuring the sentence 'place affects food' they do not say 'space affects food'. Here the word place refers to a space with certain qualities, a more specific, special piece of space that comes to be, with the effects of both nature and human.

Architecture is a medium; and *genius loci* is a part of this medium. In other words architecture expresses *genius loci,* delivering it to its surroundings. The built environment offers places as well as spirits of places; what we call *genius loci* is the characteristic distinctive to each place. Places are subjective, however, people of similar perceptions can feel the same *genius loci*. (The ability to have common *genius loci* also relates to collective memory and again working in a dual way collective memory can create a community who can feel the same *genius loci* sharing similar places.) In the case of terroir, the food becomes the medium of *genius loci* carrying the placeness of its origin. Food and architecture can be the mediums of the same *genius loci.* While architecture surrounds one with this *genius loci*, the foods have it

condensed within them. The experience of both uses all five senses; however, the visuality is the focus in the former one, while taste is for the latter.

Labels such as AOC and DOP, while preserving and promoting food culture of a region, also preserve and add to the place's *genius loci*. Region specific food labels affect the perceptions of visitors and locals of that region. The aura of that region as well as its physical attributes, such as markets and farmlands, start to transform towards fulfilling the expectations of the community; each new perception adds onto how the region will evolve. Place specific foods also allow food specific places to be. Parts of cultures of such spaces become food-centric with the involvement of different markets. Terroir is an element of *genius loci* in the sense that it shapes the culture of locations. Durrell (1969, 156) writes "As you get to know Europe slowly, tasting the wines, cheeses and characters of the different countries you begin to realize that the important determinant of any culture is after all the spirit of place". But also, as mentioned, *genius loci* is an element of terroir. Each labeled product brings to the tables of consumers pieces of places. In foods "the meaning of the natural environment is condensed" (Norberg-Schulz 1984, 10).

The problem of placeless and alienated relationship to food was discussed in the previous chapter in relation to commodification of foods which encourages consumerist mindsets. Here too the subject arrives at a point where it should be highlighted that practicality draws society towards a placeless relationship with foods which reflects onto their relationship with cooking and places of kitchens. This results in an inability to dwell, drifting humans towards alienation from themselves (Norberg-Schulz 1984, 21). Food centric places offer a chance to reconnect with foods and cooking establishing a relationship that is not placeless. Cooking and dwelling are of human's true existence, core to creating an "existential foothold" (Norberg-Schulz

1984, 5). There is an ongoing battle against the functionalist and consumerist society in many fields and this thesis argues that the domestic kitchen is a primary space that is capable of addressing such issues.

Phenomenology is also to "return to things"; the things can "explain the environment and make its character manifest. Thereby the things themselves become meaningful" and "human identity is to a high extent a function of places and things" (Norberg-Schulz 1984, 8, 16, 21). What we call food are in nature; they are "natural things" (Norberg-Schulz 1984, 10). However, when they are cultivated with a sense of use and exchange value, they become commodities (Marx, Commodities and Money 2015, 27). Foods can go back to being things when human farms not for profit but for themself. In doing so, they are not alienated from their product, labor, or themselves (Foster 2000, 141; Downey 2011). This relates to the now common trend of moving from city to rural areas to do organic farming or the general impulse to go back to nature one way or the other (Halweil 40-70, 2004; Foster 2000; Mark 2011). The commodification of foods by restaurant culture, discussed in the previous chapter, is also a similar and concrete example of place's effect on foods. City life (which creates the rural-urban split) causes a separation between the foothold of existence and human which causes a feeling of being lost (Halweil 2004, 40-70). Such trends are attempts at regaining sense of self and meaning in life.

4.2.2 Food, Culture and Place

Places shape foods while in return foods physically shape places. Since the beginning of agriculture humans have observed crops and stocks seeking ways to increase their efficiency. When we look at the early settlements, such as Çatalhöyük, the relationship between environment, dwelling, and food is highly visible. Villages are shaped according to the shapes of the earth and how the water flows (Figure 4, p.

29). The landscape affects how they farm, again reflecting onto how the village is shaped. Banaue rice terraces (Tikkanen 2017; UNESCO n.d.) are another great example of how humans shape the landscape and the structures around it (Figures 41 and 42), regarding the fruitfulness of their crops. Such cases are literal examples of how foods shape the physical environment thus spaces of places.

Figure 41 Panoramic view of Banaue Rice Terraces, Philippines. (Source: guidetothephilippines.ph)

Figure 42 "Ifugao farmer at the rice terraces in Banaue, Luzon, Philippines." (Source: www.britannica.com) Image credit: daji/Fotolia

The journey of foods is from "sites of production to spaces of consumption" (Singley and Horwitz 2004, 15). Sites of production now include not only the farming fields but also factories where either crops or stocks are raised, or other phases of food production are done from disinfecting ingredients to producing meals and packaging. The foods shape such spaces too; however, these spaces tend to be rather morbid, and how foods shape such spaces is strictly mechanical. Such spaces do not draw good examples of food-centric designs nor can they nourish the domestic kitchen. Therefore, this section will not further include factories in the discussion and will leave it at stating that if creating food-centric domestic kitchens would lead to a food conscious society then tending to the case of food production spaces would be one of the next steps in healing society's perception of food, and it would indeed be a crucial one.

4.2.2.1 Slow Movements

Looking at the two main Slow Movements, Slow Food and Slow City, one is tempted to suggest that how foods shape the physical environment is a deeper subject than the landscaping acts of farmers. Food and architecture are elements of culture and as they evolve together this reflects onto culture and vice versa. Foods shape places physically through their effects on culture. The two Slow Movements allow one to see the interlinked relationship of food, architecture and culture. While Slow Food is focused of food and Slow City on built and cultural environment, there are many points where the two movements intersect, and not just only in perspective but regarding their subjects. Slow Food Movement aims to fight against the imposed fast and consumerist way of living starting with the kitchen. It aims to raise consciousness of local cuisines and food traditions inviting society to slow down, savor every moment and discover a better quality of living through "gourmandize pleasures" (Slow Food n.d.). Slow City Movement suggests that a calm and serene way of living is possible while benefits of the technology are still used in order to improve the quality of life (Cittaslow 2016). Slow City is a label a town could get if it fits requirements such as locality, sustainability, having a historic fabric and a rich culture. Slow Food's aim relates to the built environment both through food production and consumption spaces. Slow City includes local cuisine's food techniques in its interests encouraging the preservation and enhancement of local ingredients and food heritage while also supporting local producers (Cittaslow International 2020).

Food is an element of culture or culture an outcome of food as "In the beginning man fed himself. He then sought shelter and protection: homes, villages, towns were founded" (Cittaslow International 2020); cooking was the beginning of humankind and culture is of the human. This looped yet strong relationship food has with culture

is an essential element that reflects onto built environment therefore how foods shape places. Built environment and cuisine are two of the most basic elements of culture and Slow Food and Slow City when brought together propose a holistic food centric way of living.

What Slow City seeks is highly in relation with *genius loci*. Herrington (2004, 33) writes that,

> The Latin idiom *genius loci* is a common stock for theories of landscape gardens and debates concerning regionalism. It is also a trope for local dishes and ingredients. Regional cuisine, gardens, and landscapes knead natural history with material history as their constituent features are manipulated by the cultivation of taste.

All elements listed here are of Slow City's concern. Looking at the towns they adopt, one might even say that these towns have strong *genius loci* and preserving their culture means to capture, emphasize and preserve this spirit translating it into something that could be felt by all those who seek it (Norberg-Schulz 1984, 18). Culture feeds *genius loci* and so do foods as they are a part of culture.

The two Slow Movements provide a picture of how food and architecture holistically come together. While, looking into the theory of the two provides a deeper understanding of both, one also sees examples of how the two come together in daily life. "Combining architecture with food has indeed become a favorite development strategy of many city planners, developers, and architects around the world" (Trabalzi 2004, 71). Using food related spaces as an appeal is a commercial strategy which is known to be highly effective. There are different extremes to using this strategy; the one provided by Slow Movements is on the positive extreme while food courts of malls may be regarded as the negative one. Both are food related architectural

representations; however, between the two only spaces of Slow Movement could be considered as mindfully food-centric designs, the essential difference being the production of places in these spaces therefore their ability to be in touch with *genius loci*. Both spaces provide a certain placeness under which lies cognitions and perceptions of the person experiencing these; however, the placeness provided by the food court is artificially created, and out of touch, therefore lacking in experiential strength. The standardization of food production and distribution endangers the *genius loci* (Weiss 2004, 24). Food-centric designs, though their first regard is environment and food culture, are in the end more humane. They are also able to offer a stronger sense of place and even if the subject is touristic interest, one still sees that "experience of different places is a major human interest" (Norberg-Schulz 1984, 18).

Weiss (2004, 30) provides several examples of food related built environment one of which is Michel Bras' restaurant-hotel in Aubrac, France. The author draws attention to the graphic similarity between the dishes of the chef and the landscape the restaurant presents its visitors. Sometimes the flowers seen at the garden can also be seen in the dishes. Here an homage to nature is made in the design of the restaurant that frames the scenery, reminding the visitors of the true origins of what they are eating strengthening the sensuous experience with a visual connection between the setting and the eaten.

A similar situation is the case for *Under,* an underwater restaurant in Norway, designed by Snøhetta (Snøhetta 2019). The local menu of the restaurant inspires from a marine palette while the design inspires from the cuisine's concept. Together with its crafted local interior objects and the carefully designed menu, the structure and the food are in complete unity. *Under* offers a holistic and conscious dining experience and a food centric spatial experience.

Examples of food-centric restaurants are important because they play a bridging role between food production and the domestic environment. A food-centric mindfulness that emerges in restaurant fashion has the ability to reflect onto the domestic kitchen as well. As for the domestic kitchen, as it is a private space, we do not have as solid examples even if there are food-centric domestic kitchens. But the overwhelming majority of domestic kitchens examples, simply, are not. A design example directed at the domestic environment is MVRDV's 'Infinity Kitchen': a fully transparent kitchen, designed as an installation for the Venice Biennale, is a piece that aims to "raise awareness for the one room that we all rely so heavily on, and the processes that go on inside of it" (MVRDV 2016). The only color within the monochrome or transparent products of the kitchen are the foods drawing the attention to the main subject of the kitchen, while the design also questions the kitchen habits of the consumerist society.

Carrying the relationship of food and space to a larger scale Singley and Horwitz (2004, 7-8) provide examples of Frank Gehry's work writing how his designs evoke a textural relationship between food and architecture. *Eating Architecture* edited by Singley and Horwitz (2004) is based on the questions "what can be learned by examining the intersections of the preparation of meals and the production of space? What can be made from the conflation of aesthetic and sensory tastes in architectural design and what is disclosed by their dissociation?" (Horwitz and Singley 2004, 5). The examples and discussions provided in this book, some of which are mentioned above, as well as the one's in *Food and Architecture: At the Table* (Martin-McAuliffe 2016) are foundations of food-centric design putting forward the positive impact food--centric designs and methodologies have on the relationship between humans and food. Food-centric designs should be introduced into the domestic kitchen as well.

The food culture Slow Movements are trying to preserve are rooted in the domestic kitchen. It is the many unwritten recipes and techniques of the domestic cooks that cumulate into culture along with what that geography has to offer: "Cuisine is a function of the *genius loci,* the spirit of the place" and "the *genius loci* establishes the essence of cuisine" (Weiss 2004, 26, 28). The land, the food, the culture and the built environment of an area are functions of one *genius loci* and foods affect places by interacting with the other three elements, with *genius loci* as their common ground. Food is an element of the essence of the kitchen, i.e. the kitchen's *genius loci*. The essence dominates the physical attributes of settlements while the overall physical and cultural attributes of an area reflect on the essence. Through food's relationship with the essence food affects the physical world and in return is affected by it. Food is sometimes the product of *genius loci,* sometimes a piece of the *genius loci* and in some cases the *genius loci* itself.

4.2.3 Genius Loci of Kitchen

Genius loci works on different scales. From a city to a single room in a house all spaces/places have *genius loci.* In the context of this chapter's discussion the two main food related spaces are spaces of production and spaces of consumption. The places where ingredients are farmed, cultivated and produced have their *genius loci* and each domestic kitchen has its own *genius loci*. When ingredients enter the kitchen the *genius loci* of their production sites and towns (medium of which is that ingredient) merges with the *genius loci* of the kitchen (medium of which is architecture and design). In a food-centric space such as the kitchen, food and architecture mold into one another through *genius loci.*

Norberg-Schulz (1984, 17) argues that built environment relates to nature in three main ways: The first is visualizing human's understanding of nature, second by adding

what they believe is lacking and third by symbolizing which "implies that an experienced meaning is translated into another medium". All three ways are acts of concretizing the existential world while symbolization creates "cultural objects". Thus, culture becomes concrete.

An element of the kitchen is its boundaries and within a boundary "character and space come together" (Norberg-Schulz 1984, 15). The boundary allows a space with a distinctive character; a *genius loci*. The experience of this *genius loci* births places and the symbolization of experienced meanings of places create cultural objects. Humans build settlements that are mediums of culture among which are domestic kitchens. Further experiences transform into further symbolizations and elements of culture. The same schema is applied to the kitchen as follows: Kitchen is a food-centric space with boundaries; the boundaries and its food-centric character create kitchen's *genius loci.* Places are born from and around the food-centric experiences of the kitchen. The symbolization of these places creates objects of food culture. The cumulation of these cultural objects is culture and the domestic kitchen is of this culture. While places can change instantly, *genius loci* can be stable; the places are proportional with the multiplicity of experiences (Norberg-Schulz 1984, 18). Experience translates *genius loci* into places, symbolization translates these places to culture. Symbolization is how *genius loci* is concretized. The role of food is determining the characteristics of the kitchen (through *genius loci*) which allows rest of the elements of the schema to be food related. Through this schema foods affect physical space.

The unique spatial quality that kitchen preserves in its core is loaded with centuries of experience and knowledge. This quality, the *genius loci,* or the kitchen's essence is like a magnet pulling humans closer, subconsciously with ancient instincts in act. In

order to further understand the relationship of *genius loci* and foods in the context of domestic kitchen, one can methodologically inspire from Gaston Bachelard. In the *Poetics of Space* (Bachelard 1994, 209-30), he shows how through poetics one can have a deeper understanding of spaces/places and through examples he shows that the metaphors and exaggeration have the ability to take one to the places of the others (yet they never can be in the exact same place).

In this context food is like a poem. It has the ability to provide a new perspective, one that is much more in contact with the senses. Foods have a triggering effect like they do with memories just as poems trigger images and connotations that create a whole, unveiling the meaning behind the poem. In poems a combination of words are used in such a way that three words can tell what a whole chapter cannot. Likewise, foods have the ability to tell stories if one knows how to listen and these stories can be about many great things from how each ingredient in the meal came to be to tales about the cook. They can whisper memories; foods can tell stories about rituals, families, ancient living, cultures… and each story offers a different place. Furthermore, sharing food can allow the sharing of places to an extent.

Kitchen is about food; food is its primary subject and this is what makes it unique. In the domestic environment kitchen is the only space that derives its meaning from something other than humans. Everything in a dwelling is human made, even all the objects and tangible spatial elements of the kitchen. On the other hand, though foods are grown and shaped into many other things by humans, they still are nature given. They transmit this natural beauty, and with it the bonds humans have with earth, past and the world to the kitchen. Or as Giard (1998, 183) writes “Eating, in fact, serves not only to maintain the biological machinery of the body, but to make concrete one of the specific modes of relation between a person and the world, thus forming one of

the fundamental landmarks in space-time." Kitchen is the spatial version of this explanation; its *genius loci* allows the kitchen to be this threshold.

4.3 Body, Mind and Food: Re-positioning the Human in a Food-centric Framework

This chapter looked into the relationship of place and food taking experience as an important factor. It will lastly look into the experiencer in relation to a food-centric kitchen. As stated above everything humans do are acts of making sense of their existence. Therefore, without defining a position for the 'self' the manifestation of a food-centric kitchen would fail in claiming its place in phenomenology.

However, in order to do this, this section will strive away from phenomenology taking into consideration theories of Lefebvre on space and body. In phenomenology the experiencer is of utmost importance. The whole world is situated according to the experience of the individual. Which is why this thesis will now briefly step outside of phenomenology in its search for the position of the experiencer, because the experiencer needs to be diminished to a state where other subjects, such as food, can redeem at least equal importance. This section also will return to space (created by movement) to use it as a transitory element between body and places. After determining the position of the experiencer the study returns to its phenomenological approach, placing the body within this. Food-centric experience is important to extract food-centric designs however deeming the experiencer the singular focal point burdens the design with mono-functionality (Norwood 2018, 13). Through Lefebvre's suggestion that bodies are spaces this chapter seeks the relationship of kitchen and body. The section then discusses body/ego with a food-centric approach to see how it relates to the spaces/places of domestic kitchen. By bringing together the discussion on body and ego the chapter investigates the place of the experiencer.

Lefebvre (1991, 170) suggests that bodies are spaces. He states, as discussed in the third chapter, that bodies have boundaries, therefore a distinction between outside and inside. Lefebvre (1991, 174) writes that bodies create spaces with their capacity for action, while each body is a space as well. Lefebvre, like DeCerteau, suggests movement creates space drawing his arguments on space towards body and its capacity to create space.

A person is first in the space of their own body therefore they are space. Above all else there is always 'I', the self. When there is 'other', 'self' is recognized fully, the distinction between everything else and the person. This perception allows the space outside the body. Lefebvre (1991, 174) writes "that for any living body […] the most basic places and spatial indicators are first of all *qualified* by that body. The 'other' is present, facing the ego; body facing another body". This indicates that the 'other' allows 'I' to be. Humans recognize themselves in others, which allows them to situate themselves. The recognition of self in the other also allows the existence of ego (Lacan 2011, 1-6). However, in the kitchen the other is the food; the cook can situate themselves with regard to the food, the subject and center of kitchen. Both the food and cook create spaces and are spaces and these spaces are in intrinsic existence defining the space of the other.

Food is on the outside like other things and objects. However, unlike rest of the objects, humans desire to take foods beyond the boundary of the body making it a part of their inside space. Foods, among a few other substances, are like bridges between the outside and the inside spaces of the body. Body's capacity for action, its energy is also acquired by no other than foods. When the meal is eaten the spaces of body and food truly collide; "food becomes an architecture that inhabits the body" (Singley and Horwitz 2004, 11) and from this the capacity to create space is born.

To determine the relationship between spaces of movement and phenomenological places let us return to DeCerteau's space that are created by movement, which this thesis claims to be sub-spaces within the perceived-space. We can now question how this dismantled definition fits into the concept of place (accepted by this thesis as space with a distinct character or experienced space). The conflict with DeCerteau's definition is that it acknowledges actions created by bodies, therefore the experiencer but not the experience. His definition of place is closer to the perceived-space (as suggested by this thesis) while there aren't any keywords that substitute the phenomenological place that is born through experience. This might lead one to suggest that DeCerteau's definition of space is incompatible with phenomenological place. Or one can prefer to claim that both sub-spaces of movement and places of experience exist together within the perceived space. The sub-spaces are a part of the places taking a part in the faded choreographies of the memory. Therefore, cooking and eating, the processes and movements where the spaces of human and food first intersect and then collide, are a part of the food-centric experience that translates into places.

Eating is a form of movement. The movement of limbs creates the space of the body along with the subtle movement of the jaw. However, there is a lot more going on which are not visible to the naked eye. The chewing and swallowing movements create spaces for food within the mouth. As the person eats, fueling their capacity to create space while already creating spaces, the space of the food (defined by the presence of food as body) continuously shrinks. As soon as the food is swallowed it loses its inside space while gaining a different capacity to create space. Throughout the digestion process the internal organs move, therefore create space, in lead of the swallowed food. The spaces inside the body shift according to the demands of food. If

said food has been consumed in a way that relates it to a strong past experience, a memory, therefore a place, then as the food loses its inside space, the person experiences the place and the momentary subspaces together. As for cooking, the body learns movements, the choreography of different dishes as well as how each step should look, smell and taste like. The body adopts patterns of movement therefore patterns of creating subspaces while cooking. As such movements can become etched in memories, some of them can also be related to the places.

As the spaces of human and food collide, the other ceases to exist; the other and the self merges. It is ego that shapes the cognition of the other while it is formed by the recognition of the other. In the kitchen the human is shadowed by the food. In the kitchen the human recognizes the other in foods (nature) however is not recognized in return; therefore the ego is dormant. While cooking what is important is that how that meal turns out, until it is served and out of the kitchen and onto the table the cook is not important. Then once it is tasted the one who made it suddenly gains importance. The kitchen does not care for the ego and the users of the kitchen are able to escape themselves briefly. However, the more consumerist, functionalist or visuality-oriented a person's relationship with the kitchen is the more this situation subsides. The more a person is alienated from nature the less they can recognize food as the other. A food-centric approach of looking at the kitchen, is a tool that allows an approach beyond the ego.

A food- centric perspective leads one towards understanding an important space where primal, ancient and contemporary come together; a space that has been central to domestic life, a space that is deeply interlinked with humans yet also is much more. "The dwelling has turned into a mirror into which we look to find ourselves" states Bech-Danielsen's (2012, 466). Here Bech-Danielsen (2012, 466) refers to the

case that the domestic kitchen along with the whole house is a representation of its owner's aesthetic preferences and way of living. However, I find the statement to be deeper in the sense that if the kitchen allows one to escape their ego which leads the reflection of self, presented by the kitchen, to be a purer version of the self. A version that is not twisted by the visual oriented perception of self or the ego that forms through this perception. The kitchen is a space where id (the part of the human mind that controls the primitive behaviors (Britannica 2017)) can be stronger than the ego because the kitchen is the space that is related to hunger and therefore desire (towards food). Kitchen, through its connection with senses, memories, and overall food (that is key to every living being), is a space where the individual is closest to seeing their true self. The kitchen locates human's existence and foods locate kitchen's. The body is able to exist with food.

Chapter 5

Conclusion:

This thesis is an interdisciplinary study. Food studies and architectural studies when combined create an interdisciplinary field that touches a wide array of subjects within the society. The thesis provides multiple discussions on domestic kitchen and provides examples on how theories can flourish taking kitchen as their center. The contemporary domestic kitchen is highly consumerist, functionalist and visual-oriented, both in its design and use. The food habits relating to the domestic kitchen both affect and are affected by the society that is currently crazed with its fast mode of living. The trio of consumerism, functionalism and visual orientation inflame one another with an overall result of individual's alienation from self, society, and nature.

The consumerist society reflects its patterns onto their food consumption habits as well as kitchen appliances. Society's commodity fetish, that is directly related to the consumerist patterns, is apparent within the boundaries of the kitchen where all foodstuffs are commodified. The fast pace of contemporary urban life encourages mass production and consumption and convenience foods while this mindset results in far greater issues such as environmental pollution. Functionalist approaches towards the domestic kitchen superficialize its design and use, damaging humans' bonds with food and cooking. Visual oriented mindset is among the problems society is facing, effects of which are apparent in and outside the domestic kitchen. From how built environment is shaped to individual's judgments of one another, visual focus is deeply imbedded in many societal areas. Such mindsets affect both the design of the kitchen space and appliances, and the food habits of the kitchen users, driving them towards stereotypical, idealized spaces and bodies. The visual oriented mindset monopolizes

the experience of each individual detaching them from other senses and overall, their selves.

This thesis suggests that the perspective towards the domestic kitchen needs to change and an alternative path it can adopt is the food-centric approach. A food-centric perspective means to look at the matters of the kitchen from a perspective that seeks the benefit of food, culture, history, kitchen's user, their diet, kitchen's design, locality and environment using food as a guide towards such an approach. Food-centric perspective suggests that in all matters of the kitchen food and food-related subjects should be as central as human (if not more). Adopting a food-centric perspective does not indicate that the element of human should be eliminated; on the contrary this perspective seeks human's comfort and benefit in the end. However, it also invites humans to be respectful towards nature, environment, and resources in the process of seeking this comfort. A food-centric perspective invites humans to look at the kitchen and all of its elements as a whole, arguing that at the kitchen, food and food related requirements come first hence leads the users towards conscious consumption. In the process of gaining such an awareness, food-centric perspective also leads individuals towards a better sense of self. This thesis recognizes that the domestic kitchen is the only place within the domestic environment that focuses on something other than humans; that the main subject of the domestic kitchen is food.

A food-centric perspective suggests an approach that is interested in and respectful towards all elements of the kitchen, tangible and intangible. This thesis believes that food-centric understanding, when further established, is capable of leading kitchen design towards a new path to follow. A food-centric perspective holds more interest in the diets and food habits of kitchen's users considering how these might translate into design. This study suggests that such a perspective would allow a better understanding

of the kitchen that are in touch with all senses. That the kitchen is the ideal space for constructing a design approach that is able to connect with all senses and this would eventually translate into other elements of the built environment. Food-centric perspective's primary subject is food and thereby nature. By shifting its focus, food-centric understanding of the kitchen also invites the users of kitchens to go beyond discriminative issues. This study has adopted a food-centric perspective itself investigating food's relation to domestic kitchen, its history, spaces, places, the individual and overall society. Through examples and discussions, it has shown that approaching the existing literature with a food-centric perspective is capable of delivering fresh and fruitful outcomes.

The thesis has discussed the domestic kitchen's history by centering fire as the common ground between food, architecture and humans. It then analyzed the contemporary kitchen as space, investigating the current society's relationship with kitchen and food and separating kitchen into its elements (food, human, facilities, actions, boundaries, experiences). After defining these it moved onto investigate the element of experience further, through which place theory was discussed from a phenomenological perspective. Structuring the thesis as history-space-place has allowed a comprehensive and integrated discussion of the kitchen, creating a food-centric discourse.

The history chapter has delivered how food and architecture evolve together and how cooking and eating are subjects that are deeply interrelated with being. It showed how the bonds between cooking, eating (and therefore kitchen) and humans are ancient. The chapter also provided a foreground for the rest of the research to build up on as well as providing an elemental piece in the holistic approach the thesis adopts.

The third chapter delivered an understanding of individual's and society's relationship with domestic kitchen, food, and cooking. It provided a framework and deducted points that allow the interpretation of the contemporary kitchen. It presented statements that define the insufficiencies of the use and design of the present kitchens. The chapter also put forward the need for contemporary domestic kitchen's further investigation.

The fourth chapter inspired from theories of Heidegger and Norberg-Schulz using their phenomenological points to shape a food-centric study of domestic kitchens placeness. Adopting this methodology throughout the chapter, it made deductions that relate problematics and insufficiencies of the kitchen. It investigated the placeness of the kitchen explaining how phenomenological place theory of it would eventually translate into design while providing real life examples. The chapter also delivered how kitchen and food relate to sense of self which is a key point because the consumerist, functionalist and visual oriented mindsets are harmful fundamentally because they create a barrier between the individual and their sense of self. The chapter looks further into how senses and memory relate to the kitchen from the scope of food-centric placeness.

This thesis has established that human's relationship with foods is far deeper that they take regular notice of. Cooked food is what makes humans human and the process given in the history chapter is encrypted in human's evolutionary algorithm. Cooking and eating are in touch with this algorithm and kitchen is where a great cumulation of knowledge is in act. This thesis has suggested that the kitchen has a unique spatial quality and the investigation of this quality, i.e., its *genius loci* (which by its nature is food-centric) leads to the proposed theoretical groundwork. The cultural load kitchen carries and the richness of kitchen's experiences, prevent simple definitions of kitchen

from capturing its unique spatial quality. This thesis analyzes kitchen's relation to *genius loci* suggesting that food, culture, history, user's experiences (therefore memories and senses) are all a part of it. Facilities and actions create the physical kitchen. Boundaries condense kitchen's identity within certain limits that stretch yet do not want to stretch too much so as not to lose the kitchen's identity. The experiences of the kitchen which are food-centric while these experiences cumulate into the places of the kitchen shaping each user's perception. Which eventually translates into culture and from culture back into the kitchen. Foods have an effect on places through experience, foods have physical effects on places through culture, and places affect foods through reflecting a specific region's culture and environmental factors onto the food, i.e., terroir. Furthermore, one also sees that the mindset of the society is concentric with the domestic kitchen's place within the domestic environment, and one has the ability to transform the other. Therefore, this thesis suggests that the architectural design of the kitchen should take notice of the necessity to design the experience of the kitchen while doing this in a food-centric way.

The fact that the kitchen's design has only gained attention in the last century (Bech-Danielsen 2012) is an indicator on its own that kitchen design has not been enough dwelled on and to do so it requires theory to lead it. Currently, the spatial design of the kitchen follows some regulated guidelines that are mostly concerned with where the water and gas lines need to go through and where the outlets should be. The size of the kitchen is another point of concern as all the requirements need to fit (stove, oven, refrigerator, sink, storage space and possibly a table) to a minimum surface area so as not to take up space from rest of the house. Design choices of the domestic kitchen are limited to such arrangements and the material choices of the surfaces (unless the end-user is involved in the planning stage and demands kitchen to be

designed in a more detailed way). Through examples such as the Frankfurt Kitchen and how its reflections are still existent in the contemporary kitchens, one sees the impact architectural design can have over the domestic kitchen. Hence, this thesis suggests that the architectural design of the kitchen deserves further attention.

Focusing on consumption, function or visuality holds the danger of overshadowing experience. When experience is overshadowed so are the places. A good design is able to offer rich, sensuous experiences therefore places, hence kitchen design should be encouraged to go beyond functional and visual. This thesis suggests that kitchen design needs to inspire from food-centric theories. The food-centric discourse of this study suggests that food-centric designs are capable of offering new ways to interact with space, places of which would be more in touch with sense of self. Furthermore, the thesis suggests that food-centric kitchen designs would have stronger *genius loci* which contributes to the former point. Everything humans do are a way of trying to make sense of their existence. The fast-food culture that commodifies foodstuffs, draws humans away from the experiences of the kitchen, hence from sense of self. On the other hand, ideas exemplified in Slow Movements seek a stronger relationship with food and holistic architecture therefore they have the potential to be closer to the self. A kitchen is a reflection of one's self, past, present, culture and nature; how much of this totality is reflected onto the user is dependent on design.

The identity of a contemporary kitchen is in direct relation with the user of the kitchen. The thesis suggests that all elements of the kitchen are vital to its identity, and all should be included in its design and use. This thesis gathers points that indicate that the reason behind the current design of the domestic kitchen is limiting and uninspiring is because all elements (food, human, facilities, actions, boundaries, experiences) are not held at the same importance level and the approach towards kitchen is not

wholesome, overlooking history, culture, nature and the fact that subject of the kitchen is food.

Some points to inspire food-centric designs can already be extracted from this thesis. Domestic kitchen design first and fore-most needs to celebrate its very subject, foods. The space and equipment could transform in a way that allows nature's lead, both from the outside and the inside. The kitchen design can encourage a reattachment with ground and nature; an example for such a solution is having domestic-scaled cultivation areas with UV lighting. Also including communal areas that would take on such a duty could be a cost-effective solution that addresses the same aim. Such solutions could be applied from a domestic scale to an urban one, its different applications would promote locality. Along the process of sterilization kitchens have lost their touch with senses. Furthermore, kitchen design never included all five senses within the design mindfully. Another step in creating food-centric kitchens would be to discover a way to connect space with senses. A further note is that the kitchen space should acknowledge that it has different users with different food habits. The space itself could aim to be flexible to accommodate different households as well as different users with different food habits. The globalization has driven kitchens towards standardization which has resulted in loss of traditional techniques. Vernacular notes that are not done in the name of eclecticism but towards cultural preservation need to be considered. This thesis strongly believes that the kitchen must stop shrinking allowing the society to reattach with real foods. Not to cook or to be detached from true food means to be detached from one's self. Lastly, from waste disposal problems to storage issues, overall consumerist patterns of the kitchen need to change, and kitchen design could encourage this. This thesis believes that as the domestic kitchen is a dominant space within the domestic environment attending to its development has

the capacity to address greater issues within the society. Cooking and eating should be treated as what they are: human rights. Mass production and cost efficiency should be directed towards solving world problems such as hunger instead of birthing new problems. The globalized society needs to find a balance between urban life and satisfying their needs while design must work towards such an aid.

Each discussion provided under this thesis can become singular studies. An important step would be to have case studies applying food-centric theory to their analysis. The creation of a comprehensive theory can then translate into practice. Throughout the process of cultivating this theory, projects should be conducted. Some projects that are needed are documenting food production techniques in domestic environment, researching food production chains and the process of local markets to create local chains within different communities, studying domestic kitchen consumption patterns in order to detect their sources, experimenting with urban farms, and collecting extensive data on existing domestic kitchens and how they are used. The biggest challenges kitchen theory faces when converting to practice presumptively would be gender, economy and politics. Future studies that focus on the relationship of a transforming kitchen mindset and these topics are mandatory. Lastly, further history literature are needed that analyze both food production and consumption and their relation to space. The literature on kitchen needs to acknowledge its interdisciplinary nature in a clearer way.

The way towards a discourse that is able to avoid the distorted perception of kitchen, the burden of eating and cooking, and the consumerist and functionalist mindsets goes through the creation of a food-centric academic literature. The kitchen needs to be defined through food. If the domestic kitchen could be redefined through such studies and theories, if its design can change the overall perception of the kitchen,

only then can we go beyond kitchen's gender and self-esteem problems. If the kitchen can become a place that fights consumerism instead of encouraging it, if it can have a holistic design that unifies user, nature and culture, if the perception of the kitchen is food-centric rather than functionalist and consumerist, then there would be a place within the domestic environment that manifests better living as well as being close to one's existence.

The theory this thesis sees itself as a part of, has the capacity to address the bigger picture. The subjects that are taken under the microscope of this thesis relate to core problems of the globalized world which are in need of radical changes in their structures. These radical changes might include a green revolution for which agricultural systems, therefore governmental organizations, and constitutions in relation to these need to change. Furthermore, a shift in cities, urban life, modes of production and education mindsets would be necessary. The right to healthy food and time to cook need to be exercised and for this to be possible the pace of life and the demands of work systems need to be redefined. The constant lack of time drives humans further away from themselves. Food, being such an essential part of life, connects to all these subjects and how the changes within these subjects should be shaped. The few subjects that are named here are only the tip of the iceberg when it comes to food-related matters.

This study has accompanied me throughout the COVID-19 Pandemic which has shown and confirmed the importance of this study and the ideas it puts forward. During the pandemic many were confined within their houses and the first phases of the pandemic were about a global solidarity, carried out through social media, with lots of content on how to deal with being trapped in the domestic environment all the time. Many trends were part of this, and these trends included cooking trends. People who

were bound to the domestic environment, returned to their kitchens as their salvation and a global network of cooking and sharing recipes, images of meals and challenges of cooking was created. Such observations were highly influential and interesting for this study as they were in favor of rediscovering and redefining the domestic kitchen. The pandemic led to a cumulation of domestic kitchen related experiences many of which have been digitally documented through the eyes of the experiencers. 'The use and function of domestic kitchen space during a global pandemic' could be a further study to be considered. One of the most common effects of the Corona Virus is that it can cause the infected to lose their sense of taste and smell, and many have shared how disturbing this experience can be. All these cooking trends, at the very surface, were ways of passing time; however, for many, they were also a celebration of life, a celebration of, at that moment, still being alive and able to enjoy little but important pleasures of life such as eating, smelling, touching... The pandemic confirmed that when we are obliged to slow down, to hear ourselves and when we need to feel at home and comforted, the space many lean towards is the domestic kitchen.

Kitchen itself is a metaphor; a metaphor of domestic life, the center of the house, the hearth; a metaphor of production and consumption and natural versus the artificial. It is a metaphor or at least a reminder of many World problems such as environment's battle with humanity or hunger. The kitchen is also the metaphor of much more personal things, a metaphor of childhood and memories, of growing up and learning to be by one's self, of education, of gratitude, disappointment, longing and pain; of time, and even "the art of loving, thus also … the art of dying" (Giard 1998, 169). The whole cosmos is within that one single pot of meal, exploding in the whirlwind created by the cook's wooden spoon. A kitchen is the most complicated reflection one could ever see, yet this act of seeing cannot be done visually. Beyond

the tangible boundaries of a kitchen, lies a threshold of other places, and a food-centric perspective is the key.

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