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The social history of the 'modern house' in the early years of the Turkish Republic has predominantly been told as the story of the affluent. This group's residential, professional and entertainment culture became a prime marker of modernisation whereas Turkish architectural historians have limited their research largely to the 'cubic style' single family houses built for and by the upper and middle classes. But can these models explain the complexity of the 'modern house' in 1930s' Turkey? How did architectural layouts, when transferred to different social, cultural and spatial contexts, contribute to the production of gendered divisions? My article adopts domesticity, gender and class as a framework to identify the emergence of 'indigenous' forms of modern architecture and urbanism in early republican Ankara. Analysing the Workers' Houses Settlement (1938), I argue that although individual units were characterised by minimalised spatial configurations, the layouts significantly deviated from Western models. Furthermore, by appropriating localised building traditions and living with extended families, lower-income residents shifted the widely disseminated image of the middle-class ideal of domesticity imported from Central and Western Europe, which has become integral to Turkey's official discourse of modernism since the 1930s.

Introduction[1]

The social history of the 'modern house' in early republican Turkey has predominantly been told as the story of the affluent.[2] This group's residential, professional and entertainment culture became a prime marker of modernisation and the debates have been limited, for the most part, to the single-family houses built by or for the upper and middle classes, and to the normative models of domesticity that this manufactured.[3] But can these models explain the complexity of the 'modern house' in 1930s' Turkey? How did architectural layouts and certain types of architectural spaces, when transferred to different social, cultural and spatial contexts, contribute to the production of gendered divisions? More specifically, what role did the

agency of lower-income families play in reproducing, appropriating, but also altering the official representations of the nuclear family based on the middle-class ideal of domesticity? Were they instances, enabled by architectural spaces and their unpremeditated interpretations, which made possible a reevaluation of 'domesticity in critical and potentially liberating terms'?[4]

By not deliberating many of these questions, Turkish scholars have reproduced Eurocentric narratives of linear historical progress by defining modernisation as the process and intellectual property of social groups, segments, nations and countries at the 'centre', which would only later be followed by others at the 'periphery'.[5] Adopting a theory of modernisation that identified it with Westernisation,

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architectural historians have problematised select examples of architecture inhabited largely by the upper and middle classes.[6] Likewise, by embracing a cultural feminist approach, the majority of feminist studies on the architectural culture of the early republic have focused on elite women's experience of 'emancipation' and the limited scope of legal reforms in Turkey which, they claimed, were applied 'from above'.[7] Recent scholarship, and particularly examples that are situated within a growing tradition of postcolonial literature on urbanism and architecture, however, has underlined a paradigm shift in understanding modernisation theory.[8] For instance, in *Spaces of Global Cultures: Architecture, Urbanism, Identity*, Anthony D. King refers to 'the increasing acceptance of a pluralist notion of modernity', which goes beyond and challenges the binary opposition between 'traditional' and 'modern'. According to King, the definition of modernity based on temporal linearity is being replaced with a mutually constituted cross-cultural experience marked by social actors' active remaking of spaces.[9]

To this end, by starting from the position that the story of modernity is a multi-sited one, this article adopts domesticity, gender and class as a framework for viewing the emergence of nuanced forms of modern architecture and urbanism in early twentieth-century Ankara.[10] The discussion proposes that, as the analysis of floor plans applied to upper- and middle-class blocks of flats and single-family houses in Ankara suggests, far from a unitary category in itself, the 'modern house' had many forms and housed a variety of gender regimes. More specifically, through the examination of a housing settlement built in Ankara in the 1930s

for lower-income groups, it is shown that the layouts and forms clearly indebted to the pre-War versions of *Siedlungen* (experimental mass-housing quarters in Weimar Germany) were put into context in myriad ways, creating 'indigenous' spatial trajectories.

Built at the heart of the newly formed nation-state's capital city, this project was the Workers' Houses Settlement (*İki Lojmanlı İşçi Evleri*) which will hereafter be referred to as the Workers' Houses. The development was commissioned by the Turkish government to accommodate the employees of the Turkish State Railways (*TCDD*) in the vicinity of the Central Railway Station (popularly known as 'Gar').[11] The settlement plan, composed of sixteen identical one-storey semi-detached housing units, was designed to house thirty-two families. Built alongside various recreational, cultural and social facilities, the individual units in the Workers' Houses were characterised by minimalised spatial configurations, promoting the modern nuclear family as an ideal (figs 1, 2).

The project, however, was much smaller than major mass-housing settlements built in Central and Western Europe in the 1920s and was not a direct importation; the layouts deviated from the types commonly applied to European counterparts. Furthermore, by inhabiting the homes as extended families and by appropriating localised building traditions, lower-income families shifted the much-disseminated image of the middle-class ideal of domesticity adopted from the West, which became integral to the official discourse of modernism in 1930s' Turkey. More specifically, while the use of entrance, main and secondary halls strengthened
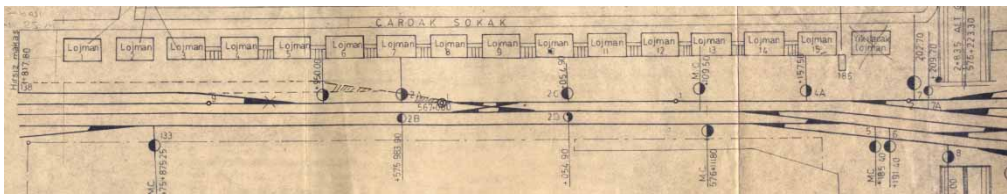
Figure 1. Dimitri
Petousis, The Workers'
Housing Settlement,
Ankara, 1938-39, site
plan (Turkish State
Railways/TCDD
Archive, Ankara).

Figure 2. Dimitri
Petousis, The Workers'
Housing Settlement,
Ankara, 1938-39, view
from the settlement;
second floors built in
1979 (photograph by
the Author).

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the division between the public and private spheres in upper- and middle-class residential culture in 1930s' Ankara, in the Workers' Houses it appeared to create just the opposite effect, fostering a more common life between the family members and amongst neighbours.

Whose 'housing problem' is it? The construction of lower-middle income households in 1930s' Ankara

According to official accounts, contrary to the few and insufficient attempts to improve the status of women in law, education and society in the nineteenth century, the 'woman's cause' received the most enthusiastic official support after the Turkish Republic was founded on the ideals of a modern, secular nation-state in 1923.[12] In the two decades following its designation as the new capital city, Ankara became the centre of Turkey's construction efforts and a popular destination for émigré architects from German-speaking countries.[13] In parallel with increased political backing, the image of the western-looking woman posing in her 'modern house', working in major public buildings and enjoying the new urban life in Ankara's well-lit streets became one of the most emblematic representations of the state-sanctioned project of 'women's emancipation' in 1930s' Turkey.

The 'republican woman', a canonical image that shaped Ankara's national imagination during the early years of the Turkish Republic, was also echoed in the way the architectural and aesthetic properties of the 'modern house' were defined.[14] In 'Tenuous Boundaries', Gülsüm Baydar, a prominent Turkish architectural historian, has argued

that in early republican Turkey 'the modern house played an active role not only in producing the pristine image of the modern nation but also the paternalistic mechanisms in its construction'.[15] In popular journals and women's magazines, the modern house was depicted as the ideal home for the modern, nuclear, conjugal family with a working father and an educated, Western-looking, caring mother/housewife, whose life was centred on her home and children regardless of her actual profession.[16] Usually imagined as single-family homes in the garden-city model, and depicted with 'modernist' interior spaces decorated with 'cubic' furniture, the modern house became a metaphor for the modern nation constantly referred to by republican intellectuals; it was consistently identified in the republican imaginary with 'contemporary life'.[17]

In spite of apparent enthusiasm about the 'modern house' as an overarching, almost generic, image in contemporary journals, in the 1930s there was no monolithic understanding of the so-called 'Western concept of family life' in Ankara, but rather variations created by alternate visions and practices. The burgeoning upper-middle class produced diverse types and forms of housing. But more importantly, the 'modern house' was not limited to types predominantly occupied by the power elite ranging from *orta halli* (middle class) civil servants to *yüksek tabaka* (upper class) bureaucrats.

In government documents, the term 'housing crisis' (*mesken buhranı*) was used as early as 1924.[18] Beginning from the late 1920s, intellectuals, bureaucrats and architects published reports, articles and questionnaires directed at finding a sol-

ution to the problem of housing, especially for lower-middle-class families and civil servants. Some of these publications proposed direct government intervention and the construction of multi-storey blocks in addition to small detached and twin single-family houses.[19] Cheap credits, rent control and rent allowance were seen as major tools to avoid expensive housing.[20] Debates ranged from the right form of housing for Turkish families to case studies on various examples in Germany, England, Belgium and France, and immediate translations of books covering the 'housing problem' in Europe.[21]

For instance, Behçet Ünsal, architect, critic and one of the well-known contributors to *Arkitekt*, the most influential architectural journal in Turkey in the 1930s, wrote in 1935 that 'the purpose of today's architecture is . . . to solve the problems of the peasant, worker, and the people who are living in unhealthy and substandard conditions.' For Ünsal the home was nothing less than 'the subject matter of the new architecture'.[22] As statistics have also indicated, Ankara was at the centre of the housing problem. In the first fifteen years of the republic, however, except for a few attempts, examples of mass housing similar to those in Central and Western Europe did not exist.[23] There were never sufficient funds, infrastructure, industry and standardisation of materials in Turkey for such grand schemes to be built. Furthermore, the devastating economic effects of the Second World War radically diminished building activity in the city between 1939 and 1945. 'Low-cost housing' was elevated to a top priority for the Turkish government and was officially embraced by the ruling party

(*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*: The Republican People's Party) in a declaration by its Parliamentary Group in 1944.[24] Therefore, it was not until the end of the 1940s, when European policies for the 'social welfare state' were echoed in Turkey, that the state's role in the production of housing increased.[25]

At this juncture, it is necessary to mention that the mass-housing settlements, which became influential in the construction or planning of co-operative housing and various other government subsidised housing in Ankara, were shaped by considerably different circumstances than in Weimar Germany. According to Manfredo Tafuri, the *Siedlungen*— 'utopias actually built at the edge of an urban reality very little conditioned by them'—were powered by 'the unification of administrative power and intellectual proposals'. Progressive architects and city planners such as Ernst May, Martin Wagner, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky and Bruno Taut 'had political appointments in the administration of social-democratic cities'.[26] In Weimar Germany, the struggle for workers' rights, socialist democratic ideals and recurring arguments on the shape of the family merged with the growth of industrial production and the new techniques applied to mass housing.[27] In Ankara, the demand for housing stemmed, mostly, from the rapid increase of the city's population because of a flow of bureaucrats from Istanbul, and internal migration which begot the emergence of shanty towns at the outer edges of the city.[28]

One solution to the problem of housing shortages was to produce 'housing cooperatives'. By 1960, the number of cooperative estates was 184.[29] Hermann Jansen, the city planner of Ankara, believed that

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these settlements were suitable especially for middle-class families and he reserved large areas for them in the south-west zone.[30] On the other hand, although the idea behind promoting housing cooperatives was to provide affordable housing for lower- and middle-income civil servants and to solve the emergent housing problem, developers soon altered the idea to create private communities for wealthier groups adjacent to the planned city.[31] Formed by influential bureaucrats, higher-rank civil servants, wealthy local merchants, members of parliament, engineers, school directors and university professors, these enclaves were built on cheap land on the outskirts of the city and were designed by famous architects.[32] For exactly this reason, during the 1940s government reports and popular journals repeatedly suggested that the government should take the initiative in providing 'cheap land' and reforming existing housing cooperatives that did not have a social mission.[33]

In short, the building stock produced in Ankara as well as other major cities in Turkey during the first two decades of the republic was less than adequate for the needs of citizens.[34] Furthermore, most 'lower-class' housing in 1930s' and 1940s' Ankara consisted of prestigious and high-quality buildings with modern utilities, and high-income groups inhabited them eventually, if not from the beginning.[35] Since the government subsidised them, higher-income civil servants could more easily manage the cost of living during the inter-war years and after, and afford decent housing.[36] For lower-income civil servants, options were limited to living in old houses around the citadel, in squatter settlements at the city's outskirts or in a limited number of 'lodgements' (housing units).[37]

A small-scale pre-war 'Siedlung' in Ankara: the Workers' Houses settlement

One of the first exceptions to the lack of policy formation for developing sufficient housing in Ankara was the Workers' Houses designed by a European-trained Greek architect Dimitri Petousis. Petousis was born in Istanbul in 1906. He studied at the *Ecole Spéciale des Travaux Publics* (ESTP) from 1929 to 1934, one of the oldest technical schools in France, and graduated with an architecture-engineering degree. Employed in The Turkish State Railways (*Devlet Demiryollar ve Limanları İşletme Umum Müdürlüğü*) in 1938, he was later involved in the design and implementation of many industrial building projects in Turkey.[38]

From a bird's-eye-view, the Workers' Houses seemed as if a couple of blocks in the never-built 'Workers' Quarter' (*Amele Mahallesi*) located in the northwestern parts of the city had been transplanted to the railway station along its adjacent street and allotments (Fig. 3).[39] The Workers' Quarter was one of the major components of Jansen's original city plan for Ankara. The site plan, according to Esra Akcan, was 'a common organisation in the pre-war garden cities and *Siedlungen* of Germany, which envisioned that industrial workers would also be engaged in agricultural activities'.[40] Jansen's project also applied the idea of being closer to nature as a means to spiritual and physical health.[41] The quarter consisted of three types, *Das Reihenhaus*, *Das Kleine Dopplehaus* and *Das Grosze Doppelhaus*. The first was the ter-

Figure 3. Hermann Jansen, The Unbuilt Workers' Quarter ('Amele Mahallesi'), Ankara, perspective drawing (Architekturmuseum der Technischen Universität Berlin in der Universitätsbibliothek).

raced-house type, and the others were different versions of 'double houses'. Individual units were a single storey high; minimally designed interiors, with 'lavatories opening to the outside', were placed in relatively large gardens.[42]

By the end of the 1930s, for the majority of republican intellectuals *Siedlungen* seemed to be the 'appropriate model of housing' for Turkey, not only for lower-income groups but for all social segments. The best-known examples of *Siedlungen* were built in Frankfurt and Berlin during the 1920s and early 1930s. The planning concept followed Garden City principles and was based on the theme of the minimum, efficient house and subsistence. The target groups were the large masses of

lower- and working-class families who lived in degraded conditions packed in dense, unhealthy building blocks.[43] Individual homes were characterised by rationalised kitchens applying Taylorist principles to the organisation of domestic space, simplified interiors, standardised exterior design and 'nature-bound' planning.[44] Not surprisingly Turkish architects saw *Siedlung* as a building type that was still connected to people's rural roots.[45]

The remedy for both closely packed 'modern' flats and the old neighbourhoods filled with narrow roads and the blind alleys of Istanbul seems to have been found in Weimar Germany.[46] Bruno Taut's and Ernst May's projects were cited in *Arkitekt* as model economic, healthy and modern mass-

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housing settlements surrounded by gardens and public parks, but that equally took advantage of urban life.[47] In 'Yeni Şehirlerin İnkişafı ve "Siedlung"lar' ('The Construction of New Cities and the "Siedlungen"'), Burhan Arif, another contributor to *Arkitekt*, wrote that in Germany there was hardly any *Siedlung* with tenements higher than three or four floors. Mentioning Martin Wagner and May, and referring to houses both affordable and comfortable, he added that people tended to move to these settlements from crowded city centres.[48] In other words, Turkish architects' critique of urban flats was linked, via Germany, to the 'global anti-urban ideology' that shaped Ebenezer Howard's canonical work on Garden Cities.[49]

Similarly to the individual units in Jansen's project, the twin houses in the Workers' Houses were one-storey-high buildings with pitched roofs, and were built alongside gardens. Constructed along the railway that connected Ankara to Istanbul, the settlement was a ten-minute walk from the Central Railway Station, its club and restaurant, barber's shop, the kiosk and other settlements. Each house was connected to the street by a common front courtyard and small entrance balconies. Because of the pergolas added to the front courtyard by one of the tenants, the street was named the Pergola Street (*Çardak Sokak*; Fig. 4).[50] Remaining faithful to garden-city ideals, the kitchen was placed at the front, connecting to the front courtyard, the street and the adjoining fields, where the occupants grew vegetables. In the interior, the kitchen was linked to the small entrance balcony and the pantry directly, and to the hall and other rooms through a small L-shaped corridor. The

bathroom and wc were off the same corridor. Individual units provided minimal but sufficient space for a family with two or three children. Blueprints show that the hall occupied the largest space in the house. The sitting room and the hall seem to be connected with a partition wall or a screen, implying that these spaces might also be used as one large space (figs 5, 6).[51]

Providing large open spaces for recreation, prioritising exposure to the sun, placing the kitchens facing and in direct relationship to the garden, and supporting the cultivation of vegetables for the household were some of the similarities that those who lived in May's and Taut's designs for mass-housing developments in major German cities and the Workers' Houses in Ankara shared.[52] However, the settlement was occupied predominantly by lower- and lower-middle income civil servants rather than workers. Responding to the working-class needs was not the main priority for the republican regime. As Ernst Reuter has argued, Turkey needed 'a potent and reliable civil servant class' instead.[53] Moreover, Ankara was not facing the problems of a typical industrial city arising from a growing labouring class.

Apart from the class background of residents, Petousis's design for the Workers' Houses significantly also deviated from its German-speaking models by having a spacious main 'hall' as the largest room in the house. The architects of *Siedlungen* rejected the idea of the hall or parlour as a separate room; minimal entrance halls or short corridors replaced it, thus dissolving the strict boundaries dividing so-called 'male' and 'female' spaces. In *The New Dwelling*, Taut wrote that simple interiors

Figure 4. Dimitri Petousis, The Workers' Housing Settlement, Ankara, 1938-39, view from the street and individual housing units (photograph by the Author).

'will create a constant order in the dwelling, which will do away with the useless formality of having a parlour.'[54] Typologically, this central hall in the Workers' Houses derived from the *sofa* in the so-called traditional 'Ottoman/Turkish House'.[55] The *sofa*, commonly defined as a central hall where guests were received and the family was entertained, was present in most upper-class houses built in the Ottoman Empire until the end of nine-teenth century. According to Sedad Hakkı Eldem, a much-renowned Turkish architect, it was one of the essential, common features characterising the 'Turkish House' and its different types. In his canonical book *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri* ('The Plan Types of the Turkish House'), Eldem classified 'traditional Turkish houses' according to the presence, location and different forms of this centralised space.[56] Although varied in type, the *sofa* was usually located in the

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Figure 5. Dimitri
Petousis, The Workers'
Housing Settlement,
Ankara, 1938-39, floor
plan (Turkish State
Railways/TCDD
Archive, Ankara).
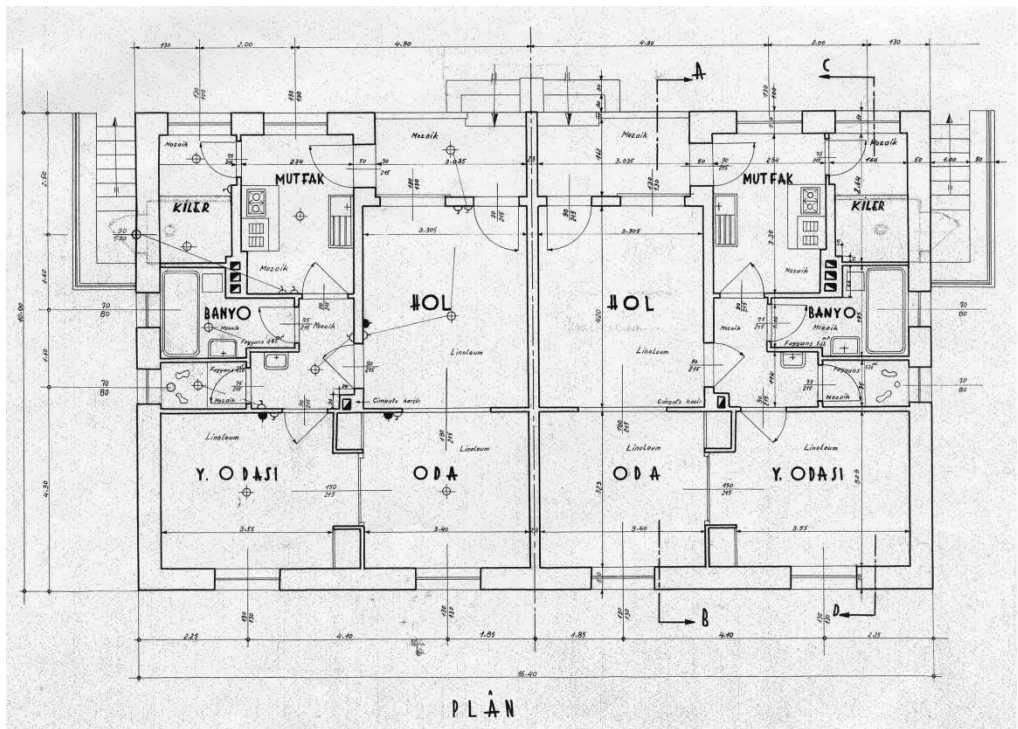
middle of the upper floor, to which all rooms had direct access.[57]

As Yasemin İnce Güney has well documented in 'Appropriated *A La Franga*', the *sofa* in 'traditional' Turkish houses was transmitted to urban flats as the main hall and it was employed by many Turkish architects during the 1920s.[58] For instance, in the blocks of flats designed by Arif Hikmet (Koyunoğlu) in Ankara in the 1920s, both the main entrance and the rooms, including the bedrooms, opened directly

to a single main hall. Güney has also argued that in such diagrams 'sectoral differentiation of spaces' could not be established as the individual flats in the buildings lacked the 'topological distance provided by the level difference' in most traditional housing, which were at least two storeys high.[59] All other 'buffer zones' that guests had to pass before reaching this central hall, such as the well-protected streets of the neighbourhood, courtyards, or the first floor and landings, did not existent in
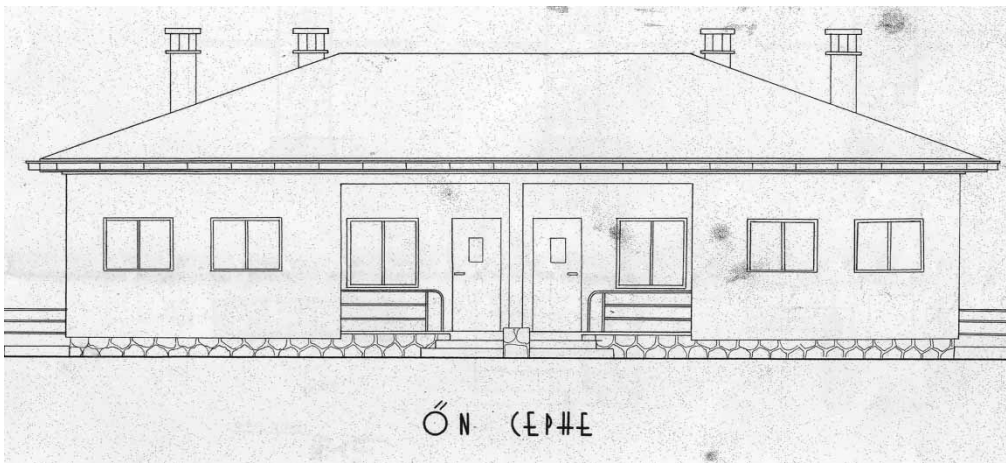
Figure 6. Dimitri
Petousis, The Workers'
Housing Settlement,
Ankara, 1938-39, front
elevation (Turkish State
Railways/TCDD
Archive, Ankara).

such multi-family tenements. The boundary between the so-called 'public' and 'private' spheres, a division well maintained in a traditional dwelling, could be easily transgressed by simply going into the building, or walking past the circulation core to enter individual flats.[60]

Yet, starting in the early 1930s, the hall became an integral part of the guest receiving/sitting room in urban blocks of flats. In these schemes, an entrance hall (*antre*) was added to the layouts, which helped block an immediate view of the interior upon entering the house. The entrance hall was then linked to the main and secondary halls or corridors. Likewise, bedrooms and bathrooms were connected to less-intimate or common spaces only through secondary halls, open and semi-closed terraces, winter gardens, short corridors or sitting halls provided with coffee tables and couches.[61] Replacing a single centralised space with a number of transitional and circulatory spaces carried individualisation one step further.[62] A similar transformation was present in single-family houses and villas built during the 1930s, where the varied use of the main hall played an important role in the compartmentalisation of spaces and consolidation of gendered divisions in middle- and upper-class residences. For example, in 'Housing Project in Kavaklıdere', designed by A. Sabri and Emin Onat (1937), circulatory spaces were further partitioned as the entrance hall, main hall and sitting hall.[63] The sitting hall was accessed by five different double doors and contained a staircase as well as a fireplace. In spite of the heavy traffic suggested by so many entrances, it was still furnished with coffee tables and couches. A winter garden and an 'Oriental room' (*Şark Salonu*) were

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also linked to the hall. Another housing project, designed by Leman Tomsu and Münevver Belen, similarly featured the *sofa* as a comfortable recreational room, decorated with flowers and connected both to the study and the living room.[64]

The compartmentalisation of the interior in 1930s' Ankara was related to the changing dwelling habits of the emerging bourgeoisie. In 'co-operative houses' and new urban blocks of flats ('rental dwellings') alike, home-centred leisure activities, such as 'mixed-gender entertaining—tea or cocktail parties and especially dancing'[65] took place in the main halls, terraces and the guest rooms. Whilst the guests were entertained, homes were protected from their immediate social environments by a great degree of detachedness provided by fenced gardens and a number of buffer zones. In so doing, the main hall eventually became part of everyday luxury, a showroom for select guests and a 'social cachet' attached to the home: the foundation of 'values so deeply embedded in bourgeois culture'.[66] At the same time, however, the hall emerged in many lower-class housing projects serving a different function. Rather than playing a part in reinforcing the compartmentalisation of the household, it facilitated the loosening and further complication of well-established distinctions.

The Workers' Houses built for the Turkish State Railways provided one such example. While rooms were still organised according to a basic division between 'proper places of familial order' and places of greater familial intimacy, because of the central location of the hall, which served as a multipurpose room, the border between these spheres could be much more easily transgressed than

those in upper-middle-class residences.[67] The hall and the sitting room were connected with a partition wall or a screen, suggesting that these two rooms might be used as one large space. Individual units provided minimal but sufficient space for a family with two to three children. There were two doors entering the bedroom and almost all adjoining rooms accessed each other. These qualities did not leave much space for the compartmentalisation and further partitioning of the house such as suburban villas and large urban flats would provide. The layout clearly fostered a more 'extrovert' life in the household.

The missing dimension: inhabiting Workers' Houses

Yet, as much as the architecture, it was the occupants who traversed the boundaries between well-established spheres of the bourgeois housing culture and stretched the margins of given models by effectively inhabiting the so-called public domain: hitherto claimed by the urban middle class alone. As contemporary feminist scholars have persuasively debated, the distinction between 'private' and 'public' spheres is not fixed and is frequently tempered by the users' renegotiation of visual and physical boundaries.[68] In *the Pursuit of Pleasure,* Jane Rendell has written that

As men and women traverse space, their positions and pathways vary according to personal, social, and cultural desires, and to relations of power, class, race and nationality as well as sex, gender and sexuality. The spatial patterns composed between them, both materially and metaphorically are choreographies of connection and separ-

ation, screening and displaying, moving and containing.[69]

For Rendell, 'gender relations are articulated spatially and visually, through movement and containment, viewer and viewed'.[70] Moreover, there are unwritten codes, social conventions and building regulations, which, depending on the context, could both unleash and reinforce certain domestic models.[71] The elusive nature of the public and private split becomes further complicated in the home. As one of the residents' particular representations of his childhood spent in the neighbourhood demonstrates, not only these well-established categories, but also the meanings attached to them, 'constantly shift in accordance with the categories of actors who inhabit space'.[72]

Ersin Arısoy lived in the Workers' Houses, to which the family moved immediately after his birth, with his father, mother, sister, adopted sister, elder brother and grandfather from 1940 to 1949 (Fig. 7). Arısoy's father worked as a road inspector for the Turkish State Railways.[73] His accounts reveal that the inhabitants further expanded the boundaries between interior spaces that had been blurred by the ambiguous positioning of the hall. Arısoy claims that by using the front courtyard, the street, parks nearby, the fields surrounding the settlement and the facilities provided by the Central Railway Station, his family lived in close connection to their neighbours, and were involved in many common activities. More importantly, intermediate layers, such as courtyards, cul-de-sacs and wooden lattice windows, which created physical and visual boundaries in the so-called 'traditional Turkish House', did not exist in 1930s' Ankara.

Figure 7. Dimitri Petousis, The Workers' Housing Settlement, Ankara, 1940s; photograph showing Ersin Arısoy's brother and the houses in the background (Ersin Arısoy Personal Collection).

Beyond collective programme: social and domestic permeability

In *Siedlungen*, while the inhabitants were directed to social activities outside the home, the interiors were supposed to augment the well being of the worker's family and its 'sense of privacy and ownership'.[74] Outside the inescapably more private realm of the home, the designers of mass housing projects in Central and Western Europe were after a universal modernist space and harmony, proposed as a solution to the urban problem. The open

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spaces were seen as '(a) theater[s] for collective appropriation', an urban planning ideal that, by diagram, almost forced people to have a community life by assigning specific functions to specific places.[75] Thus, mass-housing schemes would enable workers to develop a collective 'personal identity', which in Bruno Taut's account would be 'constructed through actions and dynamic performance', rather than by attachment to daily objects.[76] One way to accomplish this task was to create simplified interiors.

Domestic spaces were central to the transformation of dwelling culture at the same time as Taut, May and Lihotzky 'promoted the rationalisation of the household as a means for the emancipation of woman from the slavery of domestic work'.[77] However, although the time spent on housework was hypothetically reduced by the creation of model kitchens, by centralised social organisations that took on some 'former family functions' and by bringing the 'public' world of industrial rationality into the 'private' space of the home, the promotion of the nuclear family ideal resulted in maintaining gendered divisions at large.[78] While modernised interiors still mirrored the 'visual order of man', the woman's role as domestic manager could not be radically altered.[79] This was the vision that prioritised the nuclear family and the single family household, where 'proper places of familial order, such as conversation, dining, and study, are separated from improper ones such as sexuality, dirt, and hygiene'.[80] Not surprisingly, most mass-housing schemes were criticised for transferring middle-class values of domesticity, privacy and the family to the working class context. Furthermore, due to

high rents and increasing housekeeping costs, some of the projects were eventually occupied by more affluent groups.[81]

The palpable distance between the revolutionary rhetoric of Lihotzky, May and Taut for housing the working class in garden cities and the actualised form of their utopia originated from the fact that their designs were caught between competing claims of class and gender in Germany. Lihotkzy, for instance, had to work not only with social democrat administrators and feminists but also with members of conservative housewives' leagues.[82] This dilemma was best exemplified in the diversification of the well-known Frankfurt Kitchen to include housewives with maids.[83] In sum, Lihotzky's kitchen on the whole represented an attempt to re-territorialise the figure of the 'New Woman' in Germany, to win her back to the home and her place in the (re)productive machinery of capitalism.

While *Siedlungen* were characterised by carefully denominated social and spatial categories, the Workers' Houses in Ankara were marked by the social and domestic permeability of the homes and the settlement.[84] Multifunctional and more flexible designs of open and closed spaces fostered a community life where the use of 'private space becomes variable and socially engaged'.[85] The quality of social and domestic permeability was enabled by the fact that the private realm was not protected from the sociability of the public to the extent that a typical *Siedlung* layout would imagine. Furthermore, individual units of the Workers' Houses were occupied by extended families. Familial relationships were strong and, in most cases, at least one grandparent was part of

the household.[86] For instance Arısoy's next-door neighbour, Sadi Bey, who worked as draughtsman and was not married, lived with his mother, his sister and his sister's two daughters: her other two daughters would occasionally visit them, increasing the population of the household to seven. In another flat, where Arısoy's close friend Aykut lived with his three siblings, mother, father and grandmother, the dwelling contained seven family members, not counting any visitors.[87]

Inhabiting the residences in numbers larger than was anticipated by the architectural project, it seems that families had to rearrange their domestic spaces on a daily basis. For instance, the Arısoy family occupied the house considerably differently than the layout suggested (Fig. 8). They used the hall as both guest and dining room, but the increased number of family members required its conversion to a bedroom after nightfall. Both Arısoy's sister and adopted sister slept in the hall. When relatives visited, it accommodated even more people by functioning as a spare bedroom. The small pantry next to the kitchen became another bedroom, occupied by Arısoy's grandfather. After his death the elder brother was given the room. It was barely sufficient to accommodate a single bed and a small bed stand.[88] Since usually only one heater was used during the winter and a second heater added only if there were visitors, doors were usually kept open, and rooms stayed connected to one another.[89]

The use of allotments, the reinstatement of the *sofa* in layouts and living with extended families increased women's visibility. The family, as many others, spent summer nights outside; parents and the elderly sitting, children playing hide and seek, and young boys and girls strolling the street and socialising (figs 9, 10). During the day women gathered informally to have tea and a chat.[90] Another settlement in the vicinity was occupied by higher-ranking civil servants employed in the State Railways and visits between the two neighbourhoods were routine.[91] Furthermore, the nearby club run by Turkish State Railways was occasionally booked for workers and their families. Activities such as New Year's Day celebrations, as well as engagement and wedding ceremonies, were held in the club. Even though it was known as a superior location that customarily catered to the upper strata and was frequented by elite women until the 1960s, the club also served other social groups and offered its facilities for weddings, banquets and dinner parties.[92]

Beyond the Turkish Railway's own facilities, there were a number of alternative venues, which were also used largely by lower-middle and middle-class families for similar forms of entertainment. One of them was the People's House (*Halkevi*) in Ulus. In the early 1940s, Arısoy's sister Bedia got married to a TCDD employee and the ceremony took place in the People's House.[93] The People's House in Ankara, designed by the Turkish architect Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu (1927–1930), was an early example of these iconic public institutions through which the government aimed to popularise reforms. Feminist scholars in Turkey have argued that during the early years of the republic, family metaphors were frequently used to provide the basis for the legitimisation of the 'national unity' that was necessary to maintain the strength,

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Figure 8. Dimitri Petousis, The Workers' Housing Settlement, Ankara, 1938-39, floor plan; rendering by Ersin Arısoy on a copy of the original blueprints, 2008 (the floor plan is upside down: 1: bedroom, 2: living room, 3: bathroom, 4: kitchen, 5: pantry, 6: guest room/hall, 7: entrance balcony).
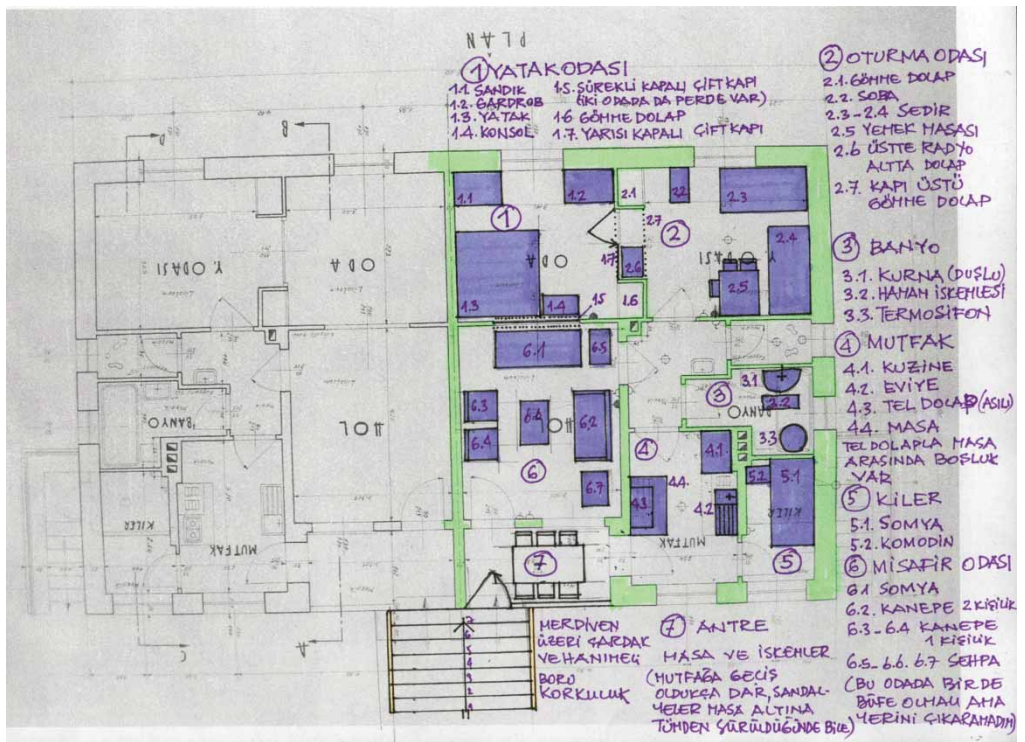
health and continuity of society.[94] Major republican institutions such as 'People's Houses' in cities and 'People's Reading Rooms' (*Halk Okuma Odaları*) in the case of rural areas, used family connotations to foster the significance of the nuclear family as a model for the nation.[95]

Other recreational activities included frequenting cinemas in Ulus, watching football games in the Stadium located at a convenient distance and making short trips to the Second Turkish National

Assembly to enjoy its public garden. The Youth Park was another significant recreational area. It was located along Station Avenue (*İstasyon Caddesi*), which connected the Central Railway Station to Ulus, the Ankara Palas Hotel and the Second National Assembly, and was usually visited for day-long picnics in the company of relatives and friends.[96] According to Burcu Yılmaz, The Youth Park represented an attempt to build a proper leisure centre for the new middle class. Its

Figure 9. Dimitri Petousis, The Workers' Housing Settlement, Ankara, 1940s; photograph showing Ersin Arısoy's brother with his close family and relatives (Ersin Arısoy Personal Collection).

Gazino featured live music and dance; its artificial lake and short-lived beach was a popular venue during the 1940s.[97] Residents could reach these destinations either by walking along Station Avenue or taking buses that regularly ran to Ulus from the Station.

In addition, Arısoy's family traveled to the Çubuk Dam and to the Atatürk Forest Farm (AOÇ) at least two or three times a year.[98] The latter, referred as the 'countryside' among family members, could be visited by train. The former required a greater effort in terms of transport since it was not anywhere near the railway. The Çubuk Dam area became a favoured recreational spot for elites during the 1930s, which, with its lake, artificial island, restaurant, refreshment bar and club (*gazino*) gave the impression of a 'Swiss lake in miniature'.[99] This popular recreation facility, and especially its park, was also visited by lower-class families. In the official media, such as the newspaper *Ulus*, such encounters were frequently cited, reminding the readers that the dam 'was not built for such people', who would bring their charcoal, grills and children to the park.[100] As the columnists of *Ulus* affirmed, the Çubuk Dam was the 'Bosporus of Ankara' and was fulfilling the lack of a waterfront in the capital to which elite migrants from Istanbul were accustomed[101]

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Figure 10. Dimitri Petousis, The Workers' Housing Settlement, Ankara, 1940s; photograph showing Ersin Arısoy's sister with one of her friends in the neighbourhood (Ersin Arısoy Personal Collection).

Housing the non-elite mothers and daughters of the Republic

Unlike the elite, residents of the Workers' Houses did not visit the 'Bosporus of Ankara' to compensate for 'the lack of a waterfront' in Ankara. Arısoy's mother was one of the less 'emancipated' women of the early republic, situated on the periphery of the republican project. She worked from home,

doing needlework to contribute to the family budget.[102] Most women in the area were house-wives and did not have any higher education. On the other hand, at a time when many upper- and middle-class housewives stayed in their fully equipped flats all day—and their mobility was conditioned by the contrast between the modern transparent surfaces of their homes and the more traditionally allocated internal spaces—women who lived in the Workers' Houses spent time outside the home and socialised within their close vicinity all day. Likewise, whereas elite women mostly waited for special occasions (such as attend-ing parties, clubs and ballrooms) to go out, the allotments not only helped lower-income families survive, but also increased the visibility of women as well as their mobility.[103]

In *Gendered Spaces*, Daphne Spain has written that 'new housing forms reflect changing family ideals and with them new ideas of women's and men's proper places'.[104] As I have discussed in this article, the transformation of common, circulatory and gathering spaces, namely the *sofa* and main hall, into a complex knit of translucent layers divid-ing the public and the intimate, both signaled and actively contributed to the making of the 'proper' upper-middle- and middle-class residential culture in 1930s' Ankara. On the contrary, in the Workers' Houses, Petousis's project sketched out a more 'extrovert way of' living for the family: providing a spacious hall, linking the kitchen directly to the outside and constructing an imaginary countryside in a largely urban setting. Its planning principles echoed both the *Siedlungen* in Germany and Jansen's scheme for the never-realised Workers'

Quarter in Ankara. Unlike the majority of mass-housing projects of 1920s in Central and Western Europe, however, the hall in Petousis's design occupied a large share of the space available, which defied the principles of *Existenzminimum*, while rendering the middle-class ideal of privacy obsolete by forcing other rooms to remain less individualised.[105] In so doing, Petousis's project marked the formation of nuanced, varied and alternate routes to the production of modern domesticity in 1930s' Ankara.

More importantly, as my paper has also shown, as well as the architect's curious reinstatement of the hall or the close proximity of the settlement to the city centre, public buildings, state schools and major urban parks, it was the inhabitants who actively participated in building a neighbourhood that provided social and domestic permeability. The significance of this permeability was that it stood in clear contrast to the comfortable, but mostly home-centred and fundamentally isolated, residential and entertainment life of elite women. In the end, it was this process that crafted the 'republican woman' in its multiplicity, just as the process itself had been formed by the families who, as active subjects, became involved in the (re)making of their homes in unprecedented ways.

Notes and references

1. I owe special thanks to Julia Walker from Binghamton University, SUNY, for her valuable comments and critical readings of the earlier versions of this essay. I would also like to thank Nancy Um, Tom McDonough, Deniz Karakaş, Bilge Fırat and Suronda Gonzalez from Binghamton University, SUNY; Sanem Güvenç-Salgırlı from Marmara University; Saygın Salgırlı from Sabancı University; and Gamze Ege for their feedback and sincere support. I am immensely grateful to Ersin Arısoy for letting me use photographs from his personal collection, our email correspondence and meeting me in person for an interview. Last, I am grateful to Savvas Tsilenis from Athens, and Özge, Özlem, Kasım and Feride Mutlu from Ankara for their great help with acquiring archival documents. The shorter version of this article, 'The Modern House in Question: Gender, Domesticity, and the Making of a Lower-Middle- Class Residential Culture in 1930s Ankara', was presented at the 2009 Symposium on the History of Art, sponsored by The Frick Collection and the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University, New York, April, 3rd–4th, 2009.

2. The term 'early republican Turkey' usually refers to the period from the early 1920s to the late 1930s.

3. In 'Istanbul Households', Duben and Behar have argued that 'most of the writing about the problems of the Turkish family refer to the families of the Ottoman bureaucratic or commercial classes, the classes most directly influenced by westernization. Most of the writers themselves came from such backgrounds, and they in all likelihood reflected a situation experienced in certain homes belonging to those classes...what we know about families in the past is a monopoly of information passed on orally or in written form by the members of the upper strata. The poorer segments of society have hardly left any evidence of the way they lived.' See Alan Duben, Cem Behar, *Istanbul Households, Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880–1940* (Cambridge/ New York, Cambridge University Press, 1991; 2002), pp. 197, 243.

4. I borrow the expression from Gülsüm Baydar, 'Figures of Wo/man in Contemporary Architectural Discourse', in *Negotiating Domesticity, Spatial*

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Productions of Gender in Modern Architecture, Hilde
Heynen, Gülsüm Baydar, eds (London/New York,
Routledge, 2005), p. 42.

5. For Euro-centricism as discussed in postcolonial
literature, please see James D. Sideway, 'Postcolonial
Geographies: An Exploratory Essay', *Progress in
Human Geography*, 24 (4) (2000), pp. 591–612;
Anthony D. King, 'Cultures and Spaces of Postcolo-
nial Knowledges', in *Handbook of Cultural Geogra-
phy*, Kay Anderson, Mona Domosh, Steve Pile, Nigel
Thrift, eds (London, Thousand Oaks; New Delhi,
Sage Publications, 2003), pp. 381–397.

6. For the use of 'modernisation theory', see Donald
Quataert, 'Ottoman History Writing and Changing
Attitudes Towards the Notion of "Decline" ', *History
Compass*, 1 (August, 2003), p. 2.

7. See, for instance, Serpil Çakır, 'Feminism and Feminist
History-Writing in Turkey: The Discovery of Ottoman
Feminism', *Aspasia: International Yearbook of
Central, Eastern, and Southeastern European
Women's and Gender History*, 1 (2007), p. 75;
Nilgun Fehim Kennedy, 'A Comparison between
Women Living in Traditional Turkish Houses and
Women Living in Apartments in Historical Context'
(MA Thesis, METU, 1999), p. 90. For a critical analysis
of 'cultural feminism' in the Egyptian context, see
Cathlyn Mariscotti, *Gender and Class in the Egyptian
Women's Movement, 1925–1939: Changing Per-
spectives* (Syracuse, NY, Syracuse University Press,
2008). Also read, Chandra Talpade Mohanty, 'Under
Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Dis-
courses', in *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and
Postcolonial Perspectives*, Anne McClintock, Aamir
Mufti, Ella Shohat, eds (Minneapolis/London, Univer-
sity of Minnesota Press, 1997), pp. 255–277. The
term 'women's emancipation' in the official discourse
was problematised in depth for the first time in Deniz
A. Kandiyoti, 'Emancipated but Unliberated? Reflec-

tions on the Turkish Case', *Feminist Studies*, 13 (2)
(Summer, 1987), pp. 317–338.

8. See James Holston, *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunc-
tions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil* (Prince-
ton, Princeton University Press, 2008); Jyoti
Hosagrahar, *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating
Architecture, Urbanism, and Colonialism in Delhi*
(Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY, Routle-
dge, 2005); Abidin Kusno, *Behind the Postcolonial:
Architecture, Urban Space and Political Cultures in
Indonesia* (London/ New York, Routledge, 2000);
Gulsum Baydar Nalbantoglu, Wong Chong Thai,
eds, *Postcolonial Spaces* (New York, Princeton Archi-
tectural Press, 1997); Zeynep Çelik, *Urban Forms
and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers under French
Rule* (Berkeley, CA, University of California Press,
1997); Anthony D. King, *The Bungalow: The Pro-
duction of a Global Culture* (New York, Oxford Uni-
versity Press, 1995). I would like to thank Abidin
Kusno for his reading suggestions on postcolonial
architecture and urbanism.

9. Anthony D. King, *Spaces of Global Cultures:
Architecture, Urbanism, Identity* (London/New York,
Routledge, 2004), pp. 70–72, 77. Although
Turkey's position in relation to 'colonial history' is
rather ambiguous, drawing on methodologies and
approaches from postcolonial literature offers new
perspectives for Turkish scholars. These issues vary
from the deployment of supposedly 'universal',
'local' or 'vernacular' architectural expressions in
colonial urban development projects to 'indigenous'
responses to modernist housing schemes. My under-
standing of the term 'indigenous' derives from Jyoti
Hosagrahar's powerful work on the postcolonial geo-
graphies of Delhi. In *Indigenous Modernities*, Hosa-
grahar argues that 'Indigenous modernities denotes
the paradoxical features of modernities rooted in
their particular conditions and located outside the

dominant discourse of a universal paradigm centred on an imagined "West"… In using the term "indigenous" I emphasise context and locality, the regional interpretations and forms of modernity rather than engage in an exercise of distinguishing endogenous and exogenous influences in architecture… Against the rigid opposition and monolithic identities of "traditional" and "modern", the concept of indigenous modernities celebrates their simultaneity and engagement.' Jyoti Hosagrahar, *Indigenous Modernities*, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 7.

10. These schemes were carried to Turkey both by German émigré architects and Turkish architects trained in Western Europe. For an extensive study of the architectural and cultural exchanges between German and Turkish intellectuals, architects and urban planners in the early twentieth century, please see, Esra Akcan, 'Modernity in Translation. Early Twentieth Century German-Turkish Exchanges in Land Settlement and Residential Culture' (PhD, New York, Columbia University, 2005). For the cultural and social context, and the contemporary aspects of this exchange, also see, Esra Akcan, 'The "Siedlung" and the "Mahalle": The Intertwined History of the Modern Residential Neighbourhood in Europe and Turkey', *Eurozine*, http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2005-12-21-akcan-en.html, 21/12/2005. The term 'womens' emancipation' in the official discourse was problematised in depth for the first time by Deniz A. Kandiyoti, *op. cit.*

11. The original blueprints have no indication of date. Based on the dates when the architect of the settlement, Dimitri Petousis, was hired by the Turkish State Railways (TCDD), the settlement started in 1938 and was most probably completed in 1939.

12. Please see, Meltem Ağduk-Gevrek, 'Cumhuriyet'in Asil Kızlarından '90'ların Türk Kızlarına… 1990'larda bir "Türk Kızı": Tansu Çiller' ['From the Noble Girls of the Republic to the '90's Turkish Girls… A "Turkish Girl" in the 1990s, Tansu Çiller'] in *Vatan, Millet, Kadınlar* ['Motherland, Nation and Women'], Ayşe Gül Altınay, ed. (Istanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2000), p. 284.

13. Nilüfer Göle, *The Forbidden Modern: Civilization\Veiling* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1996), p. 69. See also, Bernd Nikolai, *Moderne und Exil, Deutschprachige Architekten in der Turkei 1925–1955* (Berlin, Verlag für Bauwesen, 1998).

14. Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building, Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle, WA, University of Washington Press, 2001); for the use of 'republican woman' in feminist literature on early republican Turkey please see Jenny B. White, 'State Feminism, Modernization, and the Turkish Republican Woman', *NWSA Journal*, 15 (Autumn, 2003), p. 145 (15).

15. Gülsüm Baydar, 'Tenuous Boundaries: Women, Domesticity and Nationhood in 1930s Turkey', *The Journal of Architecture*, 7 (3) (Autumn, 2002), pp. 230–231.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 240 (see also pp. 234, 238–239); 'Modernist bir Yatak Odası' ['A Modernist Bedroom'], *Muhit*, 2 (5) (Kanunusani [January], 1930), pp. 1186–1187; 'Evlerimizin İçi' ['Interiors of our Homes'], *Yedigün*, 22 (1937), p. 22; Peyami Safa, 'Bizde ve Avrupa'da Kübik'['Cubic in Turkey and Europe'], *Yedigün*, 188 (1936), pp. 7–8.

17. Gülsüm Baydar, 'Tenuous Boundaries', *op. cit.*, pp. 231–234, 238; Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, *op. cit.*, pp. 223, 225, 234.

18. 'Mesken buhranın halli için takibat yapmak üzere Sosyal Yardım Müdürü Doktor Ahmet Fikri başkanlığında bir heyet oluşturulması' ['A committee was formed to investigate the Housing Shortage, chaired by Dr. Ahmet Fikri, Director of Social Assist-

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ance'], 28/04/1924; Dosya [File]: 1038, Fon Kodu
[No.]: 30..10.0.0, Yer No [Location]: 124.883..8.,
Republic Of Turkey Prime Ministry, General Directo-
rate of State Archives, The Directorate of Republican
Archives in Ankara, İvedik Caddesi No: 59, 06180
Yenimahalle, Ankara.

19. *Şehir ve Köylerde Mesken* ['Housing in Cities and Vil-
lages'] (M. Helger, *L'Habitation Urbaine et Rurale*),
Hikmet Künbetlioğlu, trsl.(Dahiliye Bakanlığı Yayınları,
Istanbul, Belediye Matbaası, 1945), p. 73. The latter
was depicted as the 'family type'. For *orta halli
aileler* and lower income groups, which the crisis
affected the most, building cheap block-type flats
and renting them to civil servants at reasonable
prices were among the options.

20. N. Doğu, 'İbrahim Karaahmetoğlu Kira Evleri—
Ankara' ['İbrahim Karaahmetoglu Rental Houses—
Ankara'], *Arkitekt*, 5 (5) (1938), p. 147, quoted in
İnci Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı
1923–1938* ['Early Republican Architecture 1923–
1938'] (Ankara, METU Faculty of Architecture Press,
2001), p. 87.

21. *Ankara Şehri İmar Kılavuzu* ['The Ankara Dictionary of
Development and Construction of Public Facilities']
(Ankara İmar Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 1946), p. 341.

22. Behçet Ünsal, 'Ar ve Memleket Mimarlığının Kronolo-
jisi Üzerine Düşünceler' ['On Modesty and the Chron-
ology of Turkey's Architecture'], *Arkitekt*, 6 (June,
1935), pp. 182–186, quoted in Yıldız Sey, 'To
House the New Citizens: Housing Policies and Mass
Housing', in *Modern Turkish Architecture*, Renata
Holod, Ahmet Evin, eds (Pennsylvania, University of
Pennsylvania Press, 1984), p. 167.

23. Population per room was 2.36 in Ankara and 1.60 in
Istanbul in 1935. See Arif Şentek, '1940–1950 Yılları
Arasında Türkiye'de Kentleşme, Konut ve Yapı Ureti-
mine Ilişkin Görüşler' ['Views on Urbanisation,
Housing and Building Production in Turkey from

1940 to 1950'] (MA, METU, 1979), p. 50; İnci Aslano-
ğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi*, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

24. The Committee published its report in 1943 but it
was publicised in the *Ulus* Newspaper, 28/06/1944.
See, Ali Cengizkan, 'Discursive Formations in Turkish
Residential Architecture ['Türk Konut Mimarlığında
Söylemsel Oluşumlar'] Ankara, 1948–1962' (PhD,
METU, 2000), p. 86.

25. Arif Şentek, '1940–1950 Yılları Arasında', *op. cit.*,
p. ii; 'Ankara'daki mesken buhranını tetkike memur
C.H.P. Meclis grubu komisyonu raporu' ['The Report
by the CHP Parliamentary Group Formed to Examine
the Housing Shortage in Ankara'], 20 Nisan 1943
[20th April, 1943], p. 388; a questionnaire on the
ideal type of housing was published in the *Ulus* News-
paper. Please see, *Tankut, Gönül Tankut, Bir Başkentin
İmarı, Ankara (1929–1939)* ['The Development of a
Capital City, Ankara (1929–1939)'] (Ankara, Orta
Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, 1990), pp. 164, 165.

26. See, Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia,
Design and Capitalist Development*, Barbara Luigia
La Penta, trsl. (Cambridge, Mass./London, The MIT
Press, 1976), pp. 109, 112.

27. See, Anton Kaes, Martin Jay, Edward Dimendberg,
eds, *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook* (Berkeley/
Los Angeles/London, University of California Press,
1995).

28. See, *Tansı Şenyapılı, 'Baraka' dan Gecekonduya,
Ankara'da Kentsel Mekanın Dönüşümü 1923–1969*
['From "Shed" to Gecekondu, Transformation of
Urban Space in Ankara 1923–1960'] (İstanbul, İleti-
şim Yayınları, 2004).

29. *Tankut, Bir Başkentin İmarı*, *op. cit.*, p. 162; *Ankara
Şehri İmar Kılavuzu*, *op. cit.*, p. 376; Ali Cengizkan,
'Discursive Formations', *op. cit.*, p. 76.

30. Recent studies on Ankara have also shown that
Jansen's plan actually followed an earlier city plan
developed by a German planner, Carl Christoph

Lörcher (1884–1966). See, Ali Cengizkan, *Ankara'-nın İlk Planı, 1924–25 Lörcher Planı* ['The First Plan of Ankara, The Lörcher Plan of 1924–25'] (Ankara, Arkadaş Yayınevi, 2004); Esra Akcan, *Çeviride Modern Olan, Şehir ve Konutta Türk-Alman İlişkileri* (Istanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2009), p. 77 [based on the PhD, 'Modernity in Translation: Early Twentieth Century German-Turkish Exchanges in Land Settlement and Residential Culture', Columbia University, 2005].

31. Alaattin Cemil Topçubası, 'Kooperatif Evleri ancak Ucuz Evler Olabilir!' ['Cooperative Houses could only be Affordable Houses!'], *Karınca*, 29-30 (1936), pp. 47–51; Zeki Sayar, 'Mesken Davamız' ['Our Housing Problem'], *Arkitekt* 171-172 (1946), pp. 49–50.

32. The list included foreign architects and planners such as Hermann Jansen, Martin Elsaesser and Gustav Oelsner, as well as Turkish architects such as Şinasi Şahingiray and Abidin Mortaş. Other foreign architects with experience in housing design, such as Bruno Taut, Ernst Egli and Margarete Schutte-Lihotzky, were not involved in large-scale housing development in Turkey. For further references, please see, Bernd Nikolai, *Moderne und Exil, op. cit.*

33. Some of these publications were *İller ve Belediyeler*, *Karınca*, and *Belediyeler Dergisi*. Creating credit options for low-income groups and commissioning housing cooperatives and private companies to build multi-family flats as well as single-family houses were other common suggestions. See, Arif Şentek, '1940–1950 Yılları Arasında', pp. 64–66.

34. In 1935 the number of buildings in Ankara totalled 15,879 houses and 351 flats, while the city's population was 122,720; in 1940, the population was 157,242 and there were 18,496 houses and 845 flats: 'Ankara'daki Mesken Buhranını', *op. cit.*, pp. 385– 397.

35. Yıldız Sey, 'To House the New Citizens', *op. cit.* p. 156; housing cooperatives were the foremost reason behind the failure to provide affordable housing in Ankara. See, *Ankara Şehri İmar Kılavuzu*, *op. cit.*, p. 376; Arif Şentek, '1940–1950 Yılları Arasında', *op. cit.*, p. 56.

36. Arif Şentek, '1940–1950 Yılları Arasında', *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 58.

37. See, *ibid.*, pp. 55, 58: the 'Lodgements' [*lojman*] were social tenements usually commissioned by ministries, directorates and the army in Turkey to accommodate their employees in the vicinity of major public buildings.

38. Correspondence with TEE (Technical Chamber of Greece), No. 17244, 09/22/2008. I would like to thank Costa Sakellariou from Binghamton University, SUNY, for translating this document into English; 'Yunan tebasından Mimar Dimitri Petusis'in Devlet Demiryolları işlerinde 350 lira ücretle ve 2 yıl müddetle çalıştırılması' ['The Document Showing Petousis's First Date of Employment for the State Railways'] Tarih [Date]: 14/07/1938. Sayi [No]: 2/9234, Dosya [Folder]: 243-323, Fon Kodu [Fund Code]: 30..18.1.2, Yer No [Location]: 84.64..13.; The Directorate of Republican Archives in Ankara.

39. 'Ankara Şehri İmar Programı Hakkında', Amele mahallesinde 40 örnek evin yapılması, Maliye Vekili imzalı, 4/12/1930, Dahiliye Vekaleti imzalı 17/11/1930, (10/11/1930), 7; Amele mh kısım planının tasdiki, icra vekilleri heyetinin 26/04/1930 tarihli toplantısında kabul edilmiştir. 9191 sayılı karar [Cabinet Decision no. 9191 approving the construction of 40 model houses in the Workers Quarter, 04/12/1930]; The Directorate of Republican Archives in Ankara.

40. As Esra Akcan has argued in *Çeviride Modern Olan*, what Jansen had in mind were mainly the pre-War models of *Siedlungen* in Ankara rather than that of

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*Zeilenba*u, which consisted of both high- and low-rise parallel blocks, separated with large gardens: see Esra Akcan, *Çeviride Modern Olan*, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 267.

41. *Ibid.* These, however, were more 'conservative' models than those built by Ernst May and Bruno Taut in late 1920s and early 1930s in Frankfurt and Berlin. Jansen's schemes for Bahçelievler and Ankara's city plan in general parallels what Leopold Bauer, Josef Frank and Adolf Loos imagined for Vienna in early 1920s: 'suburban Siedlungen with single-family houses, a low population density and self sufficiency…' See Manfredo Tafuri, 'The Attempts at Urban Reform in Europe between the Wars', in, Manfredo Tafuri, Francesco Dal Co, *Modern Architecture 1* (London, Faber and Faber/ Electa, 1986), p. 162.

42. Ali Cengizkan, 'Discursive Formations', *op. cit.*, Appendix C.

43. Hilde Heynen, *Architecture and Modernity: A Critique* (Cambridge, Mass., The MIT Press, 1999), p. 46.

44. Helga Schmidt-Thomsen, 'Licht und Farbe bei Bruno Taut' ['Light and Colour in the Work of Bruno Taut'] in *Bruno Taut, Meister des farbigen Bauens in Berlin*, Winfried Brenne, ed. (Berlin, Verlagshaus Braun, 2005), pp. 18–25.

45. Please see, Esra Akcan, 'The "Siedlung" and the "Mahalle".', *op. cit.*

46. Esra Akcan, *Çeviride Modern Olan*, *op. cit.*, pp. 276–288.

47. See, for instance, Zeki Selah, 'Müşterek İkametgahlar', *Mimar*, 3 (1931), pp. 97–99.

48. In his essay, Arif translates Siedlung as 'mahalle', which in most cases is translated as 'neighbourhoods' (the smallest settlement unit in a 'traditional' Turkish city structure). See Burhan Arif, 'Yeni Şehirlerin İnkişafı ve "Siedlung"lar' ['The Development of New Cities and the "Siedlungen"'], *Arkitekt*, 213-216 (1932), pp. 7–8.

49. Manfredo Tafuri writes that 'at the base of the urban reorganisation led by May and Martin Wagner was the postulate of the intrinsic negativeness of the large city.': Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia*, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

50. Ersin Arısoy, e-mail message to the Author, August 7th, 2008.

51. The whole house was less than 65 square metres: the bedroom was 11.65 square metres, the sitting room was 11.43 square metres and the hall was 13.86 square metres. The information and original blueprints were obtained from the Turkish State Railways (TCDD) Archive in Ankara: T.C. Devlet Demiryolları İşletmesi Genel Müdürlüğü, Talatpaşa Bulvarı, 06330 Gar, Ankara.

52. For Bruno Taut and Ernst May in Berlin and Frankfurt, please see Winfried Brenne, Franz Jaschke, 'Stadtebau und Architektur bei Bruno Taut' ['Bruno Taut: Architecture and Town Planning'], in *Bruno Taut*, Winfried Brenne, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 91, 164; Rosemarie Höpfner, Volker Fischer, eds, *Ernst May und das Neue Frankfurt, 1925–1930* (Berlin, 1986); Christoph Mohr, Michael Müller, *Funktionalität und Moderne: das neue Frankfurt und seine Bauten, 1925–1933* (Cologne, Ed. Fricke im R. Müller Verlag, 1984).

53. See Ernst Reuter, *Mesken Meselesinin Hal Çareleri* ['The Solutions to the Housing Problem'] (Ankara, Türk Ekonomi Kurumu, 1946), p. 10.

54. Bruno Taut, 'The New Dwelling: The Woman as Creator', in *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

55. See Gülsüm Nalbantoğlu, 'Between Civilization and Culture: Appropriation of Traditional Forms in Early Republican Turkey', *JAE*, 47 (2) (November, 1993), pp. 69–71; Esra Akcan, 'Modernity in Translation', *op. cit.*, pp. 335–381.

56. *Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Türk Evi Plan Tipleri* ['The Plan Types of the Turkish House'] (İstanbul, İstanbul

Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 1955); Sibel Bozdogan, Süha Özkan, Engin Yenal, *Sedad Eldem: Architect in Turkey* (Singapore, Concept Media, 1987).

57. It could also be positioned directly open to the court-yard (*avlu*, *taşlık*) or be T-shaped. If the sofa was to be located in the middle of the room, then in order to make the light come into the space, smaller spaces were used, which were separated from the main area by a step (*seki*) and a railing (*eyvan*). For morer information, please see Stéphane Yerasimos, *Turkish Style* (Italy, Archipelago Press, 1992), pp. 38, 39, 45 and Reha Günay, *Türk Evi Geleneği ve Safranbolu Evleri* ['The Tradition of the Turkish House: The Safranbolu Houses'] (Istanbul, YEM, 1998), pp. 46– 64, 136–146.

58. Yasemin İnce Güney, 'Appropriated "A La Franga": An Examination through the Lens of Domestic Culture' (PhD, The University of Michigan, 2005), p. 161; regarding traditional houses, Güney refers to the so-called 'Ottoman-Turkish House'.

59. *Ibid*., pp. 149–150; in some examples, corridors are used instead of the hall: pp. 149, 150, 154, 155.

60. *Ibid*., p. 153; see also Nilgün Fehim Kennedy, 'A Com-parison between Women Living in Traditional Turkish Houses', *op. cit*. According to Uğur Tanyeli such layouts signified a 'transitional period' in house and flat design in Turkey. Please see, Uğur Tanyeli, *İstanbul 1900–2000, Konutu ve Modernleşmeyi Metropolden Okumak* ['İstanbul 1900–2000, Reading Housing and Modernisation through the Metropolis'] (İstan-bul, Akın Nalça, 2004).

61. For instance, in 'Sönmez Kira Evi' ['The Sönmez Rental House'] by Bekir İhsan Ünsal and 'Bir Kira Evi (Ankara)' ['A Rental House'] by Zeki Sayar, there were short corridors used adjacent to the halls. See, Bekir İhsan Ünsal, 'Sönmez Kira Evi', *Arkitekt*, 9 (1937), p. 238; Zeki Sayar, 'Bir Kira Evi (Ankara)', *Arki-tekt*, 5-6 (1939), pp. 104–106.

62. Yasemin İnce Güney, 'Appropriated "A La Franga" ', *op. cit.*, pp. 140, 151.

63. Mimar A. Sabri, Emin Onat, 'Kavaklıdere'de bir Ev Projesi' ['Project for a House in Kavaklıdere'], *Arki-tekt*, 5-6 (1937), p. 147.

64. Leman Tomsu, Münevver belen, 'Ev Projesi' ['Project for a House'], *Arkitekt*, 4 (1937), p. 110: sofa/ hall is used interchangeably; the expression 'Hol denilen sofalar' ['the sofa that is (also) called the hall'], was used in *Ankara Şehri İmar Kılavuzu*, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

65. Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, *op. cit.*, p. 212; Hasan Ünal Nalbantoğlu, 'Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ankara'sında Yükselen "Orta Sınıf" Üzerine' ['The Rising Middle-Class in Ankara in the Republican Period'], *Tarih İçinde Ankara Eylül*, 1981 Seminer Bil-dirileri ['Ankara in History'] (Ankara, METU, 1984), pp. 297–298; Cevdet Kudret Solok, 'Karanfil Soka-ğındaki Ev' ['The House in Karanfil Street'] in *Ankara'-nın Taşına Bak: Türk Yazınında Ankara* ['Ankara in Turkish Literature'], A. Esat Bozyiğit, ed. (Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2000), pp. 166–184.

66. Robert Fishman, 'Bourgeois Utopias: Visions of Subur-bia', in *Readings in Urban Theory*, S. Fainstein, Scott Campbell, eds (Oxford/Malden, Mass., Blackwell Publishers, 2002), pp. 23–24.

67. The quotation is from Gülsüm Baydar, 'Figures of Wo/man', *op. cit.*, p. 39.

68. See, for instance, Beatriz Colomina, *Privacy and Pub-licity, Modern Architecture as Mass Media* (Cam-bridge, Mass./London, The MIT Press, 1994); Jane Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Gender, Space and Architecture in Regency London* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 2002).

69. Jane Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

70. *Ibid*., p. 27.

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71. Roderick J. Lawrence, 'Public Collective and Private Space: A Study of Urban Housing in Switzerland', in *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space: An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study*, Susan Kent, ed. (New York, Cambridge UniversityPress, 1990), pp. 73–91.

72. Gabriele Vom Bruck, 'A House Turned Inside Out: Inhabiting Space in a Yemeni City', *Journal of Material Culture*, 2:2 (July, 1997), pp. 139–172.

73. Interview with Ersin Arısoy, 08/18/09; Department of Architecture, Bahçeşehir University, İstanbul.

74. Elizabeth Darling, '"A citizen as well as a Housewife": New Spaces of Domesticity in 1930s' London', in *Negotiating Domesticity*, Hilde Heynen, Gülsüm Baydar, eds, *op. cit.*, pp. 57–58.

75. François Claessens, 'Mapping Urban and Social Space: Towards a Socio-Cultural Understanding of the Built-Environment' (paper presented at 'Doing, Thinking, Feeling home: The Mental Geography of Residential Environments': Conference, Delft, The Netherlands, October 14th–15th, 2005), p.8; http://www.otb.tudelft.nl/live/pagina.jsp?id=2e2a5b07-3f77-4d71-b1d1-33a897e794aa&lang=en&binary=/doc/Conference%20paper%20Claessens.pdf.
Walter Gropius, 'Sociological Foundations of the Minimum Dwelling' (1929), in, J. Hoffmann, 'Dwellings for Lowest Income', results based on the 2nd International Congress for New Building and on an Exhibition by the Municipal Office of Architecture in Frankfurt, Third Edition (1933), p. XIV.

76. Karina Van Herck, 'Only where Comfort Ends, Does Humanity Begin', in *Negotiating Domesticity*, Hilde Heynen, Gülsüm Baydar, eds, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

77. Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, 'Rationalisierung im Haushalt', *Das Neue Frankfurt*, I, No. 5 (1926–27), pp. 120–123; Nicholas Bullock, 'First the Kitchen —then the Façade', *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 1, No. 3/4 (1988), pp. 177–192.

78. The expression, 'former family functions' is from Walter Gropius, 'Sociological Foundations of the Minimum Dwelling' (1929), *op. cit*. See also Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960* (Cambridge, Mass., The MIT Press, 2000), pp. 21, 29, 37; Susan R. Henderson, 'A Revolution in the Woman's Sphere, Grete Lihotzky and the Frankfurt Kitchen', in *Architecture and Feminism*, Debra Coleman, *et al.*, eds (New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 1996).

79. See Mark Wigley, 'Untitled: The Housing of Gender', in *Sexuality and Space, Princeton Papers on Architecture*, Beatriz Colomina, ed. (New York, NY, Princeton Architectural Press, 1992), p. 360.

80. Gülsüm Baydar, 'Figures of Wo/man', *op. cit.*, p. 39.

81. Nicholas Bullock, 'First the Kitchen', *op. cit.*, pp. 188–190; Rosemarie Haag Bletter, 'Expressionism and the New Objectivity', *Art Journal*, 43, no. 2 (Summer, 1983), p. 116; Martina Heβler, 'The Frankfurt Kitchen: The Model of Modernity and the "Madness" of Traditional Users, 1926 to 1933', in *Cold War Kitchen, Americanisation, Technology, and European Users*, Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann, eds (Cambridge, Mass./London, The MIT Press, 2009), p. 175.

82. Martina Heβler, 'The Frankfurt Kitchen', *op. cit.*, p. 173.

83. *Ibid*., p. 173; Susan R. Henderson, 'A Revolution in the Woman's Sphere', *op. cit.*, p. 235.

84. For the concept of social permeability, see, for instance, Thomas Widlok, 'Mapping Spatial and Social Permeability', *Current Anthropology*, 40/3 (June, 1999), pp. 392–400.

85. See Jochen Hartmann's Portfolio, 'Social Permeability': http://jochenhartmann.com/portfolio/index.php?/work/housing/

86. Interview with Ersin Arısoy, *op. cit.*

87. *Ibid*.

88. I would like to thank Ersin Arısoy for rendering the floor plans of the Workers' Houses to illustrate the

way in which his family inhabited the house; Arısoy, e-mail message to the Author, August 7th, 2008.

89. Interview with Ersin Arısoy, *op. cit.*

90. Ersin Arısoy, e-mail message to the Author, August 15th, 2008.

91. *Ibid*; see also, Ersin Arısoy, 'Öbür Mahalle' ['The Other Neighbourhood'], *Ankara Magazin*, 8 (82) (March, 2009), pp. 62–65.

92. See İnci Aslanoğlu, '1930–50 Yılları Ankara'sının Eğlence Yaşamı İçinde Gazino Binaları' ['Club/ Gazino Buildings within Entertainment Life in Ankara 1930–50] in 'Tarih İçinde Ankara II: Aralik 1998 Seminer Bildirileri' ['Ankara in History II: December 1998 Proceedings'], Yıldırım Yavuz, Sevgi Aktüre, eds (Ankara, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, 1998), pp. 327–340; Önder Şenyapılı, 'Gençlik Yıllarımın (ve Öncesinin) Ankara'sında Eğlenme-Dinlenme Mekanları' ['The Entertainment-Recreation Facilities in Ankara of my Youth (and Before)'], *Özcan Altaban'a Armağan, Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'sı* ['Tribute to Özcan Altaban: The Republic's Ankara'], Tansı Şenyapılı, ed. (Ankara, ODTÜ Yayıncılık, 2005), pp. 330, 334, 335. In his essay, Şenyapılı cites Beki L. Bahar, *Efsaneden Tarihe Ankara Yahudileri* ['The Jewish Community in Ankara from Myth to History'] (Istanbul, Pan, 2003), p. 106.

93. Ersin Arısoy, 'Ahsap Konaktan Apartman Dairesine Anneannem ve Evleri' ['From a Wooden Konak to a flat in an Apartment Building, my Grandmother and her Houses'], *Ankara Magazin*, 6, no. 67 (September, 2007), p. 66.

94. Selda Şerifsoy, 'Aile ve Kemalist Modernizasyon Projesi 1928–1950' ['Family and the Kemalist Modernisation Project 1928–1950'] in Ayşe Gül Altınay, ed. *Vatan, Millet, Kadınlar*, *op. cit.*, pp. 153, 157; see also Yeşim Arat, 'The Project of Modernity and Women in Turkey', in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, Sibel Bozdoğan, Reşat

Kasaba, eds (Seattle/London, University of Washington Press, 1997), pp. 95–112.

95. Selda Şerifsoy, 'Aile ve Kemalist Modernizasyon', *op. cit.*, pp. 181, 182; see also, Nilüfer Göle, *The Forbidden Modern*, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

96. Ersin Arısoy, e-mail message to author, August 15th, 2008; see also, Ersin Arısoy, 'Genclik Parki Ankara'da Bir Vaha (idi)' ['The Youth Park was an Oasis in Ankara'], *Ankara Magazine*, 5 (July–August, 2005), pp. 94–95.

97. Burcu Yılmaz, 'Bozkırdaki Cennet: Gençlik Parkı' ['The Paradise in the Steppes: The Youth Park'] in *Sanki Viran Ankara* ['Ankara Looks as if it is in Ruins'] Funda Şenol Cantek, ed. (Istanbul, İletişim, 2006), p. 221.

98. Interview with Ersin Arısoy, *op. cit.*

99. The Park and the restaurant were designed by the French urban planner and garden designer Theo Leveau and the Turkish Ministry of Public Works in 1936: *Ulus* (18/06/1946), p. 6; cited in İnci Aslanoğlu, '1930–50 Yılları Ankara'sının', *op. cit.*, p. 330.

100. 'Ankara'nın Boğaziçisi' ['The Bosporus of Ankara'], *Ulus* (26/07/1937), p. 2, cited in İnci Aslanoğlu, '1930–50 Yılları Ankara'sının', p. 331.

101. See also L. Funda Şenol Cantek, *Yabanlar ve Yerliler, Başkent Olma Sürecinde Ankara* ['Strangers and Natives: Ankara in the Process of Becoming the Capital City'] (İstanbul, İletişim, 2003), pp. 243–244.

102. Ersin Arısoy, e-mail message to author, August 15th, 2008.

103. In 'Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ankara'sında Yükselen "Orta Sınıf" Üzerine', after mentioning the scarcity of bars, night clubs and restaurants in Ankara during the early years of the republic, Nalbantoğlu summarises a typical day in an upper-income household for the non-working housewife: 'In the mornings, the tailor comes to the house for a fitting. Then, the housewife supervises the luncheon prepared for the husband at

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noon, followed by a nap in the afternoon. There are tea parties for guests at five. Then the family attends cocktail parties, dinners or elite clubs (such as the Anadolu Club) in the evenings with the husband. For their holidays families always travel to Istanbul along with the live-in maids.' See Hasan Ünal Nalbantoğlu, 'Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ankara'sında', *op. cit.*, p. 297; see also, Esra Akcan, 'Ambiguities of Transparency and Privacy in Seyfi Arkan's Houses for the Turkish Republic', METU, *Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (2005), pp. 25–49.

104. Daphne Spain, *Gendered Spaces* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1992), p. 132.

105. For the concept of *Existenzminimum* in relation to CIAM's theme for its second meeting in Frankfurt in 1929, 'Die Wohnung für Das Existenzminimum', please see CIAM II—Die Wohnung für Das Existenzminimum; Frankfurt, Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen und Städtisches Hochbauamt (Frankfurt, Englert und Schlosser, 1930) and Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–44.