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### Domestic Arrangements: The Maid's Room in the Ataköy Apartment Blocks, Istanbul, Turkey

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# Domestic Arrangements: The Maid's Room in the Ataköy Apartment Blocks, Istanbul, Turkey

The first phase of Istanbul's Ataköy Housing Development, an icon of architectural modernism in Turkey, inflects modernist architectural forms with local domestic traditions. This study examines the maid's room, a sphere of the Turkish modern interior where post-war ideas and ideals both reconciled and contradicted the customary and the modern. The case study extends recent attempts to re-think postwar architectural culture and its global effects.

## Introduction

A maid's room is found in many apartments designed for upper-income groups in the 1950s and 1960s. In Turkey, the midcentury maid's room is a remnant of earlier domestic interiors, especially late 19th and early 20th century residential buildings designed to emulate European models.<sup>1</sup> A maid's room as part of a distinct service zone with a separate service entrance, appears in Istanbul's Ataköy Housing Development, Phase I (1957–62), an iconic mass housing project regulated, funded, built, and marketed by the government. Distinguished by unadorned aesthetics, green areas, reinforced concrete load-bearing structural systems, open plans, large windows, and roof terraces, the development exemplifies the ideals of post-World War II modernism. The Ataköy apartments were among many multistory apartment projects built in response to a web of political, social, and economic circumstances that produced rapid urbanization in Turkey. As such, they formed part of a series of government modernization programs profoundly influenced by postwar Western lifestyles and aesthetic concerns. The maid's rooms in the Ataköy development were a product of the dynamics which drove modernization in Turkey; these forces, operative at a number of scales, converged to shape the program and interior architecture of the apartments.

My research, a close reading of the Ataköy project, provides insight into the transformation of the Turkish domestic realm in response to Western postwar ideas and ideals, and demonstrates the fluidity of cultural norms and practices.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, my scholarship extends recent attempts to rethink postwar architectural culture and its global effects beyond simplistic, canonic, and ontological definitions or explanations.<sup>3</sup> Using this frame, and grounded in historical research, oral histories, and my analyses of the extant buildings, my study describes the social implications of the design of the Ataköy interiors, highlighting the maid's room—an ordinary space, often overlooked in the studies of the built environment. My intent is to show how Western modernism in the 1950s and 1960s was transformed by local society and culture, and to demonstrate, in turn, how these modern residential interiors of the period reflected and organized everyday life—defining the social order, and normalizing social, class, and gender relations.<sup>4</sup>

As urbanization accelerated in Turkey, a growing shortage of urban housing became an important national challenge, particularly for the Democrat Party government, which came to power in 1950. Headed by Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, the new government marked the termination of an era of single-party rule by the Republican Peoples Party, with a promise of a more liberal and democratic

policies.<sup>5</sup> It reinforced ties with the West, and especially with the United States; participation in the Korean War (1950), membership in NATO (1952), and taking part in Cold War foreign aid programs were important signifiers of this alliance. In this political context, American and European experts were invited to Turkey to develop solutions for the nation's housing problem. The invitees included prominent planners and architects such as Charles Abrams (1954) and a team from the U.S. architectural firm Skidmore, Owings and Merrill under the direction of Gordon Bunshaft (1951).<sup>6</sup> The new government shifted the bulk of modernization efforts from Ankara, built as the capital of the Republic of Turkey (which had been founded in 1923), to the old capital of Istanbul. In fact, making "Istanbul into a modern city" by means of rebuilding, "establishing a new road system for better traffic flow, constructing new public squares, restoring mosques and beautifying the city" was high on the agenda of the Menderes government.<sup>7</sup>

Unfortunately, Turkish urban renewal projects generally led to the demolition of older buildings and the eradication of the traditional fabric, and destroyed areas of the historic city of Istanbul. The Ataköy Housing Development, as well as other projects by the same developer (the Emlak Kredi Bank) became influential models for subsequent projects (Figure 1).<sup>8</sup> Here, the meaning of "modern" embodied a leitmotif of modernization theory, as developed by social scientists and theoreticians in the United States in the Cold War era: "the world was converging from a congeries of traditional life ways onto a unique modernity."<sup>9</sup> This ideology promoted a singular understanding of modernization, uninflected by geography or culture. Housing developments, like the Ataköy project, would materialize this singular "unique modernity" and link Turkey to a larger international community, albeit one defined by Western postwar culture. *continued*



Figure 1. The Ataköy Development, Phase 1 (foreground) and Phase 2 (background). *Mimarlık*, no. 15 (1965): 17. (Courtesy of the Turkish Chamber of Architects.)

### The Ataköy Housing Development, Phase I (1957–1962), Istanbul: Blocks B, D, F

European-style mass housing had a significant impact worldwide during the mid-twentieth century.<sup>10</sup> In developing economies, these housing projects were an endorsement of Western industrial society by cultural and economic elites.<sup>11</sup> The abstracted forms, large windows, and new domestic equipment that typified housing projects like the Ataköy blocks signaled that a modern lifestyle was available to some social groups in Turkey.

The Ataköy development was situated in a prominent location between Istanbul's international airport and the city. The project urbanized an area called Baruthane, between Bakırköy to the east and the airport to the west. The London-Istanbul motorway and the Sirkeci-Florya shore drive adjacent to the Sea of Marmara defined the project's borders on the north and south, respectively.<sup>12</sup> The 50-hectare strip of seashore along the Sirkeci-Florya drive was designed as a tourist area, with a modern beach, recreational facilities, and hotels, further increasing the attractiveness of the area.<sup>13</sup> Initiated in 1955 and only finished in 1991, the government-funded development was led by the Emlak Kredi Bank, which was established as Emlak

ve Eytam Bankası in 1926 (Figure 2). As the Emlak Kredi Bank's most comprehensive mass housing initiative, Ataköy was planned as a small city of ten neighborhoods.<sup>14</sup> The construction of the first neighborhood or Phase I started in 1957 when the bank established a planning office. The 50 Phase I buildings housed approximately 3,000 residents and were completed in 1962 (Figure 3).<sup>15</sup> The office was run by a group of Turkish architects, including Ertuğrul Menteşe as the chief and the prominent Italian planner and architect Luigi Piccinato as a consultant.<sup>16</sup>

Ranging from 110 to over 200 square meters, the apartment plans were spacious, light, and airy, with large glazed areas providing natural ventilation, and central heating. Many materials were imported, and construction costs were high as a result. Contrary to the Emlak Kredi Bank's original intention to provide housing for civil servants, the spacious flats were affordable only for the middle and upper-middle class. In 1958, Zeki Sayar, an architect and the publisher of the country's most prominent professional journal, questioned the motives of the mass housing project, stating that it was designed as a "holiday

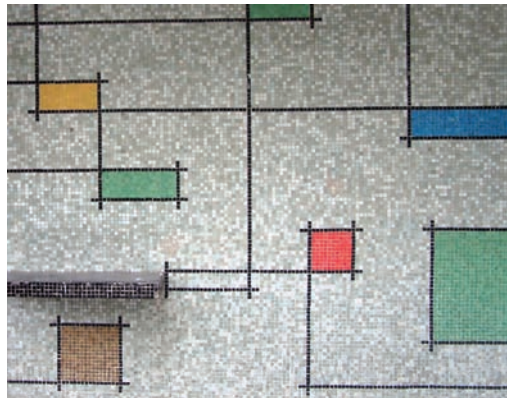
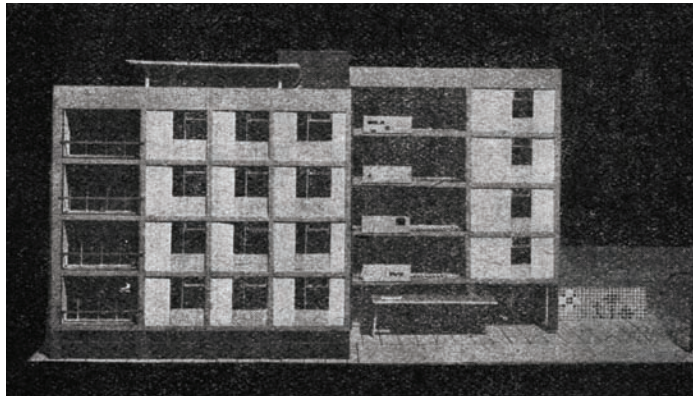


Figure 2. Advertisement for the Ataköy Development. *Arkitekt* 27/294 (1959). (Courtesy of Eren Sayar Kavcı for *Arkitekt*.)

Figure 3. The site plan of the Ataköy Development, 1958. The settlement is bounded by the London-Istanbul motorway on the north and the Sirkeci-Florya shore drive on the south. The strip of land along the sea was developed as a beach with recreational facilities and hotels. *Mimarlık*, no. 15 (1965): 17. (Courtesy of the Turkish Chamber of Architects.)







**Figure 4.** Model of the Ataköy Block B. Buildings are partially raised on pilotis and surmounted with roof terraces. *Arkitekt* 26, no. 291 (1958): 63. (Courtesy of Eren Sayar Kavcı for *Arkitekt*.)

**Figure 5.** Ataköy Block D, exterior detail, showing Betebe mosaic with an integrated bench. (Photograph by author, from 2006).

**Figure 6.** Ataköy Block B, exterior detail, showing sculptural supporting walls. (Photograph by author, from 2006).

village” rather than inexpensive housing for people with low incomes.<sup>17</sup> The relatively luxurious Ataköy apartments did not resemble Western European and North American public housing developments, such as the public housing blocks in England by G. H. Weed, A.R.I.B.A in

London by Robert Haning and Anthony Chitty, and Rotterdam complexes by W. Van Tijen, all of which were celebrated in *Arkitekt* as models for housing a modern society.<sup>18</sup> According to Muhteşem Giray, a key architect, Medeni Berk, Minister of Public Works and Housing in Prime Minister Menderes’ cabinet at the time, suggested the large size of the earlier units. As Giray explained, “Minister Berk had been influenced by housing developments that he had seen abroad. He insisted on spacious flats of 200 sq. m. and above despite the fact that Piccinato suggested designing more affordable, smaller units.”<sup>19</sup>

Surrounded by greenery, the blocks contrasted with the low-scale fabric of neighboring areas as well as the traditional wooden houses of Istanbul. The development’s universal architectural language, zoning of functions, and landscape connect Ataköy to CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne, 1928–1959) principles.<sup>20</sup> Overall, the architects emphasized “the element of height,” and “sufficient space, sun, [and] ventilation,” as outlined earlier in the CIAM tenets of “housing, work, recreation, and traffic.”<sup>21</sup> Yet, the planning and the landscape layout in Phase I of Ataköy, with its irregular paths and greenery, did away with the rigid orthogonal geometries of CIAM modernism. The organic planning of the first phase of the development, which was followed by more regular and mechanized designs in the 1970–1990 sections, is arguably indebted to Piccinato.<sup>22</sup> The prolific Italian planner, an admirer of Wright, understood the master plan as an integrated ensemble that developed over time and came to define a place

within an existing landscape or context, rather than an abstract geometric organization.<sup>23</sup> Besides the general plan for the Ataköy district, his work in Turkey between 1956 and 1968 included the urban plan for Bursa and a master plan for Istanbul. In all of these projects, he stressed the importance of “an ‘organic’ plan integrated with the hinterland.”<sup>24</sup> One can see this emphasis and his influence in a report published by Menteşe in *Arkitekt*, describing Ataköy as one of the modern satellite cities of Istanbul:

According to contemporary lifestyles, the structure [of Istanbul] needs to be changed in an organic way. This requires revitalization of old neighborhoods and the foundation of a new urban organism. That is, to carry the city formation enclosed within itself to an open, airy, and centrally organized network of little cities composed of housing clusters organized around educational, entertainment, administrative, commercial, and social facilities. These small cities are connected with automobile roads.<sup>25</sup>

Other aspects of the Ataköy Phase I project reflect an emerging critique of CIAM, most notably by its younger members, such as Giancarlo De Carlo, Aldo van Eyck, and Alison and Peter Smithson, who formed Team 10. These influences can be seen in the variety of size and scale of the Phase I buildings and in the broken masses of the lower blocks. The siting of these blocks takes into consideration both sunlight and ventilation; they are oriented to maximize sun exposure and minimize shadows. Nevertheless, the primacy of the freestanding block and a universal and rational architectural expression remain in the overall design.<sup>26</sup>

The Ataköy’s Phase I blocks included ten different building types. With rectilinear masses, planar surfaces, a reinforced concrete load-bearing system, large glazed surfaces, balconies, flat-roofed terraces with concrete pergolas, and the use of pilotis

*continued*

to make segments of the ground level available for car parking, the buildings clearly demonstrate the influence of Le Corbusier. This influence can also be readily observed in the larger four-bedroom schemes of Blocks B, D, and F, which are the focus of my research.<sup>27</sup> These blocks contain 228 units in 26 buildings.<sup>28</sup> Composed of two flats on alternating levels, the four-story blocks of B and D are similar in massing, articulation, roof height, and exterior appearance, as well as in plan (Figure 4). They are composed of two adjoining masses: one side meets the ground directly, while the other is raised on pilotis. The ground-level walls and the pilotis are covered with Betebe mosaic and partly decorated with abstract compositions of lines and squares in primary colors. Sculptural support elements in Block B and grill panels in Block D are other decorative touches characteristic of the period (Figures 5–6).

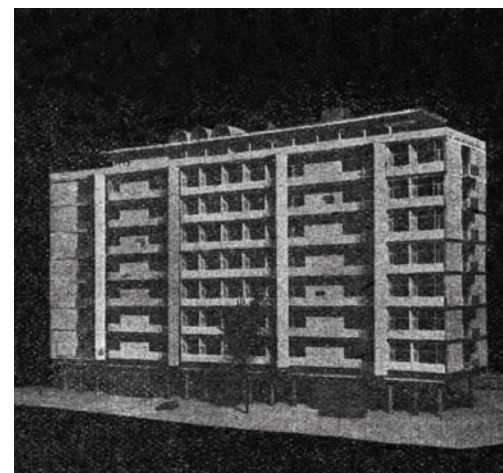
Distinct from the broken masses of Blocks B and D, the eight-story Block F is a massive rectilinear prism that formally inaugurates the Phase II buildings. It is surmounted with a roof terrace and partially raised on pilotis (Figure 7). The roof terrace, which combines two buildings into a single mass and includes indoor and outdoor areas, is designed to take advantage of the views of the Sea of Marmara. Block F recalls Le Corbusier's *Unité d'Habitation* (1947–1952, Marseille), which embodied 19th century collective housing ideals exemplified by Charles Fourier's phalanstery.<sup>29</sup> In contrast, the Ataköy apartment block was more exclusive, catering to a privileged lifestyle. An earlier model of this project, with plastic roof forms, as published in *Arkitekt* (1958), betrays another influence—Brazilian Modernism. The roof elements recall the plastic forms of Oscar Niemeyer's *Hotel Regente* in Rio de Janeiro, which was published in a special issue about Brazil in *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui*<sup>30</sup> (Figure 8). This particular issue of the magazine was available in Turkey, and architects like Oscar Niemeyer and Lucio Costa had a profound impact on the younger generation of Turkish architects.<sup>31</sup> The Ataköy blocks are an example of this influence.



### Designing for the Modern and Its Other

The relationship between Brazilian Modernist architecture and the Ataköy blocks is not limited to the building's massing and decoration; both Niemeyer's apartment designs and the early Ataköy buildings include a maid's room with a separate service entrance. As Paul Rabinow observes, Niemeyer's Brasilia housing blocks include a maid's room and separate circulation systems for domestic helpers and residents:

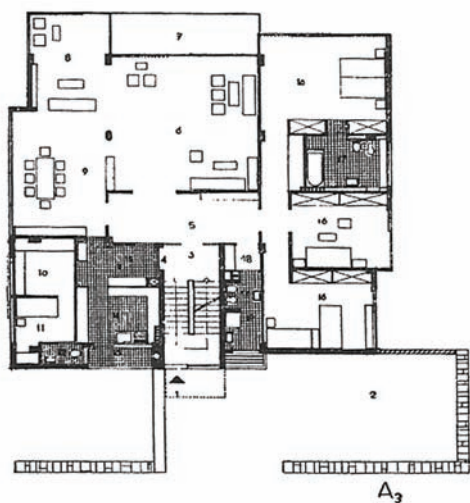
Oscar Niemeyer, the communist architect, did provide space in each apartment for maids. These modern rooms have no windows, but, as opposed to the equally omnipresent maids' rooms in Rio, they often do have space for a dresser or chair as well as the bed. In Niemeyer's (and his followers['']) six-story super-quadra buildings there are two systems of elevators: one for the maids—these don't



**Figure 7.** Ataköy Block F exterior, showing pilotis and balconies. (Photograph by author, from 2006).

**Figure 8.** An earlier model of the Ataköy Block F with a roof terrace and plastic roof forms. *Arkitekt* 26, no. 291 (1958): 66. (Courtesy of Eren Sayar Kavcı for *Arkitekt*).





stop at the main floor, only the underground garage level—as well as the regular elevators for Brasília's modern citizens.<sup>32</sup>

In Niemeyer's buildings, social and class hierarchies are not only expressed in the program, but are reinforced through the design of a circulation system that limits the visibility of the domestic worker at the formal entry point to the apartment buildings. The early Ataköy interiors would also reflect the prevailing social hierarchy in its organization of circulation and other functions.

In Istanbul, the presence of maid's rooms can be connected to both traditional upper-class lifestyles with roots in the Ottoman elite, and Westernized apartment schemes emerging in the 19th and early 20th centuries, catering to the upper class.<sup>33</sup> Maid's rooms are found in Turkish residential designs from the 1920s and 1930s, and in the Modern schemes of their famous European counterparts, such as Mies van der Rohe and Le Corbusier. A canonical example of a modernist maid's room appears in the Birkan Apartments (1955) designed by Haluk Baysal and Melih Birsnel.<sup>34</sup> Modeled on the Corbusian hygienic ideal, with roof terraces, pilotis, and metal mullions, the design promoted an industrial image, despite the fact that its metal mullions had to be produced by hand.<sup>35</sup> As was typical for urban apartments designed for upper-income groups during these years, the plans include

a service zone with a kitchen, an ironing room, a small toilet, and a maid's room, accessed from a separate entrance door. Overlooking the Bosphorus, the modernist aesthetics of the Birkan Apartments with their open plan and the distinct servant zone reconcile modern lifestyles and traditional patterns of domesticity (Figures 9–10).

However, it is curious to find a similar spatial organization in some of the earlier blocks of the Ataköy housing, since it was meant to accommodate more middle-class residents. In the Ataköy blocks, although the maid's rooms are the smallest rooms in the apartment, they enjoy plenty of light and a view of the greenery (Figure 11). This difference is important to note for it indicates the sensitivity of designers towards improving the environment of every inhabitant of the building. It also indicates a status shift for middle and upper-middle class families as well as their domestic staff. In most cases, the Ataköy interiors represented an improvement for both the family and its servants, a mark of prestige for all involved.

The Ataköy plans define three distinct interior zones: a public and spacious living/dining area (which would have been separate rooms in earlier apartments), a private bedroom area for the family, and the service facilities. Visible from the front door, the living and dining area was designed to be the "front stage" of the apartment, a place where guests would be received. With large windows facing the street, the living area was always the largest room in the apartment (Figure 12). It served as a showcase of the inhabitants' modern status, while the servants' quarters were "backstage." The service zone included the service hallway, the kitchen, a laundry area, a maid's room, and a small toilet designated for the maid's use. Different from the family bathroom which was equipped with modern fixtures, the maid's wet space contained a traditional squat (Turkish-style) toilet fixture, which accommodated traditional bodily practices and therefore was usually preferred by domestic helpers.<sup>36</sup> The wet space also included

*continued*

**Figure 9.** The Birkan Apartments (1955) by Haluk Baysal and Melih Birsnel, Istanbul. *Arkitekt* 27, no. 294 (1959): 6–7. (Courtesy of Eren Sayar Kavcı for *Arkitekt*.)

**Figure 10.** Plan of the Birkan Apartments (1955) by Haluk Baysal and Melih Birsnel, Istanbul. The plan includes a maid's room and a service door/entrance. The other rooms are: building entrance, parking, apartment entrance, hall, living room, terrace, music corner, dining room, laundry, WC and sink, service balcony, kitchen, office, bedroom, bathroom, closet, WC, sink, and shower. *Arkitekt* 27, no. 294 (1959): 6–7. (Courtesy of Eren Sayar Kavcı for *Arkitekt*.)

**Figure 11.** A maid's room in an unrenovated Ataköy Block D unit. (Photograph by author, from 2006).

a tiny sink and a shower faucet attached to a wall.<sup>37</sup> The live-in maid was assumed to either take a shower in this space, over the Turkish-style toilet basin, or in a small laundry room (provided in the Block D1 plans) adjoining her room. Neither space has a shower basin, only a drainage hole in the floor.<sup>38</sup>

The Ataköy's maid's rooms and their toilets are organized along a small corridor connected to the kitchen, which serves as a buffer between the maid's quarters and the rest of the apartment. In Blocks B and D, each level's landing accesses the small elevator, the staircase, and two doors for each unit. The main entrance has double doors opening into the apartment's foyer, which leads directly to the living/dining area and the adjoining bedroom

zone, while the service door opens into the servant's hallway (Figures 13–14). In Block F, the units have only one entry point. Once inside, however, the service zone is accessed through a secondary doorway off the foyer. In either case, the schemes propose two major circulation patterns from the entrance: one is for the family to reach the living/dining area and the private bedroom area; the other is for access to the service zone (Figures 15–17).

In both schemes, the maid is removed from the family domain. The maid's apartment is tucked into a corner of the apartment and distinctly segregated from the rest of the household spaces. This organization minimizes unannounced appearances by the domestic help. At the same time segregation



**Figure 12.** A spacious living room with large windows and a fireplace, a typical architectural element of stylish homes at the time, in an unrenovated Block D unit. (Photograph by author, from 2006.)



**Figure 13.** Original main door (left) and service door (right) of an Ataköy Block D unit, exterior view from the public corridor. (Photograph by author, from 2006.)

**Figure 14.** Original main door (right) and service door (left) of an Ataköy Block D unit, interior view from the foyer. (Photograph by author, from 2006.)

**Figure 15.** The plans for the B blocks, showing the two-door scheme. One door opens to the entry (hol), which flows into the living/dining area and the bedroom zone; the other one opens to the service area. The service zone is circled, and shows: service corridor, maid's room (hizmetçi), Turkish-style WC, kitchen (mutfak), and office (ofis). *Arkitekt* 26, no. 291 (1958): 63–66. (Courtesy of Eren Sayar Kavcı for *Arkitekt*.)

from the family provides flexibility and privacy for the maid, lending her some autonomy. As residents explained, live-in maids were usually widows or unmarried young girls who had often migrated from rural areas and the Eastern provinces in search of better economic conditions. Other forms of domestic help, such as an *evlatlık* (a so-called foster child), were also seen. The *evlatlık* was a cheaper form of labor than a maid, and was preferred by the middle class.<sup>39</sup> That said, not all occupants of Blocks B, D, and F had live-in help. They were usually only employed by families with young children and by

older residents. Whether the maid lived with the family or came in on a regular basis, the service zone was designed to remove her from the life of the family and their guests. The residents enjoying the modern lifestyle of the Ataköy blocks did not wish to be intruded upon by servants, whose lives reflected another, non-modern reality. In this respect, the two doors indicated an understanding of the maid as the *other*.<sup>40</sup>

For many apartment dwellers of the 1950s and 1960s, the division represented by the two entrances shaped everyday life.<sup>41</sup> As a Block D resident explain to me, while one door receives guests, the other allows domestic workers to enter the apartment without disturbing the family life:

The water supplier delivers the water from this door. Our domestic helper has always used this door. If we have something delivered to

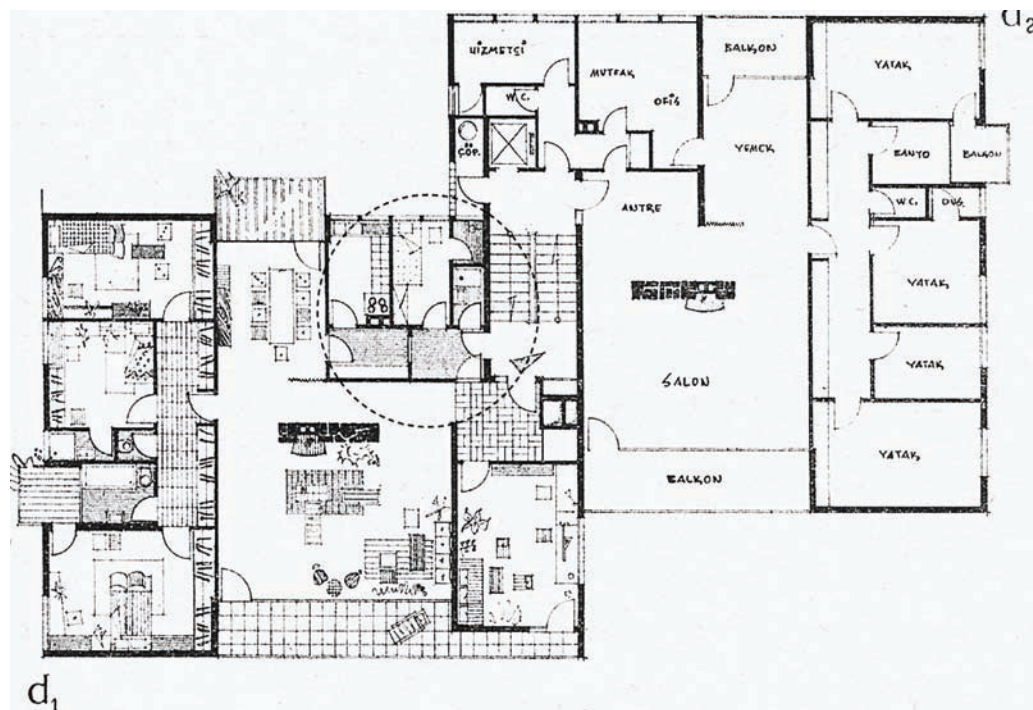
the kitchen, we always use this door. Also when we have guests in the living room, for example, our children use this door.<sup>42</sup>

However, not all residents considered the service door useful. “I used it very little at the beginning,” explained a female resident, “then, I stopped using it altogether, but decided to keep the door itself intact, just to preserve the original look of the unit.”<sup>43</sup> A small grocery store owner, who had run a neighborhood store for over 30 years, told me that fewer and fewer people use the service doors, and that typically “the service person takes the groceries to this door” only for older people.<sup>44</sup> Many residents consider them a risk factor for theft, a growing problem in the city in general.

The physical distinctions between the family and its maid created within the Ataköy blocks reflected larger differences at the urban scale. In this respect, the Ataköy blocks possess another similarity to Niemeyer’s Brasilia housing projects; both materialize a distinction between the modern and its *other* at the scale of the interior and at the scale of the city. In Brasilia, conceived by President Juscelino Kubitschek (in office from 1956 to 1961) and by Lucio Costa and Oscar Niemeyer “as a city of the future, a city of development, a realizable utopia,” the low-income citizens lived on the periphery while much of the middle and upper class lived and worked at the center.<sup>45</sup> Scrutinizing the Brazilian housing blocks, Rabinow states:

The fundamental contradiction of this modern city is the fact that those who built it and those who kept it running basically cannot live in it. There is almost no low-income housing in Brasilia and those who service the city are forced to live twenty miles away in the semicircular ring of impoverished and unplanned satellite towns.<sup>46</sup>

**Figure 16.** The plans for the D blocks, showing the two-door scheme. One door opens to the entry (hol), which flows into the living/dining area (salon/yemek) and the bedroom zone (yatak/banyo); the other one opens to the service area. The service zone is circled, and shows: service corridor, maid’s room (hizmetçi), Turkish-style WC, kitchen (mutfak), and office (ofis). *Arkitekt* 26, no. 291 (1958): 63–66. (Courtesy of Eren Sayar Kavcı for *Arkitekt*).



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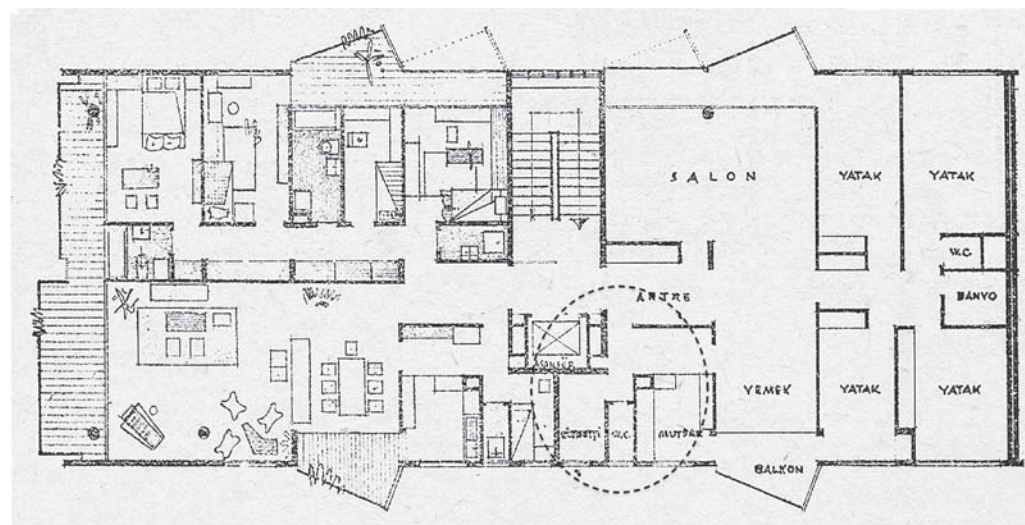


Similarly, in the Ataköy development, service workers often commuted from low-income neighborhoods outside of the socially hygienic boundaries of Ataköy, as is still the case in many similar developments in Turkish cities. In Istanbul, these neighborhoods were typically squatter housing (*gecekondu*) formed as a result of a massive influx of rural populations to major urban centers in search of new job opportunities. This migration was spurred by the mechanization of the countryside. New agricultural machinery, funded by Western aid, was meant to promote democratic capitalism and prevent the spread of communism post-World War II. Although the squatter settlements were generally regarded as a problem by both the government and the public, the *gecekondu* provided housing for a cheap labor force, and they were allowed to remain.<sup>47</sup> Modern housing developments like the Ataköy blocks developed in parallel with the *gecekondu*. Family life in the modern apartments depended on labor from the squatter housing; the squatter housing rose in response to rural modernization. Both Ataköy and the *gecekondu* depended on an alliance between the *modern* and its *other*, an alliance which operated at the scale of the interior, the city, and the region.

### New Domestic Arrangements

As the interiors of the Ataköy apartments revealed the local social and economic dynamics that defined domestic life, they also exposed crosscultural influences. In the early 1950s, Prime Minister Menderes intended to make Turkey “a little America.”<sup>48</sup> The Ataköy kitchens reflected a strong current of American influence by providing space for refrigerators, even though the plans published in *Arkitekt* do not show the equipment. In contrast, the kitchens found in Turkish apartments from the 1930s and 1940s were too small to accommodate refrigerators, which were expensive and uncommon at the time.

In Turkey during the 1950s American refrigerators such as Frigidaire, available to upper-



**Figure 17.** The plans for the F blocks. The main door opens to the entry (hol), which flows into the living/dining area (salon/yemek) and the bedroom zone (yatak/banyo); the service entry leads to the maid's area and the kitchen. The service zone is circled, and shows: service corridor, maid's room (hizmetçi), Turkish-style WC, and kitchen (mutfak). *Arkitekt* 26, no. 291 (1958): 63–66. (Courtesy of Eren Sayar Kavcı for *Arkitekt*).

income groups, dominated the imported goods market. Their advertisements, as well as images of postwar American kitchen designs, could be seen not only in popular media such as newspapers and magazines like *Hayat*, and Hollywood movies, but also in professional publications. For example, a 1950 issue of *Arkitekt* featured the equipment of an American kitchen in great detail. The article also noted that planning domestic tasks was a function carried out in this kitchen.<sup>49</sup> In Turkey this function was materialized in a *home office*, which appeared as an extended section of the kitchen in 1950s and 1960s middle and upper-middle class apartment plans. Such office spaces are included in Blocks B, D, and F as a small area of the kitchen with a counter. They are shown in three configurations: as a buffer zone between the maid's area and the rest of the apartment, as part of a passage through which the trash can be taken out to the garbage chute next to the elevator, and as a transitional space between the place where food is prepared and the dining room where food is served.

This scaled-down version of the postwar American kitchen, with a space for planning the household tasks, replaced an earlier Western model

of the kitchen, the 1930s rationalist Frankfurt Kitchen by Margarete Shütte-Lihotzky. She, along with her husband, was one of the German-speaking architects and experts invited to Turkey as part of an early republican westernization and advancement program, and she worked for the Turkish Ministry of Education from 1938 to 1940. The Austrian architect had applied the principles of Taylorism to the domestic environment in Germany during the 1920s in order to liberate women from the kitchen.<sup>50</sup> This goal, however, was not the intent of Turkish kitchen designs, even though Taylorist and scientific home management ideas were popular, especially among young women educated in the girls' institutes established in the early republican era.<sup>51</sup> In Turkey, then, innovations in kitchen design during the 1940s did not reflect a change in women's status; rather, they reflected cultural influences flowing from the West.

The washing machine was another appliance that slowly made its way into Turkish homes during the Cold War period. Before national production of washing machines began in the 1950s, they were imported and expensive. Advertisements depicting women as content housewives in the presence

of a washing machine were plentiful in 1950s and 1960s Turkey. Arguably, washing machines entered the domestic scene a little later than refrigerators because of the availability of cheap domestic labor.<sup>52</sup> Accordingly, architects often did not provide space for washing machines in 1950s apartment plans, and Ataköy was no exception. Washing machines had to be squeezed into the bathrooms, or in the case of the Block D1 scheme, they found their place in the laundry room. Located inside the maid's room, this wet space received plenty of light and was equipped with plumbing, drainage in the floor, and Betebe glass mosaics on the walls (Figure 18). With or without a washing machine, its location and accessibility through the maid's room imply that the laundry was her responsibility.

The actual function of the maid's room and its relationship to the other service areas varied from household to household. If the room was not used for the accommodation of domestic helpers, it was often used as a guest bedroom or housework-related space, such as a pantry or storage, laundry, or ironing room. The use of the room and employment of maids changed with changing lifestyles, social, economic, and family conditions, further developments in technology, and the widespread use of household appliances. However, as a local real estate agent explained, "today once again, the maid's rooms are more often being used for live-in help."<sup>53</sup> This development is tied to increased employment among Turkish women and the availability of domestic helpers from the former Soviet Union countries, such as Moldova, Turkmenistan, and Kazakhstan. Many women from these countries leave their families and come to Turkey to earn money. They do not have permanent work permits, and cannot stay in the country for long periods. They work for low salaries and prefer live-in employment to keep a low profile as well as to be able to save money to support their families in their home country. Often, they cannot



**Figure 18.** A wet space accessed from the maid's room in an unrenovated Block D unit. (Photograph by author, from 2006).

speak the local language well and live in isolation for the duration of their stay.

This new population of migrant domestic workers illustrates the role that market forces play in shaping the built environment. During the 1950s, multistory residential developments, whether built by the state or private enterprises, produced significant commissions for architects. Architects who worked on these projects claim that clients and dwellers, especially housewives, often requested a maid's room in their apartment because they felt that the domestic servants needed an area to change clothes, rest, iron, and to retire to in the presence of guests.<sup>54</sup> The room provided a space for the domestic helper to

undertake housework without, as one architect put it, "intruding" on the household. Significantly, a maid's room was also in demand because it made the apartments more marketable; apartments with a servant's quarters were considered profitable real estate investments. In this respect, the mass housing units of Ataköy contributed to the proliferation of the maid's room by turning this feature of elite households into an amenity for middle and upper-middle class households. The maid's room became a norm rather than an exception, regardless of the actual needs of the residents.

### Conclusion

When the Ataköy development was designed and built, it answered to a set of postwar ideals prevalent in the West: renewal, democracy, liberation, and the notion that housing was a public good, deserved by all. The development's construction started shortly before the 1957 elections, and it became a showcase for the urban modernization initiatives undertaken by the Democrat Party government in the 1950s. The Ataköy blocks demonstrated that Turkey was a "modern society," a part of the wider world. It represented a model of progress that tied Turkish life to the ideology of Western modernity. But the apartments in Ataköy's Phase I reserved the privilege of "modernity" for a middle and upper-middle class clientele, rather than accommodating the housing needs of the newly urban poor. In this respect, Ataköy may be considered an early precedent of more recent architectural and urban formations of high-status enclaves and controlled housing environments, such as gated communities. These housing typologies, criticized for cultivating socioeconomic segregation, have been proliferating in Turkey and worldwide, from Brazil to South Africa to the United States. Similar to Ataköy, these so-called "modern" housing

*continued*



developments promote architectural form and style as means to a contemporary lifestyle. Their advertisements—with seductive architectural imagery, minimalist interior design, green areas, swimming pools, manicured landscapes and promises of security—present a utopian vision of the ideal home.<sup>55</sup>

The two-door schemes of Blocks B, D, and F set boundaries between the master and the servant, and the contemporary and traditional. The articulation of the service area as a separate zone speaks to tacit assumptions about what is considered modern and its *other*, and is a product of socioeconomic circumstances in a consumer society shaped by global dynamics. Including a maid's room in an interior program when the end user (i.e., the specific family or persons that would inhabit the unit) was unknown during the design phase indicates a general market demand for this room, fed by the availability of cheap domestic labor.

Beyond this socioeconomic dynamic, however, one can read the efforts of Ataköy's Phase I designers to improve the quality of life for everyone who would inhabit the apartments. Despite its segregation from the modern spaces of the family, planning the maid's room as a separate space with large windows indicates a concern about providing privacy and some autonomy for her. The same can be said for the apartment building janitor's (*kapıcı*) quarters, which is placed at the ground level of each block.<sup>56</sup> Compared to the typical janitor's quarters, often placed in the basements of apartment buildings, these provide more humane accommodations for the janitor and his family, who typically were rural immigrants, like the maids. Both of these service spaces mark a status shift for the people employed in those positions. They also provide a better working environment than agricultural and factory jobs. Thus, the service positions both crystallize and accommodate the gap between social strata

and between the physical space of the modern apartment and squatter housing. Finally, while the maid's toilet with a traditional Turkish-style fixture in the service zone displays a contrast to the family's modern-style bathroom, it also shows sensitivity towards accommodating the traditional practices associated with domestic help. Therefore, even with its shortcomings, such as inappropriate bathing arrangements, the maid's room reflects a concern for the particularities of these local households. This concern explains, in part, the larger size of the apartments, which takes into account extended families with grown children, grandchildren, or grandparents.<sup>57</sup>

The Ataköy blocks could be understood as just another manifestation of modernism's ubiquitous forms. But a closer look reveals the discrete cultural and spatial dynamics of Turkish domestic life in the 1950s and 1960s, a moment when local aspirations—for both the middle class and the urban poor—became entangled with global forces. The open, transparent, and spacious interiors followed the formal design precepts of the modernist home, but accommodated local family structures. New programs and spaces, such as the *home office*, bearing traces of an American influence, were accompanied by traditional spaces such as the *squat toilet*. The design scheme simultaneously contradicted and reconciled the customary and the new, marking the in-between space of modernity.<sup>58</sup> The interior architecture of these apartments suggests ways in which mainstream modernism was adapted, contextualized, and even regionalized, specific to location, culture, and local economies.

#### Notes

1. For examples of multistory apartments with servant's rooms in Turkey, see the Helbig Apartments (1892) in Istanbul; "Perteve Apartmanı, Taksim" [Perteve Apartment, Taksim], *Mimar* 2 (1933): 46; "Bayan Firdevs Evi" [Mrs. Firdevs's House], *Mimar* 12 (1934): 334.
2. An important idea in my discussion is the fluidity of culture as discussed in Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, "Beyond Culture: Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference," in *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*, ed. Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 33–51.
3. For example, see Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legault, "Introduction: Critical Themes of Postwar Modernism," in *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture*, ed. Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legault (Montréal: Canadian Centre for Architecture; Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000), 15.
4. For a collection of papers that ponders the complex relationship between modern architecture and domesticity, see *Negotiating Domesticity: Spatial Productions of Gender in Modern Architecture*, ed. Hilde Heynen and Gülsüm Baydar (New York: Routledge, 2005). Also see Christopher Reed, ed., *Not at Home: The Suppression of Domesticity in Modern Art and Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996); and Witold Rybczynski, *Home: A Short History of an Idea* (New York: Viking Press, 1986). The Ataköy plans materialize tacit assumptions and shared social beliefs and embody their culture, "the systems of shared meanings which people who belong to the same community, group, or nation use to help them interpret and make sense of the world." As defined by Stuart Hall, culture is a consequential "means by which identities are constructed, sustained, and transformed," and it is realized in habit and routine. These quotes are from Stuart Hall, "New Cultures for Old," in *A Place in the World? Places, Cultures and Globalization*, ed. Doreen Massey and Pat Jess (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 176.
5. The Democrats vowed to put an end to government monopolies, to promote private enterprise, and to resolve economic troubles while reducing taxes. Their promise of rapid economic growth implied severe criticism of the rigid control of earlier *statist* policies, which they planned to relax. Stanford Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976–1977), 405, 408. For discussions on Democrat Party politics, also see Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (London: Routledge, 2000); Leslie L. Roos and Noralou P. Roos, *Managers of Modernization: Organizations and Elites in Turkey (1950–1969)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971); and Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).
6. For these reports, see İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye'de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konut Sorununun Gelişimi* [Housing Problems in Life and in Printed Matter in Turkey] (Ankara: Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, 1996), 98–105.
7. P.M. Adnan Menderes, press conference, September 23, 1956. Published in *Belediyeler Dergisi* 132 (1956): 644–45. Quoted in İpek Y. Akpınar, "The Making of a Modern *Pay-İ Taht* in Istanbul: Menderes' Executions after Prost's Plan," in *From the Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City*, ed. F. Cana Bilsel and Pierre Pinon (Istanbul:

Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2010), 167–99. Also see Sibel Bozdoğan, “The Predicament of Modernism in Turkish Architectural Culture: An Overview,” in *Rethinking Modernity and the National Identity in Turkey*, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 133–56.

8. Other major projects developed by the Emlak Kredi Bank include: apartment blocks on Atatürk Bulvarı (1957), the Fourth Levent Development (1956–60) in Istanbul, and the Emlak Kredi Bank Apartments in Ankara (1957–64) and Izmir (1956–59).

9. Nils Gilman, “Modernization Theory, the Highest Stage of American Intellectual History,” in *Staging Growth*, ed. David C. Engerman, Nils Gilman, Mark H. Haefele, and Michael E. Latham (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 50.

10. While beyond the scope of this study, I note briefly that high rise housing developments, launched as part of state-led modernization in different political regimes worldwide, have been widely criticized for disrupting traditional ways of life, abstracting social life, oversimplifying human needs, promoting segregation based on class, race, or ethnicity, standardizing the idea of home, and homogenizing the urban landscape. An important critical reflection is James C. Scott’s assessment of the planning doctrines of High Modernism (rational design, uniformity, sterility, control, order, and simplicity) as an “ultimately devastating” ideology of the 20th century and a “sweeping vision” promoting scientific and technical progress in all aspects of human activity. James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 90.

11. For a similar point, see Monique Eleb, “An Alternative to Functionalist Universalism: Ecochard, Candilis, and ATBAT-Afriq,” in *Anxious Modernisms*, 70–71.

12. Like the housing complex, these motorways were significant statements of the modernization undertaken by the government. Starting in 1948, new road networks were built with U.S. technical and financial support and in 1950, Turkey’s General Directorate of Highways was established.

13. “Ataköy Sahil Şehri” [Ataköy Seashore City], *Mimarlık* 15 (1965): 16–17.

14. The bank’s original intention was to resolve the housing problem for low-income civil servants. (See Yıldız Sey, “To House the New Citizens: Housing Policies and Mass Housing,” in *Modern Turkish Architecture*, ed. Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 157.) In 1946, the bank increased capital and changed its name to Emlak Kredi Bank with a mission to provide long-term low-interest loans, take on production of construction materials, and build and sell housing units in response to the endemic housing shortage developed due to rapid urbanization. Notably, the bank drifted away from its original intention by supporting housing projects for middle- and upper middle-income groups. Between 1950 and 1960 urban population growth increased to 80% from 20% between 1940 and 1950. See Ruşen Keleş, “Konut Sorunları ve Politikası” [Housing Problems and Policies], *Şehirçilik* 26 (1978): 619; Sey, “To House the New Citizens,” 165–67.

15. N. Ferah Akıncı, N. Ayşe Özbil, and Özlem Şenyiğit, “Probable Post Occupancy Problems in Mass Housing Projects: Assessment of

Ataköy Mass Housing Development,” in *Quality of Urban Life Policy versus Practice*, ed. Nuran Zeren Gülerşoy, Nur Esin, and Ahsen Özsoy (Istanbul: Istanbul Technical University, 2003). However, because of the 1960 military intervention, many people who had invested in the property pulled their money out, uncertain about the project’s future. As a result, there were many vacancies in the early years of the settlement. These vacant Phase I units were rented for several years. Muhteşem Giray, interview by the author, Istanbul, September, 2006. Ataköy residents, interviews by the author, Istanbul, September, 2006.

16. See “Ataköy Sahil Şehri,” 16.

17. Zeki Sayar, “İmar Vekaletinden Beklediklerimiz” [Our expectations from reconstruction proxy], *Arkitekt* 26, no. 290 (1958): 4.

18. For these projects see *Arkitekt* 217–218 (1950): 15–17.

19. Giray, interview.

20. CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne, 1928–1959) was important in the dissemination of the Modern Movement, developed in Europe in the 1920s and the 1930s. Composed of an avant-garde group of architects including Le Corbusier, Sigfried Giedion, and Hannes Meyer, the organization promoted socially engaged rational design and functionalism. For a chronological study of CIAM, see Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000).

21. “1933 CIAM: Charter of Athens: Tenets,” in *Programs and Manifestoes on 20th-Century Architecture*, ed. Ulrich Conrads (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1964/1999), 137–45.

22. For the design of 7th and 8th neighborhoods, see Bay Kan Günay, “Ataköy 7. ve 8. Mahalleler: Bir Tasarım Deneyimi [Atalöy’s 7th and 8th neighborhoods: A design experience], *Mimarlık*, no 264 (1995):” 48–49.

23. Ruben Abel Bianchi, “The Work of Luigi Piccinato in Islamic Countries 1925–1981,” *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre* (1990): 187. Luici Piccinato, *Urbanistica* (Roma: Sandron, 1947).

24. *Ibid.*, 190.

25. Ertuğrul Menteşe, “Ataköy Sitesi Hakkında Rapor” [Report on the Ataköy Settlement], *Arkitekt* 26, no. 291 (1958): 79.

26. For an earlier study of the era, see Mete Tapan, “International Style: Liberalism in Architecture,” in *Modern Turkish Architecture*, ed. Holod and Evin, 105–18.

27. Blocks A, C, E, G, I, IB, R are not included in this study. Block B (88 units) was designed by Muhteşem Giray and Tuğrul Akçura, Block D (112 units) by Ertuğrul Menteşe, and Block F (28 units) by Eyüp Kömürçüoğlu and Muhteşem Giray. “Ataköy Sitesi” [The Ataköy Settlement], *Arkitekt* 26, no. 291 (1958): 61–66.

28. See Yurdanur Dülgeroğlu Yüksel, Semra Aydınlı, Gülçin Pulat, Zerrin Yılmaz, and Mustafa Özgünler, *Toplu Konutlarda Nitelik Sorunu* [Quality Problems in Mass Housing] (Ankara: Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, 1996), 209.

29. For a comparison of Fourier’s phalanstery to Le Corbusier’s Unité d’Habitation, see Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2004), 227.

30. *L’Architecture d’Aujourd’hui* 42–43 (1952): 53.

31. Architect Enis Kortan (educated at Istanbul Technical University) and architect Nejat Ersin (educated at the Academy of Fine Arts in

Istanbul), interviews by the author, Ankara, December, 2006 and Ankara, May, 2006, respectively. Oscar Niemeyer was influential in the Turkish architectural community. For a published interview, see “Oscar Niemeyer Küp’ler Mimarisine Karşı” [Oscar Niemeyer Is Against the Architecture of Cubes], *Mimarlık* 25 (1965): 38–39.

32. See Paul Rabinow, “A Modern Tour in Brazil,” in *Modernity and Identity*, ed. Scott Lash and Jonathan Friedman (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 261.

33. Formally distinct examples of these ranges from the celebrated Casa Milà (1905–12) in Barcelona by Antoni Gaudí to Berthold Lubetkin’s Highpoint Apartments (1935, 1938) in London.

34. For this project, see “Birkan Apartmanları (Bebek)” [Birkan Apartments], *Arkitekt* 27, no. 294 (1959): cover, 4–10. Baysal and Birsal was one of Turkey’s first architectural partnerships, established during the 1950s.

35. See Uğur Tanyeli, “Haluk Baysal & Melih Birsal,” *Arredamento Mimarlık* 100+2 (April 1998): 77. For an earlier assessment of this point and the influence of Mies van der Rohe’s stylistic concerns, for example, in the use of “I” profiles on the facades of high-rises, also see Enis Kortan, *Türkiye’de Mimarlık Hareketleri ve Eleştirisi 1950–1960* [Architectural Movements and Critiques in Turkey 1950–1960] (Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, 1971), 42.

36. Meltem Ö. Gürel, “Bathroom as a Modern Space,” *Journal of Architecture* 13, no. 3 (2008): 226.

37. I have argued elsewhere that the contrast between the modern family bathroom (equipped with a Western-style toilet bowl, a bathtub, and a bidet) and the Turkish-style toilet (which accommodates traditional toilet practices) illustrates the spatialization of a dichotomy between the modern and the traditional. See *Ibid.*, 215–33.

38. This arrangement is similar to maid’s accommodations proposed in earlier domestic designs, such as the Weissenhofsiedlung (1927). Considered “revolutionary,” this modernist working-class housing prototype also included small maids’ rooms. The so-called “new home” and “new forms of living” presented in Weissenhofsiedlung clearly limited its revolution to reflect middle-class, rather than working-class, realities. See Karin Kirsch, *The Weissenhofsiedlung: Experimental Housing Built for the Deutscher Werkbund, Stuttgart, 1927* (New York: Rizzoli, 1989), 33. A showcase of modern architecture, this project was composed of 21 structures designed by 17 architects. Fifty-five architects and interior designers from Germany and other countries were involved in the fittings.

39. Ferhunde Özbay, “Houses, Wives and Housewives,” in *Housing Question of the Others*, ed. Emine M. Komut (Ankara: Chamber of Architects, 1996), 52–53.

40. This assessment, which suggests that a clear distinction between the modern and non-modern (or the other) leads to the systematic exclusion of the other, is influenced by Foucault’s notion of otherness and his critique of the obsession with normality and the construction of knowledge. See Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences, first published as Les Mots et les Choses*, 1966 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970).

41. My comments on this idea are not limited to Ataköy residents, but are also shaped by interviews carried out with other urban apartment dwellers. *continued*



42. A female resident of a Block D unit, interview by the author, Istanbul, September, 2006.
43. A female resident of a Block D unit, interview by the author, Istanbul, September, 2006.
44. Local market owner, interview by the author, Ataköy's first neighborhood, Istanbul, September, 2006.
45. Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 119, 130.
46. Rabinow, "A Modern Tour in Brazil," 261.
47. See İlhan Tekeli, "The Social Context of the Development of Architecture in Turkey," in *Modern Turkish Architecture*, ed. Holod and Evin, 26.
48. I have addressed elsewhere that this influence was shaped by post-WW II aid extended to Turkey (even though the country did not participate in the war) and can be followed through oral histories and media, newspapers, popular magazines, promotional posters, advertisements, etc. See Meltem Ö. Gürel, "Defining and Living Out the Interior: The 'Modern' Apartment and the 'Urban' Housewife in Turkey during the 1950s and 1960s," *Gender, Place and Culture* 16, no. 6 (2009): 703–722; Meltem Ö. Gürel, "The Modern Home, Western Fashion and Feminine Identities in Mid-Twentieth Century Turkey," in *Performance, Fashion and the Modern Interior: From the Victorians to today*, ed. Fiona Fisher, Trevor Keeble, Patricia Lara-Betancourt and Brenda Martin (Oxford: Berg, 2011), 145–158; Meltem Ö. Gürel, "Consumption of Modern Furniture as a Strategy of Distinction in Turkey," *Journal of Design History* 22, no. 1 (2009): 47–67; Meltem Ö. Gürel, "Architectural Mimicry, Spaces of Modernity: the Island Casino, Izmir, Turkey," *Journal of Architecture* 16, no. 2 (2011): 165–190; and Meltem Ö. Gürel, "Domestic Space, Modernity, and Identity: The Apartment in Mid-20th Century Turkey," (PhD dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2007).
49. "Bir Amerikan Mutfağının Tertibatı" [Equipment of an American Kitchen], *Arkitekt* 223–26 (1950): 158–161, 166.
50. Susan Henderson wrote, "Shütte-Lihotzky intended to eliminate household drudgery and liberate woman from the kitchen rather than mechanize the domestic space." Susan R. Henderson, "A Revolution in the Women's Sphere: Grete Lihotzky and the Frankfurt Kitchen," in *Architecture and Feminism*, ed. Debra Coleman, Elizabeth Danze, and Carol Henderson (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), 245.
51. Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 200–01. For Margarete Shütte-Lihotzky in Turkey, see also Bernd Nicolai, *Modern ve Sürgün: Almanca Konuşulan Ülkelerin Mimarları Türkiye'de 1925–1955* [Modern and Exile], trans. Yüksel Pöğün Zander (Ankara: Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, 2011).
52. Gürel, "Defining and Living Out the Interior," 707–08.
53. A local real-estate agent, interview by the author, Istanbul, September, 2006.
54. From interviews by the author.
55. Discussing this condition in the context of Brazil's gated communities, Caldeira writes, "The middle and upper classes are creating their dream of independence and freedom—both from the city and its mixture of classes, and from everyday domestic tasks—on the basis of services from working class people. . . . They also ask their badly paid maids—who often live in the *favelas* on the other side of

the condominium's wall—to wash and iron their clothes, make their beds, buy and prepare their food, and frequently care for their children all day long. In a context of increased fear of crime in which the poor are often associated with criminality, the upper classes fear contact and contamination, but they continue to depend on their servants." See Teresa P. R. Caldeira, "Fortified Enclaves: The New Urban Segregation," *Public Culture* 8, no. 2 (1996): 303–28.

56. A serviceman is usually responsible for cleaning the building, running the heating and hot water, collecting the garbage, collecting the maintenance fees, providing security, and keeping the grounds. He also helps with grocery shopping on a daily basis.

57. For this point in the context of block apartments on Atatürk Bulvarı, see "İstanbul Belediyesi, Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Blok Apartmanları Atatürk Bulvarı" [Municipality of Istanbul and Emlak Kredi Bank Multistory Apartments on Atatürk Boulevard], *Arkitekt* 26, no. 286 (1957): 12.

58. This conception of modernity is inspired by Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1982).