

**“SERVANT PRINCESS” OF THE MODERN HOME:
DOMESTICITY AND FEMININITY IN TURKEY AFTER
ELECTRIFICATION, 1923-1950**

A Ph.D. Dissertation

by

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Art, Design and Architecture

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Ankara

October 2014

To the memory of my father

who wanted to see this dissertation finished even more than me

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ELECTRIFICATION, 1923-1950**

Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

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ANKARA

October 2014

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ABSTRACT

“SERVANT PRINCESS” OF THE MODERN HOME: DOMESTICITY AND FEMININITY IN TURKEY AFTER ELECTRIFICATION, 1923-1950

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This dissertation deals with the question how modern domesticity and modern femininity were discursively constructed in the advertisements and other promotional texts of electric appliances published between 1923 and 1950 in popular women’s and family magazines in Turkey. The issue is framed within socio-historical technology studies and the feminist histories of the early republican period. Moving forward from the claim that electricity had to be first domesticated to enter the homes, the study searches for the gendered connotations of this process. Besides, it ponders over the ways women are interpellated as modern subjects by the representations in question. To this end the dissertation carries on a discourse analysis of the visual and textual representations of electricity and electric powered domestic appliances. The images are discussed in their potential to bring forth the ambiguities in the definitions of modern domesticity and femininity. Analysis revealed that neither the middle-class ethos of domesticity nor the chaste woman of this family was the only idealized form of domesticity and femininity by the official discourses. There were rather different modernities defined distinctly based on various class positions all of which were approved by the republican cadres.

Keywords: Domestic Electrification, Electric Appliances, Domesticity, Femininity, Modernization

ÖZET

MODERN EVİN “HİZMETÇİ PRESES”İ: TÜRKİYE’DE ELEKTRİKLENDİRME SONRASI EV HAYATI VE KADINLIK, 1923-1950

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Bu tez, Türkiye’de 1923-1950 yılları arasında popüler kadın ve aile dergilerinde yayınlanan elektrikli ev aletleri reklamlarında ve diğer tanıtıcı metinlerde modern ev hayatı ve modern kadınlığın söylemsel olarak nasıl inşa edildiği sorusuyla ilgilenir. Sorun sosyo-tarihsel teknoloji çalışmaları ve erken cumhuriyet dönemi feminist tarih yazımının sağladığı kavramsal çerçeve dahilinde ele alınmıştır. Elektriğin evlere girmesi için öncelikle bir evcilleştirme sürecinden geçmesi gerektiği iddiasından hareketle çalışma bu sürecin toplumsal cinsiyet çağrışımlarına odaklanır. Ayrıca bu temsiller yoluyla kadınların modern özneler olarak inşa edilme biçimleri üzerinde durulur. Bu amaçla elektriğin ve elektrikli ev aletlerinin sözel ve görsel temsilleri söylem analizine tabi tutulur. Reklam imgeleri modern ev hayatı ve modern kadınlık tanımlarındaki belirsizlikleri açığa çıkarma potansiyelleri açısından tartışılır. Analiz ne orta sınıf ev hayatının ne de bu ailenin iffetli kadınının resmi söylemlerde idealize edilen biçim olduğunu ortaya çıkarmıştır. Aksine cumhuriyetçi kadrolar tarafından farklı sınıf pozisyonlarına göre ayrı ayrı tanımlanmış ama hepsi aynı ölçüde kabul gören modernlik biçimleri olduğu öne sürülmüştür.

Anahtar kelimeler: Evlerin Elektriklendirilmesi, Elektrikli Ev Aletleri, Ev Hayatı, Kadınlık, Modernleşme

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Although electricity is quite an old technology, neither has it been surpassed by new alternatives diminishing our dependency on it, nor has its history been fully written. In fact, as David Nye (1991: xi), a scholar of American studies, reminds in *Electrifying America: Social Meanings of a New Technology, 1880-1940* it has been long since Valéry blamed historians for their disregard of “the conquest of the earth by electricity” as a notable subject of social history. As Nye further underscores, the history of electricity should be more than the chronology of the developments and innovations regarding the technology as opposed to the way the issue is handled to date. Electrification is not merely a technological development that takes place in a vacuum but it occurs within, and brings with it, a specific social, economic and political agenda. Therefore, it is rather a multifaceted issue that intersects with the history of “the city, transportation, labor, the professions, industry, business, engineering, physics, women, agriculture, medicine, advertising, art, architecture and more” (Nye, 1991: xi).

As a late response to Valéry's call, this dissertation will be an attempt to reframe the history of electrification in Turkey. Within the broad fields of history that the subject addresses the specific concern will be on domestic electrification and its dialogue with the construction of a particular understanding of domesticity and femininity. In other words, the fundamental question that motivates this study is how the promotion of domestic electrification and related technologies in Turkey (re)defined modern home and modern women that inhabit it as part of a broader project of national modernization.

The major engagement with the issue of modernity derives from two concerns. First of all, the temporal coincidence of the breakthrough of modernization project in Turkey with the introduction of electric power into the country makes it inevitable to link the two processes. Actually, the modernizing cadres of the period considered technologic advancement as a crucial step towards progress and adopted electrification as part of this preoccupation with technology as the catalyst of modernization. Electrification was thus welcome all in the industrial, urban and domestic levels as an agent to cultivate republican reforms in economic, social and daily life.

Arguably technology transfer from the West constituted one of the backbones of the process of modernization in Turkey. Such that, the prominent histories of modernization in Turkey begin with the eighteenth and nineteenth century Ottoman encounters with Western civilization on various fronts (Zürcher, 2007; Berkes, 2009; Mardin, 2007a). Particularly with the rising economic and political power of the West over the Ottoman Empire, the supremacy of the West's military technology

came into question as the background behind such power. From that point on transferring Western military technologies, techniques and institutions turned out to be a central concern of reforms (Mardin, 2007a: 10). The identification of the West with sciences, technology and the power deriving from them was especially instilled in the *Harbiye* (military colleges), *Mülkiye* (school of political sciences) and *Askeri Tıbbiye* (military medical school) in which most of the ruling elites of the republic were educated (Mardin, 2007a: 15). In the republican years, the Ottoman attention paid to limit the influence of the West with only technological realm began to mitigate and its impact spread into the cultural field as well (Belge, 1983: 260). This dissertation is intended to focus on the home as one of the realms where the technological borrowings from the West begin to intertwine with the cultural influences.

This study was also inspired by the motive to contribute to the expanding debates on Turkish modernization with a particular focus on the home. As a hot topic of scholarly interest, the discussions on Turkish modernization developed around a rich strand of theoretical positions, and lately with a wide range of interest including the political, economic, social and the cultural. The issue of domesticity, of course, had its share in this prevalent interest and has been handled from various perspectives. In her comprehensive research on the history of modern Turkish architecture Sibel Bozdoğan (2001) gave hints regarding the understanding of domesticity that such architectural style favors. Yael Navaro-Yaşın (2000: 57) pondered over the role of home economics movement, largely carried out by Girls' Institutes, in inculcating the values of "order, rationality, and discipline" to the middle-class household. In a similar manner, Elif Ekin Akşit (2005) elaborated on the history of Girls' Institutes

in order to uncover the role that women graduates negotiated both the rational and scientific household and the modernization project. The interest in Girls' Institutes is not arbitrary because it provides a wide range of resources to dwell on including their curriculum, the course books of particularly home economics classes, the alumni, media coverage of these institutes, and even the architectural structure of the school buildings. Kıvanç Kılınç (2010) based his research on the building plans of single-sex girls' schools and some other lower-class dwellings to interrogate the ways the prevailing projection of modern domesticity was constructed and then contested.

All these studies already dwell on the hitherto overlooked obscurities and discrepancies of the definitions of modern. As Reşat Kasaba (1997) points out, the approaches to modernization in Turkey, either against or for it, depend on a rigid definition of and sharp distinction between what modern is and is not. This attitude is visible in both the literature on the subject and the manner of political elite towards the project. The best part of the histories and sociologies of Turkish modernization, Kasaba argues, is restricted to an understanding that overlooks the ambiguities and uncertainties that marked the Ottoman-Turkish experience. What the Western historians of the twentieth century Ottoman-Turkish scene like Bernard Lewis did was to assess the particular knowledge they derived from the field with respect to a putative conception of the modern (Kasaba, 1997: 20).¹ On the other hand, the political elite were easy to categorize what is at hand into dichotomous categories so as to facilitate their supposed task of reformation (Kasaba, 1997: 24). These “reductive” analyses helped the researcher and reformer instantly distinguish between the modern and the traditional or the new and the old and hence easily

¹ Here Kasaba refers to Lewis, Bernard. 2002. *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (3rd ed.). New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

determine what to get rid of. However, as Kasaba (1997: 18-19) underlines, the alluring aspect “was not the certainties that were later invented but the ambivalence and excitement of modernization as it unfolded as a world-historical process.” Therefore to introduce the ambivalences as to modernity back into the researches is of crucial importance to reframe the processes in their complexity and dynamism.

Home, as Bozdoğan (2001) draws attention, is particularly a proper place that shelters such ambiguities. The abovementioned studies exemplify the productive potential of the emphasis on particularly the agency of people to enrich our understanding. However, as some other scholars point to, there are still new directions of analysis that may further disclose the ambiguities that underlie the very discourses of modernizers. For instance Deniz Kandiyoti (1997) points to the lack of interest in the mundane, which she found crucial to contemplate on the peculiarities of the Turkish experience. As Kandiyoti (1997: 120) further purported, the construction of the modern cannot be divorced from material cultural practices informing notions of class and social status. Therefore, she (1997: 114) calls for “the ethnographies of the modern” with a particular emphasis on the following questions:

How has the field of meanings and practices designated as ‘modern’ been constituted in Turkey? Have these meanings shifted and altered through time? What sources of legitimacy did discourses about the ‘modern’ seek? How did they construct and define what they sought to displace? What sorts of relationships between the indigenous and the foreign, the local and the global were at stake? Did these relationships coalesce into items of taste and style and into discernible cultural codes?

These questions indicate a predisposition towards an inquiry of the construction of certain social values and lifestyles through consumption among many other possibilities. Through such perspective I directed my attention to the analysis of articles on electrified life and advertisements of electrical appliances for their

potential to deepen our understanding of Turkish modernization from various perspectives. Thus the major interest of analysis concentrated on the ways domesticity and gender identities were expected to be re-defined through the consumption of a new technology and the ways the anticipated uses of the devices interpenetrated into the discourses on the modern. To this end the following questions were addressed: How was electricity incorporated in the home? How was electricity defined within the domestic context? How did discourses on technology merge with the construction of gender patterns, particularly femininity? How was electricity anticipated to change housework structurally and ideologically? What were the wider discourses on gender that influenced the women technology relation in question? How was technologization or electrification of household justified? How were the gendered representations of electricity? How was electricity instrumentalized to represent the desired modes of femininity? What did these representations tell regarding the enclosure of the modern? How did these images function in class coding of modernity?

The answers to these questions require an additional attention on the dialogues between gender and technology and gender and modernity apart from the initial weight placed on the relation between modernity and technology. These complementary relations that the analysis implies placed the study on the intersection of various scholarly fields including history and sociology of technology, cultural analysis, and the history of modernization in Turkey with a particular gendered approach to all.

1.1 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

The underlying rationale of this research is that the advertisements and articles on electrified life at home contributed to both practical and ideological redefinition and transformation of domesticity and consequently femininity. Posed in this way, the question concerns the relation between technological development and social change in one respect. This kind of questioning might confine the subject with a technological determinist approach emphasizing the impacts of technology on societal processes. Two scholars of sociology, Donald MacKenzie and Judy Wajcman (1999a) develop a subtle critique of technological determinism in their introductory essay to the collected volume *The Social Shaping of Technology*. In their work, MacKenzie and Wajcman (1999a) distinguish between “technological determinism as a theory of society” and “technological determinism as a theory of technology.” As a theory of society, the authors argue, technological determinism provides reductionist answers to the properly posed question whether technology influences society through a crude cause and effect relation (1999a: 3-4). On the other hand as a theory of technology, technological determinism is defective in explaining technological change. Within this perspective technology is handled as an autonomous power per se while the user is defined as a passive recipient who needs to “adapt” to technological change rather than an active agent who can “shape” it (MacKenzie and Wajcman, 1999a: 5). This distinction prevents a total negligence of the influence of technology on social change approving that “technology matters”, yet technology alone would not be a sufficient factor that impinges on our social lives (MacKenzie and Wajcman, 1999a: 2). Concisely, MacKenzie and Wajcman lay emphasis on the requirement to handle technology society relation in its complexity

and reciprocity to subtly uncover social change. The idea is that technological development is a matter of choices based on ideological grounds.² Therefore, the social histories of technology would better be elaborated by an emphasis on the relations of power that shape the technology and its uses. Building on this argument, this research will unravel how the process of domestic electrification intertwined with the wider project of republican modernization to re-frame the domestic culture.

Placing the emphasis on the relations of power that shape creation and promotion of technologies does not amount to inattentiveness to the fact that “what is being shaped in the social shaping of artifacts is no mere thought-stuff, but obdurate physical reality” (MacKenzie and Wajcman, 1999a: 18). That is to say that the technology society relation cannot be comprehended independent of the very materiality of things that has a considerable agency. In a nutshell, following the actor network theory MacKenzie and Wajcman (1999a: 24) argue that assuming technology as free from society is as defective as to consider the other way round. In this reciprocal relation no one agent is privileged over the other entailing “symmetry in the analytical treatment of human and non-human actors.”

² The phases of design and production of new technological artifacts is out of scope of this study. For an inquiry of the relation between emergence and design of devices and the socio-political context, the social constructivist approach is inspiring. As elucidated by Pinch and Bijker (1997: 19) social constructivist view underlines that all knowledge, and scientific knowledge in particular, is a social construct and “there is nothing epistemologically special about the nature of [it].” That is to say that, the success of a certain technology is not the result of its inherent superior qualities but every successful artifact is the product of a gradual advancement often following a moment of circumstantial choice. For more information and case studies on SCOT see Bijker, Wiebe E., Hughes, Thomas Parke, and Pinch, Trevor J. (eds.) 1997. *The Social Construction of Technological Systems: New Directions in the Sociology and History of Technology*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: The MIT Press.

Shirley Strum and Bruno Latour (1999), former an anthropologist and the latter a sociologist of science, provide an unconventional example to the significance of the material world to the construction of societies through a comparison between baboon and human societies. Strum and Latour (1999: 117) base their argument on the performative view that defines society as “constructed through the many efforts to define it” rather than an already existing entity in which individuals participate. Thus, the concentration shifts from the search of the link between actors, to the search of the ways to construct such a social link. Within this framework materials and symbols at disposal of a society turn out to be resources to perform a complicated society. According to Strum and Latour (1999) the basic distinction between complex baboon societies and complicated human societies arise from the difference between the amounts of the material resources available to them. The more complicated the society the more material means they have at hand. Technology, as such, is “a further resource in the mobilization of individuals in the performance of society” (Strum and Latour, 1999: 123). In the light of these discussions, domestic technologies will be handled throughout the study as significant means to perform a certain ideal of domesticity and femininity. However, rather than the ways these appliances are used in households I will scrutinize the ideals projected on to the electric appliances to privilege the performing of certain domesticities and femininities.

The way technology is conceptualized is also influential in making the analysis prone to technological determinism. Conventionally, technology is attributed “a host of metaphysical properties and potencies, thereby making it seem to be a determinate entity, a disembodied autonomous causal agent of social change” (Marx, 1994: 249).

Such traditional view of technology “as a non-negotiable finished product” as Anne-Jorunn Berg (1994: 95) puts it, leaves no room other than to discuss “social impacts” of it. However, as Berg (1994: 94) further accentuates, treating technology rather “as a social process involving relations and negotiations where the tangible ‘thing’ or artefact can be analysed as a non-human actor” would open up new possibilities for analyses of technology in which the user’s agency in shaping technologies can also be acknowledged. This opens up the possibility to analyze the ways how technologies are shaped particularly to fit within or lead to certain social outcomes as well as how their emergence facilitate to shape societies in certain ways. To acknowledge the mutual relation between society and technology, in this study technology is conceptualized following Wajcman (2009: 149) “as a sociotechnical product—a seamless web or network combining artefacts, people, organisations, cultural meanings and knowledge.”

Gendered focus on technology also stems from such an understanding of “technology-in-the-making” which challenges technological determinism (Berg, 1994: 100). Feminist studies of technology were encouraged by the orientations towards the user-centered studies of technology and emphases on the polysemy of artifacts. Berg (1994) celebrates the concentration on users’ agency and diversity of the uses of objects and meaning making processes as the direction that will free the studies from both gender blindness and a concentrated focus on the impacts of technology on women’s lives.

As it is seen in Wajcman’s (1991) review of the feminist body of literature on science and technology, such an occupation with the impacts of technology on

women's lives was particularly peculiar to the emergent studies of the 1970s. As she recounts, women's movements of the early 1970s inspired the gender analysis of the relation between society and technology. Technology reviews were conducted simultaneously with the studies of science from which it borrowed certain concepts and approaches. At the beginning, feminist interpretation was substantially involved in the depiction of the impact of technology on women's life and work marked by the controversy over its emancipatory values (Wajcman, 1991: 13). Another point of interest was to disclose the role that women played in technological progress, which remained hitherto latent. However, according to Wajcman (1991: 17), these attempts failed to undermine the conventional understanding of technology as male domain and reduced the problem to the limited access of women to the institutions that would enable them to get actively involved in technology.

In the 1980s feminist interest shifted from questioning the women's place within technology spheres to the interrogation of the patriarchal character of the technology itself (Wajcman, 1991: 17). Awareness of the "gendered character of technology" lead women to pose the question "how a science apparently so deeply involved in distinctively masculine projects can possibly be used for emancipatory ends" (Wajcman, 2009: 146). Besides, the discussions regarding technology was extended beyond women's limited access to the technologic spheres through the emphases on "the social factors that shape different technologies" and "the way technology reflects gender divisions and inequalities" (Wajcman, 2009: 146). As Wajcman states (1991: 19) to hit the nail on the head it is also crucial to question the gendered divisions of labor in order to expose the processes that separated the so-called women's values from technological domains. To undermine the male biased

definition of technology feminist scholars introduced the studies of household, childcare, and communication technologies into the field of technology studies (Wajcman, 2009: 144).

Following the line of those studies, I will attempt to describe the ways electrification was ideologically appropriated to be incorporated within the household throughout the period from the mid 1920s to 1950s in Turkey. My aim through such a concentration is to answer the question how representations of domestic technologies were articulated with the dominant discourses of domesticity and femininity of the period. In other words, I will dwell on the ways representations of domestic technologies were instrumentalized to construct a certain ideal of femininity in line with the republican ideology.

Gendered approaches to the history of Turkey have been a flourishing field particularly beginning in the 1980s with the influence of rising international feminist movements (Arat, 1996: 403). Among these studies, a considerable amount of research has concentrated on the early republican period to examine the gender regimes fostered by Kemalist reforms. In this respect the extent of women's emancipation and the boundaries framing the construction of new feminine identities were put under scrutiny. These studies were marked by an exclusive interest to the issues of nationalism, religion, education and other institutional practices in the formation of modern gender identities. However, as Kandiyoti (1997: 128) notes definition of female subjectivities cannot be thought independent from "mediations through multiple codes articulated through fashion and modes of consumption." She directs attention to the symbolic meanings that modes of dress and consumption and

the way these class, status, ethnicity and gender based meanings articulate with conceptions of traditional and modern. This dissertation is motivated by the conviction that domestic appliances also constitute a promising subject of study to examine the inscriptions of modern femininity through patterns of consumption and taste.

Any discussion of the construction of modern feminine identities through the consumption of domestic appliances relates inevitably to the issue of technology as a Western import. This is caused majorly by the way modernization of Turkey was based on a complicated relation to the West just from the very beginning and the construction of modern Turkish femininity was one of the realms where these complications explicitly surfaced (discussed in detail in Chapter 5). On the one hand the West was the measure of the state of modernization while on the other hand the mimicry of the West formed the accurate limit for the attempts towards modernization. Such a stance is largely prompted by the fact that modernization as a project was imposed as a way to challenge the increasing domination of the West. As a result attempts to modernize were confined in between the urgency to follow the West and the pressure to avoid mimicking it. However, as Mahmut Mutman (2002: 206) states “imitation was inevitable for an Ottoman-Turkish elite aspiring to modernize particularly while being hegemonized by an imperial power relation.”

The concentration of modernization around the concerns regarding the limits of the mimicry carries the potential to confine the analyses of Turkish experience with its fidelity to the Western model. Measuring the experience of Turkish modernization against the West centers the analysis on the differences, which would be presumed as

failure or deficiency. Whereas, Mutman (2002: 206) refers to the relation of imitation in question as “mimesis” in order to suggest a more complicated relation than simple mimicry. The core idea of mimesis is that, the copyist bases its subjective construction on an imaginary model or subject to follow (Mutman, 2002: 207). This means that the West, which is taken as a model is not actually a complete and definite entity in itself. The West rather refers to a fantasy imagined by modernizing agents than to a reality existing independent from such imaginations. In this case, building the analysis on the accuracy of the mimesis would be methodically misleading.

To avert from pondering over Turkish modernization through a model copy relation, the idea of the multiplicity of the definitions and experiences of modernity would be copious. The concept of “alternative modernities” devised by Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar (1999) is grounded on such an approach. The concept suggests, without denying the Western authority over the concept, to make “a site-based reading” of the experience of modernity in the non-Western contexts paying attention to the negotiations it forms with the local contexts and the hybrid forms that it takes as a result of these interactions (Gaonkar, 1999: 14-15).

Following the idea of “alternative modernities” I will focus on the Turkish experience to emphasize its particularities deriving from the dialogues between the precepts of modernity and local realities. Nilüfer Göle (2000: 43) warns against the possibility of the emphasis on the notion alternative to induce “claims for authenticity” based on the denial of foreign influences. To evade the threat Göle (2000) offers the concept non-Western modernities. The advantage of the concept

over alternative modernities is that it acknowledges the hierarchical relation between the West and its others. As Göle (2000: 44) approves herself, the concept does not help to undermine the integrity of the category of the West, however it still offers new methods and approaches to contemplate on other modernities in themselves. Methodologically, the concept requires attention on the following premises: First of all, the idea of “decentering the West” proposes to “revisit modernity as it is shaped by the non-Western” (Göle, 2000: 45). This acknowledges the agency of the non-Western in negotiating modernity. Second, in order to introduce the particularity of non-Western modernities it is required to abandon studying them as belated experiences. On the contrary, the idea of “coeval time” should be introduced in place of “the sequential and evolutionary time notion of modernity” in order to emphasize “the simultaneity of experience deriving from the global expansion of capitalism” (Göle, 2000: 47). Third premise is to emphasize the extrinsic character of modernity to the non-West despite its concurrency. The concept of “extra modernity” would explicate the obsessive relation of the non-West to modernity that ends in “a surplus, excess of modernity in some domains of social life” (Göle, 2000: 50). Finally, the concentration on “dissonant traditions” would open up new ways to ponder over non-Western modernities. The concept relates to the incongruity of the traditions which solidify instead of transforming with the changing social and cultural life through modernization (Göle, 2000: 53).

The introduction of electric appliances into Turkish homes beginning from the 1920s would corroborate the simultaneity of the experience of modernity and hence constitute a promising point to focus on in order to frame the ways modernity is appropriated in Turkey. Therefore, the dissertation will seek to elucidate the

interpretations of modernity in Turkey through a focus on the way domestic appliances are intended to be incorporated into the modernizing homes and daily lives within them.

1.2 Method and Resources

As Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann assert (2009: 10) kitchen and related technologies emerged as a propitious field of inquiry to grasp the “biography of an artifact and its many dimensions—political, cultural, economic, and ecological.” The biography of an artifact spans through the phases of production, distribution, promotion, use and disposal. Each of the phases offers a set of concepts and methods to elaborate on the cultural, political and economic dimensions of the object in question, and each approach produces a different insight into the matter. This study is concerned with the range of meanings attributed to domestic technologies throughout the phase of promotion. The underlying rationale of such an attempt is that the advertisements and articles on electrified life at home contribute to both practical and ideological redefinition and transformation of domesticity and femininity.

The twentieth century witnessed the breaking of the direct interaction between the producer and the user or the client, creating a necessity to the construction of a bridge between both by professional mediators (Oldenziel and Zachmann, 2009: 10). Home was one of the fields that suffered most from this communication outage, because of the conflicts between the male prescriptions, which are embodied in the design and organization of the objects, spaces and systems, and female practices with

them (Oldenziel and Zachmann, 2009: 10). In order to overcome the problem various actors such as advertisers, consumer associations, home economists “articulated and aligned product characteristics and user requirements” (Oldenziel, de la Bruhéze and de Wit, 2005: 111). By means of these attempts to interlink production and consumption “products’ characteristics, use and users are defined, constructed, and linked” (Oldenziel and Zachmann, 2009: 11).

Oldenziel, de la Bruhéze and de Wit (2005) refer to these grounds of dialogue as “mediation junction” inspired by the concept of “consumption junction” proposed by Ruth Schwarz Cowan. Cowan (1987: 263) presents the notion of “consumption junction” as a guideline to the study of the diffusion of technologies and the concept refers to “the place and time at which the consumer makes choices between competing technologies.” The concentration on the consumption junction introduces users’ agency in directing the development of technologies through the choices they make within a network consisting of “a temporal association between heterogeneous and interacting elements” (Cowan, 1987: 262). With this concept Cowan pointed at the necessity to focus on the processes of consumption along with that of production in order to comprehend better the trajectories of technologies. The concept of mediation junction also follows the idea to integrate the studies of production and consumption. Yet, its conceptual power derives from its recognition of the power relations involved in the mediation practices as well as introducing new actors like advertisers and consumer groups along with consumers into the histories of technologies. As Oldenziel, de la Bruhéze and de Wit (2005: 114) denote “mediation often involves heterogeneous practices, depending on location, social actors, and historical context” and certain power relations also guide these practices. While the

producers define certain user characteristics and inscribe them into their products within the mediation practices, users still keep their chance to negotiate those characteristics (Oldenziel, de la Bruhéze and de Wit, 2005: 114). Thus, the concept mediation junction constitutes “a useful research site that avoids either putting exclusive focus on users without proper attention to power relations or, alternately, falling into the trap of thinking in terms of the dominance of corporate control” (Oldenziel, de la Bruhéze and de Wit, 2005: 110).

This study focuses on the mediation junction of the electrified domestic technologies within the early republican period in order to figure out the ways the potential consumers are imagined. To this end I will contemplate on the textual and visual material devoted to the promotion of electric appliances. A considerable amount of the material in question consists of the advertisements of the devices produced by various corporations.

The credibility of advertisements as resources to reconstruct the social reality of a given period has been discussed in length by Roland Marchand (1986) in *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940*. As Marchand (1986: xviii) argues, there are many reasons that make ads dubious resources of information such as the reliance of advertisers on their understanding of the world while depicting ads or the tendency rather to foster aspirations than to represent realities in the ads. Nevertheless, ads give us clues worthy of consideration as particularly “social tableaux” depicting stereotypical snapshots from daily life. In Marchand’s (1986: 167) words, “the social tableaux depicted an ideal modern life—one to which consumers presumably aspired, but also one specifically discerned by the eyes of ad

creators.” What is more, ads play rather a constitutive role rather than a reflexive one, which means that they “establish broad frames of reference, define the boundaries of public discussion, and determine relevant factors in a situation” and “also [contribute] to the shaping of a ‘community discourse’ an integrative common language shared by an otherwise diverse audience” (Marchand, 1986: xx). In this study, I will capitalize on this reflexive and constitutive function of ads and will clarify the ways a particular visual vocabulary is utilized to construct a specific ethos of modern femininity along with its tensions and discrepancies.

Moreover, I believe that ads constitute an important but relatively neglected part of the visual repertoire of the modernization project and process in Turkey. As Bozdoğan and Kasaba (1997: 5) assert “institutional, ritual, symbolic, and aesthetic manifestations of modernity have become constituent elements of the Turkish collective consciousness since the 1920s.” The popular collection of images hinting at the mindset of the modernizing republic includes the images of

Unveiled women working next to clean-shaven men in educational and professional settings, healthy children and young people in school uniforms, the modern architecture of public buildings in republican Ankara and other major cities, the spectacular performances of the national theater, symphony orchestra, opera, and ballet, and proud scenes of agriculture, railroads, factories, and dams ... Not only have these been charged with a civilizing agency for the greater part of Turkey’s republican history, but they have also come to set the official standards of exterior form and behavior against which people, ideas and events have been measured and judged. (Bozdoğan and Kasaba, 1997: 5)

The question with this visual repertoire is that it almost totally consists of images representative of the ruling ideology of governing bureaucrats. The exclusive focus on official representations in the visual culture of Turkish modernization limits the perspectives on the subject. To enrich the discussions regarding the way modernity is

visually interpreted I find it crucial to introduce the advertisements and hence corporate appropriations of modernity.

At this point I should note that the resources of the electric appliance ads that are analyzed for this study are not clear. That is, it is not evident whether the advertising images are produced by local designers or taken from foreign resources. Mengü Ertel (1983: 828), a prominent graphic designer in Turkey, suggests that in the early years of the republic most ads for consumer goods were exported from abroad. I also came across a few examples in which the same images were used in the advertisements published both in the U.S. and Turkey.³ Especially in the Frigidaire ads the images were similar. However, the number of advertisements with the similar images was a few when compared to the number of advertisements in Turkey that are analyzed for this study. What is more, the conditions of borrowing and appropriation are not clear. To be able to make analytic deductions the following questions should be answered: Were the same products being marketed simultaneously in both contexts? Was the use of similar images in each country a corporate strategy or was it arbitrary? Depending on which criteria were the images to borrow selected? The uncertainty regarding the answers of these questions makes it speculative to make an analysis as to the ways of translation and appropriation. Another brief history of advertising in Turkey (Nebioğlu, 1983) puts forth that publication of advertisements in the early years of the republic was at the monopoly of *İlançılık Kollektif Şirketi* (Advertising Unlimited Company) which was founded in 1909. However, again the details of their mediation are not made clear. The involvement of the copywriters and designers of

³ The website *Vintage Ad Browser* contains many examples of advertisements for various ranges of products. For the collection of domestic household ads published from 1800s to 2000s please see the link <http://www.vintageadbrowser.com/household-ads>.

the company in the appropriation of the original images is vague. But still, independent from the processes of borrowing that they underwent, the images are awaiting analysis as to the meanings they produce and the ways these meanings interrelate with the local context. Even if the images are foreign originated this does not make the resulting analysis irrelevant to the local context. This derives from the fact that the images are published with Turkish copies that are appropriated for the local audience by the local ideologues and producers. The act of interpretation involved in the use of images and the very fact that these images are offered for the local audiences makes the question regarding the origin of them negligible.

Then, the question how to interpret the advertisements constitutes the methodological core of the present research. A prevalent strategy of analysis would be to attend to advertisements as texts in order to delve into the meanings they produce regarding the objects they promote. The semiotic concentration on the texts, objects, and visuals treats them as signs within languages and hence aimed at unraveling the meanings carried through them. However, as Stuart Hall (1997: 41) takes attention, the weak point of the semiotic approach is that it misses out the multifaceted nature of meaning making based on “larger units of analysis – narratives, statements, groups of images, whole discourses which operate across a variety of texts, areas of knowledge about a subject which have acquired widespread authority.” Thus semiotics treats representation as a matter of language merely and overlooks the “social practices and questions of power” involved in the processes of meaning making (Hall, 1997: 42).

To fully comprehend the representational practices by introducing into their analysis the power relations in their making Michel Foucault suggests focusing rather on discourse than language (Hall, 1997: 44). Foucauldian concept of discourse refers to “a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – a way of representing the knowledge about – a particular historical moment” (Hall, 1997: 44). That is, as Gillian Rose (2001: 136) explains, the notion of discourse stands for “groups of statements which structure the way a thing is thought, and the way we act on the basis of that thinking” or “ a particular knowledge about the world which shapes how the world is understood and how things are done in it.”

Among all other textual and linguistic practices, images and objects can also be treated as discourses. As Peter R. Grahame (1994: 285) proposes in his research on the way refrigerators are constructed in certain ways in the consumer discourses about them during the interwar period, “the constitution of each object within a specific complex of texts and practices” would be understood by treating the object in question as discourse. The analysis of the “refrigerator as a discursive object” entails the disclosure of not the meanings attached to the device during a particular period, but the “textually supported” conceptions of the device in a certain way (Grahame, 1994: 286). In other words, discursive analysis of the refrigerator reveals how the object was constructed as a device to bring along certain practices of food preparation, cooking and storage. Grahame (1994) accomplishes this by the analysis of product advertisements, popular magazine articles mentioning about the device and several refrigerator test reports.

In a similar manner, domestic appliance ads can be discursively analyzed to unfold how they were represented in order to construct certain modern domestic practices, habits and lifestyles during the formation years of the Turkish republic when modernization project was also at its peak. Thus, methodologically, this research will be formed around discursive analysis of the visual and textual material devoted to the promotion of electrification at home in order to put forth how they articulated with the dominant ideologies about modern household and domesticity.

Main concentration of the analysis will therefore be on the images in order to figure out the questions how domestic appliances are naturalized as modern household devices, how their consumption and use came to identify a modern domestic lifestyle and how it articulated with the wider discourses about modernity and even constructs modernity itself. Yet, these questions cannot be thought free of power relations that command particular answers as prevalent among many others. As Foucault has conceptualized “knowledge [is] always inextricably enmeshed in relations of power because it [is] always being applied to the regulation of social conduct in practice” (Hall, 1997: 47). This means that the power of the discourse operates in a productive manner asserting itself as true and valid and hence gains primacy in “regulation and disciplining of the practices” (Hall, 1997: 49). In Rose’s (2001: 137) words:

Discourse disciplines subjects into certain ways of thinking and acting, but this is not simply repressive; it does not impose rules for thought and behaviour on a pre-existing human agent. Instead, human subjects are produced through discourses. Our sense of our self is made through the operation of discourse. So too are objects, relations, places, scenes: discourse produces the world as it understands it.

Thus, certain characteristics and subjectivities regarding the users of the electric appliances are also discursively constructed through their visual and textual representations on various ads and articles. Since majorly these household appliances

are targeted at women as primary homemakers, the discourses on devices construct them as subjects with certain characteristics. The discursive analysis of the electric appliance ads in this study is also aimed at unfolding the female subjectivity naturalized as modern through the representational practices.

The Foucauldian concept of discourse is based on intertextuality which means that it “never consists of one statement, one text, one action or one source. The same discourse ... will appear across a range of texts, and as forms of conduct, at a number of different institutional sites within society” (Hall, 1997: 44). The visual materials as discourses also do not acquire their meaning and impose a knowledge merely in themselves but rather work in dialogue with various relevant images and texts to construct their objects and subjects. The discursive construction of modern domesticity and femininity through the promotion of electric household appliances could be fully comprehended through a focus on its intersections with the discourses on the rationalization of housework and modern domesticity, architectural discourses on the modern house, and the wider women’s question. The scope designated by the intertextual relations that domestic appliance ads are involved in also brings forth certain resources as primary materials.

The direct mail journal *Amel-i Elektrik*, published by Société Anonyme d’Installations Électriques (SATIE) in collaboration with Dersaadet Electricity and Tramway Corporation came to be a prominent tool to promote domestic electrification. The journal was published bi-monthly in both Turkish and French and distributed to electricity subscribers. There is no accurate knowledge regarding the

total number of the issues published. The available issues date from 1926 to 1934.⁴ Most of the articles in each issue are translations of meeting reports of the Electric Corporation or other articles published in foreign journals. Other than that the journal includes short texts of introduction, promotion and advice as well as the advertisements of the very products that SATIE exports. In this sense the magazine provides a good opportunity to dwell on how electricity was conceptualized, which functions it was anticipated to fulfill, and what kind of a domestic organization those functions favored.

Women's or family magazines emerge as prominent resources in terms of the richness of information they provide on dominant habits of household, the spatial organization of the modern house as well as the social position of women. As the most popular and long lasting publications of period the issues of *Yedigün* and *Ev-İş* are surveyed for this study. *Yedigün* was published from 1932 to 1950 and achieved to take place among the most popular and prominent illustrated magazines during the years of publication. The journal does not exclusively address women. However its motto "*Yedigün* is the ornament of each home" reveals its strong preoccupation with the issues of family (Hiçyılmaz and Evren, 1984: 158). *Ev-İş* published from 1937 to 1953 more clearly posited itself as a magazine addressing the issues regarding home as the heart of Kemalist reforms. Addressing at women the journal urged on the virtues of productivity and concentrated on such issues like handicrafts like sewing or knitting, cooking, fashion, etiquette and personal care (İlyasoğlu and İnel, 1984: 174).

⁴ Although the full collection is not available, the majority of the issues are available in the collections of National Library in Ankara. Bilgi University Library has also digitized all the issues at their hand and the collection can be accessed on-line through the library website.

As Nye (1991: 270) accentuated the role of home economics movement was indisputable for the success of domestic electrification and its promotion because most of the advertisements of electrical appliances drew on “the domestic-science ideas of efficiency and progressivism.” Therefore resources on scientific housework and home economics inevitably constitute a side of the intertextual dialogue. For this reason home economics textbooks and almanacs of Girls’ Institutes were also analyzed within the context of this study especially to trace the grounds on which housework is re-conceptualized within the modernization project. To this end the available issues of İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü Yıllığı (Almanac of İzmir Cumhuriyet Girls Institute) from 1936 to 1942 were also defined as primary resources.

The histories of electrification both in Turkey and in the international context were also influential in identifying the historical background of the study as well as framing it both theoretically and methodically. Nye’s (1991) *Electrifying America: Social Meanings of a New Technology, 1880-1940* and Graeme Gooday’s (2008) *Domesticating Electricity: Technology, Uncertainty and Gender, 1880-1914* has guided me too much in determining the kind of resources that would be useful, the theoretical positions within the histories of technology that would inform the study and the methods to analytically treat the resources.

Additionally, the histories of electrification in Turkey provided the chronological and statistical information regarding the development of technology. Recently, there has been a rising architectural and historical interest in the old electric production plants in Turkey as part of the ongoing urban renewal projects. Within this context the

Silahtarağa Power Plant was restored by Bilgi University to be used as a campus area. One part of the plant was also restored as a public energy museum. Throughout those studies a book on the history of the power plant entitled *The Story of The Silahtarağa Power Plant* (Aksoy et. al, 2009) was also published. In a similar manner, Övgü Pelen (2008) traces the history of electrification in Turkey through the iconic place that Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory, built in 1928, occupies within the republican modernization project with a particular emphasis on the ways the plant interacted with the urban space and electricity transformed urban life. Corporations also got involved in writing histories of electrification. Two prominent household appliances producers in Turkey, *Arçelik* and *Vestel* have contributed to the publication of books on the development of electric technology in Turkey in accordance with company histories and interests. *Sanayi Devrimi'nin Etkisinde İmparatorluk'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye* (Sezgin, 2011) published by the former frames the history of electrification in Turkey within the attempts towards industrialization in the country under the influence of the Industrial Revolution. *Önce Ateş Vardı: Türkiye'de Enerji Devrimi ve Modern Hayatın Etkileşimi* (Bayrıl, Erözçelik and Yılmaz, 2009), published by the latter, traces the transformations of daily life with the influence of electrification and introduction of related technologies including domestic appliances. All these resources supply substantial and comprehensive historical information about the process of electrification in Turkey. Yet since histories told in each are repetitive I derived merely from the book on the Silahtarağa Power Plant to clarify the historical background of electric production and consumption in Turkey. What is more, the way all these texts unquestioningly situated electricity among the modernizing agents encouraged me to delve into the relation between both.

1.3 Limitations and Scope of the Study

To retain the emphasis on the ways modernization was intended to be constructed through electrification I limited the study with the period from the mid-1920s to the beginning of the 1950s, which is widely referred to as the early republican period. Despite electric appliances were first introduced into the country towards the 1930s, they began to popularize only after the 1950s particularly with the beginning of the domestic production in the 1960s (Tanyeli, 1998: 145). Notwithstanding the limited access to electric powered appliances within the public during the years before the 1950s, these devices still occupied an important place in the discursive formations of modern everyday life. Defining a desired transformation that would embrace all segments of the society through the material means that could be owned by only a small minority would point at the idea that the definition of modernity within the republican discourse was not that definite and consistent or modernity was not inclusionary enough just from the very beginning. To reveal the ambiguities behind the definitions of the modern is the first motive behind limiting the study with the period in question.

At the same time, the dominant narratives of modernization in Turkey point to a break in the 1950s all in political, economic, cultural and social dimensions. The process beginning with 1945 is marked by certain developments in both the national and world history, among which the interrelated processes of the end of the single party regime and the World War II are the most prominent. During the years of war

hardening economic conditions brought about the emergence of the commerce bourgeoisie and industrialists as a powerful economic and social actor (Boratav, 1983: 416; Çavdar, 1983a: 2062). While these groups were increasing their accumulations owing to the conditions of war economy, the masses were getting more impoverished and hence income inequality was considerably deepening. This incited a social dissent against the existing government creating the social base for the new government (Çavdar, 1983a: 2063; Zürcher, 2007: 299). On the other hand, raising commerce and capital groups were creating a considerable pressure group against the statist policies of the existing government. This disfavor merged with the criticisms from the United States against the statist system and caused a liberal economic transformation beginning in 1947 (Zürcher, 2007: 312). The emergence of America in triumph from the war as a very strong state caused to get further closer to the country, through such attempts to join International Monetary Fund (IMF), in order to achieve financial support (Zürcher, 2007: 313). The Democrat Party came to power with the elections in 1950 against the backdrop of such developments. A considerable emphasis was placed on economic development based on American support through such loan projects like the Marshall Plan (Çavdar, 1983a: 2068). The cultural modernization projects fostered by the single party regime were also shifted with a completely diverse attention on popular culture to secure the support of the masses who felt repressed by the earlier Kemalist applications (Çavdar, 1983a: 2073). This ended in the redefinition of the “American way of life” as the “new and supreme manifestation of civilization and modernity (Bora, 2002: 153).

The apparent direction towards Americanization was not welcome by the republican ruling elites and was harshly criticized as deterioration, corruption, deviation, and

retrogression. As exemplified in detail in Levent Cantek's (2008) book *Cumhuriyetin Bülüğ Çağı: Gündelik Yaşama Dair Tartışmalar (1945-1950)* the "founding fathers" deemed the capitalist, mass consumption regimes and the rise of popular culture fostered by the process was condemned as a betrayal to the ideal project. However, as Bozdoğan (2001: 116) notes, the American was actually palpable throughout the 1920s and 1930s, particularly for the case of technological advancement. Despite the technological advancement of the industry was conducted through German support in parallel with their statist approaches, the popular magazines were full of images of American technological wonders particularly addressing daily life (Bozdoğan, 2001: 116). This study is intended to trace these earlier images of American style modernism in the representations of domestic appliances in order to point to the ambiguities, discrepancies, ruptures and continuities in the formation of the modern. Therefore, the attention is only limited with the period before the 1950s.

The methodical approach to the subject also requires limiting the scope of this dissertation with the instrumentalization of appliances by the ideologies in power to foster the settlement of desired values regarding modern woman. Therefore, despite I acknowledge the agency of users in shaping technologies, the ways through which the improvement of appliances are influenced in response to prominent discourses about them will not be covered. I will rather retain the emphasis on the mutual shaping of technology and society through the interrogation of the confidence in prevalence and competitiveness of electrical appliances in question. The promoted qualities of electricity neither prove superiority of electricity over other technologies nor represent the consumer attitude towards introduced material. To reveal targeted users' attitude towards electrical appliances anticipate explanation. On the other

hand, the choice or the rejection of electrical technologies under consideration should be elaborated on ideological grounds, on behalf of both producers and consumers. Why producers head towards electrical appliances and why consumers tend to adopt electricity are questions both of which carry equal weight to the study of domestic electrification as well as explanation of how the artifacts came to be adopted by both. Yet, these questions fall out of the interest and scope of this study, because the answers to each require a comprehensive research based on different methodologies and concentration on different phases of a product's lifespan.

1.4 Overview of the Chapters

Chapter Two supplies background information regarding the history of electrification in Turkey in general. It begins with an introduction into the developments regarding the production, distribution and use of electric power until the 1950s within the framework of technical determinations and socioeconomic forces that guide the process. The historical information is examined with attention to the ways electricity is conceptualized by the ruling elites, to the attributes electrification is encouraged through, and to the values that the process of electrification and the electric power itself was associated with. The answers to these questions are sought for at three different scales which are industrial, urban and domestic. The underlying idea of the chapter is that at all these scales electrification is directly associated with modernization but there occurs a difference in the tone modern is defined at each scale. Particularly while moving from the industrial realm to the domestic,

definitions of electric power is tamed to endow it with more moderate values convenient to the household.

Moving forward from the discussion regarding the taming of electricity as to fit it with the domestic atmosphere Chapter Three focuses on the gendered overtones of the process. The gender coding involved in the domestication of electricity is analyzed through the visual representations of the technology in popular magazines. The gendered images of electricity are classified into two approaches, which are mythification and anthropomorphization regarding the common visual strategies of representation. It is argued throughout the chapter that these approaches familiarized electric power for domestic users by particularly feminizing it. Visual strategies of feminization are exemplified through various domestic appliance advertisements in pursuance of the attributes attached to the devices in question. These apparent characteristics are then marked as constitutive of certain domestic habits, lifestyles and female subjectivities all of which have strong connotations of class and status.

Chapter Four focuses on the anticipated transformations of domestic life via electrification and the use of electric household appliances. The analysis is based on the literature on the development of technologies concerning modern kitchen and housework within the science and technology studies that dwell on the interactions between technological developments and the social, political and cultural context. Within that framework the representations of electric appliances are scrutinized with a view to figuring out to what extent they pledged to rationalize the housework. The analysis is also placed within a comparative perspective in which the experience in Turkey is assessed in relation to the scientific housework experiences in the US,

where first attempts to rationalize household occurred, and in Europe. The main concern is to investigate how these principles of housework were appropriated in Turkey and further articulated with the discourses on domestic electrification. The emergent discursive formations of domesticity are then correlated with the wider discourses on modernization so as to cover over the multiplicity of the definitions as to modernity.

Chapter Five is an attempt to answer the question how modern female subjectivity was constructed in the advertisements and representations of domestic appliances in popular women's and family magazines. The inquiry is enframed within the debates over the role of domestic technologies in emancipating women from drudgery in order to increase their participation in the public life within the science and technology studies and discussions regarding the liberation of women by means of Kemalist reforms within the feminist histories of modernization in Turkey. That is, the chapter dwells on the multifaceted relations between modernity, technology and gender in order to reveal the ways modern Turkish woman is discursively constructed. The interconnections of meanings in the advertisements addressing women as consumers and caring mothers and depicting them enjoying leisure activities or exhibiting their beauty and charm are analyzed so as to trace the ambiguities in definitions of modern femininity.

The last chapter encapsulates the arguments presented throughout the study and attempts to re-read the wider discourses on modernity in the light of these assertions. The chapter also builds on a critique of the limitations deriving from the scope of the thesis, to point to the possible further research.

CHAPTER 2

ELECTRICITY: THE TRANSFORMATIVE POWER OF MODERNITY

The first urban-scale, coal-fired power station in Turkey is known to be The Silahtarağa Power Plant in İstanbul, which came into operation in 1914 (Aksoy, Açıkbaş and Akman, 2009: 1).⁵ But this was not the first time that people in Turkey got acquainted with electricity. Again in İstanbul around 1860s, people who attended a public course at *Darülfünun-i Osmani* would be informed about electricity for the first time (Çavdar, 1983b: 690).⁶ Then, in the late 19th century, İstanbulites, who

⁵ After its closure in 1983 the Silahtarağa Power Plant was put under protection with the decree of the Directorate of the Regional Committee for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage. Following the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality's idea to utilize the building as a cultural site, İstanbul Bilgi University signed a contract with the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources. The power plant building was renovated into an Energy Museum exhibiting the engine houses no. 1 and no. 2, while the boiler houses were turned into an exhibition hall. The site also includes a public library and classroom buildings including the Faculty of Architecture and the Faculty of Communication (Aksoy, Açıkbaş and Akman, 2009; 53).

⁶ *Darülfünun-i Osmani* is today known as İstanbul University. The institute was established with the aim to teach sciences based on Western higher education models with a pronouncement declared in 21 July 1846. Following an educational reform carried out by the new republic in 1933, Darülfünun evolved into İstanbul University. For further information about the history of İstanbul University see "1453'ten Günümüze İstanbul Üniversitesi." 2011. *İstanbul Üniversitesi*. <http://www2.istanbul.edu.tr/?p=68>.

were amazed by this technological innovation, saw the first applications of electricity in illumination in the steamboats brought from England (Çavdar, 1983b: 690).

Even in terms of urban electrification the Silahtarağa Power Plant was not the first example in the Ottoman Empire. Before it there had been attempts to build smaller energy stations. The earliest known attempt in the Ottoman lands was a small hydroelectric plant built in Tarsus, a small town in southern Turkey, in 1902 (Çavdar, 1983b: 691). Tarsus was followed by electrification of İzmir and Thessaloniki in 1905, Damascus in 1907, and Beirut in 1908 with similar small-scale plants (Aksoy, Açıkbaş and Akman, 2009: 1). Electricity produced in all these plants remained considerably limited in scale and scope. For instance, the hydroelectric plant of Tarsus could only suffice to illuminate the streets of the town and homes of a few leading people like the major and adjudicator (Dinçel, 1973: p. 88).

Even though the Silahtarağa Power Plant remained wide-ranging compared to these earlier plants, it was able to provide electricity to a limited space in İstanbul. The contract signed with the electric company included electrification of the 1st, 12th and 20th municipal districts on the European side including Beyazıt, Sultanahmet, Fatih, Samatya, Eyüp, Beyoğlu, Hasköy, Beşiktaş, Arnavutköy, Yeniköy, Tarabya and Büyükdere (Aksoy, Açıkbaş and Akman, 2009: 21).⁷ These regions, which received electricity first, were majorly inhabited by the non-Muslim community including the Greek, Armenian, Jewish and Levantine populations (Aksoy, Açıkbaş and Akman,

⁷ As Oktay (2006: 52) explains the municipal structure consisting of 20 branches came into operation in İstanbul in 1908 with the beginning of the Second Constitutional Era. The model was first proposed in the *Dersaadet* Municipal Act of 1877, however could not be established because of the problems caused by Ottoman-Russian War. Short after the model was implemented, it underwent reforms. The proposal prepared by Cemil Pasha in 1912 implied conversion of 20 departments into 9 branch offices (Oktay, 2006: 54).

2009: 37). Until 1921 the length of electric network remained almost the same (Aksoy, Aıkbař and Akman, 2009: 37).

When Turkish Republic was established in 1923, 94% of country's population still lacked electricity, while the number of electrified cities was only three (avdar, 1983b: 691). With the new regime, there emerged a noticeable acceleration in electrification across the country. Within a seven years period more than 30 plants were established in different cities (avdar, 1983b: 691).⁸ By the year 1930, the amount of total electricity produced in the country increased tremendously from 30345 kWh to 282 million kWh (avdar, 1983b: 691-692).⁹

Despite this remarkable progress in the first decade of the republican government, electricity production seems to have lagged far behind expectations. This dissatisfaction manifests itself overtly in the series of articles on current situation and future development possibilities of Turkey's electric industry written by M. řevki in 1933.¹⁰ According to M. řevki's calculation based on the comparison of the population of cities with power plants to Turkey's total population, only 14% of the people in the country were able to utilize electric power (1933a: 40). With these rates

⁸ The cities in which new plants are established are as follows: Ankara in 1924; Adana, Akřehir, Artvin, İnebolu, İzmir, Mersin and Trabzon in 1925; Aksaray, Ayvalık, Bursa, İzmit, Konya, Kütahya, Malatya and Sivas in 1926; Afyon, Antalya, orum, Eskiřehir, Giresun, Kırkağaç, Kırklareli, Nazilli, Samsun, Yozgat in 1928; Bafra, Bandırma, Biga, Milas, Ordu in 1929; Balıkesir, Kastamonu, Tekirdağ, Urfa in 1930 (avdar, 1983b: 691).

⁹ 30345 kWh of electric energy is equivalent to the energy consumed by a standard 100-Watt light bulb in 303,45 hours, that is 12,6 days.

¹⁰ Mehmet řevki Yazman, an electric engineer by education is rather well known as a writer and soldier. He fought in Galician and Palestine fronts in the WWI and in the Turkish War of Independence and published his memoirs of the Galician front among other books (M. řevki Yazman, 2014). He is also among the founders of the journal *Kadro*, which aimed at explaining Kemalist principles through a scientific perspective (Hakkında, 2014).

Turkey ranked at the last place among European countries with respect to the amount of electric consumption per person (M. Şevki, 1933a: 39). Complaining about the scantiness of electric energy in Turkey M. Şevki regrets that “countries like Australia and New Zealand, where a large part of the inhabitants consists of *savages* but large scale industrial activities take place, are ten times better than us in this respect” (1933a: 39-40).¹¹

This complaint expresses very well the meaning and importance of electrification for the modernizing elites. In the republican conception electric power was indisputably an agent of modernization as well as a modern form of energy. In that sense, electricity was a political technology as Langdon Winner (1999) suggests it. To assert that a technology is political is to assert that it is a way of building order (Winner, 1999: 32). That is, the ways technological systems are structured give way to certain forms of power relations within a society in which certain people and values dominate over others. In the case of Turkey’s electrification, the development of the technology gave way to build modern spaces, practices and individuals as envisioned by the republican ideologues. In this chapter, I will analyze the transformative power attributed to electricity in various texts representing the technology including magazine articles and advertisements of related devices. This requires clarifying both the role attributed to electricity in the modernization project and the characteristics of the expected order resulting from the fulfillment of such assignments. In the following sections I will focus on this ordering power of electricity within three different contexts which are industrial, urban and domestic.

¹¹ Emphasis is mine.

2.1 Electricity for the National Development

Fascination with electricity in the first years it was introduced in Turkey derived largely from its potential to advance industrial production and hence ensure the development of the country. As M. Şevki (1933d: 42) puts it “having a countrywide and advanced industry is the attested claim of Turkish revolution” and electrification is essential to the accomplishment of the objective. In a nutshell, electric power was instrumentalized as part of the nationalist development programs. This approach to electrification epitomizes Bozdoğan’s (2001: 112) claim that Kemalist ideals of progress were justified on the grounds of keeping up with the modern zeitgeist which was believed to be embodied in the Western originated technologies, machines and industry. As she illustrates, the official culture of 1930s’ Turkey was marked by eager references to the spirit of the modern times that was set as a goal to achieve in order to prove itself against the West. Along the same lines, in an article in *Yedigün*, Gültekin (1942: 8) greeted machinery that he referred to as the embodiment of modern civilization:

When we talk about the 20th century civilization we conjure up the images of cogwheels processing with a dazzling speed, giant machines. It takes a month for the man of the 20th century to finish the buildings as big as the pyramids built by Egyptians setting millions of people to work for several years. We have machine eyes that would see the stars in the darkness of heavens and germs among the mystery of life. If we want, our voice can be heard all around the world. We are wondering across the sky like the ancient Gods.

Heralding the modern machinery as the agent of civilization meant to perform the nationalist struggle against Western domination by means of Western technology, namely becoming “Western in spite of the West” (Bozdoğan, 2001: 112). In a manner attesting to Bozdoğan’s claim, M. Şevki (1933d: 42-43) pointed to industrial

electrification as an imperative to overcome Turkey's semi-dependent situation. Yet the only issue was not the establishment of a national industry. Electric production itself was required to be nationalized. According to the statistics given by M. Şevki (1933a: 40) himself 94% of the electricity produced in Turkey was generated in plants run by foreign companies while municipalities produced the 4% and private power plants produced the remaining 2%.

Foreign companies were not dominant only in electric production. As Korkut Boratav (2008: 19) quotes from the book *Modern Turkey: A Politico-Economic Interpretation, 1908-1923* written by E. G. Mears in 1924 “probably there is no independent country in which the domain of foreign capital is as large as it is in the Ottoman Empire... The old Ottoman Empire was astonishingly pledged to external financial interests.” This semi-colonial situation of the Ottoman Empire was a point of criticism within the nationalist discourse as a factor impeding the struggle against the West. For example Adnan Dinçel (1973: 95), an early electrical engineer in Turkey, bluntly stated that the concessions granted to foreign companies did not comply with the idea of national independence. Thus, the nationalization of electric production emerged as an important step in the electrification of the country in the name of national progress. Before analyzing what electrification meant within the agenda of nationalist development, I find it crucial to encapsulate this process of nationalization.

2.1.1 Nationalization of Electric Production

The way to the construction of the first power plant in Turkey, namely the Silahtarağa Power Plant was paved by the enactment of “the law regulating concessions concerning public interest” on 10 June 1910 (Aksoy, Açıkbaş and Akman, 2009: 19). This law ensured some privileges to private and foreign companies for the investments they would make in public utilities including such fields like energy, transportation and infrastructure. Boratav (2008: 31) tells that after 1908 in the Ottoman period foreign capital and foreign lending were encouraged on behalf of capitalist development. Only after 1919, with the rise of anti-imperialist struggle in the war of independence applications protecting economic independence began to gain strength (Boratav, 2008: 32). Within these concessions which were granted regarding to the country’s political interests, capital groups from many European countries like France, England, Germany and Belgium entered the country (Aksoy, Açıkbaş and Akman, 2009: 25).

In the same year with the law regarding concessions the government announced an international tender specifying the articles to be done to build a power plant in İstanbul (Aksoy, Açıkbaş and Akman, 2009: 19). The contract was obtained by an Austro-Hungarian company, Ganz. Ganz cooperated with Banque Générale de Crédit Hongrois, La Banque de Bruxelles and the Belgian SOFINA in 1911 to found the Ottoman Electric Company, or Société Anonyme Ottomane d’Electricité in French (Aksoy, Açıkbaş and Akman, 2009: 19-21). The contract signed with the Ministry of Public Works accorded the concession for distributing electricity for 50

years to the Ottoman Electric Company (Aksoy, Açıkbăș and Akman, 2009: 19-21).

According to this contract the Ottoman Electric Company was responsible for

the establishment of a central electric power plant with a capacity of 3,000 kW, installation of street lamps in, at least, all of the main streets, and provision of electricity to all neighbourhoods that accommodated thousand resident or twenty homes at minimum. (Aksoy, Açıkbăș and Akman, 2009: 21)

The power plant was decided to be constructed in Silahtarađa, a principal industrial site located in the Golden Horn, so that the loss of energy in electric transmission would be minimized, the construction of electric grids to Pera and the supply of coal and water required for production would be eased owing to its pivotal location near the sea and industrial zone (Aksoy, Açıkbăș and Akman, 2009: 23). Then in process of time some changes were made in the contract in favor of the Ottoman state. These changes included the increase in the capacity of the power plant, increase in number of streetlamps to be installed by the company free of charge from 100 to 600 and decrease in the electricity sales price (Aksoy, Açıkbăș and Akman, 2009: 19-21).

Despite the contract required the construction of plant to be completed by June 1913, inauguration of Silahtarađa Power Plant was delayed one year because of the demolition brought about by the Balkan War and the flood disaster in September 1913 (Aksoy, Açıkbăș and Akman, 2009: 23). Finally in 11 February 1914 electricity was first supplied to the tramcars and then in 14 February 1914 it was supplied to the city network (Dinçel, 1973: 90).

After the power plant began to run, all of the shares of the Ottoman Electric Company were transferred to one of the partners, which is SOFINA (Dinçel, 1973: 90). With the establishment of the republic, SOFINA renewed its contract with the new government in 17 June 1923 (Aksoy, Açıkbăș and Akman, 2009: 25). According

to this contract, the company was renamed as Turkish Electric Company while its founding capital was tripled in exchange for the enhancements to be made in both the plant and the network (Aksoy, Açıkbash and Akman, 2009: 25). With another contract signed in 7 September 1926, the Turkish Electric Company's concession was extended until 1993 (Dinçel, 1973: 90).

The concessions granted to foreign companies for their investments on electrification projects were not limited to SOFINA. The power plants established between 1924 and 1930 were founded and run by following companies: Italian company Morelli in Edirne, Tekirdağ, Bursa Balıkesir, Kastamonu and Gaziantep; German AEG in Ankara and Bergmen in Ordu, Samsun, Giresun; Hungarian Ganz in Antalya, Konya and Diyarbakır (Dinçel, 1973: 98). As can be seen, during the early periods of the republic concessions still continued to be granted. During the period from 1923 to the Great Depression in 1929, republican government treated concessions as a means to create a way to create domestic bourgeoisie (Boratav, 2008: 40). Within this context foreign investments were encouraged on condition that they would not be granted any concessions similar to capitulations which were deemed by Atatürk as the reason behind the Ottoman Empire's semi-colonial status (Boratav, 2008: 42).

The problems brought about by the Great Depression lead to emergence of more protectionist economic policies in Turkey. Boratav (2008: 60) refers to this period continuing throughout the 1930s as "protectionist-statist industrialization" period. Within the scope of these policies, attitudes towards foreign investments have totally changed. A great amount of the foreign investments that entered the country during the Ottoman governance were nationalized within this period (Boratav, 2008: 69).

Consequently in this period the state came to be an essential investor particularly in the field of energy and municipal services (Boratav, 2008: 70). Dinçel (1973: 96) recounts that the liquidation of concessional foreign capital also collected a considerable public support.

In the nationalization of electrification enterprises, self-seeking attitudes of foreign companies were as influential as statist policies. In this respect, the way electric companies based their tariffs on gold as a precaution against devaluation of Turkish Lira was a subject of complaint (Çavdar, 1983b: 691). In a similar manner, the reports suggest that the currency loss reached high rates because of the import costs of primary energy resources. As Çavdar (1983b: 692) suggests, only in 1938 the currency loss because of this reason was 1.400.000 Turkish Liras. For these reasons electricity cost considerably expensive.¹² M. Şevki (1933a: 35) pointed at the fact that electricity was rather “an ornament” than a power accessible by masses. To be able to get electricity cheaper a protectionist economic policy and a national economic program was required.

In time, restrictions on money transfer out of the country as part of the protectionist policies caused electric companies to experience some problems. The troubles that SOFINA have experienced can be uttered as an example. Following the restrictions on capital transfer, SOFINA became unable to pay external debts (Dinçel, 1973: 92). Due to similar reasons, the company could not import the engine groups that were required to fulfill assured extensions in the plant (Aksoy. Açıkbâş and Akman, 2009: 29). As a solution to the conflicts with the company because of the halt in

¹² Dinçel says that in 1934 maximum price of electric illumination was reduced from 17 to 15 cents. The same year the price of one kg bread was 0,08 Liras (Ahmad, 1998: 152).

renovations, the government enabled the barter system and on 29 May 1932 established a commission to supervise the system affiliated to the Ministry of Economy (Aksoy. Aıkbař and Akman, 2009: 29). Between 1935 and 1938 the government prosecuted the company several times on the accounts of smuggling, selling electricity for higher prices and disobeying contracts (Aksoy. Aıkbař and Akman, 2009: 29-31). As a result of the increasing conflicts and changing economic policies, the government decided to buy the company and on 31 December 1937 it acquired the company with all its assets and facilities in return for 11.5 million liras (Aksoy. Aıkbař and Akman, 2009: 31).

Apart from SOFINA, the electric companies located in Ankara, Adana, Bursa, Mersin, Balıkesir, Antep, Tekirdađ, Edirne, İzmır, Antalya, Trabzon and Malatya were also bought by the state during the 1930s (avdar, 1983b: 691). After the purchase these companies were commonly passed to the municipalities of related province (avdar, 1983b: 691). For instance, the Silahtarađa Power Plant was taken over by the İstanbıl Electricity, Tramway and Tunnel Enterprises (İETT) established by the Municipal Administration of İstanbıl on 16 June 1939 (Aksoy. Aıkbař and Akman, 2009: 31). But this time the problem was that, the municipalities did not have enough resources and experience to advance the electrification projects (avdar, 1983b: 692).

Foundations of Etibank and Elektrik İřleri Etüd İdaresi successively in 1935 were important steps towards the integration of electrification projects within the country (avdar, 1983b: 692). Etibank was assigned the following tasks:

Obtaining privileges in and running electric production and distribution facilities in Turkey; establishing power plants and electric networks, taking any operation

related with these on; setting up factories to produce every kind of electric tools, equipment and machines and to perform their trade. (Çavdar, 1983b: 692)

The mission of Elektrik İşleri Etüd İdaresi was to guide the electrification projects.

Within this context it was expected to

Detect the most suitable resource for electric production by analyzing available water power and the other energy resources;
Investigate the ways and make profitability calculations to provide the electric energy necessary for cities and towns, factories, mines, railways and farms in the most economical way
Prepare the electrification parts of the prospective industrialization programs.
(Dikmen, 1942: 2-3)

Except from these issues, Elektrik İşleri Etüd İdaresi was also responsible for guiding the education of professionals and specialists in electrification, taxation processes and tariffs (Dikmen, 1942: 3). But the overall picture suggests that Elektrik İşleri Etüd İdaresi was an attempt to integrate electrification projects with industrialization. Çavdar (1983b: 690) already identifies the time from 1930 to 1940 as the period marked by the attempts to coordinate energy policies with industrialization programs.

Actually, the idea of coordination between electrification and industrialization arose earlier in the process towards the formation of the republic. The selection of Ankara as the new capital of new country is a good example in this respect. As Funda Şenol Cantek (2011: 70) cites from Keleş, Başkent Komisyonu, a commission founded in 1921 to determine the required characteristics of the new capital and guide the decision process, designated the criteria as follows:

being connected to a city with transport to the seaside if possible; having the possibility to be linked to four corners of the country by railway; being close to natural or artificial waterfalls that would help produce electricity; being close to coal mines; being close to forested land; having the required sources of water or conveying water to that place; presence of elements required for a civilized city.

As Dikmen (1942) informs, this idea of coordination was bluntly put into words by Şevket Aydınelli (1940) in his book *Türkiye'nin Enerji Ekonomisi ve*

Elektriklendirilmesi (Energy Economics and Electrification of Turkey). As Dikmen (1942: 15) quotes Aydinelli: “industry and energy are inseparable elements, and for this reason, industrialization and electrification are national ideals that cannot be considered separately.”

It is once again clear that the potential of electrification to advance industrial production and hence to develop the country was among the most exciting promises regarding the technology. As Dikmen (1942: 1) indicates, states emerged as a dominant and active actor in the electrification projects commencing in the early twentieth century in that electrification was an application in the interest of whole country. Establishment of Etibank and Elektrik İşleri Etüd İdaresi was a continuation of such examples like hydraulic power survey service established in 1903 in France; Electricity Commissioners founded in 1919 in England and Central Electricity Board founded in 1927 in Soviet Russia (Dikmen, 1942: 1).

During the World War II years, electrification projects in the country came to a standstill while Elektrik İşleri Etüd İdaresi took a back seat (Çavdar, 1983b: 692). Despite Etibank and Elektrik İşleri Etüd İdaresi planned to build a power plant in Çatalağzı region in Zonguldak, war conditions did not allow it and the plant could be operated in 1949 (Dinçel, 1973: 101-102).

After the war, in 1945 there were 190 power plants run by municipalities and 84 private production units total installed capacity of which reached 246.000 kW (Dinçel, 1973: 102). Integration of these electric production units scattered around the country was the main issue of the period after the war. The issue was brought in

the agenda in the first Advisory Electricity Congress in 1953, but the interconnected system was established in 1973 with the formation of Turkey Electricity Institution (Dinçel, 1973: 112).

2.1.2 Electricity as a Progressive Power

The article “Terakkide ve Buhranda Elektrik” (Electricity in Development and Depression) (1932: 7) published in *Ameli Elektrik* opens as follows: “Since the commencement of this century electricity constitutes a solid example of technological development and evolution of electric industry constitutes a brilliant example of the benefits of advancement.” Although electricity is an immaterial power, it was embodied in the machines, tools and appliances that it energizes, and it could be realized through the transformations that these machines bring about in life. Therefore, in the popular imagery of the 1930s, what stands out is rather the concrete mechanisms and structure of the electric powered machinery of the century rather than an abstraction of electricity itself. Within these representations electricity was depicted along with the other emerging technologies of the 20th century whilst building the civilization that they promised. The image (Figure 1) accompanying Gövsa’s (1942b) article entitled “20. Asır” (20th Century) is a good example to this imagery. While in the article Gövsa (1942b) enumerates the innovations that changed life in the 20th century like electricity, cinema and Ford’s production line, the image illustrates the technologies in question. There is a feeling of constant dynamism in the image, which is enhanced by the diagonal lines framing juxtaposed scenes. The farmers are harvesting crops; the plane, the truck and the airplane are all in motion;

the scientists is at work holding test tubes; the cranes are at work in the bridge construction site and the pipeline installation proceeds. The dense smoke rising from the train, test tubes and construction sites indicates the hard work continuing in all areas. Mounted on the top is the portrait of a young man who is most probably the subject of this transformation working in the factories, laboratories and field. He is looking ahead implicating ever-going progress. The vision of the young male subject indisputably represents the national vision of a prosperous future.



Figure 1 Image of the 20th century (*Yedigün*, Issue 511, 21 December 1942, p. 5)

Bozdoğan (2001: 114) refers to these images as “industrial iconography” with reference to cultural historian Leo Marx. As Marx (1994) holds it, the term technology covers something more than mechanical arts, namely the bunch of machines and related skills and knowledge. As we use it today, technology rather refers to “a particular kind of device, a specialized form of theoretical knowledge or expertise, a distinctive mental style, and unique set of skills and practices” at the same time (Marx, 1994: 248). Particularly with the advent of the Enlightenment project that exalts human power over nature the concept of technology was ascribed

with “a host of metaphysical properties and potencies, thereby making it seem to be a determinate entity, a disembodied autonomous causal agent of social change” (Marx, 1994: 249). This progressive ideal found its visual expression in what Sibel Bozdoğan (2001) calls “industrial iconography” prevailing in the publications of the period. As Bozdoğan (2001: 115) remarks, the interesting thing about industrial iconography predominated by illustrations of railroads, dams, power plants, skyscrapers, factories, assembly lines, airplanes and electrical industry is that they appeared without a reference to the details of the context that they exist in. As such they had a mysterious existence which worked “to claim them for a universal future for humankind independent of particularities of place and nation and to evoke a linear path of progress along which Turkey aspired to march” (Bozdoğan, 2001: 115).

The claim to civilization through mechanization was recognized to such an extent that a columnist wrote in *Yedigün* “the steam of heavy fuel, coal and gasoline rising from the machines will choke people who cannot become familiar with them, it will not let those breathe” (S., 1945: 11). The significance of technological improvement was further accentuated through the actual experiences of Atatürk. As Kutay (1940: 19) recites, seeing that the driver could not repair the car which is broken down on the way from Samsun to Havza in May 19, 1919 Atatürk himself stresses that “we should build an acquaintance with the machine. Machine is one of the foundations of the new age. Our national capabilities permit this.”

Atatürk’s emphasis on our “national capabilities” in this story is particularly important because it helps to explain fascination with modern machinery on

historical grounds. Following a similar pattern İbrahim Alâettin Gövsa (1942a: 5) refers to the abundance of machines in the 5th and 6th centuries in Khorassan, Turkistan and Bukhara; the importance attributed to technical education in Ahi culture and the various victories of Turkish militaries. After a period of recession in the 17th and 18th centuries with Europe forging ahead Turkey in terms of technical competence, Gövsa (1942a: 10) is content that “eventually after the republican revolution we nationally began to look for those skills to earn our keep which have been lost for one or two centuries.” These stories reveal two entwined motivations at once. The first is to posit machinery as something that is not so extrinsic to our culture at all. And secondly, republican ideology justifies itself as a movement against the agents that estranged Turkish nation from its intrinsic predisposition to technology and hence interfered its march towards civilization.

Apparently, the republican intelligentsia handled electricity as a robust transformative power. In this respect, as Serkan Delice (2007) puts it, electric power was most of the time identified with “reason, willpower and courage.” This conception paralleled the Enlightenment ideology of technology. The ideology was the result of a strong confidence in human power to conceive and hence dominate over the nature that would lead to “steady, continuous, and cumulative improvement” (Marx, 1994: 240). Marx (1994: 251) holds that in the meantime, the Enlightenment prescription

for generating progress by directing improved technical means to societal ends was imperceptibly transformed into a quite different technocratic commitment to improving "technology" as the basis and the measure of ... the progress of society. This technocratic idea may be seen as an ultimate, culminating expression of the optimistic, universalist aspirations of Enlightenment rationalism.

A parallel technocratic approach stands out in the discourses regarding electrification or technological development in general during the early years of the new Turkish republic. Electricity as well as other mechanical arts was adopted as signs and agents of a universal civilization. Despite the technological, scientific and industrial development of the country lagged very far behind the frequently reproduced visions, they were celebrated as the bearers of the universal civilization. The statements about electrification and mechanization were parts of the discourses that claimed a share in that civilization.

2.2 Electricity as an Ordering Power

Urban electrification basically meant city lighting and electric public transportation. In this everyday urban use, electricity inevitably gained new connotations. It is possible to follow all the new meanings attributed to electricity in the book *Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi=Elektrikli Türkiye* (Republican Turkey=Electrified Turkey) written by Hasan Halet (1933), a professor of electro-engineering at the Robert College, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the republic. In the passage from the book the benefits of urban electrification are enumerated as follows:

 Illumination of the streets of our cities and towns have caused excellence in public security and reduction in all kinds of crimes.

 Nightlife started in cities and towns, our citizens found the opportunity to gather in Community Centers and clubhouses to read and socialize.

 In homes, electrical lamps that generate clean and bright light replaced the petroleum lamps that produced insufficient light; hence it became possible to read without getting eye pain and neural complications. The public's interest in reading is thereby satisfied and electrical energy constituted a significant factor in the dissemination of education across the country

The People's Republican Party spent great effort and a good performance to improve radio broadcasting across the country. The party installed private radios and loudspeakers in cities and towns where Community Centres are established. The community at large has found the fortunate opportunity to listen to the inspirations of the Great Leader directly from him. Isn't it a great privilege to be able to simultaneously hear the stimulating address of this Great personality who has saved the country from hundreds of kilometers away? ...

Spreading of cinema in our country has given us the opportunity to closely follow the developments in the Western world, while even our remotest villages benefit from travelling cinemas. (quoted in Aksoy, Açıkbaz and Akman, 2009: 46).

Overall in the text, the transformative power attributed to electricity remains constant. Yet, as the emphases on security, health, education and propaganda suggests, it is directed towards a different end. Embodied in the form of machines that it energizes, electricity becomes a productive power exerted on the raw materials of nature to bring forth industrial progress, material abundance and economic wellbeing. In the public uses of electricity, its power was rather aimed at social transformation, control and ordering. As such, electricity emerged as a form of "discipline" in the Foucauldian sense, "which made possible the meticulous control of the operations of the body, which assured the constant subjection of its forces and imposed on them a relation of docility-utility" (Foucault, 1984:181). Urban electrification was aimed at producing of modern urbanites through improvement of their bodily capacities which are then trained to act in certain ways "[making] it more obedient as it becomes more useful" (Foucault, 1984: 182). In this respect electricity gains a multi-faceted political efficiency. Before all else, it seems that electrification of the country provided both a ground of legitimacy for the objectives of the new government and a means of propaganda. In other words, it was asserted that the country owed its electrification to the efforts of the new republic and then electricity itself was utilized to express the achievements of the regime. What is more, electricity was endowed with an agency. It was expected that electrification would

lead to the emergence of a modern public sphere, cultivation of literate citizens, implementation of public security, and fulfillment of public health.

A similar approach to urban electrification also stands out in the publications of the period. As Bozdoğan (2001: 128) incisively puts it, in the republican conception electricity was “portrayed as an agent of civilization in both the literal and metaphorical senses of the term ‘illumination’.” Within this relation electricity was conceptualized as the power that would overcome ignorance and insecurity, which are identified with darkness. This “conquest of the night” by electricity meant replacement of the anxiety with security, order and joy.¹³

The electrification enlightenment association also reveals in the histories of the technology that expound country’s belated electrification with reference to Sultan Abdülhamid II’s fear of electricity. As the narrative suggests, in his visit to İstanbul in 1898 Wilhelm II reminds Sultan Abdülhamid II of Siemens’ offer to illuminate Istanbul with electricity and tries to enthuse him by recounting benefits of using electric power particularly in the industry (Aksoy, Açıkbaş and Akman, 2009: 19). However, the sultan rejects this proposal on the grounds of safety (Aksoy, Açıkbaş and Akman, 2009: 19; Dincel, 1973: 87; Yağız, 2014: 17). As Dincel (1973: 87) suggests sultan’s fear derives from the analogy he makes between dynamo and bomb or dynamit. Refik Halit Karay figures the sultan’s fear as follows:

Imagine: Two wires are coming from air and underground winding and curling, coming and clinging right next to you, to your bedside bending its tail like a

¹³ The Notion “conquest of the night” was referred to by Cemal Kafadar to explain the extension of working hours and social life into night time with the opening of coffe houses in the Ottoman Empire beginning from the 16th century. For further information about the analysis on the notion of public sphere in the Ottoman history see Kafadar, Cemal. 2005. " Tarih Yazıcılığında Kamu Alanı Kavramı Tartışmaları ve Osmanlı Tarihi Örneği." In *Osmanlı Medeniyeti: Siyaset, İktisat, Sanat*. Klasik Yayınları: İstanbul, 65-86.

scorpion. This is such a scorpion that anyone would trigger its poisonous tail from hundreds, thousands of meters distance, and would ignite the gunpowder. - I do not want! I do not want! Would there be a more natural outcry than this? (quoted in Akçura, 2002: 127-128)

Reference to the sultan's somewhat preposterous fear seems to make it possible to identify his reign famous for despotism with 'darkness' as opposed to 'illumination' promised by the republic. Following such reasoning, Burcu Yağız (2014: 17) draws attention to the coincidence between the advent of electricity in Turkey, translation of enlightenment classics into Turkish and take-over of the government by the Committee of Union and Progress, an ardent exponent of enlightenment ideals. The republican regime will soon take over the metaphors of illumination and darkness from the Committee of Union and Progress, articulate them with its discourses of progress and modernization and handle electrification as a strong tool of propaganda (Yağız, 2014: 17).

The flaring view of electric light was thus appropriated in the early republican period as a proper icon of emerging political ideals. As Bozdoğan (2001: 130) indicates Kemalist propaganda often resorted to lighted up buildings, towers and signs at times of national celebration. For instance, the renowned architect Seyfettin Arkan designed illuminated constructivist towers for the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the republic (Bozdoğan, 2001: 130). Dinçel (1973: 93) recounts that during the tenth anniversary ceremonies people were obliged to illuminate their house doors with electric light and for that reason they bought electric outlet for 5 liras. The bright view of the illuminated cityscapes was employed as a powerful tool to foreground "the spirit of celebration, youth, optimism, and progress" (Bozdoğan, 2001: 132).

Political symbolism was just one of the aspects of electric lighting. Electricity gained a practical utility as well. It would particularly play an essential role in the establishment of the public order. This function of lighting would have seemed so relevant to Ottoman governors that *Bab-ı Zaptiye Nezareti*, which was a precursor of the police, undertook street illumination (Aksoy, Açıkbay and Akman, 2009: 13). In the republican period street lighting still served to the function of security and public ordering. The close attention paid by Ankara's governor Tandoğan to the illumination of Atatürk Boulevard constitutes a good example to such a perspective. As Şenol Cantek (2011: 219) recounts nightclubs and villagers were not allowed on the boulevard which was cleaned every day and illuminated at nights. In this manner, this arterial road of Ankara would be secured and hence would serve as the showcase of the republican ideals.

The ordered and peaceful life expected from urban electrification is explicitly represented on some *Ameli Elektrik* covers. Cover of the 43rd issue (Figure 2) published in 1930 is suggestive in this respect. The image depicts a transmission tower rising towards sky above the hills of İstanbul. The tower stands in a visible contrast to the picturesque background. Its precise geometric structure distinguishes it from the natural landscape. It does not only dominate the image but also the field that it's constructed on. It is high and above, apparently asserting its power. With regard to the nature technology relation as represented in the cover, the image tallies with the industrial iconography. However, unlike the dynamism of industrial iconography, this image is marked by serenity. It is as if the feeling of tranquility and safety derives from the presence of the imposing tower. As a consequence, electricity here emerges as an agent of social order and control.

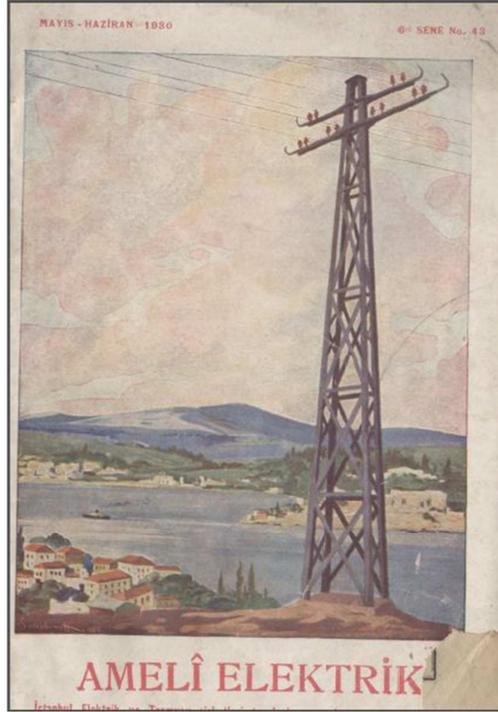


Figure 2 Cover of *Ameli Elektrik* Issue 43, May-June 1930

In contrast to the stillness manifest in the day views of electric towers, illuminated streets and windows constituted a glittering cityscape. This tempting night view rather increased the charm of the city. This further meant that lighted up streets, which were devised as a security measure to avoid certain people from at least the symbolic spaces of the city attracted the very same people to the very same spots. As Şenol Cantek asserts (2008: 252) what drew countrymen to the city center in Ankara was the lure of the luminous large streets, shop windows and cinemas which were actually all precautions taken to keep them out of sight. In his novel *Ankara* Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (2004) draws a revealing picture of the situation.¹⁴ As the story depicts, a big crowd consisting of the guests, police and the locals gathered in

¹⁴ In his novel *Ankara* Yakup Kadri narrates the story of the period from the Turkish War of Independence to the first decades of Turkish Republic through the story of Mrs. Selma. The novel follows a chronological order and divided into three sections each of which is identified by the marriage of Mrs. Selma to an iconic man of the period in question. Throughout the novel Karaosmanoğlu both depicts the degeneration of the cadres of the nationalist movement and describes a utopic vision of the Republic.

front of *Ankara Palas* for the New Year's Eve ball.¹⁵ The guests clothed in nightdresses drew their "cars which were lit inside as shop windows" to the hall and then disappeared in the hotel leaving a curious mass behind (Karaosmanoğlu, 2004: 110). At the meantime, the locals who were not let in were heatedly discussing what was happening inside with an accented Turkish. One of them said that he has just reached to Ankara and was looking for a place to go. He was not let in a coffee house and while wondering around he was attracted towards the hotel by the glaring view of the illuminated building (Karaosmanoğlu, 2004: 112). Further in the novel, the idealist teacher Neşet Sabit leaves a similar dance party held at Mrs. Selma's home. A little bit bored, he looks back to the luminous building and thinks:

Once upon a time, they watched the lamps of the train station with a usual longing for civilization. But now, he was looking at these like a poor man gazing at the property of an affluent one. He said 'Now, while I am walking at these dark streets by hitting my feet to stones one after another, the feet of those dancing at Mrs. Selma's hall are reflected on the parquets that are shining like a mirror; and the two hundred fifty volt lamps of the street below will light up not to illuminate anybody's way. What an odd and inconceivable share of the Western civilization!' (Karaosmanoğlu, 2004: 136-137)

What we can conclude reading the novel *Ankara* is that, electrification, which was discursively aimed at public ordering began in praxis to reveal certain class inequalities. At times when still a limited section of the society had access to the technology because of the high expenditures involved in its installment and consumption, the availability of electricity turned out to be a class marker. Even at an urban level, access to electricity threw light on the social inequalities distinguishing the indigent and prosperous regions of the city. The way presence of electric lighting stratifies the city becomes evident in another canonic novel of the period *Fatih-Harbiye* by Peyami Safa (1994). The novel narrates the story of Neriman, a young

¹⁵ Ankara Palas is a historical guesthouse built in the first decade of the republic in the old downtown of Ankara. During that period it was often frequented by parliamentarians and bureaucrats for modern social activities such as balls and tea parties. Today it still serves as a state guesthouse.

girl who finds herself on the horns of a dilemma between two different worlds as represented by Fatih and Harbiye. Neriman is the daughter of a conservative, devout man living in Fatih, the old Muslim district of the city. Yet, she is fascinated by the vivid, classy life evolving in Harbiye, the newly established district a tram ride far from her neighborhood. For Neriman Fatih stands for what is Eastern, traditional and outdated which she equates with the gloomy atmosphere of the district. As she complains “the dark falls early in these neighborhoods” where streets and homes are illuminated with kerosene lamps (Safa, 1994: 37). The flaring view of Harbiye streets stands in direct contrast with Fatih in her mind. The shop windows of perfumeries glaring with “the soft light of the electric bulb” (Safa, 1994: 28), the sparkling lights illuminating the dance hall of the Maxim Casino (Safa, 1994: 18) found in this district epitomize for her the Western, modern and contemporary lifestyle that she aspires for. Here it is interesting to see how electricity, as a marker of class, becomes aligned with other indicators of taste such as fragrances and Western style entertainment like dance parties and balls to constitute cultural codes of modernity. Thus, we can argue that the class coding of modernity, which was concealed behind the nationalist developmentalist discourses of the industrial electrification, begins to surface in the urban uses of electricity.

2.3 Domestication of Electricity

Home users had an important share among the potential users of electric energy. Although electricity was primarily presented as an important component of the industrialization plans in the popular press, it is possible to suggest that industrial use

of electric power has remained considerably limited for a long time. Especially, at the times the Silahtarağa Power Plant was first established, a proper industry had not yet emerged in the Ottoman Empire. This meant that electrification project was rather aimed at creating a demand for electricity from the industry than answering to an already existing demand for electrification rising from the companies (Aksoy. Açıkbay and Akman, 2009: 51). Therefore, industrial demand seemed to be not sufficient enough to consume the electric power produced effectively. Domestic users were encouraged to benefit from electric power particularly for illumination and completing household tasks.

2.3.1 “Enlightened” Home

Domestic subscribers used electricity substantially for illumination. At the beginning electricity suppliers had to compete with gas companies to get hold of the lighting services. Since the construction of Dolmabahçe Gas House to illuminate the sultan’s palace in 1855 İstanbul had been enlightened with coal gas (Aksoy. Açıkbay and Akman, 2009: 13). It was quite an established technology and gas companies were not willing to renounce their concessions. On the other hand, people were anxious about safety and reliability of electric technology. As Dinçel (1973: 89) suggests apart from the opposition of gas companies to the establishment of electric power stations, people were not willing to accept electricity into their homes because they thought that it would cause fires and its use was against Islam. To gain recognition electricity suppliers had to dissipate these concerns. The most common means to accomplish this was to discursively construct electricity as a desirable technology.

With this intention retailers and suppliers produced texts depicting electricity as a cheap, safe, healthy, clean and efficient technology. The prior attention was paid to convince people that electricity was indeed affordable. In a notice published in *Ameli Elektrik*'s 57th issue in 1932 (Figure 3), the price of electricity required for four hours of illumination with lamps of different powers was compared to the cost of daily consumption items such as newspaper and cigarette to demonstrate that it was indeed inexpensive. In another article electricity was compared to candles and petroleum to prove that to acquire a certain amount of brightness cost less with electricity (Elektrik Tenviratının Fiyat ve Hasılatı, 1929: 83). According to the article to acquire the same amount of brightness achieved with one penny of electricity, seven penny of petroleum or 100 penny of candles were required.

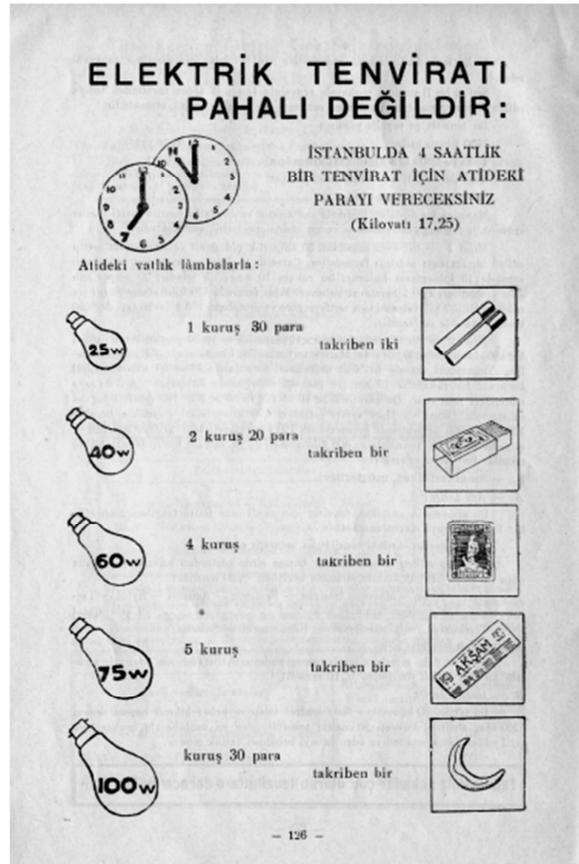


Figure 3 The cost of four hours of electric lighting compared to daily expenditures (*Ameli Elektrik*, Issue 57, September-October 1932, p. 126)

In the advertisements of lighting equipment such as the light bulb the inexpensiveness of the technology was emphasized along with its healthiness and effectiveness. These characteristics all together made electricity a properly modern technology. The bright and homogeneous light of electricity was represented in these ads as the source of a prosperous and illumined home life. Accordingly, following the same strategy with the urban context, the focus on the way electricity precipitates socialization and intellectual development was pursued. For instance, in the ad for Osram light bulbs (Figure 4) the notion of a modern evening entertainment is foregrounded. Two couples dressed in prom suits are depicted while sipping their drinks under well-lit electric lights. The only clue to the context is the motto above the image, which reads “good light is an indispensable need of a modern home.” Such mixed-gender parties had a fundamental symbolic importance for the republic especially during the 1930s. As Bozdoğan (2001: 212) points at the theme also frequently appeared in architectural texts introducing model home designs. In the magazines homes with wide halls, terraces or flat rooftops were represented during dance parties. In a similar manner, the vivid atmosphere of electric lighting was considered as an incentive of modern cultural practices. In this sense it is possible to claim that domestic electrification was instrumentalized in the formation of new lifestyles and habits.



Figure 4 Osram light bulb ad, 1932 (*Ameli Elektrik*, Issue 55, May-June 1932, p. 89)

Yet another recurrent theme standing out in the light bulb ads is family entertainment. As exemplified by another Osram ad (Figure 5), in most of these images a model nuclear family is depicted around a light source. Commonly, either the father or one of the kids holds a book or magazine on which the rest of the family is concentrated as well. Alternatively, a person, particularly a girl is portrayed while studying at her desk. In the ad for General Electric light bulbs (Figure 6) parents are warned to protect their children's eyes because they will have to study hard with the opening of schools.

Eyi Işık
Evinizi şenlendirir

Bunun için de içi buzlu Osram-D ampulünü tercih etmelisiniz. Osram-D ampulları sarf edecekleri cereyana mukabil elde edilebilecek azami ışık nisbetini temin ederler, yani Ueuz ışık!

Bunun için daima tercih edeceğiniz içi buzlu

OSRAM-D
AMPULLARI

AEG Türkiye Vekilleri: Elektron
Türk Anonim Elektrik Şirketi Umumiyesi İSTANBUL P.K. 1449
Türk Anonim Şirketi İSTANBUL P.K. 1144

Figure 5 Osram light bulb ad, 1938 (Yedigün, Issue 302, 20 December 1938, p. 26)

Çocuğunuzun Gözlerine
DİKKAT EDİNİZ!

Bu güçsüz serveti ancak mükemmel bir aydınlıkla koruyabilirsiniz.

Okulların açılması binlerce ve binlerce öğrenci vazifelerini yapmak ve derslerini hazırlamak için her akşam elektrik ziyası altında çalışmaya mecbur olacaklardır. Bu çocukların kullanaçları tenvirata dikkat ediniz. Dünyada gözler kadar kıymetli hiç bir şey yoktur. Bugün, yarın veya ne zaman olursa olsun, ampule ihtiyacınız olduğu vakit, G-E ampullerinin gözlerinizin dostu olduğunu hatırlayınız.

GENERAL ELECTRIC

UZUN ÖMÜRLÜ G-E AMPULLERİ
GÖZLERİNİZİN DOSTUDUR

Turist şehri :

Figure 6 General Electric light bulb ad, 1947 (Yedigün, Issue 763, 19 October 1947, p. 18)

In these images electric lighting is identified with a warm family life. It is like electricity makes a space to hold the family together to have a good time. It is also notable that the family appearing on the ads is not any family. It rather consists of middle class, educated, working parents. Besides, as an ideal family their duty to bring up robust and educated generations is implied through the centrality of book in the compositions and the reference to eye health in the slogans. So that once again the metaphorical relation of electric illumination to enlightenment comes to the fore. The most striking expression of this association can be found in an ad for Edison lamps (Figure 7). The ad does not include any image of the promoted product. Instead under the photo of a young boy the following copy appear:

I will be a doctor!

Yes Erol. You will be a doctor as you wish. The determination and hope in your look will lead you to success. But you will be able to achieve this after long years of education and sleepless hour that you'll spend reading your books.

This is our advice to you: Study! Study continuously! The need of humanity for doctors is endless. But at the same time keep your health and eyes good. Both of them are priceless. Pay attention to the light under which you study. A properly fixated sufficient light will not exhaust your eyes and prevent them from deterioration.

Your parents are already aware of this. They would buy eye friendly EDISON light bulbs when it is possible.



Figure 7 Edison light bulb ad, 1946 (Yedigün, Issue 672, 20 January 1946, p. 18)

To recapitulate, the themes of socialization, entertainment, joy, peaceful family life, hardworking children and intellectual advancement are exploited more often than not. Delice (2007) characterizes these references as attempts at reorganizing *habitués* in a Bourdieusian sense.¹⁶ These images accompanied to the republican effort to create new subjects identified through modern lifestyles, habits and tastes. As Delice (2007) further contends these images did not only signal encouraged practices, but also involved certain clues regarding their class characteristics. In this respect, it is striking that the examples examined above point to two different practices which are marked by two different class dispositions. Electricity's metaphorical link to enlightenment is established within a considerably middle class atmosphere. Reading, education and intellectual development is idealized for an

¹⁶ For the detailed elaboration of the concept habitus please see Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

unpretentious family as modern practices to pursue. On the other hand, a life of entertainment and joy is promoted as modern to more affluent subjects. It can be propounded that the emphasis on the enlightening power of electrification helps to obscure the class connotations that the technology carries with it. With use of electricity at homes for other functions than illumination new values will come to the fore while the class connotations will consolidate. For this reason, it is essential to direct attention to other domestic uses of electricity before making conclusions regarding the values that these texts inculcate.

2.3.2 Domestic Appliances

Producers did not consider use of electricity for only illumination at homes effective in terms of manufacturing economy. Architectural and design historian Adrian Forty (2002) explicated this through a simple calculation. Although the case that Forty presents is peculiar to Britain, it would still apply to Turkey as well. As Forty (2002: 183) recounts when electricity was first produced for sale in Britain in the 1890s it was predominantly used for illumination and this restricted the demand with the dark evening hours. This further meant that the existing production capacity of the plants were also restricted within certain hours of a day. The low ratio of the electricity supplied during a particular period of time to the maximum possible amount of supply caused electricity to be pretty expensive (Forty, 2002: 184). Therefore it became essential for British producers to promote alternative uses of electricity other than illumination. Domestic use of electricity was particularly promising for its potential to fill the gaps of demand caused by industrial and urban uses. The

specialists who concentrated to mobilize this domestic potential between the years 1905 and 1914 showed a special interest in the development of electric home appliances (Forty, 2002: 186).

To create a similar demand for domestic electrification in Turkey Société Anonyme d'Installations Électriques (SATIE) (the Electric Installations Company) was established towards the mid-1920s. As defined in the contract signed by the company with the Turkish government in 1924, its objective was:

to buy and sell all kinds of electrical receivers, engines and materials by means of importing from foreign countries or by manufacturing locally, to build illuminating and driving power plants with the condition of avoiding interference in the concessions of the electricity distribution companies, and to deal with the trade and installation of electrical equipment in general. (Aksoy. Açıkbaş and Akman, 2009: 39)

Within this framework set by the contract SATIE took on to trade and market electric appliances in İstanbul. Among its better known activities were the exhibition named “Permanent Electricity Exhibition” situated at its building in Beyoğlu and free training courses regarding the uses and benefits of electricity in everyday life (Aksoy. Açıkbaş and Akman, 2009: 39). The company also held some promotional campaigns to disseminate electric appliances. As Dinçel (1973: 93) informs, around 1930-1932 SATIE delivered irons free of charge to the subscribers of electricity from its building found in Beyazıt to encourage electric consumption at homes. Yet the most prevalent promotional channel of the company was its magazine *Ameli Elektrik*. The journal has been a source of direct information about electricity and everyday uses of the technology during the period it was published. It drew on so many different ways including product advertising, informative texts about both electricity and appliances and anecdotes regarding domestic electrification to encourage domestic electrification. The news about the electricity tariffs found at the end of

each issue is informative about how they were willing to convince people to use electricity for heating and domestic work. For example in the issue published in September-October of 1933, it is mentioned about a double tariff and a special tariff for water heaters besides the usual off-price tariffs for illumination (Elektrik Şirketinin Tarifeleri, 1933: 125-126). Double tariff was designed for consumers who would buy an appliance of 1000 W power with high electric consumption. The special tariff P would include those who would connect a heat collecting device or refrigerator to their circuit along with other home appliances and illumination (Elektrik Şirketinin Tarifeleri, 1933: 125).

The most conspicuous trend in the journal is yet the strong association established between electricity and modernity. In almost all these texts in the journal, electricity was promoted as the power of the modern age, and an indispensable element of the modern home. As in the industrial iconography, domestic electrification was also encouraged with reference to the idea of a universal civilization. Electricity was supposed to be essential in every home to keep up with the contemporary times. Western countries, which were thought to be bearers of the desired civilization, were presented as good examples to be followed. Domestic electric consumption in Turkey was compared with theirs most of the time. In the 31st issue of the journal published in 1928, short statistical information regarding the amount of lamps used for illumination in American homes appears. The notice begins with the statement that the statistical data about the United States is important as it exposes the difference of developments taking place there than ours (Müttehidei Amerikada Tenvirâtı Beytiye İçin Müteşehhip Lambaların Sarfiyatı, 1928: 250). Then after a brief calculation it estimates that 150 million lamps are used in the states in a year. In

the 44th issue of the magazine published in 1930 a visual statistics (Figure 8) occurs this time comparing the amount of electricity used for trams and irons in the United States in which the latter seems to outpace the former with twice as much amount.



Figure 8 A comparison of electric consumption of trams and irons in the U.S. (*Ameli Elektrik*, Issue 44, July-August 1930, p. 115)

The most obvious visual representation of the relation established between electricity and modernity is the cover of the journal's supplement *Küizin* (Figure 9) published in 1934. In the image, an electric oven is juxtaposed to a primitive man cooking over fire. The image suggests that electrification is the next inevitable step in the path of progress marching from the fire to the electric oven. Since the humankind has already seized nature and put it in their service, it is absurd to resist this and insist on cooking with the fire like the primitive man did. If cooking on bare fire sounds absurd today, it is no less natural to use an electric oven.



Figure 9 Cover of *Ameli Elektrik* supplement *Küizin*

It was not only *Ameli Elektrik* which naturalized electricity as a modern power. In the advertisements published during the 1930s and even later the same relation appeared repeatedly. To give a quick example, the ad (Figure 10) given by Bourla Biraderler (Bourla Brothers), a prominent electric appliance retailer at that times, to Yedigün in 1936 depicts all available appliances marketed by the company. In the ad refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, irons, stoves, kettles and lamps emerge as means to experience modernity at home. The copy reads:

We are living in the age of electricity.
Man of the twentieth century created miracles out of this invisible power.
Electricity does not only provide our comfort but also facilitates our work.
It's really a pity to not to make use of a thousand means of comfort supplied by electricity.



Figure 10 Appliances of the 20th century, 1936 (Yedigün, Issue 148, 8 January 1936, p. 36)

The association of electricity with modernity was brought to such an extent that the two terms were most of the time used synonymously. Again *Ameli Elektrik* constitutes a good example to this disposition. For instance in the article entitled “Elektrik Mutfağı” (Electric Kitchen) (1933: 90) it is asserted that electric kitchens are gaining popularity over other kitchen technologies day by day since electricity fully meets the requirements of modern life. The rest of the article introduces electric appliance that could be used in the kitchen such as oven, cooker and stove. The devices are rendered desirable because of their practicality, cleanliness and economy. Picture of a kitchen including all of the mentioned appliances accompanies the text with the caption “a modern kitchen” (Elektrik Mutfağı, 1933: 92). In another article in the same issue benefits of electric ventilation are introduced in an article entitled “Asri Havalanma” (Modern Ventilation) (1933). Ventilation is presented in the article as the proper tool for providing a fresh air and hence a healthy atmosphere. The advantages of the device were so exaggerated that a ventilating fan would for

instance be used to dry the laundry faster, to help remove a stain easily by facilitating evaporation of gas poured on it, to repel bad smells, to ventilate quilts and pillows and to disrupt the irritating flight of the flies (Asri Havalanma, 1933).

A similar predisposition stood out also in the Western countries which had relatively more established electric consumption trends. As Gooday (2008: 15) explicates, the correlation between electricity and modernity was specific to 20th century, at least in Britain. When electricity was newly introduced in the country towards the end of 19th century, romantic representations of it as a “mysterious magical force” were more popular (Gooday, 2008: 19). Yet the daily experience of the new technology was quite problematic and open to accidents. The modern character of electricity was devised as a strategy to dissipate fears and concerns regarding the technology and to make it more desirable (Gooday, 2008: 122).

In Sandy Isenstadt’s (1998) study on the refrigerator ads in the US in the 1950s, it turns up that the trend to associate electricity with modernity existed in other contexts as well and persisted till the midcentury. Isenstadt informs that predominant electric appliance producers of the period worldwide like Frigidaire and General Electric situated refrigerators among the modern machinery of the age in their ads throughout the 1950s. While Frigidaire designated the refrigerator as “a natural development of modern times,” another renowned producer General Electric (GE) identified it “as a ‘Member of a Distinguished Family’ that included locomotives and destroyers as well as vacuum cleaners and hot plates” (Isenstadt, 1998: 312).

Placing the refrigerator among the 20th century modern machinery in one respect meant that it was put in charge in the progressive worldview. However, the rigorous overtone exemplified in the industrial uses of electricity gave place to a milder discourse. Refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, irons, stoves, kettles and lamps emerge as means to experience modernity at home, by particularly women. Yet their transformative power rather addressed lifestyle choices than techno-economic considerations. As the unusual functions identified in the article on modern ventilation the author tried to define electricity as a need within a modern lifestyle. Electricity was rendered appealing through such values as thrift, cleanliness and practicality while these attributes were identified with modernity. Household habits were expected to become congruent with those values. Popular representations of household technologies were also composed to reflect the attributes and manners in question. Conception of electric technology also altered to attune to promoted domestic values. In the following chapter I will focus on the visual and textual strategies adopted to attune electricity to domestic values more broadly.

CHAPTER 3

GENDERING ELECTRICITY

In an issue of *Tombak*, which is an antique collectors' magazine, Emin Nedret İşli (1997) introduced a calendar published in 1930 by *Ameli Elektrik* as a promotion for its readers. The calendar included an introductory text that began by regretting that “in this era of high civilization housewives from the most civilized nations of Europe are still using the same tools utilized by Greek women two thousand years ago” (quoted in İşli, 1997: 80). According to the text this anachronism derived from the fact that none of the women from different social strata felt in need of any appliance. Most of the well of women and women from lower strata did not conceive of the household chores as something to be alleviated. While the former received assistance from servants, the latter had a whole day to devote to housework since she had no other responsibility. As for the peasants, they were not even aware of existing household technologies. After reminding that “time has turned into a precious commodity” the author suggested electricity be used at homes to facilitate household labor like the way it was utilized in the industry (quoted in İşli, 1997: 80). Finally,

the author pointed to America as a proper example where domestic appliances were already recruited as servants:

The first domestic appliance, which is known as the small servant of home and which does the housework that requires a lot of time to be completed with materials deemed as old by the progress of the sciences faster and better than a maid or servant, is invented in America. (quoted in İřli, 1997: 80)

This introductory text to the calendar includes every detail regarding the way electricity was handled in the republican imagination, as explicated in the previous chapter. Most prominently, the author naturalizes electricity as a modern technology and inevitably places it to the latest point of a narrative of linear progress. The desired progression is exemplified through Western countries following a path from the ancient Greek to the US. Particularly the US is taken as a measure of civilization. The text is also considerably laden with class connotations that were more implicitly revealed in the formal discourses and institutional practices. In addition to these already mentioned aspects the gender coding of electricity comes off throughout the images in the calendar.

To explicate electric power's wide range of applications different appliances were depicted in relevant settings in each page of the calendar. While in one page a woman studying comfortably at her desk owing to the fresh and cool air supplied by electric fan was introduced, at another page occurred a bank in which officers worked with electric calculators under electric light. What stroke me in these images at first glance was the discrepancy between the representations of domestic appliances and other machines. For instance, in the image for November (Figure 11), a worker operates an electric powered machine in a workshop. He is dressed in boiler suit, which is partly ragged while he is cutting a piece of wood. The slices of wood in front of the workbench also help to connote the transformative work that he is

involved in. The machine, with its mechanisms visible, dominates the scene. The electric motor used to power the machine is further accentuated by both a separate image pasted on the upper right corner of the page and an explanatory text about its engine power and technical details below the image.



Figure 11 Ameli Elektrik 1930 Calendar Page November (Tombak, Issue 17, 1997, p. 84)

On the other hand, the image on the page August (Figure 12) portrays a woman sweeping with a vacuum cleaner. Despite she has an apron on, her neat and clean outfits along with high-heeled shoes rather connote ease and comfort than work. On the contrary to the previous image in which the machine stood out, the vacuum cleaner dissolves within the decoration. The parts or mechanisms of the machine that the woman uses are not visible. Despite the power of the vacuum cleaner is specified in the text, a separate representation of operating parts of the machine does not exist. What outstands this time is rather the stylish atmosphere of the spacious room than

the appliance itself. The styles of the visible accessories such as the carpet, the vase and the coffee table that it is placed on, connote wealth and prosperity. The vacuum cleaner also becomes identified as another status symbol within such a setting. In this respect it is also significant that the text below posits the vacuum cleaner as a proper tool to clean the *apartments*, but not houses.¹⁷ It could also be asserted that the woman who is using the machine is the servant of the home. However, her outfit makes it difficult to accurately guess whether she is the servant or the housewife.



Figure 12 Ameli Elektrik 1930 Calendar Page August (Tombak, Issue 17, 1997, p. 83)

Despite a parallel was drawn between industrial and domestic electricity in the introductory text as a facilitator of labor, the images work to undermine this

¹⁷ During the early years of the republic the apartment emerged as a popular form of dwelling through its well-established associations to modernity and a Western lifestyle. As Tanyeli (1998: 140) states, in the 1910s apartment became a preferable form over traditional family homes as a more comfortable alternative and until 1955 it sustained its popularity as an upper-class form of residence.

suggestion. In the context of factory or workshop, electricity materializes as a machine along with connotations of technicality and mechanicity. Whereas electric appliances that are intended for domestic use lose all their links to machinery. The apparent traces of labor and effort in the machine give way to convenience and ease. Appliances rather begin to connote social values mostly attached to domesticity. These associations have by all means a gendered character. As Cynthia Cockburn and Ruza Furst-Dilic (1994b: 15) put it domesticity and technology are treated as two disparate domains, the former belonging to femininity and the latter to masculinity. The decisive power of gender distinguishes between male and female practices, relate them to certain spaces and compare them as to their hierarchical value. Within the frame of gender-technology relation, technology is portrayed as “exciting, progressive and of high value” while domesticity is characterized as “humdrum, repetitive and low value” (Cockburn and Furst-Dilic, 1994b: 15).

Through this perspective domestic electrification would require a process of gendering wherein the technology is attuned to home by being feminized. Gooday (2008) refers to this process as “domestication.” He borrows the term from media studies in order to undermine the general conception of technological development as a linear path of progress, to point to contingencies and uncertainties that actually guide the process, to introduce women’s agency in shaping technology and to posit home as an active agent of technological transformation.¹⁸ As Gooday (2008: 26) elucidates, the term refers to an “open-ended process of adapting and disciplining technologies to discretionary needs of users, or rejecting them if they cannot satisfactorily be made part of established routines and practices.” This process of

¹⁸ For the elaboration and application of the term domestication in media studies please see Berker, Thomas and et al (eds.) 2006. *Domestication of Media and Technology*. Berkshire: Open University Press.

appropriation involves two stages. First the technology should be translated from public to private domain and then it should be re-shaped to meet the specific requirements of the household (Goody, 2008: 10). Within this framework, Goody (2008) explicates various attempts to render electricity as appealing to domestic users such as aestheticization or anthropomorphization as processes of domestication.

In what follows I will explicate visual strategies utilized to domesticate electricity in context of Turkey with a special emphasis on the gender coding of such processes. Before embarking upon the analysis of diverse representations I will introduce a historical and theoretical background regarding gender-technology relation. And then I will present two different gendered visualizations of electricity, which are mythification and anthropomorphization.

3.1 The Gender of Technology

The link of technology to masculinity is almost a self-evident association. Wajcman (2009: 144) traces this traditional definition of technology as “industrial machinery and military weapons, the tools of work and war” back to its roots in the late nineteenth century. According to her account, the male biased account of technology resulted from the rise of engineering as a privileged technical profession during the period (Wajcman, 2009: 144). Under the monopoly of middle-class, educated, male professionals the concept of technology excluded everyday female practices and domains, which further resulted in women’s dissociation from technological.

Nineteenth century was also conversely a period during which women have experienced profound changes in their lives by means of emerging technologies. As Julie Wosk (2001: 1-2) demonstrates in her book *Women and the Machine: Representations from the Spinning Wheel to the Electronic Age* around 1890 women have already got acquainted with electric appliances, typewriters and various machines in the factories, bicycles and steam automobiles. Despite women proved their skill in using all these new devices, attitudes towards their technical qualifications remained ambiguous. Popular imagery was full of conflicting images regarding women's relation to technology. Women were simultaneously represented as "muses of science and technology" and as technologically incompetent, "empty-headed creatures whose romantic temperament was maladapted to the modern age" (Wosk, 2001: 13). As Wosk (2001: xiv) contends this confusion widely derived from the fears that women would deny their customary attributes and roles and hence degenerate.

Felski (1995: 16) clearly exposes how different schools of social theory ranging from Marxist to conservative and even feminist all agreed on "the Romantic ideal of femininity as an enclave of natural self-presence in the face of the tyrannical onslaught of technocratic rationality." Within this conception feminine, nature and tradition are identified with each other and defined against the more privileged realms of masculine, technology and modernity. As Felski (1995: 40) explicates such oppositions are rooted as well in the great changes taking place under the name of modernity in Europe in the nineteenth century. Particularly two notions specific to the experience of modernity have been influential in this women-technology opposition. First, there emerged a strong concern about loss of the past, which was

marked by persistence and tradition, deriving from the intricate social and technological transformations (Felski, 1995: 40). Second development that brought about exclusion of women from modernity was the split between the public and private spheres. Felski (1995: 16) asserts that the definition of modern was confined to the boundaries of public, which consisted through a predominant male presence. In this way the private sphere and hence women as its natural inhabitants seem to have stayed out of the experience, advance, threats and influences of modernity. As the outsiders women were rather linked to the nature through a twofold relation: “the inner nature of a bodily self-presence untouched by the constraints of the symbolic as well as the outer nature of an organic domain beyond the encroachment of industrial and technological forces” (Felski, 1995: 54).

Stemming from the historical conditions of nineteenth century, ambivalent relation of women to technology turned out so prevalent that it endured over time and space. One of the most hotly debated issues of 1930s and '40s Turkey was the complicated relation of women to machinery as the driving force of modernization. Reactions against women's use of machines were manifold. Along with encouraging attitudes there were fervent romantic reactions that propounded women were naturally unqualified to use machines. One of the most striking examples to this imagery is the cartoon that Yeşim Arat (1997: 97) pointed at in her article “The Project of Modernity and Women in Turkey.” Entitled “Turkey of the Future” (Figure 13) it was published in a weekly magazine *Kalem* in 1908, even before the republic was founded. The cartoon is dominated by the image of a women aviator flying over a futuristic cityscape. It suggest that Turkey will have advanced in a near future to such an extent that it would embrace all Western marvels including skyscrapers, shopping

malls, theatre halls, electricity, trams, cars as well as zeppelins. As Arat (1997: 99) suggests nothing would better represent “a Westernizing polity that was liberal, democratic and secular” than a woman pilot. Despite with a satirical overtone, the cartoon signals that women’s participation in all phases of the modern life will be the distinguishing point of the Turkey of the civilized future.



Figure 13 Turkey of the Future, 1908 (Arat, 1997: 97)

In 1948, which would be the future that the cartoon above pointed at, Gövsa published the article “Bugünün Kadını” (The Woman of Today) in *Yedigün*. Oscillating between being celebratory and reactionary against women’s use of machines Gövsa (1948b: 17) wrote:

From my point of view, woman would participate in all the works of society provided that she does not violate noble and even sacred duties inherent to her distinguished gender. But the works that contravene to these duties are not suitable for her. Otherwise, of course there is nothing strange about female workers, who were once using only the spinning wheel, successfully using all

kinds of equipment and machinery in factories –unless it interferes with her normal duties.

Soon we will see that our peasant women will be able to use tractors and cultivators like they use hoes and digs, and will keep up with the century. Nonetheless, we should note that among our urban girls and women there are ones who take examples for the needs and requirements of the century only from the cinema screen.

In this manner Gövsa (1948b) normalizes women's use of machines as a requirement of the times, but at the same time he distinguishes between technologies that would be useful and harmful to women. The reasonable technologies were those that would not lead women to betray their so-called natural characteristics of domesticity and purity. It would be anachronistic to deprive women of the benefits of technology as long as conservative measures are taken.

Similar concerns came out in the America of World War II. As Laura Scott-Holliday (2001: 109) asserts under the threat of a nuclear war the values of “love, nurturance and organicism” associated with femininity prevailed. For this reason, it seemed contradictory to think of women taking the advantage of available household technologies in their everyday lives. Nevertheless, witnessing the proven benefits of ever developing technologies in fields ranging from health to labor, it did not sound to be fair to deprive women of these apparent advantages (Scott-Holliday, 2001: 110). Scott-Holliday (2001), following Andreas Huyssen (1981-1982), suggests that there are two prevailing conceptions of technology that fosters such ambiguity. The first way is to think of technology as “human control over the universe coded as masculine,” and the second is “technology as a potential threat to that control, and especially as a monster exceeding human control ... coded as feminine” (Scott-Holliday, 2001: 109).

To resolve these contradictions and help establish a reasonable woman-technology relation the producers and promoters of technology adopted various discursive and aesthetic strategies. An earlier and familiar example to these strategies is the use of ornaments to feminize machines. As Wosk (2001: 31) recounts, in the late nineteenth century it was a common approach to decorate machines intended for women like sewing machines, vacuum cleaners and typewrites with some natural and mystic patterns. The manufacturers considered that in this way their machines would not run counter to the tastes of women and find a place within the aesthetic of the home.¹⁹

By the twentieth century and particularly in the case of domestic appliances another design language, streamlining, came into prominence. Design historian Penny Sparke (1995: 127) claims that the vague language of streamlining made it a proper design style to cover the contradictions between “a masculine world of advanced technology and aesthetic minimalism and a feminine one of symbolism, sensuousness and fantasy.”

As defined in the *Design Dictionary* (Erlhoff and Marshall, 2008: 376) streamlining flourished in the early twentieth century as a stylistic appropriation of aerodynamic principles to particularly vehicles such as planes, cars and trains. The design decisions were driven by the motive to achieve high speed and fuel saving by

¹⁹ The aesthetic style marked by ornamentation and decoration was especially particular to the Victorian Era of the second half of the nineteenth century. As Sparke (1995: 16) suggests the Victorian era was the period in which our contemporary understandings of the notion of domesticity was shaped. During this considerably moral period the ideal of middle-class domesticity as a refuge from the chaos of everyday public life was strongly established. Within this “Cult of Domesticity” the role of women was identified as the “beautifier” who would turn the home into a haven for the family through her aesthetic choices (Sparke, 1995: 16). The sentimental, ornamented style of the interior decoration during the period was supposed to reflect this ideal of domesticity.

reducing drag. The *Teardrop Car* designed by Edmund Rumpler in 1921 is among the most iconic examples of streamline design (Erlhoff and Marshall, 2008: 376). The lure of the style for designers of the period derived largely from the way it embodied the modernist ideals of “speed, progress and mobility” (Erlhoff and Marshall, 2008: 376). As a strong alternative to the geometric style of the prominent design school Bauhaus, streamlining became increasingly popular pervading the design of everyday objects (Erlhoff and Marshall, 2008: 377).

Yet the style lived its heydays during the 1930s in the US, where it was adopted as an aesthetic drive to stimulate economy (Erlhoff and Marshall, 2008: 377). In this manner, the functional concerns of the style were set aside and the surface design features were used to provoke consumer desire. The organic appearance of streamlined objects was particularly supposed to be attractive for women who were being defined as a new consumer group (Erlhoff and Marshall, 2008: 377). Therefore, right after the design of well-known American cars like Harley Earl and Chrysler, streamlining was widely adopted in household appliance design (Erlhoff and Marshall, 2008: 377).

Streamlining was also a style that was strongly associated with the emerging ideals of hygiene in the twentieth century. As Ellen Lupton and J. Abbott Miller (1992: 2) explicate, the discovery of germ and dust theory in the late nineteenth century initiated a “process of elimination” wherein the ornamentations and engravings began to be renounced as potential details to gather the unsanitary dust. Streamlining, with its “non-porous materials, flush surfaces and rounded edges” was “the most

extreme expression” of this rising concern with hygiene (Lupton and Miller, 1992: 2).

In brief, streamlining both embodied a rationalist and functionalist modernism and aroused emotional responses through its “androgynous aesthetic” (Sparke, 1995: 138). Thus says Sparke (1995: 140) it “provided a ready-made symbolic language which expressed women’s first encounter with progressive modernity.” Namely, streamlining first introduced the so-called masculine world of rational decision-making and production into the symbolically and aesthetically oriented female world. But at the same time it made women tend to streamlined objects through decisions based on effectiveness and ease of use (Sparke, 1995: 138). The role of streamlining was to tame the technologist connotations of various devices to make them more appealing to women’s domestic imagination. This was achieved by the concealment of mechanic components and joints under seamless plastic or metal skins. In Lupton and Miller’s (1992: 66) words “streamlining generaliz[ed] an object” and “by masking the machine’s internal operation the designer domesticated and humanized it.” How machines become more alluring when their functioning parts are covered was manifestly expressed when the renowned designer Raymond Loewy referred to Betty Grable “whose liver and kidneys are no doubt adorable, though I would rather have her with her skin” (quoted in Lupton and Miller, 1992: 66).

The efficacy of streamlining in negotiating conflicting interests is well exemplified by the case of refrigerator design. In her analysis of design decisions that guided refrigerator production in the 1930s America, Shelley Nickles (2002: 698) refers to streamlining as a prevalent aesthetic approach that put an end to the “tug-of-war

between male designers and female consumers.” During the period refrigerator design involved many actors including engineers, housewives and home economists. The concerns and expectations of each agent required disparate design solutions, which were difficult to reconcile. General Electric’s Monitor Top refrigerator constituted a proper example to the case (Nickles, 2002: 706). The refrigerator was so named because of the compressor placed visibly above the body of the refrigerator and which increased its technical connotations. In a report prepared by Mary Andrews, one of the employees of the company, in 1932 the discontent of female clients with the refrigerator was conveyed as follows:

These are almost always criticisms not of the quality or engineering work of the products, but the points where the desires of the users have not been met. I mean by this that the women who buy and use these appliances make certain demands that often do not interest the engineers as much as they should, I think. I have heard from a number of friends the remark “Well, we would have bought a G.E. refrigerator but we didn’t like that cooling coil on the top.” And usually this is supplemented by saying that it is convenient to have shelf room at the top. These people would much rather not have the mechanical part of the device in evidence. . . . [I]t seems to me important that our engineers should realize that what interests them in such a product, that is, the machine itself, is the very thing that the woman buying it wants kept out of sight and out of mind. (quoted in Nickles, 2002: 712-713)

It became clear with this report that women were discontent with the way refrigerator looked and the compressor made it difficult to clean (Nickles, 2002: 713). Consequently the manufacturers were convinced to design a new model with a concealed compressor to meet women’s requirements of performance, despite they believed the model to be quite energy efficient (Nickles, 2002: 713). For most male designers of the 1930s streamlining proved a good way to fulfill women’s taste and expectations without making concessions from the imperatives of a modernist approach (Nickles, 2002: 708). The emergent aesthetics was still identified as modern, because it lacked ornaments and surface decorations severely disdained by modernists. On the other hand, the organic forms that covered machine parts were

deemed as deviation from functionalism. Under these conditions, says Nickles (2002: 715), “whereas the universal, functionalist precepts espoused by modernists aimed at the ideal man, streamlining’s modernism aimed at the average woman.”

Once women were identified as an emerging market for various machines and appliances, advertising strategies were also made to address them (Wosk, 2001: 23). While the ads of the late nineteenth century aimed at assuring women that the machines in question would cater their interests (Wosk, 2001: 23), in the twentieth century advertisements women were rather being convinced that the machines would make their fantasies true (Wosk, 2001: 27).

Neither the streamlined appliances nor the visual strategies used to incline woman towards them were particular to America. Since the US was a prevailing importer of domestic appliances, these products have spread to many countries including Turkey. The domestic production began relatively late in Turkey, therefore for a long time the market for domestic appliances was dominated by such American brands like Frigidaire, Frigéco, General Electrics, Kelvinator and Hoover.²⁰ In the remaining parts of this chapter, I will concentrate on the visual strategies utilized in Turkish context to gender code these appliances in order to domesticate them.

²⁰ As Gökhan Akçura (2001: 47), a prominent collector and researcher in Turkey, states Frigéco products was distributed by SATIE, Kelvinator by *Sahibinin Sesi* and Frigidarie by *Bourla Biraderler*. Among these brands Frigidaire was the most popular one during the 1930s owing to the widely disseminated advertising campaigns held by the dealer company. It is such that, for a long time after its introduction in the country, refrigerator was referred to as Frigidaire, even in the Turkish Dictionary of Türk Dil Kurumu (Turkish Language Association) of the period (Akçura, 2001: 47).

3.2 Gendered Representations of Electricity

Throughout the period from 1930s to 1950s popular magazines about home, family and daily life like *Yedigün*, *Ev-İş*, *Hayat* and of course *Ameli Elektrik* took the lead in promotion of domestic electrification in Turkey. As exemplified in detail in the previous chapter electricity was promoted as an indispensable element of modern home and modern daily life within it. Women were identified as the prime beneficiaries of this technology. These suggestions were particularly manifest in the advertisements of domestic technologies. In these ads women were depicted alongside appliances as their potential users and consumers. Besides these ads in which women were protagonists, two visual strategies were widely exploited in order to characterize domestic technologies as female-friendly. These two prevalent approaches can be referred to as mythification and anthropomorphization. Now I will respectively explicate each visual language through examples.

3.2.1 Mythification

In the article “Hakiki ve Güzel Bir Hikaye” (A Real and Beautiful Story) (Kürnonski, 1930: 62) published in an issue of *Ameli Elektrik* benefits and uses of electricity are introduced in detail. The article opens with a small story regarding the creation of electricity. As the narrative suggests, one day the God got bored of loneliness and created the man and the woman bestowing them with creative skills. Then the man and the woman discovered the fire, the wheel, the industry and the sciences in turn. The Satan raged by these advances sent the thunderbolt to the world.

Fortunately the human managed to dominate and tame the bolt and consequently discovered electricity. “One day the human, who enthralled one of the strongest force of the harsh and deadly nature, became able to cope with it on equal terms and said ‘I create the light’ as in the holy book and the light came into being” (Kürnonski, 1930: 62). After that, electricity was put in the service of human. Despite the Satan still tried very hard to cause troubles the human defied successfully and even turned its evils in their favor owing to the assistance of electricity (Kürnonski, 1930: 62).

Apparently, the story builds on a progressive conception of human development to which the increased control over the nature is integral. Yet the striking point is that in the story the progressive narrative is intertwined with a mythic one. Recounting the invention of electricity through kind of a myth of creation is a distinct example of what I call mythification. The strategy can be summarized as attributing magic or otherworldly qualities to the technology by means of visual or textual expressions. The supernatural allusion is generally made through two different visual narrations: electricity is either represented as a magic power or as part of an epic scene. In that manner mythification helps to reify the mysterious immaterial power of electricity, familiarize the electric technology particularly with a female audience and make it more appealing to them. As such, it can be asserted that mythification serves the same purpose as streamlining. At this point mythification also makes reference to the Barthesian myth. As Barthes (2000) elucidates myth is a “type of speech” that represents what is historical as natural and eternal. Yet mythification helps to render certain ideals of femininity, domesticity, technologicality and their relation as universally valid and natural. Through mythification, the features and values

attributed to the represented appliances become “immediately frozen into something natural” (Bartes, 2000: 129).

We saw in the previous chapter how electricity was promoted as a futuristic modern technology in the 1930s Turkey besides other Western countries like Britain. The simultaneous use of both mythification and futuristic projections needs to be discussed more thoroughly. As Gooday (2008: 39) argues, there was a considerable controversy as to what electricity was especially during the early phases of the technology’s introduction. The ambiguous image of electricity at a time when it was becoming available to the bourgeoisie in their everyday lives, partly derived from “the conflict between the profane technical utility, of a light bulb, for example, and the imaginative story of this invisibly flowing force” (Asendorf, 1993: 153). Over time, with increasing practical applications of the technology its romantic image blending the “subjective-poetic and physical-electrical processes” gave way to a more secular one (Asendorf, 1993: 153). Thus, the descriptions of the technology varied from “a fluid” to “a motive power” (Gooday, 2008: 38). The inconsistency between these diverse definitions, Gooday (2008: 39) asserts, demonstrates incomprehensibility of electricity and this in turn proves that “electricity belonged to the domain of mystery and romance” rather than the modernist tales which were fabricated in the mid twentieth century as a sales tactic. This tactic of romanticization or mythification mostly helped to identify electricity as a more familiar technology.

In the early twentieth century “the allegorical representation of electricity” built on the images of charming goddesses with their flowing hairs emphasized (Asendorf, 1993: 165). A significant example in this respect was the Electricity Palace with a

sculpted goddess of electricity prepared for the World Exposition in 1900 (Asendorf, 1993: 165). As Asendorf (1993: 165) suggests such representations were particularly influential in diminishing fears and concerns about the hazards of electricity and even ascribing it “the appearance of flowing erotic power.”

Wosk (2001: 17) also draws attention to the widespread use of supernatural female figures during the nineteenth century to promote emerging machines. Two figures were particularly iconic in this respect: “the alluring siren and the lofty goddess” (Wosk, 2001: 17). These metaphysical representations were successful in crediting “dignity, legitimacy and stability” to these technologies (Wosk, 2001: 17). Thus, as the products of dazzling modern transformations, these machines themselves were offering the visual tools to cope with the feeling of chaos resulting from these very rapid changes. The “goddesses of industry and machine” were actually borrowing from the tradition of representing civilization and progress as mythic female figures in paintings and sculpture (Wosk, 2001: 19). But the images of the “seductive lure” were very far from the soberness of the images of goddesses (Wosk, 2001: 20). On the contrary, they were “more decorative than mythic” and formed the very first examples of what we would call the idea of “woman-as-spectacle” marking the consumer culture (Wosk, 2001: 20).

Producers of electric lights also resorted to this strategy of representing their technological products in the form of goddesses. In the late nineteenth century, the electric lighting ads featured “classically draped or nude women holding a light bulb or a bolt of electricity” (Wosk, 2001: 21). Later in the beginnings of the twentieth century, these female figures in the ads became even more enticing. A striking

example to this imagery of electricity is the advertisements of the company General Electrics. In the company's 1909 promotional calendar for its Mazda incandescent lamp, women were posing attractively in exotic Oriental dresses to emphasize the brand name's association to the Persian god of light (Wosk, 2001: 22). In another ad this time the alluring female was in a French neoclassical dress posing in a resting position on a chaise (Wosk, 2001: 22).

Women did not only act as pictorial aids in the introduction of electricity. During the nineteenth and even the eighteenth centuries women were actively participating in demonstrations and exhibitions about the wonders of electricity.²¹ For instance in 1747, the work of Peter Johann Windler included a woman who switched an electrostatic generator on to send an electric shock to a number of men taking each other by the hands (Wosk, 2001: 69). Experiments of the physicist Georg Bose in which cavaliers were asked to kiss women charged with electricity was a popular form of Rococo entertainment (Asendorf, 1993: 156). A remarkable late nineteenth century example to the case is the New Year's party given by Thomas Edison's assistant William J. Hammer. During the party he offered his guests "an electric supper" which included "'Electric Toast', 'Wizzard Pie', 'Telegraph Cake', 'Electric Cigars'" and which was accompanied by "Prof. Mephistophele's Electric Orchestra" (Wosk, 2001: 70-71). What is more during the party his sister Mary showed up "as the goddess of electricity" with small electric lights adorning her hair and "a wand with an electric lamp in the shape of a star" in her hand (Wosk, 2001: 71). Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt was yet another iconic figure who was famous for

²¹ For popular experimentations and demonstrations of electricity in the initial phases of its introduction please see Fara, Patricia. 2002. *An Entertainment for Angels: Electricity in the Enlightenment*. New York: Columbia University Press.

masquerading as “Electric Light” that was documented by a photo shot in 1883 during the Vanderbilt Ball (Wosk, 2001: 70).

As Wosk (2001: 71) further informs, in the nineteenth century it was quite a common entertainment to watch dancing women dressed in smallish electric lamps. Another interesting aristocratic practice was hiring “Electric Girls” for the purposes of both illumination and service. News article “Electric Girls” published in the New York Times on April 26, 1884 announced that the Electric Girl Lighting Company was established to offer “girls of fifty- candle power” in different styles to appeal to all tastes. The news reads:

The Electric Girl Lighting Company will furnish a beautiful girl of fifty or a hundred candle power, who will be on duty from dusk till midnight—or as much later as may be desired. This girl will remain seated in the hall until someone rings the front-door bell. She will then turn on her electric light, open the door, admit the visitor and light him into the reception-room. One girl thus performs the duties of lighting the front hall and answering the bell, and her annual cost is much less than that of a servant and gas light. If, however, any householder should desire to keep the electric girl constantly burning and to employ another servant to answer the bell, there can be no doubt that the electric girl, posing in a picturesque attitude, will add much to the decoration of the house.

As for Turkey, I did not come across any similar uses or demonstrations of electric lighting. However, despite not in practice, images of women appeared frequently in the ads and other visual material. In these images women standing for electricity either appeared in epic scenes or depicted as graceful pixies. I came across two examples in which this supernatural being was gendered as male. The first one is a vacuum cleaner ad (Figure 14) from 1929. The copy reads: “To your health! Vacuum cleaner absorbs the dust.” A magical figure looming from a hole in the ground is absorbing all the dust while he is carrying a vacuum cleaner in one hand. It is apparent that the ad makes a reference to the power and the strength of the vacuum

cleaner. In this respect use of a male figure is not intriguing. However, the neat and gracile appearance of the magical figure corresponds neither to the conventional abstraction of power and strength, nor a male body that embodies all these qualities.



Figure 14 Vacuum cleaner promotion, 1929 (*Ameli Elektrik*, Issue 39, September-October 1929, p. 238)

The second image is the cover of the 49th issue of *Ameli Elektrik* (Figure 15) published in 1931. In the image the mysterious male is extinguishing the candles one by one which are no longer useful owing to the electric light. The figure has both a historical and magical air. He looks rather childish and mischievous with his wide-open eyes and plump cheeks. Similar to the previous example this is also far from being an ordinary masculine power. Both of the images are like trying to define electricity as a more friendly power that anyone would welcome home at ease.



Figure 15 Cover of *Améli Elektrik* Issue 49, May-June 1931

Apart from these two examples, most representations featured female characters to stand for electricity. In an *Améli Elektrik* cover from 1928 (Figure 16) the epic atmosphere is apparent. The cover is like a scene from a fairy tale. A man dressed as in a masquerade reverences a sylphlike woman. Behind them a cheerful crowd is dancing. Apparently, the woman is welcome as the source of all this charm and joy. She is the one who enlightens the pitch-dark night into a glamorous scene. She erases the fear of the night and turns it into a pleasure. She is the benign and taming power behind.



Figure 16 Cover of *Ameli Elektrik* Issue 25, March 1928

In the cover of the following issue (Figure 17), a young woman in nightdress is depicted sitting against the silhouette of İstanbul on a hill. She is holding a mask in her hand on her back. Most probably, she is waiting for the car that will drive her to the masquerade. The car that will take her to the ball appears below the scene with its headlights on. With the fingertips of her other hand the woman touches to an electric lantern. She seems as if the lantern is energized through the power in her fingertips.



Figure 17 Cover of *Ameli Elektrik* Issue 26, April 1928

In both of the covers there is a striking detail about the scenes. In each of the scenes a culturally foreign form of entertainment is depicted. Although balls gained a considerable prominence among especially the founding elites, they were taking place in more conventional forms. For instance the cloth of the man reverencing the lady in the first image is reminiscent of jesters with its colors, patterns and frilly neckline. On the other hand, the silhouette of İstanbul mosques in the second image does not suffice to familiarize the scene. The rococo hairstyle of the lady strengthens the unfamiliarity. The image is both historically and spatially out of context. If the fact that the magazine is published by a foreign-owned company and addressed to a

limited number of electric subscribers consisting largely of an upper class non-Muslim population is considered than the strangeness can get a little bit lighter. But still it would be more likely to have more local representations of a technology aimed at a larger segment of the society in the name of modernization. Therefore, it would not be persuasive to suggest that the images had the function to resolve the confusion about electricity and comfort people. It might also be asserted that the epic tale helps to provide an area to dream about a prosperous and joyous life.

In his article on *Yeşilçam* melodrama between 1965 and 1975 Nezih Erdoğan (1998) introduces a similar claim about the movies in question. As Erdoğan (1998: 265) suggests, melodrama, as a form rooted in the conventions of fairy tales, capitalized on “desires aroused not only by class conflict but also by rural/urban, and eastern/western oppositions.” Through such popular plots as rich boy poor girl based on the possibility of class mobility *Yeşilçam* melodrama triggers “its machinery of desire” (Erdoğan, 1998: 265). In these narratives the West is on the one hand identified as “the object of desire” while on the other hand “the luxurious American cars, blondes wearing revealing dresses, crazy parties and whisky” associated with it comes to signify a moral degradation. This contradiction is resolved by the way “the West is represented in fantasmatic scenes where everything can be vindicate and thus desired unashamedly” (Erdoğan, 1998: 271).

Following Erdoğan’s argument, it is possible to suggest that these two covers from *Ameli Elektrik* open up another convenient area to fantasize about a prosperous life which will be provided by electricity. Many other advertisements promoting electricity as a supernatural being such as a sprite seem to serve a similar end. In an

advertisement for Mazda lamps (Figure 18) a slender pixie appears while she is gently scattering various types of lamps over the cityscape. Down the page a couple is depicted while peacefully listening to the gramophone. They are both dressed very formally and the man is smoking a cigar. Every indicator of a modern and affluent life is in its proper place. The fairy of electricity is rendered as the agent who provides all this comfort at one swoop.

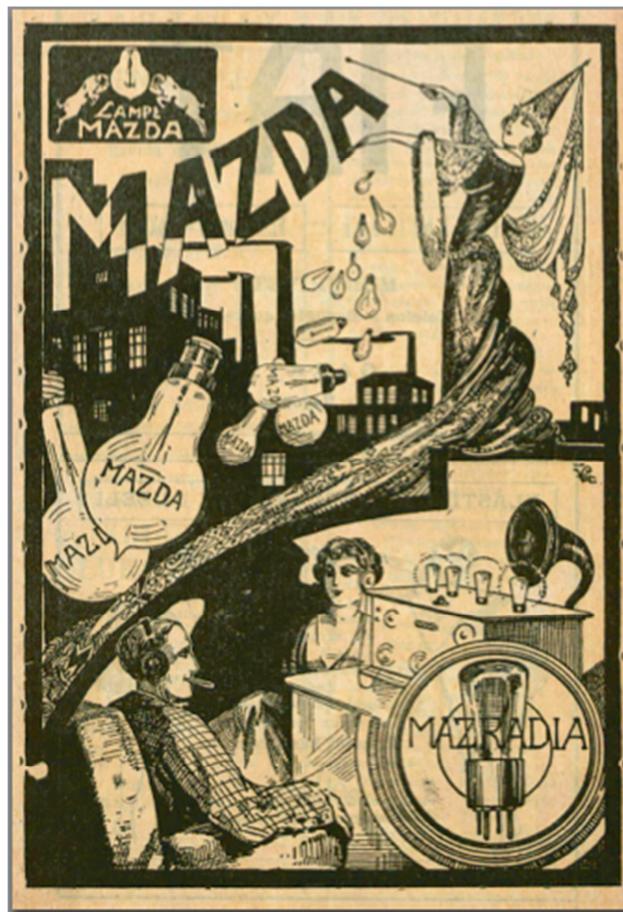


Figure 18 Mazda light bulb ad, 1929 (*Ameli Elektrik*, Issue 34, March 1929, p. 100)

In “Hakiki ve Güzel Bir Hikaye” (A Real and Beautiful Story) Kürnonski (1930: 63) compares today’s homes with yesterday’s palaces. Despite people in the palaces like the Kremlin, Alhambra, El Escorial and Vatican lived in prosperity and luxury they lacked the basic means of comfort to meet their simplest daily needs. However says Kürnonski (1930: 63) electricity, which is “an enchanting fairy at your disposal every

moment” ensures a better living standard in contemporary houses than any of these palaces. All these references to the palaces, luxury and wellbeing brings to the fore the idea of positing electricity as a “desiring machine” as Erdoğan (1998: 260) did it for cinema.

In an article published in *Ameli Elektrik*, Pierre Mac Orlan (1932: 152) refers to electricity as “the servant princess” that facilitates and accelerates housework. This genial pixie is asserted to relieve women’s burden with simple magical touches. It is depicted (Figure 19) as a divine being up in the sky. She is a slender goddess who flashes lightning from both her hands. The phrase “servant princess” would sound as an oxymoron at first. But it is significant that electricity is not any ordinary servant but a royal one. The noble connotations help to keep electricity’s classy features explicated above. The servant analogy is another point that arouses issues about class conflict. In the following section I will focus more broadly on this metaphor.



Figure 19 The servant princess (*Ameli Elektrik*, Issue 58, November-December 1932, p. 152)

3.2.2 Anthropomorphization

Anthropomorphization is another prevalent strategy utilized to lend electricity a conceivable concrete character. The most common way to anthropomorphize electricity is the servant analogy. Particularly in most of the issues of *Ameli Elektrik* electricity is depicted as a proper servant of the modern times. A supplement of the journal, *Küizin*, was full of sayings about electricity. The supplement was actually a cookbook including various recipes to be cooked in electric oven. Under each page, at the end of the recipes there was one of these phrases defining electricity. One asked “why to be enslaved by housework while electricity is at your service?” (Küizin: 3). The other was complimentary: “What a strong servant is electricity, it makes all the work” (Küizin: 4).

This trend was not peculiar to only *Ameli Elektrik*. On the contrary the analogy is widely referred to in various contexts. In the article “Yarının Evi” (House of Tomorrow) published in *Yedigün* electricity is again likened to a servant:

There, electricity turned out to be an ingenious and docile servant who serves all purposes. It is this amenable servant called Electricity who sweeps the rooms, removes the dust, heats the room up whenever it gets a little cold, provides cool air when it gets hot, runs the watches, carries hot and cold water to the taps, does the kitchen work, wash the dishes and illuminate every room with a smooth and mean light that does not tire the eyes. (1936: 6-7)

Gövsä (1946a) also resorts to the analogy in the article he wrote about the role of technology in creation of a new world. Despite the World War II has caused destruction and hardship, Gövsä (1946a: 11) believes that once it finishes all the technological advancements will be directed to the wellbeing of the human kind. For sure, houses will also have their share from these developments:

Electric motor is being transformed into a well brought up fosterling at our homes. For example, it is understood that daily household chores such as washing the dishes or clothes will be able to be completed with such simple acts like turning a button. (Gövsa, 1946a: 17)

Scott-Holliday (2001: 115) argues that this popular image of “the robot-maid” had its roots in the more general “trope of machine as a servant for humans.” In most of the futuristic imagery, the supreme technology was identified as the robot, which significantly mimicked “a human slave” (Scott-Holliday, 2001: 115). This similarity that Scott-Holliday refers to overtly manifests itself in the article “Çelikten Köleler: Robot” (Steel Slaves:Robot) published in *Yedigün* (N.R., 1936). In the article robot is defined as “a giant doll, an ingenious puppet which is filled with various machines and capable of making certain movements” (N.R., 1936: 11). Definition of the robot as a puppet or doll makes it clear that its distinctive feature is the lack of autonomy. It is rather subject to human will, and is designed to fulfill humans’ orders and take over their burden. The author of the article dreams that one day in the future “all the hard and exhausting work, simple and mechanical tasks that do not require any thought, decision, reasoning and willpower” will be undertaken by these “submissive slave”s (N.R., 1936: 10-11). What is even better is that “no one would struggle to save steel slaves from enslavement” (N.R., 1936: 21).

Baudrillard (2005: 130) suggests that the appeal of the robots derive from the fact that robot is actually a deficient “simulacrum of man as a functionally efficient being.” This means that despite robot, as envisioned by the science-fiction tradition, mimics man in their appearance and functionality “it is not so perfect in this regard as to be man’s double, and because, for all its humanness, it always remains quite visibly an object, and hence a *slave*” (Baudrillard, 2005:130). If the robot were an

exact copy of the human it would cause anxiety. As Baudrillard (2005: 130) explains, this concern is prevented by the very definition of the robot without sex:

By virtue of their multifunctionalism they attest to man's phallic reign over the world, but at the same time, inasmuch as they are controlled, dominated, directed and rendered asexual, they also attest to a phallus that is enslaved, to a sexuality that is domesticated and unaccompanied by anxiety: all that remains is an obedient functionality embodied (so to speak) in an object which resembles me, an object to which the world is subject yet which is simultaneously subject to my will.

On the other hand, Huyssen (1981-1982: 225) claims that the fascination with the robot or the android was an eighteenth century phenomenon. Entertainments of androids that could dance and play some instruments were quite popular during the period. However, while entering into the nineteenth century the robot began to come into question through its destructive power, particularly in the literature. As the daily life began to transform with the increasing presence of machines after the industrial revolution, some dangerous attributes of the robot was put on paper (Huyssen, 1981-1982: 225). As soon as the concern about the perils of technology came into question, the androids, that were hitherto non-gendered, came to be depicted as woman (Huyssen, 1981-1982: 226). Huyssen suggests that the machine-woman is the expression of the fear from the otherness of the machine, woman and nature that were being defined in a close relationship from the eighteenth century on. The rising understanding of the nature as "a gigantic machine" brought the woman who was traditionally identified with nature closer to the machine. Thus, "by their very existence [woman, nature, machine] raised fears and threatened male authority and control" (Huyssen, 1981-1982: 226). In Felski's (1995: 20) words, "this figure of woman as machine can also be read as the reaffirmation of a patriarchal desire for technological mastery over woman, expressed in the fantasy of a compliant female automaton."

The Janus-faced view of technology as compliant and pernicious finds its expression in the representations of electricity as well. Wosk (2001: 73) gives many examples to the ways electricity was used to stimulate, transform and embellish women's bodies. Among these examples are the electromechanical vibrators and low levels of electric currents given to women's bodies as treatments for physiological and psychological ailments, and battery powered jewelry. Wosk (2001: 74) handles these examples as the reflections of three different conceptions regarding electricity: "electricity as producing enlivened, attractive-looking, transformed women; electricity as 'man's slave', as Edison put it; and the nineteenth century fascination with producing facsimile copies, the illusion of the 'real thing'." These three themes come together in the image of electric powered female robots that appear in various texts.

An example to these automats is Hadaly in the novel *L'Ève future* (Tomorrow's Eve) written by Auguste Villiers in 1885 (Wosk, 2001: 74). In this fictitious narrative, Thomas Edison produces a simulacra of Alicia Cary, an adorable woman with whom his friend Lord Ewald falls in a desperate love. As a favor to his friend Edison crates this electric powered replica of Alicia, named Hadaly. Lord Ewald, grateful for this gift, takes Hadaly to home packaged in a coffin. However, on their way an explosion in the steamship Hadaly gets broken into pieces, causing Lord Ewald commit a suicide (Wosk, 2001: 75).

In this story, even it ended with the tragic destruction of Hadaly, the robot was envisioned as a compliant counterpart of the woman that it replaces. As such it sprang from the belief in the regenerative power of technology. On the other hand it

also reveals the nineteenth century stereotypes of “women as obedient slave, as Saint or angel, and as alluring and dangerous siren” (Wosk, 2001: 79). Hadaly’s design features that make her even superior to Alice are also significant in this context. Hadaly is designed as “an idealized woman, transcending human frailties” (Wosk, 2001: 79). She was programmed to react and response to Lord Ewald in a definite manner that would please him. That is, she is totally under control. Besides, when compared to Alice, who was already enticed by her fiancé, Hadaly is pure and immaculate (Wosk, 2001: 80). Yet the novel is just another example in a tradition that “sees women in polarized terms, as either innocent or evil, either self-sacrificing angels ... or demonic temptresses” (Wosk, 2001: 79).

The promotions of electric appliances in the twentieth century Turkey followed the same analogy of the servant. The ads were still haunted by these two conflicting views of women. Under the influence of the oscillating positions appliances were rather defined as the impeccable side of the polar opposites. The metaphor of the “servant princess” makes allusions to this purity as well as it denotes a particular class position. So the bad side of the opposition remains to the human servants who were intended to be replaced by appliances. I encountered many texts that regard appliances as indisputably better than servants. One of the examples is from *Ameli Elektrik*. In the article Kürnonski (1930: 63) asks

Is the world’s best employment office able to supply a servant as intimate, as safe, as honest, as docile, as clean, as frugal and as silent as electricity?

There is no ground for discussion or rumor with it, theft and defamation is prevented.

This new servant is not a frequenter of either cinema or dance halls. There is no difficulty regarding its subsistence. It does not need to take an airing on Sundays. It is unlikely that its fiancé or cousin visits it in the weekdays.

Here, the analogy with the servant is as important as the difference with it. Electricity is both a servant and is what a servant is not. This difference is rather explicated through such moral attributes as probity, privacy, servility and docility. It is apparent that both a servant and an appliance are for easing the household chores. However, appliances would abolish all the possible problems deriving from humane defects and frailties. Women are offered two choices. They would either employ a coarse servant and deal with the problems that she would bring or buy an electric appliance instead and take her ease owing to this noble fairy.

In the publications of the period the servant problem is mentioned more often than not. The problem is not about the scarcity of the servants but their improper dispositions and habits. The article “Hizmetçi Derdi” (The Servant Problem) (1941: 22) published in *Ev-İş* refers to the difficulty of finding a “good, sincere, contented and diligent.” Even if “you fondly consent to let her go to the cinema once a week” your servant begins to putt of her duties immediately (Hizmetçi Derdi, 1946: 22). However, says the article, you would lose your patience whenever she begins to flirt frankly with your husband or monkey with your precious belongings (Hizmetçi Derdi, 1946: 23).

Vâ-Nu (Vâlâ Nurettin) (1946) was also compliant from the “modern servants.” As he states this modern servant was a pain in the neck for most of the urban upper class families. When asked about their victimization, all these families replied with almost the same story:

She said, we are not used to such a house without central heating, refrigerator, ventilating fan, we cannot work.. She was to say I would like to have my breakfast served and I would not touch the dishes, my manicure gets broken and she was to stipulate the following: I have a fiancé; I let him in every

evening from the back door half secretly half apparently. Do not get angry with me if I spare the best beef to him, let's negotiate in advance, I have no joke. Mister would not eat up the *raki* table because mine will drink as well... Just kidding, I was going to say 'mines' not 'mine'; because I have two fiancés, one is a sailor the other a train conductor... Let the God not spoil, their traffic is regulated: One comes the other goes. You have to be confidant and would not blabber near them signorino... I am free on Saturdays and Sundays... You can invite me to cinema or bar... After I eat, I go to my room; do not disturb me. I cannot stand the bell ringing in the mornings. Walk silently if you wake up early. (Vâ-Nu, 1946:5)

Explicitly, the servants became an issue of debate because of their supposed moral decadence. Moreover, this corruption is predominantly defined in terms of sexual mores. In the definitions of the degenerate servant who gets the dignified mistress in trouble, it is indisputably possible to trace the tradition that defines women as either vamp or a virgin. However, there remains still more to be told about this opposition. The class connotations of the analogy cannot be ignored. Stripped from the sexual allusions these class connotations become more apparent in a washing machine ad from 1952 (Figure 20). In the ad we again encounter two different types of woman. First is the washerwoman, and the second is the housewife who owns the washing machine. The washerwomen are drawn through coarse lines. They seem to be strong and threatening. They are rather masculine with their big hands, thick wrists frowning brows and angular face. They are rolling their sleeves up like they are preparing to fight. In contrast to these figures, the lady near the washing machine is so fragile and neat. While the washerwomen were depicted in fatigue clothes that resemble a rural outfit, the lady is wearing a posh everyday dress. She can be referred to as well kept and elegant. She is drawn very small when compared to the washerwoman and washing machine. This suggests that washerwomen and the washing machine are counterparts of each other. The copy above that reads "The reign of washerwomen is over" also strengthens this match. Instead of having the washerwomen do the job, the lady washes her clothes in the washing machine but

this does not refrain her from looking after herself or give her a lower status as a women who does her own work.

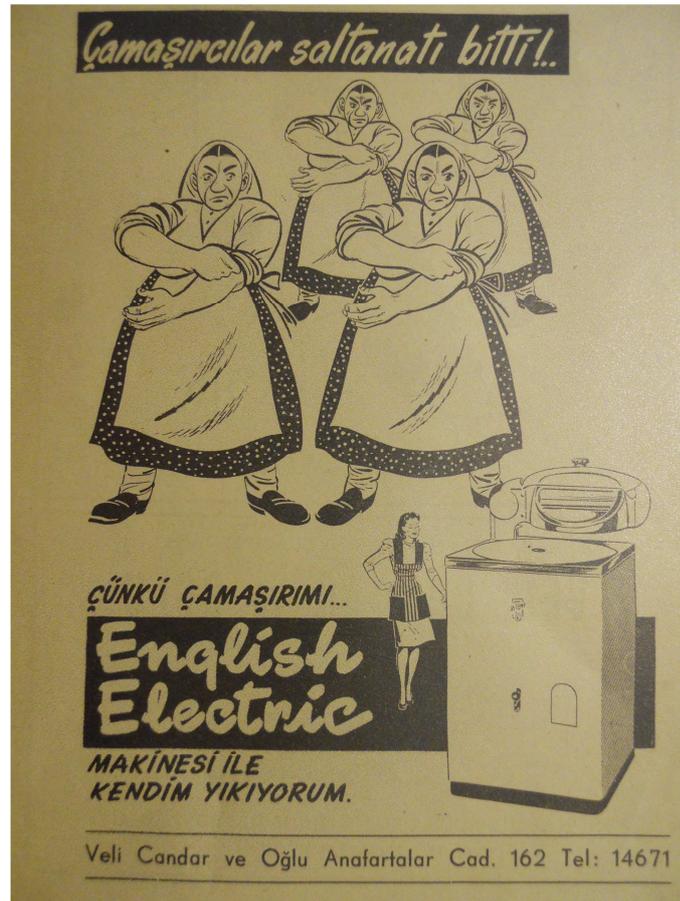


Figure 20 English Electric washing machine ad, 1952 (*Hayat*, April 1952)

Appliances emerge as a powerful alternative to servants. Bernege (1930: 119) talks about the redundancy of employing flesh and blood servants instead of relying on electric power:

In our time that is a period of science and democracy the only desirable servant is the mechanic servant. Electricity, the power which is never exhausted, never suffers pain and is superior to the muscular human power and which can work night and day with full performance is the benevolent of both working class and employer. It excellently helps everybody by saving the worker from laborious and wearisome jobs.

Electric power is not only better than a human power but it also has certain social benefits. It diminishes the bodily work done by people and directs it to mechanical structures. In this manner the human is elevated to a managerial position in which s/he directs the operation of the machines (Bernege, 1930: 120).

Vâlâ Nurettin (1946: 5) also desires to replace human power with appliances. For him the servant problem has good sides to it since it signals that women now have the chance to work in jobs with a better position. However, this situation causes “sluts” to seek for working as maids (Vâ-Nu, 1946: 5). He recommends as a solution to start to use electric appliances instead. He points to America as an example where all women use appliances since it was deemed luxurious to employ servants. The well-off people deserve educated servants; however he says, “we modest people are willing to do our own work in modern houses, in the scullery of beautiful kitchens” (Vâ-Nu, 1946: 5).

As a common approach, all of the images and articles analyzed as an example of anthropomorphization point to the human servant as a threat to family life. The menacing attitude is overtly manifest in the abovementioned ad for English Electric washing machines. The washerwomen depicted in gigantic proportions while rolling up their sleeves pose a serious danger to the more delicate mistress. However, the more serious threat is rather the moral than the physical. That’s why Vâlâ Nurettin does not abstain from referring to servants as sluts. Thus, anthropomorphization suggests that the machine rather than the human is well suited to humane features. This imagery is apparently laden with class prejudices. Through it, the appliances come to be defined as machines that would protect their well off owners from the detriment of lower classes. In the article “Amerikan Tipi Hizmetçi” (American Style Servant) (İ.H.İ., 1947) appliances again emerge as the counterpart of the cheeky and lazy servant. The author heralds that

America, the world of innovations, has found a remedy for the servant problem. It eliminates the servant who is redundant at homes by easing the

housework. The mistress herself cleans the house with the vacuum cleaner. Kitchens have almost turned into laboratories. Cooking, making pastry in these laboratory-kitchens has become the fun of the housewife. Particularly, the most scaring work for the housewife, washing the dishes is handled by the dishwasher. As such what is the need for the servant. (Ī.H.Ī., 1947: 15)

In this text the distinction between electricity as an auxiliary power and electricity as a self-operating autonomous power is ambiguous. In both cases the role of woman in doing housework is underestimated. It seems that housework is automatically done with one magic touch of electricity. Forty (2002: 209) claims that the metaphor of the mechanical servant helped to render housework as not work. The ads were exploiting this myth continually in the twentieth century. When approaching to the end of the World War I, a servant problem arose due to the human workforce lost in the war. Appliances were offered in such situation as a way to glorify housework in the eyes of a middle class housewife (Forty, 2002: 214). To this end, most manufacturers launched many appliances named after popular servant names, such as the vacuum cleaners “the Daisy or the Betty Anne” (Forty, 2002: 214). Thus, as Forty (2002: 214) suggests “the myth of the mechanical servant yielded the illusion of having a servant in one’s service and hence a well-endowed life.

In short, together with the strategy of mythification, anthropomorphization works to mark appliances as a marker of a social status. The ads sell fantasies of an affluent life rather than efficient and functional household appliances. What is more, the appliances in question guarantee to free the household from the degradation that lower-class servants would cause and protect its intimacy and serenity. However, the biased tone of the texts is hidden by the accents on the modernity of the devices in question. In most of the ads and articles, domestic appliances were naturalized as indispensable tools of modern household or marvels of the Western, particularly

American progress and civilization. Certain class codes and norms implied as indispensably modern begin to be “experienced as the evident laws of a natural order” (Barthes, 2000: 140) supposing all those traits valid for all. This meant to construct all other aspects of daily life according to the requirements of this class position. One of these realms was indispensably the domestic sphere. In the following chapter I will explicate these emergent values that regulate the domestic sphere.

CHAPTER 4

MODERN KITCHEN AFTER ELECTRIFICATION

In April 1937 a new monthly women's and household magazine *Ev-İş* began publication. The magazine mostly included practical knowledge and articles about such womanly issues like housework, fashion, beauty, personal care, childcare and handicrafts. The magazine's publisher Tahsin Demiray (1937: 3) explained the need for such a publication through the centrality of the home to the success of the republican revolution in Turkey.²² In the editorial article to the first issue he reflected on the relation between the social structure and the new regime and concluded that both of these interrelated properties rely together on the home:

The blatant ground of the revolutions, the republic with all its obvious features and the Turkish social structure is the Home and it will continue to be the Home.

If the contemporary social structure and its powerful regime derived from the Home, then it would not be necessary to put an emphasis on this as an issue. However, since it is the achievement of a genius, we have to go down to the

²² Tahsin Demiray (1903-1971) is recognized for his publishing activities. In 1924 he established *Türkiye Yayınevi* (Turkey Publishing House), which published the first new alphabet book after the adoption of Latin alphabet in Turkey. In 1949 he began publishing the popular magazine *Hafta*. With the elections of 1961 he became a deputy from *Adalet Partisi* (The Justice Party). For further information about his life and thought please see Ertürk, Recep. 1989. "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Bir Le Playci Tahsin Demiray," *Sosyoloji Dergisi* 3(1): 107-146.

base of our social structure and hence our regime which is the Home and regulate it according to the requirements of the time. (Demiray, 1937: 3)

The idea to regulate the home in accordance with the republican ideals and projections was not merely particular to the publication policy of *Ev-İş*. On the contrary, the journal shared with the official ideology the understanding of the home as the integral building block of the larger nation. Home was identified as the unit from which the ideals of modernization and the Westernized daily life that it strived to construct would rise and spread through the society. Within this framework, the spatial organization of the home and hence architecture emerged as “a potent pedagogical site” with its role “in setting up the relationship between the individual citizen and the symbolic space of nationhood” (Baydar, 2002: 234). It was believed that a meticulously planned home would bring along the customs of a modern living. Modern architecture as a style was pointed and officially adopted as the proper style that would induce such transformation. As Bozdoğan (2001: 197) puts it “the republican discourse on the modern house was ... an extension of the nationalist emphasis on the nuclear family, especially on motherhood as a national duty and the family home as the sacred space or ‘hearth’ of national regeneration.” So briefly, the home was not only a physical unit to be constructed by the architects but also a moral area to be formed by political actors.

Actually, twentieth century home in general was an area of ideological intervention. Joy Parr (2002: 666) argues that modern domesticity is marked by “the functional irresolution between good home and good nation.” The wavering oscillations of the modern home between publicity and privacy set it as a proper place to dwell and cultivate desired values and practices of modern domesticity (Parr, 2002: 659). Among other rooms, kitchen was the part with the most porous boundaries between

the public and the private. Modern kitchen of the modern home has been a lively issue to which various social, cultural and political actors made a claim. Following Oldenziel and Zachmann (2009: 8) it can be claimed that the twentieth century kitchen emerged as a “platform for debating the ideal future” by all of these agents. In the European and American case kitchen has been subject to “political, pedagogical, and entrepreneurial interventions” (Parr, 2002: 657) of various groups including the architects, designers, engineers, home economists, and corporations along with the politicians. Each of these “actors at the mediation junction” was concerned with the redefinition of housework in accordance with their own political, economic and cultural agenda (Oldenziel and Zachmann, 2009: 13).

The modernization of the home and kitchen in Turkey was under the influence of these Western developments. While many architects from Germany were invited to the country to cultivate the modernist style, the principles of home economics and various domestic appliances were being exported from the US. In this chapter I will dwell on the way these knowledge and technologies are translated in the Turkish case.²³ The basic focus of attention will be on the emergent ideal of modern domesticity and household through this act of translation. The role attributed to electric technology and appliances in the formation of such an ideal will also be of

²³ The concept of translation is borrowed from the architectural historian Esra Akcan. Akcan (2013) employs the linguistic term of translation to refer to the transformation of objects, technologies, knowledges, images and ideas during the process of transference from one culture or context to the other. With the concept she acknowledges the agency of recipient culture in negotiating the forms that are transferred. In this manner Akcan objects to handle the act of transfer as copying of a better original and identifies the foreign as an enriching element. But in doing so, she does not overlook the fact that translation is not carried out on equal terms and is not free from the power relations between the parties. For her application of the concept in reading of the translation of modern architecture in Turkey through the practices of German architects please see Akcan, Esra. 2012. *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, and the Modern House*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

particular concern. Before the analysis, I will draw a theoretical and historical framework to the study and development of modern kitchen and its technologies in the Western context.

4.1 Early Debates on Domestic Technologies

Studies on domestic technologies date back to the 1970s. As MacKenzie and Wajcman (1999b: 270) state, identification of the subject as an appropriate field of academic interest became possible with the acknowledgement of home labor as true work.²⁴ As Wajcman (1991: 81) further accentuates the historians', sociologists' and economists' engagement with the subject was also an extension of the blooming interest on transformations of daily life within industrial capitalism.

The initial reviews of domestic technology, as outlined by McGaw (1982: 813) were rather concerned with the period between 1870 and 1930, when the household witnessed consecutive developments such as the invention and diffusion of numerous household appliances, the rising trend of modernist architecture and the attempts to rationalize housework. Focus of interest in these studies were those who had access to all these utilities and practices, namely the “white, middle-class, urban, northeastern women” (McGaw, 1982: 813). One last trend regarding these researches

²⁴ It is significant that Cockburn and Furst-Dilic were still compliant about the undervaluation of anything domestic in 1994, almost quarter of a century after the burgeoning of interest in the field. In their introduction to the compiled book *Bringing Technology Home: Gender and Technology in a Changing Europe* (1994a) they (1994b: 15) confessed, “We were continually experiencing the put-down ourselves. We all met with smiles when we told people about our research. We felt abashed – ‘I’m just a kitchen sociologist’ – until we shared this with each other.”

was the way they dealt with home as an inseparable part of the society (McGaw, 1982: 814).

During the process of studies on domestic technologies certain questions rose to prominence among others. As McGaw (1982: 813) clearly puts forward, the widely stated research questions are:

To what extent did new technologies "industrialize" the home and alter domestic labor? How have new construction techniques and spatial arrangements reshaped "woman's place" and her work there? What were the origins, content, and results of the movement to make housekeeping "scientific"?

Additionally, Wajcman (1991: 83) also points to the question of the degree of industrialization that the home undergone as a substantial research question in the studies of domestic technology. Despite the increasing mechanization and rationalization of housework, scholars were convinced that the project of industrialized rational home failed (Cowan, 1976; Cowan 1979; McGaw, 1982; Wajcman 1991; MacKenzie and Wajcman, 1999b). Cowan (1979: 59) builded her argument on the fragmented nature of housework carried out within separate individual units in contrary to the centralized nature of industrial production plants. In a similar vein McGaw (1982: 820) referred to the "partial and superficial" nature of household industrialization deriving from the fact that appliances introduced into the homes in the name of industrialization fell behind to "achieve economies by operating continuously or on a large scale." Thus scholars argue that the individualization of the housework hindered the promised productivity and efficiency by the development of domestic technologies.

Actually, the issue of efficiency was the most controversial question about the appliances and hence the point where the industrialization and rationalization of household labor suspended. Let alone being efficient tools, one of the issues frequently raised in the literature was their inappropriateness to housework (Cowan, 1979; Wajcman, 1991; Cockburn and Furst-Dilic, 1994b; MacKenzie and Wajcman, 1999b). As the argument goes, the main reason behind the unsuitability of many household appliances is the discordance between the male impositions and female practices. The problem as summarized neatly by Wajcman (1991: 100) is that “most domestic technology is designed by men in their capacity as scientists and engineers, people remote from the domestic tasks involved, for use by women in their capacity as houseworkers.” If housewives were arbiters in the processes of product development for domestic market, they would come up with utterly different solutions from the existing products (Cowan, 1979: 61; Wajcman, 1991: 103).

Exclusion of women and their experience, preferences and priorities from any design decision concerning household technologies make “the gendering of the innovation processes” manifest (MacKenzie and Wajcman, 1999b: 274). This means that prevalent gender relations play a role as prominent as technical considerations in shaping the development of domestic technologies in a way that would not threaten the privileged norms and values.²⁵ In other words, technologies are shaped considering the construction or maintenance of certain social orders. In the case of

²⁵ Mackenzie and Wajcman (1999b: 273) exemplify the gendered character of technological innovation at home through the classification of electronic technologies into white goods and brown goods. The division reflects the putative technological competencies of women and men. While brown goods were identified as more technologically complex devices and hence suitable to masculine skills and interest, white goods were ascribed to the feminine domain on account of their presumed simplicity. On the other hand, as Wajcman (1991: 89) underscores women’s dexterity in using machines like vacuum cleaner or washing machine is generally not regarded as technological or technical ability.

domestic technologies, the design of appliances is largely marked by gender connotations and prevalent conceptions of domesticity. To underline the gendered processes of design Wajcman (1991: 104) indicates that “far from being designed to accomplish a specific task, some appliances are designed expressly for sale as moderately priced gifts from husband to wife and in fact rarely used.”

In the development of household technologies, one important social consideration regarding domesticity, particularly in the US, was the ascendancy of single-family home as a proper way of dwelling and family life (Wajcman, 1991: 99). The privileging of the single-family home is also strongly related to the failure of household industrialization mentioned above. In answering the question why the mechanization of housework was concentrated in individual units Wajcman (1991: 98) refers to the paucity of collective facilities and amenities. Despite many attempts, collectivization of the housework has always remained a marginal experience.²⁶ In 1931 the experiences of collective, cooperative housework was impeded in the US with the Hoover Commission report of Home Building and Ownership, which supported single-family home (Doorly, 1999: 317). Americans considered collective housework too communist to be American (Cowan, 1979: 60-61). Popularization of the suburban life, women’s exclusion from the job market following the Great Depression of 1929 was other reasons fostering the individualization of housework.

²⁶ Advocates of the material feminism planned and realized influential cooperative household experiences in the second half of the nineteenth century (Doorly, 1999: 314). Women were demanding their household labor to be admitted and priced as true labor and proposed many revolutionary domestic changes to this end. Melusina Fay Peirce was a prominent figure of this movement. She is known for her “plans for cooperative residential neighborhoods made up of kitchenless houses and one cooperative housekeeping centre” (Doorly, 1999: 315). For a historical account of the feminist experiments to collectivize housework please see Hayden, Dolores. 1982. *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods and Cities*. (Paperback ed.) : The MIT Press.

All these developments coupled with the raising mass production of household appliances led to “the average home ... to be filled with enough manufactured equipment to service a primitive village” (Doorly, 1999: 317). Or in Cowan’s (1979: 59-60) words:

Several million American women cook supper each night in several million separate homes over several million several stoves . . . Out there in the land of household work there are small industrial plants which sit idle for the better part of every working day; there are expensive pieces of highly mechanized equipment which only get used once or twice a month; there are consumption units which weekly trundle out to their markets to buy 8 ounces of this nonperishable product and 12 ounces of that one. There are also workers who do not have job descriptions, time clocks, or even paychecks.

The way these appliances were marketed was yet another aspect that undermined the promises of efficiency and hence household industrialization. Selling tricks was playing on every possible aspect other than the nature of household labor (Cowan, 1979: 61). As Cockburn and Furst-Dilic (1994b: 15) put it appliances as posited by producers in the market seem to be rather “commodities” than “the tools of someone’s labour process.” Divorced from their functionality and efficiency these machines rather become subject to “the logic of differentiation” (Baudrillard, 1981: 67) which marks them “as a sign, that is, as coded difference” (265). Within such logic, the objects identified as signs ascribe to their owners social status more than it provides functional benefits. For Cowan (1979: 60) the ambiguity regarding the efficiency finds its most manifest expression in the aesthetic style of those products, especially “when a dishwasher is built into a ‘rustic’ cabinet or a refrigerator is faced with plastic ‘wood’ paneling.”

Stylishly designed appliances as markers of status and gender relations led in the literature to the criticism of the supposed emancipatory potentials of the devices. As MacKenzie and Wajcman (1999b: 270) epitomize, the first scholars of domestic

technology were enthusiastic about the potential of these devices to ease and relieve the burden of domestic work and hence spare some time. But, as time passed by there remained no doubt that the trusted technologies came up short. And so the new wave of studies started to elaborate on the invariability of the time spent along with its reasons (McGaw, 1982; MacKenzie and Wajcman, 1999b). Wajcman even suggested that the novel technologies fortified the traditional division of household labor (1991: 88). These remarks were being made simultaneously with the critique of earlier literature.

Cowan's (1976) analysis of the average middle-class American home during late 19th century and early 20th century was a groundbreaking work in the literature in revealing the failure of the salvation of housewife. In her study she poses the question "did the technological change in household appliances have any effect upon the structure of American households, or upon the ideologies that governed the behavior of American women, or upon the functions that families needed to perform" (Cowan, 1976: 4). She seeks the answer to her question in the articles and appliance advertisements published in the popular magazines of the period such as the *Ladies Home Journal*, *American Home* and *Good Housekeeping*. The discursive analysis of these texts leads Cowan to conclude that domestic technologies reframed housework by introducing new values related to it and made it more complex adding new duties that did not exist prior to the technological innovation, let alone making it easier. Moreover, Cowan (1976) poses the problem of the decreasing number of servants, which passed on duties like childcare to the housewife, and the discovery of the household germ, which fostered an obsession with cleanliness, as more influential factors in re-structuring and re-defining housework than were the emergence of new

appliances. Therefore, it seems rather as if promoters of domestic technologies took the advantage of these developments in designating their promises.

As MacKenzie and Wajcman (1999b: 271) point out the advertisements of the early 20th century traded on such currents to market the available appliances within the American context. Cowan (1976: 21) also refers to the advertisers as the “ideologues” to put an emphasis on their role in stimulating the social changes they have been exploiting in the advertisements. What was significant in all these advertisements was the way that they sensitized housework capitalizing on the feelings of responsibility that a rational housewife would have to her family (Cowan, 1976: 21; MacKenzie and Wajcman, 1999b: 271). That is, a woman who did not use electrical refrigerator to keep the dishes fresh was made to feel guilty because of her negligence to protect her children’s health.

In her analysis Cowan (1976: 2) largely dwelt on the flaws of the functionalist school, which asserted that the home transformed into a locus of consumption than that of production following the technological advancements. The scholars attached to this school comprehended this situation as a moral threat to the traditional family structure. Cowan’s (1976: 3) main problem with this theory is that it leaves out the question of social class and it ascribes the case observed in a certain social class to all the others.

At the same time Wajcman (1991) goes through post-industrialist utopians and time-budget researches to reveal the drawbacks of the existing models. Post-industrialists, similar to the functionalist school, argue that the productive function of the family

came to an end and housework rather undertook servicing role (Wajcman, 1991: 91). According to this view the shift from making use of commercial services for such works as laundry to the acquisition of related devices is the result of an economic concern with affordability (Wajcman, 1991: 92-93). Wajcman (1991: 92) objects to this theory because she finds it to be based on the assumption of a rational subject and to be blind to the conflicts and discrepancies within the household. She (1991: 93) also adds that to assume that domestic appliances have been efficient tools, as post-industrialist utopians did, one should be oblivious to the multifaceted nature of housework which does not only include daily works but also shopping and childcare. The presumptions of post-industrialist scholars might hold true for only the case of chores, while shopping and childcare, structure of which has changed considerably, meant more time and effort to allocate for housewife. A considerable amount of time-budget studies were also blind to the fact that housework required for the most time multi-tasking and hence they could conclude for instance that women watched television more than the past because of the eliminated fatigue owing to domestic technologies (Wajcman, 1991: 94). Wajcman handles all these drawbacks as the result of the strong orientation to relate all social changes to technological advancement.

So briefly, the existing body of literature on the history and sociology of domestic technologies evince that an emphasis on the influence of technologies on household or their chore-relieving potentials would entrap any study in technological determinism. Besides such a beginning would cause to overlook the very gendered and political character of technological innovation processes. That is why, asking the question how these emancipatory promises regarding domestic appliances were held

valid and exploited by actors involved in mediating those products would be a more accurately set question.

The studies on the development of modern kitchen in the twentieth century point to many actors dwelling on the emancipatory potential of domestic technologies for different and sometimes conflicting reasons. An overview of the experiences observed in the Western context would be useful in understanding how their experiences were translated and negotiated in the Turkish case. In the following sections of this chapter I will elaborate the European and American patterns in the development of domestic electrification. My aim here is to discuss how the Turkish model in the early republican period strived to establish a balance between these two distinct influential experiences, rather than making a comparative analysis between both.

4.2 Emergence of the Modern Kitchen in Europe

The discussions regarding domestic electrification constituted a considerable part of the development of modern home and especially its kitchen. Actually, the emerging model of kitchen in the twentieth century became the locus of modernity. To restate in Oldenziel and Zachmann's (2009: 10) words "kitchens were places for cooking and cleaning. They also served as models of technological change, as metaphors for modernism, and as microcosms of new consumer regimes of the twentieth century." Many modernizers like such prominent American designers Walter Dorwin Teague and Henry Dreyfuss were confident that "modernism in all its aspects would enter

the whole dwelling through the kitchen door” (Parr, 2002: 659). The showcases of modern kitchens were international attractions where distinct technological and discursive constructions were introduced and strived to outdo each other. The models of modern kitchens as shaped by the competing ideologies of the consumerist Americans, socialist bloc and the welfare states were simultaneously proliferating in different geographies. These competing models were seeking acknowledgement not only for the specific technological and spatial arrangements they build up but also for the regimes within which they are formed.

Within this various approaches to modern kitchen, what differentiated the European model was the dominance of the welfare state’s social housing policies and practices (Oldenziel and Zachmann, 2009: 11; Parr, 2002: 663). Particularly in Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and Austria the influence of social housing in constructing the modern kitchen was substantially apparent (Parr, 2002: 663). The social housing policies in these states came into question in the interwar period, as an answer to the house shortage following World War I. For instance in the German Constitution of 1919 it was definitively stated that the Weimar Republic was in charge of accommodating its citizens in “a healthy and hygienic dwelling place” (Hessler, 2009: 165).

Social housing in these countries was not merely in control of state housing agencies. Far from it, state actors were in collaboration with many other mediators in construction of the modern kitchens. As Oldenziel and Zachmann (2009: 16) put forth main European actors consisted of a crowded group of consumer representatives like housing associations, women’s voluntary organizations;

professionals like architects, designers, home economists, hygienists and social scientists; governmental representatives like Marshall Plan planners and local politicians; entrepreneurs and finally the opinion leaders like the women's magazine editors and architectural critics. However, these actors contributed to the ongoing shaping of kitchen with different interests as to their professional identities and the concerns of their stakeholders. As Oldenziel (2009: 319) explains,

Some mobilized that room as a locus for reform by stressing hygiene; others claimed it as a space for professional identity formation by calling attention to science; others mobilized it for governmental goals by emphasizing governance intervention and education; and still others exploited it for marketing purposes by accentuating comfort. (Oldenziel, 2009: 319)

As a result of their collective effort, twentieth century modernist kitchen was constructed as “a separate space with modular square appliances, a unified look, an unbroken flow of countertops and counter fronts over appliances, and standard measurements” (Oldenziel and Zachmann, 2009: 1). As Lupton and Miller (1992: 41) define this form of kitchen known as the continuous kitchen “merges architecture and furniture ... into the new form of the *fixture*.” As they further depict:

The continuous kitchen aspires to synthesize cabinets and equipment into a seamless coordinated organism: sink, stove, and countertops form a unified horizontal plane, paralleled by a second layer of wall cabinets. Like a modern factory, the continuous kitchen aim to enable an unbroken series of chores to pass through its sequence of specialized work stations. (Lupton and Miller, 1992: 41)

The Frankfurt Kitchen was the most iconic example of the European kitchen depicted above and its influence has strongly spread through the new republican Turkey as will be explicated in the following sections. Within the social housing program initiated by the Weimar Republic, the kitchen was designated as the center of reforms aiming at bettering the working class's life standards, as well as the middle-class wife's working conditions at home (Hessler, 2009: 166).

Actually, the idea to instruct working class women on proper household was already put on the agenda by “charity organizations and male bourgeois reformers” in the late nineteenth century (Hessler, 2009: 167). However, beginning with the 1920s the orientation began to shift considerably towards “the rationalization of housework” (Nolan, 1990: 553). Within the conception of Weimar reformers rationalization in general was “an umbrella term for the various means through which and levels on which ... modernization was to occur-in production and consumption, in state and in society, in the public and private spheres” (Nolan, 1990: 549). This comprehensive project of rationalization found its echoes in the home through the support of particularly three groups, which are industrialists, bourgeois feminists and social democratic trade union leaders (Nolan, 1990: 550). These distinct groups would come into association under the umbrella of the Home Economics Group of the National Productivity Board (Nolan, 1990: 550).²⁷

The household rationalization movement in the Weimar Republic was taking place almost simultaneously with and under the influence of the Taylorization of the housework in the US (Nolan, 1990: 552). Christine Frederick’s renowned book *The New Housekeeping: Efficiency Studies in Home Management* published in 1913 in

27 The National Advisory Board for Productivity, Reichskuratorium für Wirtschaftlichkeit (RKW) in German, was founded in 1921 as a quasipublic organization dedicated to disseminating “the virtues of productivity and efficiency” (Nolan, 1990: 554). The Home Economics Group of the organization was a consultant group of housewives’ associations formed in 1926 (Nolan, 1990: 555). The group principally dealt with “establishing an archive, conducting studies of methods of housework, and running an educational service” (Nolan, 1990: 555). As Nolan (1990: 555) explains “The executive committee of the Home Economics Group had one representative each from trade, industry, the artisan sector, the consumer cooperative movement, the Social Democratic trade union movement, and the Reichsverband der deutschen Hausfrauenvereine (RDH), or National Association of German Housewives’ Associations. ... The conservative RDH had five members; the rural housewives’ association had four; and the league of home economics schools had two. The trade unions sent five women (as well as three men); the Catholic and Protestant women’s organizations had one representative each. The overwhelming majority of male members came from industry, commerce, or capitalist economic interest groups.”

the US was translated in German in 1921 with the title *Die Rationelle Haushaltsführung. Betriebswirtschaftliche Studien* (Hessler, 2009: 167). Besides, the U.S. Bureau of Home Economics influenced the Home Economics Group of the RKW in planning its activities (Nolan, 1990: 555-556). However, the close contact with the US did not mean that American example was exported unquestioningly to Germany. On the contrary, German appropriation of the US household was “selective, eclectic, and [ambivalent]” (Nolan, 1990: 552). One of the most significant differences between American and German household rationalization was that, while the former was addressing middle-class women, the latter was intended for working class housewives (Nolan, 1990: 552). Furthermore, the German Federation was quite critical about the model of American housewife since she was considered to perform housework “carelessly, unlovingly, and very pragmatically” (Hessler, 2009: 167). Despite they appreciated the benefits of American household methods German culture and domesticity was considered to be morally superior (Hessler, 2009: 167). The German household reformers preferred what they idealized as the German “joy in work” to the commercially driven American pursuit of practically (Hessler, 2009: 167).

The use of domestic technologies was a hot topic of debate in attempts to appropriate American domesticity. For Weimar reformers the “new woman” who would take the advantage of Taylorized principles of rational housework, should be deprived of the advantages and pleasures of utilizing domestic technologies (Nolan, 1990: 552). This was because in their conception household technologies were thorough reifications of American consumerism and hence should be avoided. In Nolan’s (1990: 552)

words German's adopted "an austere vision of modernity" which would not inflict the worn-out post-war German economy.

As the builders of the iconic Frankfurt kitchen, the Frankfurt housing programmers handled the issue in a different manner. For them technological advancements like electrification were innovations to be certainly exploited (Hessler, 2009: 168). The Frankfurt housing project was undertaken by the modernist architects of the period including Ernst May, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, Mart Stam, Martin Elsaesser and Ferdinand Kramer (Hessler, 2009: 168). These architects were committed to the precepts of modern design, which they identified as the motive power behind the rational, functional and technological transformation of the society (Hessler, 2009: 172). That's why they ardently supported the installment of such technical amenities like the electrical infrastructure and heating systems. As such, America was the model for them in the establishment and utilization of technological amenities to rationalize the houses and domestic lives (Hessler, 2009: 172). Yet the American facilities were being adapted to a socialistic conception in which they were not handled as luxuries for few but rather as necessities for all (Hessler, 2009: 173). Their reference to the kitchen as a "laboratory for housewives" underscored that they were intended to divorce the kitchen from the allusions of consumption and rather place it as a productive unit (Hessler, 2009: 172).

Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, the designer of the Frankfurt kitchen, was already familiar with the studies of Christine Frederick to rationalize housework and attended to the Taylorist idea that there was "one best way" to accomplish each task (Hessler, 2009: 169). She also adopted the methods of scientific management as an antidote to

the traditional ways of doing housework that still persisted. Under the influence of these ideals Schütte-Lihotzky focused on the rational organization and construction of the kitchen space in first place, and to this end she also conducted her own time-and-motion studies to help placing the working benches and storage units effectively (Hessler, 2009: 169).²⁸

During the course of the 1920s and 1930s, the Frankfurt housing experience and especially the Frankfurt Kitchen has influenced the design of modern dwellings and kitchens Europe-wide. A congress organized in Frankfurt by CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne – International Congresses of Modern Architecture) provided an opportunity for Belgian women's associations and architects to get acquainted with the contemporary architectural interventions into household rationalization (van Caudenberg and Heynen, 2004: 25). Similarly in Belgium, a rationally organized kitchen was held to be the agent of the rational and functional transformation of the working class everyday life. Belgian architect Louis-Herman De Koninck came up with the design of CUBEX in 1930. It was another version of an efficient working kitchen deriving from the consideration of Taylorist principles; however its originality lied in the emphasis it placed on modular cupboards in arranging the space (van Caudenberg and Heynen, 2006: 27). In Sweden, the Frankfurt Kitchen was criticized because of its potential to threaten the mores of the homemaker (Parr, 2002: 661). Therefore the Home Research Institute

²⁸ Schütte-Lihotzky's Frankfurt Kitchen has been internationally acknowledged and widely marked within histories of technology, architecture and domesticity as a successful example of modernist kitchen. However, the histories of the kitchen which are written with an emphasis on the users' perspective and experiences prove that it managed neither to become as widespread as it was suggested nor to answer the needs of users. For a study on how kitchens in the Munich housing program prevailed both in terms of extensiveness and user satisfaction please see Jerram, Leif. 2006. "Kitchen Sink Dramas: Women, Modernity and Space in Weimar Germany," *Cultural Geographies* 13(4): 538-556. Hessler (2009) also elaborates on the ways users resisted to and negotiated the Frankfurt Kitchen.

got involved in both planning efficient kitchens and developing standards for appliance design under the influence of home economics movement (Parr, 2002: 662).

Electricity was considered to be an important component of these European kitchens. In the Frankfurt Housing program, electrification of all the houses could not be accomplished because of the economic restrictions, however the fully electrified estates equipped with all available appliances like irons, ovens and refrigerators like the Römerstadt, was a source of pride for the actors (Hessler, 2009: 175-176). In Belgium, electrification was promoted “as a ‘miracle drug’ that would transform the kitchen into a place of extreme tidiness and elegance and would tremendously relieve the housewife’s work” (van Caudenberg and Heynen, 2006: 29).

4.3. American Way of Modernizing the Kitchen

As opposed to the social democratic European experience, the story of the American kitchen can be framed “as a masterful story of recuperation of modernism for America for a corporate consumer regime” (Oldenziel, 2009: 334). Actually, Jerram (2006: 546-547) criticizes Schütte-Lihotzky and Ernst May because of their failure to recognize the consumption driven predisposition of Christine Frederick’s study of scientific home management. Jerram (2006: 546) points out a sub-section in her reputed book entitled “The housekeeper as trained consumer” in which Frederick’s true intention came of. Schütte-Lihotzky may have adopted Frederick’s ideas to emancipate women from the housework and traditional family relations, but for

Frederick scientific housework was the way to build “a space the woman planned herself, compelling her to perform and invest in the role of housewife, so that she might fill it with products she had bought” (Jerram, 2006: 547). Thus the gadget filled kitchen as part of a social housing project was out of her scope. She rather preferred the kitchen to be a space that harbored the growth of consumer capitalism, while she marked the appliances as the fulcrum of consumerism (Jerram, 2006: 547). That’s why the services renowned scientific household consultants, like Christine Frederick and Lillian Gilbreth, rendered for companies marked the turning point of their careers.

During the first decades of the twentieth century household engineering became a fertile field with many authors publishing advisory books on scientific household management.²⁹Christine Frederick was among the first household engineers to attempt to adapt Taylor’s industrial time and motion studies to housework (Graham, 1999: 647). In fact, from the late nineteenth century onwards borrowing methods from the factory to increase efficiency of housework was already on the agenda (Graham, 1999: 646). Taylor’s scientific management studies gave these attempts a direction, and household engineers dwelt on the promise to save time by scientific

²⁹ Martha and Robert Bruere published one of the books even before Frederick’s *Scientific Housekeeping* in 1912 with the title *Increasing Home Efficiency*. The other book came in 1914 from Georgie Boynton Child, who was originally a newspaper reporter (Graham, 1999: 648-649). Child’s book *The Efficient Kitchen: Definite Directions for the Planning, Arranging and Equipping of the Modern Labor-Saving Kitchen* was concentrated on kitchen design as an effective consideration to increase the efficiency of housework (Graham, 1999: 648-649). On last book to mention is *The Business of Home Management: The Principles of Domestic Engineering* that was published in 1915 by Mary Pattison (Graham, 1999: 649). The book introduced a comprehensive account of housework focusing on a variety of issues like “‘the labor-saving kitchen’, food preparation, cleaning, laundry, family financing, purchasing, servant management, health, and personal efficiency” (Graham, 1999: 649). As Graham (1999: 649) notes all these studies have been influential in popularizing scientific home management and helped to relieve women’s burden without undermining the traditional gendered division of labor at home.

household management (Graham, 1999: 647). Frederick was drawn to conduct time and motion studies at home after she got acquainted with Taylor's work and observed the organization of Taylorized factories (Graham, 1999: 648). In her influential book *Scientific Housekeeping* of 1913 she utilized this knowledge to standardize housework and introduce planning as the executive aspect of it (Graham, 1999: 648). As a result of her own time and motion studies she came up with various solutions to reduce the time and energy spent for various tasks. These were advices largely concerning the effective layout of the work place like the proper placement of the dishes, dish rack and dish draining rack to prevent unnecessary movements (Graham, 1999: 648). Between 1912 and 1919, Frederick also served as an editor at the *Ladies Home Journal* (Graham, 1999: 648). However, the breakthrough of her career occurred through the end of 1920s when Frederic began to work in cooperation with household appliance companies as an advertising consultant (Graham, 1999: 650). In 1929 she published the book *Selling Mrs. Consumer* as kind of a marketing guideline for companies (Graham, 1999: 650). She also began to test new products at her "Applecroft Home Experiment Station" to promote those she found useful (Graham, 1999: 650).

On the other hand, Lillian Gilbreth's work differed from the existing literature with her emphasis on the psychological aspects of housework (Graham, 1999: 650). Particularly her first book *The Home-Maker and Her Job* published in 1927 was influential in this respect (Graham, 1999: 652). At the early stages of her career as scientific household engineer Gilbreth foregrounded the "'personal expression', 'satisfaction', and 'individuality'" of housework to build favorable arguments about domestic efficiency (Graham, 1999: 654). Her belief that each homemaker had her

own way to do housework retained her from promoting any standard household appliance (Graham, 1999: 651). However, in the end of the 1920s when writing and instructing on scientific housework did not prove profitable, Gilbreth was forced to serve for the market (Graham, 1999: 658).³⁰ From then, Gilbreth guided companies in their attempts to address middle-class women as an emergent consumer group for their various appliances. In 1927 Mary Dillon from Brooklyn Borough Gas Company asked Gilbreth to design the “Kitchen Practical,” a model kitchen planned in accordance with efficiency requirements (Graham, 1999: 659). Later in 1930, she began to work for the New York Herald Tribune Institute to design another model kitchen (Graham, 1999: 661). The institute was a branch of the newspaper *Herald Tribune*, which tested several household devices and traded pages for advertisements of companies (Graham, 1999: 661). Gilbreth designed for the institute “one ten-by-twelve-foot kitchen, a kitchen laboratory, and two smaller kitchens, including a tiny kitchenette for a dual-career couple” (Graham, 1999: 661). In these model kitchens Gilbreth also exhibited a number of up-to-date gas or electric appliances that she thought would endorse efficiency. As a result, Gilbreth turned out to be another expert on household who channeled middle-class women to head towards professional and technological support in the name of “scientification” (Graham, 1999: 634).

As Lupton and Miller (1992: 1) remark, the period when household engineers were cooperating with corporations coincided with the formation of the modern American consumer culture between 1890 and 1940. Within this period both the bathroom and

³⁰ After her spouse and partner Frank Gilbreth died in 1924, Lillian was left alone with eleven children (Graham, 1999: 633-634). Actually her career as a scientific home manager, as a woman with an undergraduate degree in industrial engineering and PhD in psychology, was the result of pressures of gender biased professional world (Graham, 1999: 643).

the kitchen were being reshaped as the central spaces of the home wherein the relations within the home and with the larger society were attempted to be regulated. The authors trace the creation of these spaces through the concept that they call “the process of elimination.” The concept is devised as a metaphor of the aesthetic simplification that the bathroom and the kitchen has undergone by the removal of ornamentation, the processes of nourishment and excretion taking place in here and the vast range of mass produced goods used up to support these bodily practices (Lupton and Miller, 1992). With the concept the authors first draw a parallel between human digestion and consumption and then emphasize the centrality of waste in the perpetuation of these cycles. As the argument goes, American’s appreciation of waste centralized the kitchen and the bathroom by identifying them as “a marketplace for an endlessly regenerating inventory of products” (Lupton and Miller, 1992: 9).

In a word, in contrary to Europe where the modernizing avant-garde led formation of the modern kitchen, in America the process was driven rather by corporate cycles like the advertisers and manufacturers (Lupton and Miller, 1992: 48). The kind of kitchen, which was distinguished as the American kitchen as a result of such interventions can be described as “corporate gadget-filled technokitchens” following Oldenziel (2009: 324). The most iconic of these kitchens was the General Electric’s lemon yellow kitchen, which induced the kitchen-debate between the post-World War II superpowers. Despite this promoted model of kitchen has never been fully constructed at American homes, every aspect of it was envisioned to invoke consumer desire.

The design of the appliances presented within these kitchens also served to construction of such a taste and consumer culture. As put forward by Lupton and Miller (1992: 1) the American preoccupation with waste was most manifestly reified through the aesthetic language of streamlining, which “collapsed the natural and the artificial, the biological and the industrial” through “organically modeled yet machine-made forms.” Besides, these streamlined shells covering the machine mechanisms helped rather to provoke desire for appliances than to enhance their usability. Scott-Holliday (2001: 99) also refers to the push buttons as another example to the “flamboyance” of the appliances’ design features. As she argues, push buttons as well as streamlined objects were metonyms of modernity and technological progress albeit in a domesticated manner serving as “an aesthetic bone as a substitute for ‘real’ technology” (Scott-Holliday, 2001: 110). What is more, the efficiency of these aesthetic and functional gestures was under suspicion. It seemed rather that the design of the appliances, along with other promotional strategies helped to render housework more pleasurable through the purchase of technological marvels (Scott-Holliday, 2001: 85).

Baudrillard (2005) discusses how such features like push buttons leading to automatism plays down a machine’s mechanical structure in behalf of its representative functions. Although we are inclined to think of automated objects as technologically more superior than manual ones, Baudrillard (2005: 118) suggests that automatizing rather prevents structural improvements and even ends in even more frail machines. Such a structural features rather help cultivate “the entire social network of fashion and controlled consumption” (Baudrillard, 2005: 134).

To sum up, the making of the modern kitchen in the U.S. was a commercially driven attempt of corporate actors, rather than a state sponsored program of social engineering as it was in Europe. Similar actors like architects and household engineers were involved in the process in both contexts. However, the American way cheered on the middle classes to consume rather than use technological aids in performing housework. Home economists and household engineers aided companies in their attempts to include women in their consumer circles (Graham, 1999: 646). Housing in America was also in control of the construction sector, which was backed up by the government through tax regulations for both homeowners and builders (Oldenziel, 2009: 322). Besides, the preponderant form of single family dwelling in America was rather the suburban detached or semi-detached house than the apartment bloc, which was also backed up by the government through a concentration on building highways (Oldenziel, 2009: 322). Particularly in the post-World War II period, the modern kitchens promoted as part of these suburban houses came to stand for “corporate America’s push for market capitalism” as a superpower in the world (Oldenziel, 2009: 325) or act as “powerful American icons of freedom” to consume equated with modernity (Rosenberg, 1999: 488).

4.4 Appropriations of the Modern Kitchen in Turkey

In Turkey, the formation of the modern kitchen was largely handled as part of the wider republican attempts to regulate domesticity as the locus of its reforms. Of course this transformation was not independent from the international patterns and trends. Turkish actors were influenced by both the European and American

experiences and borrowed from both to formulate a solution in accordance with the national agenda. The rising trend of international architecture in Europe was welcome by republican reformers as a way to inculcate a modern way of life among its citizens. In addition, household engineering methods were also embraced to particularly support women's cultivation as modern housewives. In this respect, architects, household engineers and home economists were among the most prominent actors in construction of the modern kitchen in Turkey. Both of these groups cooperated with the state agents in establishing the agenda of the anticipated reforms in the private realm. The way each of these actors re-interpreted the ideas that they borrowed from their Western counterparts in their cooperation with the governing bodies constituted a peculiar experience in the regulation of home, domesticity and housework in Turkey. The resulting values indicate that the Turkish experience ended in a genuine blend of the driving ideals of both European and American patterns. In this part of the chapter I will first concentrate separately on the particular contributions of architects and home economists to the making of the modern kitchen, and then I will introduce the tensions and attributes that guide the construction of modern home.

4.4.1 Architectural Interventions

Throughout the 1930s architecture and interior design achieved a crucial role in the republican attempts to create “a new, modern, and Western domestic culture” as well as a modern nation (Bozdoğan, 2001: 195). Within the framework of the attempts to domestic modernization, architecture was attributed a pedagogical function and a

well-designed interior was identified as the key to this transformation (Bozdoğan, 2001: 196). In the minds of both reformers and architects a properly designed home was essential in orienting its inhabitants towards a Westernized way of living and thinking. Modern architectural style or the international style was particularly emphasized as the most congruous form that would lead towards a Western oriented transformation. As Bozdoğan (2001) points out, the reformers adopted modern architecture ideologically as both a sign and a constitutive of the republican ideals. As she further discusses the way modernity was defined by these actors was considerably ambiguous and the home turned out to be the most iconic space wherein the peculiarity of this ideological and architectural intervention crystallized.

Popular women's and family magazines of the 1930s were particularly influential in the dissemination of the images regarding modern house. Such magazines like *Muhit*, *Yenigün*, *Yedigün*, *İnkılap* and *Modern Türkiye Mecmuası* were publishing images of model "contemporary homes" that they often extracted from popular journals like *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Women's Home Companion* acclaiming contemporariness as "a self-justifying and scientific ideal" (Bozdoğan, 2001: 203). Among all these magazines *Yedigün* was the one that most regularly and systematically published model designs including such examples ranging from "a charming three-room box house" or a compact two-story 'city house' to a 'large villa for big families with many guests' or a 'five-room but very functional villa' to be built within a large garden" (Bozdoğan, 2001: 207). According to Bozdoğan (2001: 207) these Western originated models were rather successful in imposing a modern way of living than introducing the examples of the international architectural style.

The kind of modern house promoted in these journals conjured up “a utopian vision of Turkey with suburban middle-class lives, single-family dwellings, and access to modern amenities such as cars and household appliances” (Bozdoğan, 2001: 207). Healthy and hygienic features of the modern home were among its most emphasized attributes so as to imply both the desired transformation of daily life and its appreciable difference from the past (Bozdoğan, 2001: 215). Houses that benefit from the daylight to the maximum extent possible and enjoy the most optimal ventilation facilities were defined in through a powerful opposition to the filthy atmosphere of the traditional houses (Bozdoğan, 2001: 215). For instance, in the course book of home economics entitled *İdeal Kadın: Ev İşleri Ekonomi ve Teknolojisi* (Ideal Woman: Economy and Technology of Housework) Yolaç (1946: 80) exemplifies the difference between the old and the new home through the “grief and gloomy” atmosphere of the former and the brightness of the latter created particularly by the kind of the curtains used in both. In a similar manner, Yolaç (1946: 75) identifies the “clean and simple” dwelling as superior to the crowded and eclectic traditional house. This contradiction between the old and the new home was central to the discursive construction of the modern home. In Bozdoğan’s (2001: 215-216) words, “the modern house was everything its traditional counterpart was not: scientific, hygienic, economical, and above all, representative of the spirit of the new ‘machine age’.” The best example that alludes to the scientificity of the modern home is its comparison to a laboratory. As Yolaç (1946: 3) explicitly puts it “home and housework is the laboratory or workshop to perform various technical knowledge all together.” The same analogy comes forward in Yakup Kadri’s novel *Ankara*, this time with an emphasis on the estranging effect of such aesthetics. Hakkı Bey’s cubic house was the iconic example to the modern house:

The first house with glass corners, lacquered doors, and punctured ceilings that accommodated hidden electrical installations belonged to him. ... Couches like dentists' chairs, seats like operation tables, sofas resembling the interiors of automobiles, octagonal tables, closets like grain storage bins, display windows ... naked walls, naked floors ... and a clinical gloss on everything.³¹

Yet the image of the modern house comprised in it the republican obsession with science, technics and technology as well as the ambivalence towards such attributes. Particularly these attributes were considered as inconvenient to characterize the home. This was above all because of the fact that home was still defined on the other hand as a refuge from the complications of modern public life. In the editorial introduction to the 25th issue of *Ev-İş* Demiray (1939: 3) refers to the “womb of the home” as “the protective cover of the human” and as the “warm, mild-spirited and luminous nest” in which people could take refuge at the hardest times. In another article entitled “Evin Sesi” (1947: 3) home was portrayed in a similar vein as an intimate space that “closes its doors firmly like a mouth keeping a secret, closes its windows like a tired eye, shares our secrets and nestles us.” The conception of the home as a refuge was actually a part and a reflection of the republic’s nationalist approach to “the family home as the sacred space or ‘hearth’ of national regeneration” (Bozdoğan, 2001: 197). By this way modern home came to be defined as an ambiguous space which was influential in cultivation of both a Westernized lifestyle and habits and the rising generation with nationalist sentiments and dedication.

The ambivalence pertaining to the definition of the modern home was also furthered by certain conflicts that it both concealed and revealed. As Bozdoğan (2001: 217) remarks, what made modern style appealing for many architects and reformers was

³¹ Translation by Bozdoğan (2001: 193).

its rationality and functionality. The actors anticipated that the claims to universality of these traits made it suitable and even essential for all regardless of class positions. In this sense, they adopted modern architecture as a democratic style that would offer “beauty and comfort” for all segments of the society. Many houses built for various bureaucrats of the period shared the same simplistic and plain aesthetics, which had no visible reference to the status and rank of its owners (Bozdoğan, 2001: 217).

Yet, the democracy of the style seems to have remained limited to a small group of elites. As opposed to the European experience which was led by the state sponsored construction of collective housing for working classes, the dominant example to the modern house in Turkey was rather “custom-designed and custom-built villas and apartments for a handful of republican elites” (Bozdoğan, 2001: 223). Turkish architects were already aware of and even influenced by the German practices however the meagre material conditions, insufficient expertise on housing, the lack of policies and regulations and absence of the private sector all together hindered larger-scale housing projects (Bozdoğan, 2001: 223). Construction of such affordable houses for the civil servants was defined as a state responsibility with the enactment of the Housing Law (Mesken Kanunu) of 1944 (Kılınç, 2010: 174). Only after the enactment of the law, a number of government housing programs similar to the European mass housing, in which the concern was to solve the housing problem of lower classes in an efficient and economic manner, were realized. The Turkish Railroads Workers’ Housing Settlement and *Yenimahalle* Settlement built in Ankara are two examples to the state sponsored mass housing for lower middle-class civil servants (Kılınç, 2010). Except these few examples, the emblematic examples to cooperative housing such as the Bahçelievler Cooperative Housing Scheme turned

out to be occupied rather by higher strata from the officials in discordance with the idea of collective housing (Bozdoğan, 2001: 219).

Installation of electricity in homes was also a class privilege. Like the modern home, electrification was considered an indispensable implementation towards Westernization, and even electricity was identified as an indispensable element of the modern home. The relation established between electrification and progress was reflected to the home. Yolaç (1946: 50) defines electricity as the “most civilized vehicle of the last century used for illumination.” After exemplifying its benefits he claims “electricity is a great advancement when compared to gas as gas was to the houses employing wood and coal” (Yolaç, 1946: 55). Similarly, in another course book of home economics published earlier in 1936 Altunç (50) is happy that “eventually the development of civilization brought to many people today’s glaring electric light.” However, on the other hand electricity and hence modernity was not attainable by all. Yolaç (1946: 50) states that, for the time being only “some affluent households” had the chance to utilize electricity for housework, while “the commons” could only derive from electric illumination.

In consistency with Altunç’s remark Bozdoğan (2001: 215) states that such technical facilities of comfort like electricity, heating systems, and gas and water networks at homes were identified as “prestigious symbols of civilization and contemporariness.” In this sense, electricity was one of the building blocks of the modern villa and cubic houses. American applications of the electric technology were particularly taken as examples in many texts promoting electrification (Bozdoğan, 2001: 215). As Bozdoğan (2001: 215) cites from an article published in the journal *Mimar*

“thoroughly electrified kitchens already fitted with ovens and refrigerators” were among the most emulated aspects. It was not only electric appliances of American origin what was emulated. Some American based institutions were also shown as examples to be followed in Turkey. In the article entitled “Evi Asrileştirmek İçin” (To Modernize the Home) published in 1929 in *Ameli Elektrik* it was mentioned that in America an organization named The National Home Council was established with the aim to introduce electricity into the homes lacking these modern amenities. The author further recommends establishing such an association in which architects, contractors and electricians work in coordination in Turkey as well. As the author underlines the recognition of the “gradually increasing role of electricity in the ordering and organization of the modern home” makes this association essential in Turkey, where many old buildings are in need of modern rearrangement (Evi Asrileştirmek İçin, 1929: 97). One year later after this article is published another article in *Ameli Elektrik* gladly announces that electric kitchen began to proliferate in Turkey following first America and then Europe (Dumont-Lespine, 1930). The author recounts a major reason for the increasing employment of electric power. It is that cooking with electricity is both practical and economic. Particularly with the special tariffs of electric company, electric kitchens became even more affordable (Dumont-Lespine, 1930: 117).

Economy and practicality of the electric kitchen was reiterated in many other texts as well. In the article “Hakiki ve Güzel Bir Hikaye” Kürnonski (1930) refers to the same traits while explaining the benefits of using electric power for lighting and housework including cooking, cleaning, ironing and laundry. For instance he differentiates electric aided cleaning from traditional methods through its ease, speed

and efficiency (Kürnonski, 1930: 64). In a similar manner he suggests that while cooking in the old kitchens was laborious and time consuming, in the electric kitchen it became easier, quicker and cleaner (Kürnonski, 1930: 65). Coumbis (1930), one of the engineers working for SATIE, also promoted electric refrigerator with references to its affordability, cleanliness and practicality. According to the calculation he made, in the traditional way of refrigeration, a family spent 35 kuruş daily for the ice that they required to cool their refreshments (Coumbis, 1930: 75). However, if the same family used electric refrigerator their monthly expenditure for refrigeration would be only 10 liras (Coumbis, 1930: 76). What is more, electric refrigerators were more powerful, compact and healthier when compared to the traditional icebox.

It can be asserted that these comparisons between the old and new techniques served mainly to mark a poignant break with the past. In Akcan's (2009: 190) words, discourses on the modern kitchen in Turkey "polarized the old, traditional, Eastern Ottoman cooking places and the new, modern, Westernized Turkish kitchens." References to health, hygiene, ease, practicality, economy, and efficiency were all part of the intentions to mark the modern as desirable and the traditional as outdated. Through these emphases, the modern, identified as the exact opposite of the traditional spaces and techniques, was justified on scientific and technical grounds. The often-mentioned kitchen laboratory analogy also dwells on the same ground. The Frankfurt Kitchen as a prominent example of this metaphor was already popularized in Turkey by various middle-class household magazines as the emblematic modern kitchen (Akcan, 2009: 188). Other emergent modern kitchens of the period were also represented in the same magazines. *Ev-İş* regularly depicted kitchens on its covers. In these covers modern looking women were depicted in

modernly organized kitchens while using novel electric appliances (Figure 21), preparing healthy food in scientifically organized work-in kitchens (Figure 22) or meticulously cooking with attention to measurements and techniques (Figure 23). These texts and discourses were also influential in interpellating women as modern housewives as well as re-defining housework in rationalized terms. In the following section I will focus on the kind of housework that these images point to through intertextual references to other discourses organizing housework.



Figure 21 Cover of *Ev-İş* Issue 34, January 1940

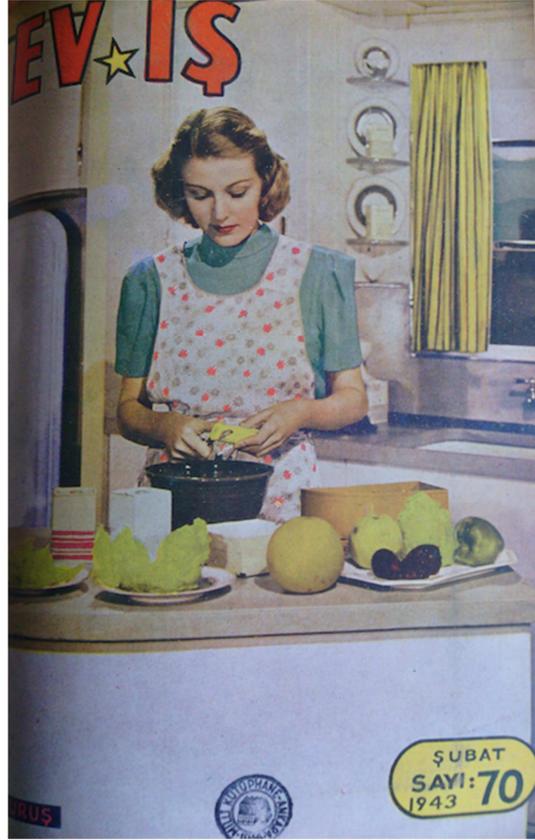


Figure 22 Cover of *Ev-İş* Issue 70, February 1943



Figure 23 Cover of *Ev-İş* Issue 37, April 1940

4.4.2 Taylorization of the Housework

Architectural interventions were intended to re-organize the home in accordance with the requirements of a Westernized lifestyle. The spatial organization of the home was further supported by the redefinition of the housework so as to inculcate the scientific and rational techniques and standards. In the effort to construct the modern household, home economists and household engineers thus accompanied architects. However, this does not mean that architects and home economists collaborated in the design and construction of the new home or architects or contractors resorted to their consultancy. This can be deduced from the mentions to the necessity of such cooperation. For instance Yolaç (1946) puts emphasis on architecture and the scientific technique as the most important components of the modern household. However, he is not content with the existing architectural plans because of their inefficiency in easing women's work at home. According to him homes planned without attention to the practical requirements of the housework performed in it are the most significant perpetrators of inefficiency and irrationality of household labor (Yolaç, 1946: 22). As a resolution, he indicates that government chiefs, municipalities, proprietors, architects and housewives should work together to shape the housework in a manner congruous with the contemporary times (Yolaç, 1946: 69). Despite this coalition seems to have not realized, home economists produced discourses parallel to that of architects. They rather institutionalized under the umbrella of Girls Institutes to regulate the modern household.

Girls' Institutes were first established in Ankara in 1927 as "single-sex educational schools at the high school level" with a curriculum including courses on "sewing, embroidery, child development, pastry baking, and home economics" (Toktaş and Cindoğlu, 2006: 739). At their inception Girls' Institutes were defined as "good housewife and mother' training schools" (Toktaş and Cindoğlu, 2006: 737). They were aimed at educating the "Turkish girl' as a housewife who would protect her family's health and assets and a mother who would raise her children properly" (Akşit, 2005: 154). Besides, they emerged as schools to train nationally devoted girls in efficient housework in the way to the "modernization' of Turkish homes" (Navaro-Yaşın, 2000: 52). Notions of "order, rationality and discipline" were introduced into the middle-class homes through the agency of these schools (Navaro-Yaşın, 2000: 57).

In short, Girls' Institutes were the pivotal institutions in "translating" the principles of Taylorized housework into the Turkish context (Navaro-Yaşın, 2000: 52). As Bozdoğan (2001: 200) states the introduction of Taylorist housework principles in Turkey was largely fulfilled by German architects who were invited to design Turkish cities with modern buildings. Particularly Schütte-Lihotzky and Bruno Taut passed along their knowledge and experience about scientific housework as two architects working for the Turkish Ministry of Education in the second half of the 1930s. Throughout the process of translation from the German experience, the emancipatory promises of the Taylorist principles to free women from the household chores were left aside (Bozdoğan, 2001: 200). Girls' Institutes adapted these principles rather to secure women's duty as homemakers by redefining it in "scientific" and "contemporary" terms (Bozdoğan, 2001: 200). In the same way

Akşit (2005: 144) underlines that the programs of Girls' Institutes unequivocally indicated that the place of women is her home. Therefore, girls' education in these institutions was not primarily directed towards vocational skills but rather to "ideological production" of girls devoted to republican ideals (Akşit, 2005: 144). Within this context the education in the Girls' Institutes was organized to merge the national culture with the Taylorist principles of scientific and rational housekeeping (Navaro-Yaşın, 2000: 57; Bozdoğan, 2001: 198).

Girls' Institutes continued widespread education in Turkey until 1974 when they were transformed into Girls' Vocational High Schools (Toktaş and Cindoğlu, 2006: 740). Within 1927, two institutes already began education with 456 students in total (Toktaş and Cindoğlu, 2006: 739). First established in Ankara the schools dispersed to various cities including Bursa, Manisa, İzmir, Adana, Trabzon and Elazığ (Akşit, 2005: 146). Ten years later than their foundation the number of students enrolled in existing 26 schools increased to 9197 (Toktaş and Cindoğlu, 2006: 739). In 1940, there were 35 Girls' Institutes in 32 different cities (Navaro-Yaşın, 2000: 57). In 1947, 43 Girls' Institutes had 27,398 students and in 1959 both the number of schools and students almost doubled with 54, 337 girls in 98 schools (Toktaş and Cindoğlu, 2006: 739).

Women's education in scientific housework was further popularized with the opening of 65 Girls' Evening Art Schools for grown up women in 59 different towns (Navaro-Yaşın, 2000: 57-58). As Navaro-Yaşın (2000: 59) quotes from a governmental document about girls' technical education, the Girls' Evening Art Schools aimed at helping "married women with children in managing their home

more practically and with an advanced technique and raising their children by ‘scientific’ nurturing.” These courses were also greeted with a considerable interest. We learn from an introductory article about an evening course opened in 1930 that within five years of period the number of students in the course increased from 60 to 2300 (Selim Tevfik, 1935: 7). In 1941 another article about İzmir Girls’ Institute (Bilget: 13) reported that increasingly girls preferred Girls’ Evening Arts Schools to a normal high school education. According to the author in the course of previous year the number of students in *İzmir Kız Lisesi* (İzmir Girls’ High School) decreased from 1650 to 1000 while the number of students in the evening course increased from 350 to 1000 (Bilget, 1941: 13). Besides, both of these articles pointed to the heterogeneity of the student groups in terms of both age and class including married women, affluent women and young girls (Selim Tevfik, 1936: 7; Bilget, 1941: 14).

Education in the Girls’ Institutes and Girls’ Evening Arts Schools was modeled differently with distinct social classes of women in mind. The students of the Girls’ Institutes throughout 1930s and 1940s were typically upper and middle class urban women (Toktaş and Cindoğlu, 2006: 745). Girls’ Evening Arts Schools, on the other hand were addressing lower class women with the mission to popularize the “awareness of education” (Akşit, 2005: 153). What is more, different curriculums were applied in the Girls’ Institutes located in different geographical parts of the society. As Akşit (2005: 147) indicates the courses in the Girls’ Institutes included a wide range of topics including mathematics, physics, history and geography courses in the Girls’ Evening Arts Schools were limited to sewing and embroidery, hat making, fashion and alike. In the eastern provinces, on the other hand Turkish classes were added to the curricula of the institutes (Akşit, 2005: 147). Eventually, the

mission of the Girls' Institutes altered considerably in time. During the course of World War II, the Girls' Institutes kept their emphasis on the cultivation of "morality, altruism and patriotism" (Akşit, 2005: 164). Beginning with the end of the single party regime in the 1950s, the ideological and nationalist emphases in the programs gave their place to the importance attributed to the girls' vocational education (Akşit, 2005: 166). By 1960s the focus totally shifted from girls' education as mothers and housewives to their training in response to the labor demands of the expanding industry (Toktaş and Cindoğlu, 2006: 741).

Despite all these discrepancies in the programs and aims, publications by the institutes helped to cover over the differences with discourses of solidarity and rather represent a unified identity and common objective (Akşit, 2005: 180). Independent from all class conflicts reaching "Western civilization represented through a middle-class home" was idealized in the education programs (Akşit, 2005: 144). In this respect the publications, like the education program, were concentrated on the image of "scientific housewifery and national motherhood" (Akşit, 2005: 173). Throughout the 1930s publications equated the country's modernization with that of the women, attributing the educated women a big role in breaking the ties with the past (Akşit, 2005: 172).

The article entitled "Bugünkü ve Eski Kadın" (Today's and Old Woman) written by one of the students Aliye Temuçin in the İzmir Cumhuriyet Girls' Institutes Almanac in 1937 is exemplary in this sense. In the article Temuçin (1937) makes an imaginary travel in time to observe the differences between the old home, the home after the republican reforms and tomorrow's dream house, which would be established by the

efforts of the institutes. The old house was kept by “a clean, skilled but ignorant, unable to talk, that is a totally old illiterate housewife” (Temuçin, 1937: 19). The house was clean but disordered; children were eating with their hands on a floor table, and the kitchen resembled rather to a grocery with all the flour sacks, baskets and bunch of garlies standing around (Temuçin, 1937: 19). However, the situation in the house after the reforms was even worse. Houses were desolate and the children were suffering from apathy since their mothers left homes to work outside (Temuçin, 1937: 50). According to Temuçin (1937: 50) this view of women neglecting their homes and children to work or just wander in the streets stood in a strict contrast with the image of the determinedly progressing country. Finally she sees ahead the future home of the industrialized city. Temuçin grows impatient to reach that home but her guide through this journey warns her that to reach there she needs to be first educated in an institution to deserve to be there. Then she suddenly opens her eyes to see that she attends the Girls’ Institute to be educated as a “woman who uses all her knowledge for household” (Temuçin, 1937: 51).

Article’s reminding women their original duty and calling them back home from offices, factories and streets were common to the institute publications. In the almanac for 1935-1936 school year, another student of İzmir Cumhuriyet Girls’ Institute, Nezihe Menemenli (1936: 13) heralds that “women are turning back home” after recognizing that “she is breaking up her home, killing her children inwardly, losing her genuine claim while becoming a lawyer, doctor, engineer to save a few patients, to build a bridge, to win a lawsuit or for just a luxury.” But her return is not a failure to survive in the work place. On the contrary, she turns back after proving

herself in the public life, with the recognition that “her wit and skills would only improve and flourish in a home” (Menemenli, 1936: 13).

The necessity of women to turn back home, and the contributions of Girls’ Institutes to the recognition and realization of this was mentioned in other contexts as well. For instance Gövsa (1945, 1946) publishes articles successively in *Yedigün* in which he complains from the lack of emphases on motherhood and housewifery in girls’ education. The question that preoccupies Gövsa (1945: 9) is “would the mathematics and philosophy courses that women attend for years to prepare for universities help them to cook a relishing rice, to fix a rip in a seam or to properly look after her children?” He believes that household and motherhood have already turned into disciplines in themselves with the influence of increasing scientific and systematic knowledge about their practice (Gövsa, 1946b: 11). Therefore he appreciates the institutes as proper places for women to be educated in their true profession.

In these texts, it is also possible to observe an attempt to add value to housework in order to justify women’s return to home. The acknowledgement of housework as a vast field of specialized knowledge and its scientific and rational redefinition in parallel was significant in this respect. While comparing the old and the new household Menemeli (1936: 12) wrote:

While yesterday, household was considered not worth mentioning, let alone discussing about it; was supposed an issue to be handled properly even by the most provincial and ignorant woman, today the necessity for women to turn back home arose and books about modern household has multiplied so as to fill libraries.

The redefinition of housework as a methodical knowledge and scientific technique was performed by basing it on planning, efficiency, standardization and deliberation.

The home economics courses in the institutes were therefore scheduled to teach girls “using their minds” while doing housework which meant to devise “one best way” to do the work through scientific thinking and calculation (Navaro-Yaşın, 2000: 59). Housework was not a haphazard act anymore but was raised to a level which required women’s wit to be performed properly. Thus Menemenli (1936: 13) suggested “home is not the grave of intelligence; on the contrary the whole wit and skills of a woman could only develop and refine within a home.”

The detracting connotations of being a housewife for women was trying to be dissipated by comparing to house to a work place or a laboratory where the work conducted was based on mental power rather than muscle power. Similarly some analogies were drawn between various professions and housewifery. A student of İzmir Cumhuriyet Girls’ Institute, İncilâ Yar (1936: 41) likened the attention required for housework to that of a fireman’s:

When a fireman rushes to extinguish a fire, he pays attention to details other than flame and smoke that are seen by all others. He identifies the direction of the wind in cold blood. He tries to get the fire under control while everybody is rushing about madly. And he generally succeeds.

A housewife with a lot of work to do resembles this fireman. A good housewife deals with every issue with a prepared mind, makes use of all of her knowledge that could be useful, as in the way a fireman acts with his mind at hard times.

Other journals like *Yedigün* and *Ev-İş* were also publishing articles on the rationalization of housework. In the article “Ev İşi El İşi Değil Kafa İşidir” (Housework is not Manual Labor but Mental Labor), the author (N.R., 1943: 12) warns that housework would keep being a wearisome chore if it is seen merely as a manual labor. The author finds the time and motion studies crucial to alleviate its burden and save from both time and energy.

What would underlie housework as mental labor and distinguish the modern women from her grandmother is method. İsmail Ferit (1939: 13) wrote in *Yedigün* that there would be no reason for a college girl to not cook rice as delicious as her grandmother's:

The case is spontaneously to be solved when a mind and hands which are used to figure out the hardest scientific problems through method applies that technique casually to kitchen work. An old woman could learn to cook delicious rice within six years after wasting a great deal of provisions in repetitive trials. Learning this for a scientific-minded girl is a matter of recording a method and applying it carefully three times and to achieve this result it would be enough for her to condescend to do this ordinary but important duty.

In this manner method also emerged as a tool to polarize the traditional ways to learn housework through repetition, imitation, trial and experimentation and the modern household. Using time tables to put household chores in a reasonable order; deriving from recipes and standard measurements when cooking; and ordering and organizing the kitchens were all offered as scientific methods that outdate older promiscuous practices (Navaro-Yaşın, 2000). Even, the old customs of doing housework and superstitions were trying and justified through secular and rational explanations. In the article "Eski Adetler" (Old Customs) published in *Ev-İş* in 1939 the author claims that all these customs like those banning to hang out the child's laundry at night or washing clothes on Fridays because of some superstitious beliefs should actually be considered as "perfect weekly plans" of housework.

These journals also published many weekly plans and time-tables of household chores, trips and suggestions to clean homes, wash the clothes easily, quickly and with minimum effort. The home economics course books were also full of similar information. However, it is significant that utilization of the available electric applications was barely suggested in these resources. Yet more, they were written as

if these amenities did not exist at all. Electricity, which was esteemed as the modernist of the technologies or the indispensable element of the modern home was not yet defined as necessity. Method, rather than the appliances was deemed crucial for the conduct of the housework for the girls educated in the institutes. Electrical amenities were largely mentioned in the debates about luxurious ways of living or as a means of comfort than an indispensable facilitator of housework. It seems that within these discourses electric appliances as signs of modernity gave their place to devices as symbols of status, pointing out a conflict between definitions of modernity for different classes. Therefore, I find it significant to concentrate more on this partial exclusion of electric power from the construction of modern household and in the following section I will introduce the debates that frame these amenities in the conflict between luxury, need and comfort.

4.4.3. Comfort: Necessity or Luxury?

The supporters of the technological amenities proliferating in Turkey throughout the 1930s and 1940s often referred to these novelties as tools of comfort. The emphasis was placed on the idea of comfort in order to convince people that these devices were not actually luxurious but rather necessary. At those times most of the amenities in question were not accessible for a considerable amount of the population because of their costliness. Besides, the networks and infrastructure required to run these technologies were available in a limited number of big cities. The definition of these devices and systems as tools of comfort seems to be an attempt to direct the attention to their modernity and gradually naturalize their use as a requirement of

contemporary times. As such, their contemporaneity would also efface their inaccessibility. That is probably why, in *Yedigün* an exhibition of the future's home in America was introduced admiringly. The article (*Yarının Evi Sergisi*, 1936) pointed to the American home equipped with various domestic technologies as the driving force of such novelties worldwide. Its leadership in both the creation and adoption of domestic technologies further made the US a typically modern country. As the article suggested "one of the conditions and evidences of civilization is leaving in comfort, to which now we also got used to" and the US excellently fulfilled this (*Yarının Evi Sergisi*, 1936: 6). In a similar manner İsmail Ferit (1940: 8) states "comfort which provides the body tranquility, calm and even pleasure is a tool of progress for both individuals and societies." He further adds that comfort does not only alleviate the body but more importantly "it is required to ease the works, save time and economize labor" (İsmail Ferit, 1940: 9). So once again, the idea of modernity was interlinked to rationality, efficiency and the progress brought about by them.

The progressive narrative pointing to a fully technologized domesticity went hand in hand with the references to the Western home. Contemporary West was posited as the future to be reached by decisively developing Turkey. The satisfactory level of development would be achieved when the technologies in question would indisputably be identified as necessities. As Akçura (2001: 45) quotes Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil

If yesterday's luxury is today's comfort, it is certainly tomorrow's necessity. As for luxury: ... Refrigerator? Then why gas is not luxurious? Car? In America even the worker has a car. Why would a vehicle considered essential for a doctor or contractor be luxurious for others? Yatch? It may be something of luxury. But, why would it be luxurious to attach a small motor to a boat? Is it because it saves us from hurting our palms by paddling? ...

Fur? Scent? Jewellery? Then why music, painting, sculpture are not luxurious?

The passage by Siyavuşgil reveals how the notions of comfort, luxury and necessity were articulated to construct a claim to progress and hence modernity as well as its class connotations. Through such perspective development becomes a function of varying necessities. This means that a society or an individual would be considered as developed as the multitude of items that is required necessary. Of course these needs should be beyond those of survival and be considered everybody's right independent of their prosperity. Falih Rıfkı Atay (1940: 9) also establishes a direct link between civilization and the diversity of necessities by asserting that "needs of a domestic animal ... would be more than [an African] primitive man." For Atay (1940: 9), "the nations that rule the world are those which raised their level of life standards, namely those which diversified their needs and increased their hunger." He (1940: 9) explains the differences between the East and the West following a similar logic:

Luxury is not an expression concerning the needs; it is related to the way needs are satisfied. In the streets of London, a tie is not considered a luxury even on the neck of a beggar. Because, it is also among the old goods of a sir given as a charity. Neither house, neither car, neither theater, neither club, neither park, nothing can be considered luxury if the amount spent for it does not exceed its owner's potency. ... As for the East, things beyond animalistic needs are not considered as necessity.

In his other article published a year later Atay (1941: 9) points to a similar difference in the condition of the cities and countryside. Villages were in a poor condition like the East when compared to the relatively advanced state of urban areas. However, Atay (1941: 9) did not differentiate pants from motorway and asserted that they should simultaneously be brought to the village; they both had the same level of urgency. He believed that only in this way, the village or the East would progress rapidly so as to close the gap between itself and the West.

The amenities mentioned in the comparisons between the civilized and non-civilized or civilizing are apparently conceptualized as both signs and facilitators of modernity. Modernization meant the proliferation of machines, artifacts, technologies, and infrastructures within a given country. On the other hand the very novelties in question were considered great advantages in the march towards civilization. However, as Kandiyoti (1997: 119) remarks, the way these articles are appropriated were influential in creating “a hierarchy of worth” as well as in framing the modern. For instance, through appropriation certain ways of doing housework could be defined as rational, efficient, relieving and hence modern, while others could be marked as exhaustive, experimental, time-consuming and hence outdated or traditional. What is more, this valuation was not free from class relations. In Kandiyoti’s (1997: 119) words, “modernization involved a selective appropriation of items of material culture, habit, and taste by different strata of the society, creating styles that were also insignia of social status.”

The class-based differences in the utilization of domestic appliances are best exemplified by an anecdote cited by Delice (2007). A caricature from the 16th issue of *Ameli Elektrik* depicted a mistress who asked the servant to bring the vacuum cleaner in order to clean the bearskin laid under the table. Unfortunately the maid, who has never seen a vacuum cleaner before, brings instead a tool of the gardener. In this satire, the vacuum cleaner is placed in the same category of objects of distinction like the bearskin, rather than being defined as an efficient modern machine. It is not identified anymore as a modern tool of work, but as a modern object of display. In

this sense, it compares the un-civilized maid and the civilized mistress on the basis of the habits of the bourgeois and working class.

In a manner that parallels this story, most of the refrigerator advertisements depicted the device as a display piece. For instance in the Frigidaire advertisement from 1935 (Figure 24) the refrigerator is placed against a blank background. It seems to be displayed in a museum or a similar setting than being utilized at home. The antique looking vase raised over a pedestal next to the refrigerator increases the sense of exhibition. A woman dressed in toilet is depicted while gazing at the refrigerator in a manner that reveals her desire for it. The ads for Frigidaire repeated the same setting a few times more. In another ad (Figure 25) a man in suit accompanied the lady gazing at the refrigerator. The copy read “Frigidaire, which is proudly watched by everybody, is the most excellent automatic refrigerator that amazes the whole world.” Refrigerator is thus situated in the market as a product primarily to be looked and envied. To evoke such a desire it is juxtaposed to the symbols of affluence. In this respect it is also significant that Yolaç (1946: 57) defines the refrigerator as “an elegant, pretty and very sanitary device” giving the similar weight to its superficialities and function.

Frigidaire
ELEKTRİKLI OTOMATİK SOĞUK HAVA DOLABI

BU BAHAR YUVANIZA NEŞE GETİRECEKTİR



Yaz geliyor.... Bu sene siz de bir *FRIGIDAIRE, soğuk hava dolabına sahip olacaksınız. 50 mulluk bir elektrik lâmbası kadar ceyyan sarfeden *FRIGIDAIRE, sizin de yuvanızı şenlendirecektir.

Taksitli satıştan istifade ediniz.

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| Frigidaire soğuk hava dolabı gıdanızı taze ve serin tutar. Önemli faydalarını kullanımlardan tahhik edebilirsiniz. | İLK TAKSİT 10 LIRA | Frigidaire masrafsız bir arkadaş ve dosttur. Sabahınız namına kendinizi ondan mahrum etmeyiniz. |
|--|---|---|

FRIGIDAIRE soğuk hava dolabı bir tanedir. Onu alırken markasına dikkat ediniz ve aldanmayınız.

Bourla Biraderler ve Ş.
İstanbul - Ankara - İzmir

Figure 24 Frigidaire refrigerator ad, 1935 (*Yedigün*, Issue 112, 1 May 1935, p. 32)

HERKESİN GURURLA SEYRETTİĞİ
FRIGIDAIRE

Bütün Dünyayı Hayrette Brakan En Mükemmel Otomatik Soğuk Hava Dolabıdır.



— Bu Frigidaire, bizi bu yaz pek çok rahatsızlıklardan kurtardı, ve yaşamak zevkini tattırdı.

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| Sonbahara yaklaşıyoruz. Henüz bir FRIGIDAIRE almıyorsanız kendinizi daha fazla mahrum etmeyiniz. FRIGIDAIRE'in her mevsimde size arkadaş olabileceğini kullandığımız zaman anlayacaksınız. |  | FRIGIDAIRE markasını başka markalarla karıştırmayınız. FRIGIDAIRE en sağlam en güzel ve en kullanışlı soğuk hava dolabının markasıdır. İsim itibasına meydan vermeyiniz ve daima Frigidaire'ye tercih ediniz. |
|--|---|---|

BOURLA BİRADERLER VE Ş.
Galata Hazareti Caddesi — Beyoğlu İstiklal Caddesi — Ankara Beşiktaş Caddesi. İzmir: Gazi Bulvarı.

Figure 25 Frigidaire refrigerator ad, 1935 (*Yedigün*, Issue 130, 4 September 1935, p. 28)

In most of the advertisements, the door of the refrigerator is depicted open to exhibit the foods inside. This could be done so to indicate the variety of foodstuff to be

chilled and kept safe by the refrigerator. However all these refreshments selected for display serve more to connote a particular economic level, social status and lifestyle than the functionality of the device. In these ads refrigerators are filled with dairy and meat products, fruit bowls, cakes, delicatessen and drinks all of which connote to a Westernized gusto and an affluent household. For instance, the advertisement by SATIE (Figure 26) depicts some familiar but costly items like meat or bottled milk while the copy refers to *krem glacé*, *entremets* and alcoholic beverages to be safely kept in the fridge. Still, on the other hand the refrigerator is promoted as the economic way to keep the classy refreshments delicious and fresh. With all these advantages of the device in mind the copy announces “Comfort is knocking on your door. Let it in in the form of an electric refrigerator.”

**Rahatlık kapınıza vuruyor. Onu bir ELEKTRİK refri-
jeratörü halinde içeriye alınız: arkadaşlığı sizin için kıy-
metli ve hoş olacaktır.**

Bordolabı bir yemek dolabından daha iyidir. Bu sıhhatin hakiki
zasasıdır. Boruk ve tehlikeli yemekler yemek tehlikesini katiiyen
uzaklaştırır ve masa-
nızda darelî bir suret-
te ve lezzetli yemekler
bulundurmanızın temin
eyler. İşte Ne is(entre-
mets) ve Krem glacé-
ler, işte içkileri soğut-
mak için halis buz
kütle eri, boz dolusu,
hararet değişikliği ne
olursa olsun me cülâ-
tınızın tazeliğini dai-
ma emin edecektir.

Her cihaz dört se-
ne için teminatla ve-
rilir. Mu safaza ve
tamir için on saralık
bir masrafla yok ur.
Çelik Karter içinde
tesis olunan bu dolap
mekanizması bozul-
maz; karışıklık ve
durma gibi hallerden masundur.

Cüzi kuvvetteki motoru son derecede az bir sarfiyat temin eder
ve talbikatta hiç aşınmaz; hiç bir takayüde hatta yağlanmağa bile
lüzum göstermez.

Dolabımız bir defa tesis edilince hoş bir iktisat devri başlar ve
ahhatiniz harikulâde bir kasa içinde emniyet altındadır.

**OTOMATİK ve SAĞLAM
ELEKTRİK REFRIJERATÖRÜ**

SATIE

18 Ay vade ile

- 99 -

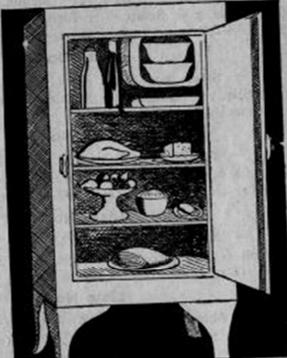


Figure 26 Frigidaire refrigerator ad, 1933 (*Ameli Elektrik*, Issue 62, July-August 1933, p. 99)

The tools of comfort might have come down to people's door but this did not mean that they were welcomed everywhere. There were as many texts about the distrust in electric appliances as advertisements promoting them. These articles were about the

defections in the installment and operation of the technologies or various concerns about their possible harm to objects or users. Yolaç (1946) gives a considerable place to such concerns in his book. As he recounts most women were reluctant to use these expensive appliances because they did not actually believe that they were really effective and also they did not want to deal with their possible defects and maintenance (Yolaç, 1946: 122). The rumors about the excessive electric consumption of the (Yolaç, 1946: 151) irons, or clothes worn out rapidly in the washing machines (Yolaç, 1946: 151) are cited among women's doubts. Improperly functioning amenities were also a subject of complaint. As Akçura (2001: 41) quotes Refik Halit Karay was compliant about the so-called comfort promised by these technologies after having his radiator broken several days:

O my friends dwelling in old houses devoid of modern comfort, o children, beware of envying others, do not attempt to imitate them, sit tight! ... Actually they enter through magnificent doors covered with polished marble on both sides, with frosted electric lanterns hanging from the ceiling, adorned with nickel embroidery; move a few feet up through spacious staircases covered with carpet and from among the palms; splendidly rise upwards by touching a button in a mahogany box creating a modern view of the ascension of Jesus, these are all good ... But while you are enjoying yourselves in front of your stoves ... they are longing for fire, a hot room in their luxurious living rooms. The person who comes home gets undressed, they are covering themselves. The person who comes home warms up, they get cold. The person who comes home thanks to God, they are denouncing themselves and cursing the radiator.

Karay's complaints once more make it clear that modern amenities were not still popularized enough yet and their utilization was still a matter of class than being a matter of rational, scientific, modern housekeeping. Under these conditions it is normal that a considerable proportion of the population who cannot access these technologies and continue to do the housework manually suspect about the functionality and even necessity of these devices. The melodrama *Karagözlüm* (My Dark Eyed One) shot in 1970 by the renowned director Atif Yılmaz is a good

example that points to the class conflict marking the use of electric appliances (Erdoğan, 1998: 268). The movie depicts the love story between a fisherman's daughter Azize and a composer, Kenan. Throughout the plot Azize moves up the social ladder by becoming a famous singer after a music-hall owner recognizes her talent. She moves to a modern villa where she is assisted by servants. One day, during an electric cut she and her assistant cannot continue to run the vacuum cleaner. Annoyed by this mishap, both praise the old broom and continue cleaning with it. Both women are refrained from the idea of using an appliance for housework largely because of its dependence on an external power source to work.

The feeling of submissiveness to technology was expressed earlier by many intellectuals of the early republican period. As Akçura (2001: 44-45) quotes Gövsa warns people about the enslavement brought about by technological developments:

Every tool of comfort that ease the life is actually a circle of enslavement and consequently the reason for discomfort. Life gets harder as it grows away from simplicity and naturalness, excessive indulgence on comfort cuts the cities' links to nature and imprisons the urbanite among laminal walls of habit and overwhelms them. ... The excessive indulgence on comfort disturbs urbanites and even disturbs their health and lessens their happiness. We should search for the real comfort in ourselves, in our minds and soul. The real comfort is leading an ordered life without becoming slaves of vehicles.

In a similar fashion, Hamdi Varoğlu reminisces the old days when none of the tools of comfort existed:

There was no Frigidaire, which brought the ice factory to home but there also was no heartless grocer's footboy who sold a box of frigidaire ice for fifty *kuruş* in the hottest days of the summer. In the age of the man who relied on his own labor, none of the bliss provided by comfort did exist; the gas company that sells air and gets money, ..., rages tram did also not exist. But in the day of the countryman who cooked on coal, drew water as s/he wishes, as much as s/he likes and whenever s/he wants from the well ...; went pattering to his/her destination by seeking refuge in God, there were the 'reasons of rest' which were their own property. (quoted in Akçura, 2001: 41-42)

The target of criticism in all these cases is the retrogression brought about by technological and material progression. The corrupted is defined all the time as the prosperous urbanites who rely on amenities to sustain their comfortable lives. These denouncements can be considered as part of the rising criticisms of consumerism. As Cantek (2008) informs particularly throughout the second half of the 1940s the anti-modernist critics of consumer culture were gaining currency particularly among the founding elites. However, earlier in the 1930s the over-Westernized or excessively modernized elites were disapproved on very similar grounds. *Lüküs Hayat Opereti* (The Life Extravagant Operetta) written by Ekrem Reşit Rey and composed by Cemal Reşit Rey in 1933 is a good example to these critics. The operetta is a satire of the extravagant lifestyles of upper-class İstanbulites living in a manner divorced from the masses. A popular song from the play mocking the bourgeois lifestyle read:

You need two automobiles / One must be a convertible / Cook, manservant and housemaids / The Kitchen is full, so is the pantry / Must have a condo in Şişli / If you don't then you're through / Furniture all cubic nickel / On the walls oil paintings / Life extravagant, extravagant / Let's cheer up and just relax / It is sheer joy, it's comfortable / Life extravagant is incomparable.³²

It is striking that in the song the progressive developments and modern facilities supported by the ruling ideology were satirized as the signs of sumptuous everyday lives led by upper classes. Surprisingly, cubic apartments and modernist furniture which were all supported by the ruling ideology as both the agents and symbols of modernization were satirized together with paintings and other luxurious items as pieces of an ostentatious culture that took Westernization a bit more to the extremes. In a similar manner, in the stage play *Paydos* written by dramaturgist Cevat Fehmi Başkut in 1948 the refrigerator, referred to as simply Frigidaire, lampooned as part of an ostentatious life based on unnecessary disbursements. One of the characters in the

³² Translation by Kılınç (2010: 118).

script flaunts by asking the other “How many Frigidaires do you have at your home? We have two” (quoted in Tanyeli, 1998: 144).

These critics first of all point to the gap between the conditions of the people and the elite. Despite the project of modernization idealized contemporary technologies for all, these amenities remained accessible for a lucky few. What was foregrounded as the symbol of modernization turned into the marker of status, revealing all the class conflicts and power relations behind. On the other side, particularly in the advertisements the emphasis on the more universalistic attributes of these devices like healthiness, sanitarianess, cleanliness, economy and efficiency were sustained. I assume that the emphasis on such values helped to cover over the existing gap and conflicts as in the way that modernist aesthetic in architecture was utilized to conceal signs of social status. But the wider inaccessibility of the same technologies undermined the very claims to universality. Rather than reading this as the failure of republican project to popularize the modern amenities it praised, I prefer to direct attention to the various modernities that is trying to be constructed based on different class positions. This also explains why the girls in the institutes were being educated as modern mothers without the assistance of modern amenities at all while the very devices in question were considered indispensable for modernity of others. The variety of modern female subjectivities constructed through such a class-biased discourse will be the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

MODERN WOMEN AS THE USERS OF DOMESTIC APPLIANCES

The promotion of domestic technologies in Turkey during the period in question did more than to merely introduce new techniques and tools to facilitate housework. They rather encompassed discourses on a modernized lifestyle and subjects that would lead such a life. The ads and articles on the subject comprised a framework to distinguish between modern/traditional or Western/Eastern ways of living and inculcated modern and Western values. The article “Süpürge Deyip Geçiyoruz” (We Underrate Broom) published in *Yedigün* illustrates the concern very well. In the article the author relates the broom to a whole way of living that the reforms strive to establish (N.R., 1944: 9):

Broom bears in it the whole conception of an understanding, a lifestyle. The Western woman does not know it. She could only be familiar with the clothes brush. There the broom has not entered homes for years. Other tools replaced it. They use either the electric vacuum cleaners that absorbs dusts or long-handled floor mops that furbish the polished floorboards. Probably, working with both does not cause suffering or pain. There, the woman does not have to bend over or swallow dust while sweeping like her sister in the East. The difference between two women sweeping the house is the summary of a whole style of thought. One of the things that complicate the work of the

Easterner is unquestionably her ignorance of the life on the earth and consequently the house she lives in. In the East the life on the earth is considered transient.

The text points to all basic relations between women and technical advancement, technical advancement and republican reforms and women and republican reforms that this study addresses. As I exemplified in the previous chapters republican regime was concerned with technological development as a means to progress and modernize. This advancement was headed towards the West. On the other hand, the emancipation of women and their rising participation in the public life were also handled as one of the most significant promises of the project of modernization. Technical and technological improvements were inevitably posited as the tools that would foster both country's improvement and women's liberation. This chapter will focus more broadly on each relation established between the republic, technology and women to figure out how the modern woman was discursively constructed through the interconnection of meanings among them. First I will focus on the ways technology is handled with respect to gender relations in order to point at the intersections with the republican conception of women's place within the same gender relations.

5.1 Debating Female Emancipation through Domestic Technologies

In both the histories of technology and promotional efforts, reproductive technologies came into question through their potential to save time and labor and hence leave time for women to spend outside the home. As Sparke (1995: 200) notes, by the 1950s, when streamlining took the hold and the household completed its

modern transformation, the most acceptable reason for having domestic appliances at homes was still their laborsaving properties. However, this did not mean that the same features would not also cause some concerns. Even at the very beginning of women's introduction to the new technologies in their daily lives, some were uneasy about the consequences of the free time and extra energy that women were endowed with. As Wosk (2001: 6) illustrates by the end of the nineteenth century the prevalent source of anxiety was the popularization of bicycle among women. Men believed that women's increasing "mobility and independence" provided by the bicycle would soon lead them to neglect their responsibilities as housewives (Wosk, 2001: 6). The unease with the technological advancements was expressed through cartoons depicting husbands doing housework while their wives were bicycling out (Wosk, 2001: 6). The question of women's leisure time persisted throughout time, and was reflected to domestic technologies as they began to become widespread. As one industrial designer stated in 1957:

Automatic ranges and one-step washer-dryers leave the housewife with a precious ingredient: time. This has come to be regarded as both her bonus and her right, but not everyone regards it with unqualified enthusiasm. Critics belonging to the woman's-place-is-in-the-sink school ask cynically what she is free for. The bridge table? Afternoon TV? The lonely togetherness of telephone gossip? The analyst's couch? Maybe. But is this the designer's problem? Certainly it is absurd to suggest that he has a moral responsibility not to help create leisure time because if he does it is likely to be badly used. More choice in how she spends her time gives the emancipated woman an opportunity to face problems of a larger order than ever before, and this can transform her life, even if good design can't. (quoted in Scott-Holliday, 2001: 100)

As obvious in the passage above, women's leisure time was a source of strong cultural concern, that even a designer has felt the need to interrogate his responsibility in instigating such inquietude as one of the actors behind technological improvements. This was a shared consideration among men who were influential in

the cultural arena and daily life as professionals, opinion leaders or just as husbands or heads of the home.

Women also concentrated on the same promises of the domestic technologies, but they were of course more optimistic than men about the results they would yield. Feminist studies of technology explicitly reveal the preoccupation with the emancipatory promises of household technologies. As Wajcman (2006: 8) puts it “feminist perspectives of the woman–machine relationship have long oscillated between pessimistic fatalism and utopian optimism, technophobia and technomania.” Particularly in the 1970s feminist historians of technology were celebrating domestic technologies owing to their potential to ease and rationalize housework and hence relieve women’s burden at home (MacKenzie and Wajcman, 1999b: 270). However, their confidence in domestic technologies did not last long and within a decade the studies gained a pessimistic overtone admitting that the sexual division of labor at home would remain unchanged despite all the technological support they achieve.

Research pointing to the persistence of women’s hard work at home despite all emergent devices seems to have been influential in the rising distrust in household technologies. As McGaw (1982: 816-819) points out research by Cowan (1976) on industrialization of housework, by Joan Vanek (1978) on the time spared for housework by women from different social strata, by Daniel E. Sutherland and David M. Katzman (1981) on technology’s influence on the work of domestic servants, and by Dolores Hayden and Gwendolyn Wright (1976) on the ways house planning influenced the structure of housework with an emphasis on novel technological

systems helped to underline that “domestic labor continued to be time-consuming and that it lost much of its creativity and individuality.”

In her pioneering study Cowan (1976: 14) holds on contemporary time studies to assert that the housewife still had to spend as much time as she did before the introduction of domestic appliances. But this does not mean that the devices did not have any impact upon the time required to complete certain household tasks. On the contrary they helped to decrease the required time for housework. However, changing standards of housework brought about new works to do or even increased the time needed for some housework such as laundry (Cowan, 1976: 15). Particularly, “the discovery of the ‘household germ’” brought along an excessive attention on hygiene and cleanliness at home causing further an increase in the frequency and duration of cleaning (Cowan, 1976: 14). The ideological changes in the housework also added to the time required for housework. In the course of the early twentieth century, housework was being emotionalized. As Cowan (1976: 16) expresses:

Laundering was not just laundering, but an expression of love; the housewife who truly loved her family would protect them from the embarrassment of tattletale gray. Feeding the family was not just feeding the family, but a way to express the housewife's artistic inclinations and a way to encourage feelings of family loyalty and affection. Diapering the baby was not just diapering, but a time to build the baby's sense of security and love for the mother. Cleaning the bathroom sink was not just cleaning, but an exercise of protective maternal instincts, providing a way for the housewife to keep her family safe from disease.

Emotionalization of the housework also meant that even the most competent servant would not suffice to meet the expectations because she would remain incapable to feel the emotional charge towards the family required to perfect household tasks (Cowan, 1976: 16). So that, once more remaining of the housewife alone in doing

housework was justified. What is more, the man of the house was also still exempt from aiding the housewife, despite the increasing technological orientation of the household. The emergent machinery at home did not cause men to show interest in doing some housework, because, as Wajcman (1991: 89) asserts “women’s and men’s relationship to domestic technology is a compound of their relationship to housework and their relationship to machines.” Mechanization is not enough to subvert the gendered nature of domestic technologies. That’s why technological developments taking place at the home left the traditional gender division of labor in the household unaltered and even fortified it (Cockburn and Furst-Dilic, 1994b: 13).

Scott-Holliday (2001) explicates the contradiction between the ideal of women as homemaker and the emancipatory potential of the futuristic kitchens through a metaphor of promises and alibis. Her overall idea is that, there is the promise of emancipation by means of technological progress which seems to work against the ideological framework that hinders emancipation through idealizing women as the homemaker and media technologies help to overcome this contradiction by offering alibis in the form of romance, nationalism, fetish, etc.

Kitchens of Tomorrow, in other words, sold conservative gender roles disguised as an escape from them. Kitchen-technology promotion had to construct the possibility of emancipation and then continually defer it (make excuses for it, the first kind of alibi), transcoding a narrative of technological progress into another realm, like consumerism or romance, and encouraging women to derive pleasure from their kitchen labor by purchasing and using commodities that signified technological progress and contained the promises of a future (“being elsewhere,” the second kind of alibi) that transcended the kitchen. (Scott-Holliday, 2001: 85)

The alibis can take various forms ranging from futuristic projection to nationalist or romantic excitement. For instance, the efficient technological kitchen itself works as an alibi owing to its design features and non-practical functions, because it makes

kitchen work more pleasurable rather than effective, and evoking the idea of technological progress (Scott-Holliday, 2002: 99). The woman becomes locked up in the kitchen because of the attractive functional or aesthetic design features like push buttons and streamlining. These design gestures were bringing home the praised machinery of modernity along with all their progressive connotations. They act as praises to technology (Scott-Holliday, 2001: 99).

According to Baudrillard (2005) such features that lend to automatism like push buttons actually serve to fulfill social needs like expressing status rather than practical functions. Despite the automated objects tend to signify functionality and technological sophistication; automation is indeed made possible by renouncing from technical rationality and functionalism. As a result the act of automation steals from the material strength of the object and adds it to the representative power of it. The objects' social functions overshadow their practical functions. The devices become valuable rather as symbols than machines.

This explains why domestic appliances were (and still are) promoted through their social attributes throughout the 1930s in the US, as Nickles (2002) recounts. As she (2002: 705) suggests the design decisions regarding refrigerators during the period took into account “the responsibilities of the average housewife to provide a clean, safe environment for her family” as much as the device’s primary function to keep food safe. The supposed average consumer was imagined as a servantless middle-class housewife paying attention to “thrift, efficiency, convenience, and modern food preservation methods for her family” (Nickles, 2002: 694). The design features of refrigerators were meant to reflect the housewife’s interest in both modern

technology and her family. The advertisements were featuring women's responsibilities to save on and with sentimental and patriotic motives towards the family and the country with an emphasis to preserving the traditional gender roles (Nickles, 2002: 705). Cowan (1976: 16) also notes that domestic appliance ads in the 1920s played on the feeling of "guilt" to attract the attention of the female consumer:

Readers of the better-quality women's magazines are portrayed as feeling guilty a good lot of the time, and when they are not guilty they are embarrassed: guilty if their infants have not gained enough weight, embarrassed if their drains are clogged, guilty if their children go to school in soiled clothes, guilty if all the germs behind the bathroom sink are not eradicated, guilty if they fail to notice the first signs of an oncoming cold, embarrassed if accused of having body odor, guilty if their sons go to school without good breakfasts, guilty if their daughters are unpopular because of old-fashioned, or unironed, or—heaven forbid—dirty dresses.

As Isenstadt (1998: 317) indicates, in the 1950s the emotional emphasis on guilt seems to have been taken over by the idea of fun. This time in the refrigerator ads housework was represented as an entertaining activity by hiding all the traces of labor required. This was achieved by placing refrigerators within abundant panoramas or depicting savory still lives inside refrigerators (Isenstadt, 1998: 317). On the other hand, plenty of food ready to eat in the refrigerators concealed any effort put in their making behind the delicious panorama. What outstood in these ads was "a pastoral fantasy" of "abundance without labor" (Isenstadt, 1998: 314). In the very subtext this idea of ease and abundance was tied to increasing the consumption of sustenance made possible by the cooling technology of the refrigerator. Actually, in the ads of the 1930s the idea of thrift was also tied to the mass purchase of food items that could be kept fresh in the refrigerators (Nickles, 2002: 705).

Therefore, it is possible to suggest that in all these advertisements the supposed promise of emancipation is indeed intended to conceal the imposition of certain

domestic tasks and values on them. The design features and advertising tricks functioned to instruct women in certain values and behaviors appropriate to the social context they are produced in. In these texts women were taught in latest trends and fashions in household, proper consumer choices and gender roles, prevalent domestic and social values. From this perspective Scott-Holliday (2002: 102) refers to promises as “disciplinary pressures” that discursively construct certain ideals of domesticity and femininity. While suggesting the idea of “disciplinary pressure” that “interpellate women as particular kinds of subjects” Scott-Holiday (2002: 82) capitalizes on Teresa de Lauretis’s (1987) conception of gender in line with Foucault’s “technology of sex.” Following Foucault’s ideas on sexuality as a construct of certain “techno-social or bio-medical apparati” de Lauretis (1987: 2-3) posits gender also as “the product of various social technologies, such as cinema, and of institutionalized discourses, epistemologies and critical practices, as well as practices of daily life.”

Scott-Holliday (2002) added domestic technologies and the discourses produced around them in popular press and ads among “social technologies” that are utilized to produce female subjectivities. Handled within this framework, domestic electrification in Turkey can also be studied as a disciplinary power over women. I have formerly argued that in most of these articles and ads on electrified home electricity was defined as “the servant princess” that facilitated and accelerated housework. Despite the fact that within this definition electricity is rather defined as a fairylike heroine, I will argue that when replaced within the wider ideological framework it emerges as a suppressive power over women. The epic representations, in this respect, can be referred to as “alibis” that cover over all inherent

contradictions. Following this line of thought I will pursue the visual strategies appealed to conceal such contradictions emerging between emancipation and domination and try to figure out the emergent modern female subjectivities constructed through such contradictions. However, for the case of Turkey the discourses on the emancipatory potentials of domestic technologies cannot be considered free from the gender regimes of the modernization project. The images of modern women using domestic appliances in the popular press and ads are produced in a dialogue with the republican conception of modern femininity. Therefore, before analyzing the visual representations of modern women in domestic appliance advertisements I will introduce the image of the modern Turkish woman as framed by the republican discourse.

5.2 The Republican Ideal of Modern Woman and Its Critiques

In the Turkey of the early twentieth century the only thing that entered women's daily lives with the promise of emancipation was not the domestic technologies. The republican reforms, policies and discourses were even more assertive and comprehensive while pledging to free women from the restraints of traditional Ottoman order. The Kemalist transformations taking place throughout the 1920s paid a considerable attention to improve women's status in the society. The reforms aiming at women covered refinements in their political, judicial, educational status as well as enhancements in their everyday and domestic lives. *Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu* (The Law of Unification of Education) was implemented in 1924 in order to provide equal educational opportunities for both boys and girls as well as to

secularize the education (Tekeli, 1983: 1193). The Civil Code which was accepted in 1926 replaced the Islamic regulation of family and marital relationships with legal arrangements (Tekeli, 1983: 1193). The Civil Code provided women equal legal rights with men in such issues like divorce, inheritance and curatorship and also prevented men's polygamy. Women's suffrage has been achieved in 1930 albeit only at municipal level; and in 1934 women gained their full suffrage (Tekeli, 1983: 1193). With these acts granting women the right to vote, Turkey has got ahead of many Western countries like France and Italy in women's suffrage (Tekeli, 1983: 1193).

Holding on the inclusive republican reforms and legislations that brought about substantial transformations in women's lives, the emancipation of women has long been conceptualized in the literature on Turkish modernization as a Kemalist favor to women.³³ However, the rising feminist interest in the history of Turkish modernization has been influential in revealing both women's agency in the transformations and pointing to the boundaries in republican discourses regarding women's emancipation.³⁴ As Serpil Çakır (2007: 63) states the criticism towards the republican discourses and historiography regarding women's rights particularly came

³³ Arat (1997) distinguishes between the approaches of two consequent generations of women scholars to the issue of women's emancipation in Turkey. The first generation of women represented by the first female political scientist Nermin Abadan-Unat unequivocally indicate their gratitude to Kemalist reforms for supplying them with rights to education and work, while the second generation was rather willing to accentuate women's agency and struggle in gaining those rights (Arat, 1997: 95-96). For a wider understanding of the way these first generation of scholars treat women's emancipation please see Abadan-Unat, Nermin (ed.) 1979. *Türk Toplumunda Kadın*. Ankara: Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği; İnan, Afet. 1975. *Atatürk ve Türk Kadın Haklarının Kazanılması*. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi.

³⁴ For wider information on the research on the roots of women's own struggle for rights in the pre-republican period, feminist movements and women's organizations in Turkey please see Çakır, Serpil. 1994. *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları; Zihnioğlu, Yaprak. 2003. *Kadınsız İnkılap: Nezihe Muhiddin, Kadınlar Halk Fırkası, Kadın Birliği*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları; Özman, Melek (director). 2008. *İsyan-ı Nisvan*. Filmmor Kadın Kooperatifi.

into question with the proliferation of the feminist movement in Turkey in the 1980s. The majority of the studies of the period were concerned with “the common experience of oppression under the patriarchal system” (Çakır, 2007: 63). Further feminist inquiry paved the way to the acknowledgement of “the authoritarian aspects of the Kemalist regime and Turkish modernization” as well as the drawbacks and failures of the modernization project in terms of women’s social, cultural and political empowerment (Çakır, 2007: 62-63).

Within this feminist critique the idea that women’s rights were handled by the modernizing elites in a pragmatic manner came into prominence. As Ayşe Durakbaşa (1998: 37) puts it the “women’s question” was “instrumentalized” in order to facilitate the wider social project of modernization. Scholars also seem to have compromised on the idea of modernization in Turkey as a project guided largely by masculine interests. Women’s issue was not free from this processes marked by a male hegemony. According to Durakbaşa (1998: 41) such an “innocuous feminism” was exclusively formed by the “enlightened men” who were in charge of women’s journals and institutes. For these men women’s rights were crucial in defining the modernist and nationalist ideals of the new republic. With this motive men withhold the patriarchal privilege of “entitlement” and imposed their definitions of the ideal woman as part of the wider social transformations (Berktaş, 1998: 2).

In epitome, feminist scholarship worked to subvert the belief in the achievements of Kemalists in emancipating women by underlining the continuities between the patriarchal overtone of traditional and modernist discourses and practices. As Zehra Arat (1998: 52) puts it, Kemalist reforms actually replaced Islamic patriarchy with a

Western one. This meant that the transformations in women's status aimed at creating literate women in the service of nationalist interests and progressive attempts, as witnessed in all nationalist, corporatist movements (Arat, 1998: 52-53). Berktaý also points at the continuity of the dominance of patriarchal interests and she suggests, "the project of the nation-state is to ensure that the traditional roles attributed to women are sustained under modern forms" (Berktaý, 2002: 278).

This emphasis on the enduring patriarchal patterns of the new society could be read through the theories of political and cultural sociologist Joane Nagel (1998) regarding the masculinity of the concept and institution of nation. As Nagel (1998: 244) asserts "nationalist politics is a masculinist enterprise" in which men dominate the related institutions. Nagel (1998: 254) further underlines that "all nationalism, tends to be conservative, and 'conservative' often means 'patriarchal,'" because these movements strive to justify their nationalist claims on the grounds of traditions, which are considerably patriarchal in character, as their cultural repertoire. Women's participation within such a nationalist movement is largely confined to "a distinct, symbolic role ... a role that reflects a masculinist definition of femininity and of women's proper place in the nation" (Nagel, 1998: 252).

Modernization in Turkey, as a nationalist project, has also been framed by the abovementioned characteristics from the very beginning.³⁵ Serpil Sancar (2004) subtly epitomizes the nationalist character of Turkish modernization and its influence

³⁵ For a comprehensive historical analysis of the influence of nationalist thought on the processes of modernization and state building in Turkey please see Bora, Tanıl (ed.) 2002. *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce Cilt 4 / Milliyetçilik*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. The interactions and dialogues between nationalist projects and gender relations within the context of Turkey is introduced along with a theoretical framework to place the discussions within and examples from other Western or postcolonial contexts in the edited book Altınay, Ayşe Gül (ed.) 2011. *Vatan, Millet, Kadınlar*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

on the gender regimes. Sancar (2004) argues that different from the European countries where modernization processes sprang from the dynamics of capitalization, the belated capitalization of such countries like Turkey first of all required the regulations regarding the formation of a state that would in turn organize the market. This further meant that the founding processes of modernization in Turkey were dominated by nationalist dynamics (Sancar, 2004: 202). The strategies that regulated the formation of a nation-state in Turkey were also influential in determining the normative gender roles in such a foundation. In this respect the gender regime embraced by the modernizing ideology in Turkey ascribes the men the duty to found a modern nation-state and the women to duty to establish modern families (Sancar, 2012: 192).

Within the discourses of nationalist modernization family comes to emerge as a substantial actor in regulating gender identities, gender roles and sexuality (Sancar, 2004: 200). Sancar (2004: 202) even suggests that the project of modernization in Turkey was grounded on the idea of foundation of a modern family which itself hold on the image of modern Turkish woman. Selda Şerifsoy (2011) elucidates how Kemalist modernization capitalizes on “family as both an institution and a metaphor” through the ideologies it indoctrinates at schools, people’s houses and military. The discourses constructed within these institutions family gains its value only as an entity within which one would fulfill his/her duties towards the country (Şerifsoy, 2011: 197). Şerifsoy (2011: 195) also mentions that the nation-family analogy was constantly evoked as a strong metaphor, which unifies all segments of the society within a single body. The underlying intention was to arise in people’s minds the idea that they were all equal in the eyes of the state, as in the way that parents did not

discriminate their children (Şerifsoy, 2011: 195). The gender hierarchies are also formed within the same familial relations through which the children are identified as the people, the father as the decision maker and the mother as the coordinator (Şerifsoy, 2011: 197).

In a parallel vein Nagel (1998: 254) notes that the nation-family analogy conjures up a picture of “a male headed household in which both men and women have ‘natural’ roles to play.” Despite the fact that women are most of the time excluded from the institutional practices of this male-headed formation, their “symbolic place as the mothers of the nation” has a considerable significance and for this reason their sexuality is strictly controlled (Nagel, 1998: 254).

Nagel’s theories find echoes in the construction of the new or modern Turkish woman as a “collective subjectivity who exists for her family and her nation” (Sancar, 2012: 209). The characteristics expected from her were very clearly defined and her behaviors in her public and private lives were confined within very well drawn boundaries. Kemalist reforms aimed at a discursive construction of a female subjectivity which was an “amalgam of distinct images like the well-trained professional woman, organizer women participating in the activities of clubs and associations, the well-educated mother and wife, and the feminine woman who is a good dancer in the balls, who follows the fashion” (Durakbaşa, 1998: 46). The emergent ideal of Turkish woman, as imagined by Atatürk himself was “a mother with a mission; the partner, friend and assistant of man in his scientific, social and professional life” (Arat, 1998: 79).

Any of the reforms concerning women's status and rights were desirable for the nationalist-modernist ideology as long as they remained within the demarcated boundaries of the discourse on the national duties of women. For instance Arat (1998) dwells on the inegalitarian nature of education policies despite all regulations encouraging girls' education. According to Arat (1998: 68) girls education was actually supported by the ruling elites because of women's duty to grow future generations and thus particularly her potential power in orienting the boy child. Therefore, the curricula for women were also 'feminine' in character concentrating on maternal skills. For instance, while boys were taught binding, marbling and woodwork in 'handcrafts' (*elişi*) courses, girls were attending 'housework' (*ev işi*) courses where they learned cooking, sewing and childcare (Arat, 1998: 67).

The vocational education was even more discriminated by gender. For the republic the significance of these institutions derived from first their potential to raise workforce for the industry and trades and second to raise the girls who would in turn cultivate the new Turkish family (Soydan, 2002: 276). This two-way approach seems to have manifested itself in the gender coding of existing schools according to traditional gender conceptions. Vocational schools that addressed girls gave weight to cooking, household, child-care and sewing while other schools were intended to educate technicians and heavy industry workers (Arat, 1998: 64). On the other hand, the vocational schools for training girls as workforces were educating girls in such feminine fields like nursing and midwifery and girls barely attended to these kinds of schools (Arat, 1998: 64). Institutions like the Girls Institutes or Girls' Evening Art Schools were by far the most preferred schools for education of girls.

The same gendered pattern endured in the course books used in both vocational schools and colleges. Firdevs Gümüőođlu (1998) analyzes the changing definitions of gender roles in various course books used in different schools from 1928 to 1998.³⁶ As Gümüőođlu (1998: 125) informs, in 1930 *Ev İdaresi ve Aile Bilgisi* (Household and Family Information) courses were only followed by girl students at the 4th or 5th grades in the primary schools. The reasons for this were explained by the fact that most of the girls would not find the chance to continue higher education and become housewives after graduation. For this reason it was crucial for them to be equipped with the latest knowledge and techniques regarding household (Gümüőođlu, 1998: 125). Apart from such course books for girls, it was possible to find the same conception of traditional gender roles in books for more general subjects like social studies and citizenship. These books were full of numerous examples where the women were depicted while doing housework or taking care of children.

The Girls' Institutes and books on household were of course the most influential actors in identifying women as housewives, and the home as the proper place for women. In the yearbook for 1941-1942 academic year graduates, Ayőe Gür (1941-1942: 35) clearly distinguishes between the public and private life and states, "the moral virtue of man is his struggle outside the home. Women's moral virtue is her struggle within the home." Therefore, for Gür (1941-1942: 36) "the housewife is the one who does the job the man does with the bayonet with the needle, the scissor."

Architectural discourse was yet another realm which confined the woman within home. The popular analogy between the modern house and the modern woman

³⁶ For a more comprehensive analysis of the issue, including the years from 1998 to 2013 please see Gümüőođlu, Firdevs. 2013. *Ders Kitaplarında Toplumsal Cinsiyet 1928-2013*. (3rd ed.) İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları.

(Bozdoğan, 2001; Baydar, 2002) reveals manifestly the boundaries around women's emancipation from home. Baydar (2002) draws attention to the similarity between the adjectives used to define the modern woman and the modern house. The desirable attributes of both were encapsulated through such expressions like “‘simplicity and elegance’, ‘beauty without extravagance’, and ‘freedom from unnecessary adornment’” (Baydar, 2002: 232). According to her, this kind of comparisons served to the discursive construction of ideal femininity as framed by the patriarchal processes of nation-state building.

In short, the feminist reading of Kemalist reforms and republican history has revealed that the so-called emancipation of women was indeed a repackaging of traditional gender roles. For the male modernizers, the problem was not actually with the boundaries that limit female subjectivity and activity, but with the very shape and breadth of those boundaries. As Çakır (2007: 62) puts it in a nutshell the aim of the republic was to replace the Islamic codes of the Ottoman Empire with secular ones and hence “to establish a secular, national political order in a Muslim society.” For this reason the re-shaping and maintenance of these boundaries have always been a source of concern for the ruling segment. Berktaş (1998: 3-4) argues that the male rulers, who felt threatened by the possibility that women could get out of their control, strived to ensure women's obedience by making them embrace their new role as the mothers of the nation and to deprive them off their sexuality within the public life.

This anxiety manifests itself in the popular publications of the period through the theme of the woman neglecting the home. For example, in the article “Süpürge

Deyip Geçiyoruz” (We Underrate Broom) the author (1944: 9) warns about the possibility that the excessive liberation of women would lead them to defy their natures and reject their responsibilities of homemaking and adds that “it is necessary to pay a great attention to not to sweep away the stability of the home and family, while spurning the domination of the broom.” What was often meant by the over emancipation of women in the popular articles was the increasing participation of them in academic and professional life. For most authors, it was inevitable for women to neglect the home once they got immersed in working life or higher education. İsmail Ferit (1939: 13), worried about the possible consequences of women’s academic education, asks:

Our beloved daughter creates new substances by mixing some materials and gas in some tubes to which we would hesitate to touch because of its possibility to explode. It is supremely good and astonishing. But, I wonder whether it is possible to eat the new substance that she creates by boiling the mixture of ordinary water, chicken or mutton, a few onions and some salt.

In the article “Ev Kadını Yetiřmiyor” (No Housewives Grow) (1949: 3) the author regrets that women confuse modernity with escaping from housework and home life and finds it crucial to cultivate housewives rather than women officers or judicators. As the article suggests the disability to raise housewives “is even more harsh and dangerous for the society than the disability to grow any vegetables in the country.”

Women’s withdrawal from home life and loss of her household skills as part of the ongoing modernization process was identified as the masculinization of woman and thus condemned. Again, another editorial article of *Ev-İř* carried this inconvenience to its title “Kadın Erkekleřirse” (If the Woman Masculinizes) (1948). The author almost pleads the audience to preserve the essence of femininity. For him it is essential for women to not challenge men to pursuit their rights and to exist in the

turmoil of public life. He further suggests that “as the woman masculinized, humanity’s old classical and tactful feelings of captivation and passion have melted away. Woman turned out to be her own guardian and advertiser” (Kadın Erkekleşirse, 1948: 3). On the other hand Gövsa (1948a: 7) obviously excludes the masculinized woman from all segments of the society:

Unfortunately, a bit of a prosperous modern and social life is convenient to the proliferation of this sort. Though they could consider themselves as pretty feminine because of their existence merely as an ornament owing to their frill and coquetry, they should be excluded from the society as the ‘third gender’ if they do not pay attention to the man’s success, welfare of the home, and above all to their children and if their life is a bad example of family life in the society. In my opinion, the masculinized or who even turn out to be worse than men are those.

The women emulating the life outside home were tried to be brought to reason through both the bad and good examples presented to them in the popular publications. Es (1941) visited the renowned vocalist Mualla in her home to learn about details about her career and private life and reported it for *Yedigün*. After being served coffee by Mualla herself, Es (1941: 13) asks her about her household habits to learn that she takes care of all housework from cooking to sewing. Besides, Mualla tells Es (1941: 13) that she will get married soon and after that she will quit her job despite all her success because “according to her every sacrifice made for a good family life, a family hearth and a warm home is favorable.” In another article “Avrupalı Kadın ve Bizim Bayan” (European Woman and Our Woman) (1951: 3) Turkish women who sought after the life outside home were warned that even the English queen served herself to her husband, while French women were surviving without servants. Overall, the modern Turkish woman was imagined as the exact opposite of the one addressed in the essays.

Likewise, women were carefully taught about the kind of femininity they should never internalize. Bad examples were almost all the time represented in comparison to the ideal woman in order to make their differences manifest. Housewives were praised against women who are fond of adornment, entertainment and chattering. In the article “İdeal Kadın” (Ideal Woman) (1950) the ideal housewife was carefully distinguished from the ideal high-society woman. Thus the author underlines that the woman who could play the piano very well, speak foreign languages fluently, and who is stylish and well-kept at all times should not be confused with the ideal housewife. The former rather belongs to streets, parks and hotels rather than her home (İdeal Kadın, 1950: 32). In another article “Onlar ve Bizler” (Them and Us) (1948), the same kind of ostentatious women were being denounced as foreigners, aliens to their society. As the article (Onlar ve Bizler, 1948: 3) suggests these women, who wake up late through noon to find themselves right in the streets with their full make up on “are born in Turkey from Turkish parents as English or American.” The article “Siz ve Biz” (You and Us” dated 1947 also distinguished between the proper Turkish woman and her significant other. Written through the mouth of the ideal woman, the article (Siz ve Biz, 1947: 21) speaks to the degenerate woman:

You do not read any magazine inferior to Filmmod. You find the books and magazines that the others read ridiculous, ordinary and worthless. So much so that, it is impossible to see you while reading a book or magazine written in your native language that is Turkish.

We are reading Ev-İş.

You believe that you have been created for a social life, find yourselves a stranger to this country like you have landed from Mars, you try to dissipate your boredom with cocktail parties and by comparing the fashions of foreign countries.

We are doing embroidery and give each other recipes for cheap food.

You try your ball-gowns on almost half naked in your male tailor’s shop who studied in Europe, who has brought his scissors from England and who bid for the fur coats of foxes in Argentina.

We closed the curtains of the window facing the street and got excited thinking that our mothers would enter the room while sewing our Bayram clothes from the fabrics made by our friends graduated from Girls' Institutes. You are engaged to such and such a guy to whom you met in the farewell party of such and such a high-society man for two and a half years. We got engaged to the lieutenant to whom we met in the steamboat while turning back from Bayram visit within a week and got married before three months passed. Because he was a young gentleman who wanted to get married and settle down and he came and asked our families to have us as a wife.

To recapitulate, despite all the efforts to Westernization the new Turkish woman was supposed to abstain from adopting the overtly frivolous of the Western woman. Durakbaşa (1998: 97) states that the ruling men who contemplated on the “women’s problem” constructed the modern Turkish woman as a “battle field between the old and new social forms.” Gövsa’s (1941) thoughts on the kind of Turkish girl that he imagines attest to Durakbaşa’s assertions. As Gövsa states (1941: 5) Turkish girl ought to be a unique example of her gender who is distinct from both women of foreign lands like those “Americanized types who wander in clubs and beaches hand in hand with their boyfriends” and the old, traditional Turkish woman. The depiction of the modern woman by governing men placed a substantial emphasis on particularly her sexuality. Her role in the struggle for independence against the Western countries was to back up man as a comrade and distinguish herself through her “asexuality” in public life (Arat, 1998: 55).

The contradiction between the motive to Westernize and the attention to keep differences with the West is a shared experience by most of the belated modernization projects particularly within a post-colonial context. Partha Chatterjee (1989) elaborates on the gendered solutions adopted by the post-colonial nationalist ideologies to resolve this conflict. The first move to this end is the separation of the cultural field into the material and the spiritual spheres. The material sphere covers

such fields like “science, technology, rational forms of economic organization, modern methods of statecraft” in which the Western countries dominate and hence to which they owe their power over the rest (Chatterjee, 1989: 623). On the other hand, the spiritual sphere “is that which is genuinely essential,” it refers to the “true identity” of a nation (Chatterjee, 1989: 624). It is also the realm where the colonized, the East is superior to the West. The East roots its nationalist struggle on this ground of difference and justifies the nationalist claims through this cultural superiority. The nationalist struggle against the West required “[cultivating] the material techniques of modern Western civilization, while retaining and strengthening the distinctive spiritual essence of the national culture” (Chatterjee, 1989: 623).

This nationalist reaction against the West elaborated by Chatterjee to explicate the Indian experience stands out in Turkey as well. Despite Turkey has never experienced a similar colonial occupation, still its drive towards modernization was motivated through an uneven dialogue with the West. As Meltem Ahıska (2003: 364) puts it “modernization had been brought on the agenda of the Turkish national elite by means of a threat” caused by the “constitutive lack” that marked the Turkish identity. That is, the urge to fill the gap between the West and Turkey was the impetus behind the attempts to modernization. However, the substantial constitutive role of the West in the nationalist modernization process was never undisputed. On the contrary, as Chatterjee (1989) has elucidated, it caused a split in the cultural identity. This split comes off in Ziya Gökalp’s conceptions regarding culture. As the prominent ideologue of Turkish nationalist thought, upon which the Kemalist modernization was built, Gökalp (1968) differentiated between “civilization” (*medeniyet*) and “culture” (*hars*). Culture differs from the international concept of

civilization through its specificity to a particular nation and refers to “a harmonious whole of the religious, moral, legal, intellectual, aesthetic, economic, linguistic and technologic aspects of the life of a single nation” (Gökalp, 1968: 27). Yet, civilization refers to “a mutually shared whole of the social lives of many nations situated on the same continent” (Gökalp, 1968: 27). Another significant difference of civilization to culture is that it is the social phenomena under the umbrella of civilization are a product of “conscious action and individual wills” whereas culture is completely natural (Gökalp, 1968: 27). Based on this distinction Gökalp argued that despite Turkish modernization could borrow from the Western civilization certain techniques and practices regarding the organization of social, economic and political life, it was supposed to preserve its unique national culture that is inherent to its existence.

Gökalp’s distinction between culture and civilization parallels the separation between the material and cultural spheres as demonstrated by Chatterjee. However, as Chatterjee (1989) further argues, this separation also brings with it certain gendered implication regarding the construction of national identity. This is caused by the fact that the wider material spiritual distinction resonates in the everyday lives of the people as the distinction between the home and the world:

The world is the external, the domain of the material; the home represents one’s inner spiritual self, one’s true identity. The world is a treacherous terrain of the pursuit of material interests, where practical considerations reign supreme. It is also typically the domain of the male. The home in its essence must remain unaffected by the profane activities of the material world—and woman is its representation. (Chatterjee, 1989: 264)

Once the spiritual and material spheres were coded as feminine and masculine, women were assigned the burden to resist Westernization and preserve the essence of the cultural identity by the nationalist project. Namely, “there would have to be a

marked *difference* in the degree and manner of Westernization of women, as distinct from men, in the modern world of the nation” (Chatterjee, 1989: 627).

In a parallel fashion, Ahiska (2005: 281) argues “women in Turkey are posited on the borderline between the West/non-West, civilization/culture and public/private as both the signifiers of modernity and conveyors of the natural traditions in Turkey.” According to Sancar (2004: 204) this inbetweenness of women derives from the dominance of the discourse on the differences between the East and the West that guides the Turkish modernization process from the very beginning. The formation of gender regimes within Turkish modernization is shaped by this very ambiguous motive to preserve the differences from the West while simultaneously striving to westernize on the other hand (Sancar, 2004: 204). As Berktaç (2002: 278) expounds, the modernizing men, who were stuck within the dilemma of Eastern and Western cultural identities developed a feeling of paranoia against their supposed Others both inside and outside. The attempts to regulate ideal Turkish femininity were away for the ruling men to deal with this paranoia. The severed identification with the West brought about a necessity to define a cultural realm, which would remain untouched by the project of modernization and hence the modern Turkish woman was constructed as the signifier of this peculiar non-Western cultural essence (Sancar, 2004: 205).

If the emancipatory potential of both emergent domestic technologies and republican reforms are both negated by historical research, then this study argues that the analysis of domestic technologies should rather aim at revealing the ways the woman subjectivity is regulated. In the case of Turkish modernization gender technology

relation constitutes an intriguing case. On the one hand, as discussed in the previous chapters, technology was identified as a substantial requirement to nationalist progress. On the other hand, women were constituted as the signifiers of country's modernization despite paradoxically they were expected to refrain from Westernizing too much to lose their virtues as mothers of the nation. Therefore, I will build the following section on the question how the consumption and use of domestic technologies by women were construed through this schizoid relation to the West and how was this situation was projected on the construction of modern Turkish female subjectivities.

5.3 Social Stratification of Modern Femininity in Turkish Ads

Excessive modernization developed into one of the prevalent discourses that were harnessed to regulate modern femininity and domesticity by the ruling elites in Turkey (Sancar, 2004: 206). The emergence of this discourse even dates backs to the formation of the republic and retains its influence long after it is established. Şerif Mardin (2007b) traces back the criticisms of excessive modernization to the *Tanzimat* period through a focus on the Ottoman novels. According to Mardin (2007b: 29) the reaction against excessive modernization had its roots in the persistence of the traditional functions of the traditional functions of wealth within a society within which there were also moves towards capitalization. Traditionally, wealth in Ottoman society had other functions than investment and consumption, such as donation for securing social support and respect or gift giving. Therefore, the new inclination of the elites towards channeling their wealth into purchasing modern

consumer goods to reflect their social status was not welcome by the wider community. The discontentment with this new situation was expressed through the popular criticism of these excessively Westernized people wrapped up in a life of luxurious consumption in the novels of the period. Within the framework of communitarian puritanism, consumption is deemed as “an immoral cultural crime” and satirized through such fictional characters. Mardin (2007b) denotes Bihruz Bey in Rezaizade Ekrem’s novel *Araba Sevdası* as a proper example to such a character. Bihruz Bey is depicted in the novel as a well-off man who is a wannabe Westerner inflected largely by French culture and who lives completely disconnected from the society.

Later on, the fascination with the West came out to be an eloquent marker of the Ottoman aristocracy. The Anatolianist cadres involved in the nationalist struggle distinguished themselves from the Ottoman aristocracy through the denouncement of this admiration of everything Western unquestioningly (Sancar, 2004: 206). The same motive was influential in moving the cultural and governmental center of the country from İstanbul to Ankara with the establishment of the new regime. As Kaynar (2012: 42) expounds, the kind of modernization represented by the Istanbulite elites was considered to be “fairly modern and cosmopolit.” Despite İstanbul was more adjusted to the kind of reforms trying to be accomplished, and indeed much of the reforms were established first in İstanbul the Anatolianists turned their back on to İstanbul in order to establish a genuine and moderate modernity of their own definition (Kaynar, 2012: 42). To express such a discontent with the kind of lifestyle İstanbul stands for, Karaosmanoğlu (2004: 25) would say: “Anatolia is a land where luxury, ostentation, advertising and eyewash is not valid. Here a man

who lives a better life than the general public is called a crook. Assertive people are deemed as garrulous and advertisers are merely called liars.”

As Sancar (2004: 206) encapsulates it “consumption mania, idleness, sponging and a life centered on sexuality” were considered as the most distinctive indicants of excessive modernization. And of course women were the focus of critiques directed at the infatuation with the West. The expectations of the new republic from the modern women left them on the horns of a dilemma which is referred to by Kadioğlu (1998) as “the tension between being *alaturca* and unchastity”. This meant, “women were loaded with the burden to establish a balance between the traditional, *alaturca* image and ... excessive modernization reaching to such an extent to make women proclaim their sexual freedom” (Kadioğlu, 1998: 95). During the *Tanzimat* period Ottoman women also received their share of this dilemma. The elite women frequenting European stores were condemned as the “closest collaborators of the Western merchants” (Toska, 1998: 72). The wives of the republican bureaucrats, military officers and government officials were also enthusiastic to keep up with European fashions and lifestyles and consequently their desire put them in trouble with both their man and elderly generations (Durakbaşa, 1998: 44).

Most novels of the period were involved in lampooning this woman who lost herself in the material world of the West. This occupation with the excessively Westernized women brought about the proliferation of the female variants of Bihruz Bey in Turkish literature. This woman was mostly animated through the image of *tango kadın* who was “a materialist, wicked, satanic Other.” (Berktaş, 2002: 283). The kind of woman was stamped as the “scapegoat” who was responsible for all the paranoid

splits the men were experiencing in their relation to the West (Berktaş, 2002: 282). As such, the *tango kadın* came to be a prominent figure in the attacks towards Western cultural imperialism, which was now identified with the increasingly liberated attitudes of women (Berktaş, 2002: 283).

These women were also marked by the people, especially by those who remained outside the influences of Westernization and modernization, as *tango kadın*. Şenol Cantek (2011) discloses such a tension between the local women of Ankara and the wives of the modernizing bureaucrats in the establishment years of the republic. As she (2011: 323) puts forth most of the local women referred to these new residents of the city who mostly arrived from İstanbul and who lead a totally different life from them as *tango* or *sosyete kadınları* (high society women). These newly proliferating kinds of women were intended to serve as a model of modern taste and lifestyles for the locals who seemed to have lacked much of the material and mental requirements for such transformation. As such they were identified by the modernizing elites as the “heroines of a war which would be fought through new symbols in the way of civilization and the cultivation of the people” (Şenol Cantek, 2011: 323).

From 1945 onwards the denunciation of such over-Westernized women began to increase within the relatively conservative political, cultural and social atmosphere of the times. The rising opposition to cultural capitalism framed these critiques. As Cantek (2008: 67) states, the founding fathers of the republic voiced their discontent towards cultural capitalism in the forms of “opposition to modernism,” “opposition to fashion and popular culture” which was deemed quite American in form and content and finally the “conflict of generations” which made them to direct their

anger particularly towards the youth and women. In other words, the young and particularly women active in the public life were decried by the republican founders because of the way they were captivated by fashion and popular culture in the name of modernization. Within this context silk stockings were among the most significant items that came to signify the despised cultural degeneration and hence that came under attack (Cantek, 2008: 80). For such mindset, silk stockings embodied the engagement of women with consumerism, fashion, beauty and glamour. This image of the consuming woman obviously ran counter to the modest, virtuous and frugal image of the ideal Turkish woman. However, Cantek (2008: 18) notes that these reactions against fashion and popular culture should not be confused with a total rejection of consumerism. Instead, the founding fathers were after regulating the daily life in accordance with certain rules that would lead to a “controlled consumerism” (Cantek, 2008: 18).

In their attempts to hold in consumerism the republican intellectuals were contesting widely the popular discourses of advertising. As Cantek (2008: 90) puts it the ads were illustrating an antipodal world to the republican conception in which “the audience would dream of the thing they see, and would see the thing that they dream of.” In a similar manner Gençtürk Hızal (2013) also draws attention to the potential of advertisements to trigger imagination. In her analysis of the advertisements given by state corporations between 1928 and 1950, Gençtürk Hızal (2013, 295) remarks that most of the ads used rather illustrated images than photographic ones, because illustrations proved more appropriate to depict dreams and fantasies as opposed to the blunt realism of photography.

These imaginary worlds represented in the ads serve most of the time to mythify modern lifestyles, attitudes and subjectivities. In the case of advertising throughout the early republican years in Turkey, some scholars observe that certain discourses and tones of language prevail. For instance, Gençtürk Hızal (2013: 297) attracts attention to the emphasis on “austerity” and “domestic goods” in the ads of such institutions like *Sümerbank*, *Milli Piyango* (Turkish National Lottery Administration) and *İnhisarlar İdaresi* (The Monopoly Administration). As she contends, these emphases were adopted by the state as discursive tools to educate citizens in proper ways of consumption and regulate them over their consumption patterns rather than totally retaining them from consuming. On the other hand, adds Gençtürk Hızal (2013: 298), the copies had an imperious overtone imposing consumption as the “duty” of a citizen.

Yağız (2014) also refers to the kind of didactic language established by the textual and visual language of advertisements in her study on the issues of *Ameli Elektrik* published from 1926 to 1928. She contends that through the advertisements and other texts published in *Ameli Elektrik* SATIE establishes certain relations of power on different levels through a metaphorical appropriation of the notion enlightenment. As such, in the journal those who have been enlightened through their own will before people situate themselves as the ones to enlighten the others who have remained in dark. Among many reflections of this relation, Yağız (2014: 19) refers to the emerging power of the producer or retailer over the consumer in which the former posits itself as the one to educate the latter in modernization by introducing many electric devices and lighting into their lives.

In *Türk Reklamcılığının Popüler Tarihi (1838-1980)* (The Popular History of Advertising in Turkey) Türkoğlu (1995) also attributes a similar role to the ads. Türkoğlu (1995b: 13) states that in accordance with the 1930s protectionist economic approaches and cultural transformations, many of the ads of the period asked the public to consume domestic goods and be thrifty. However, Türkoğlu (1995b: 13) further asserts, the ads which indoctrinated the desired modern lifestyles through their verbal and visual language were those which remained out of these popular discourses, like the ads for several light bulbs that warned people not to save on for an effective and healthy illumination. Actually in most of the ads for similar novelties, technology was identified as the sign of a civilized, modern life and purchase of these items were not promoted as a call to consumption in itself but as a means to achieve the proposed civilization (Türkoğlu, 1995b: 14).

As discussed also in the previous chapters of this study, the direct link established between technology and progress/civilization/modernization was rooted deep within the republican discourse throughout its years of foundation. As Ahıska (2005: 276) articulates, the republican founders adopted technology as “a neutral weapon” that would defend nationalist political and economic interests. The so-called neutral power of technology could have been managed to put work in statist industrialization processes to a certain extent. In these cases technological advancement could be put in the service of national progress. However, technology’s claims to neutrality seem to have failed straight away within the domestic context. As discussed in length in the previous chapters, domestic electrification was considerably sumptuous that it remained accessible to a wealthy few for a long time. Besides, the availability of the electric technology was also geographically limited to a few big cities, the most

significant of which was İstanbul. Therefore, the biggest consumer group for electricity consisted of the İstanbulite aristocrats who were already under the influence of Westernization from the last periods of the Ottoman Empire onwards. The republican bureaucrats, soldiers and high rank officers were also among this lucky minority to access electricity and related technologies. Therefore, domestic appliance ads had to address this community before anyone else which further meant that the kind of modernity as constructed through the verbal and visual discourses of these ads were far from being neutral. The ads rather promoted a class-biased understanding of modernity that would appeal to this social segment first and would be set as an example to be followed by the remaining masses. To accomplish this the ads had to still sustain the neutral overtone in its representation of modern subjectivities and lifestyles. In the following sections I will figure out the ways the ads managed to accomplish this with a particular focus on the female identities represented and interpellated through these ads. That is, I will try to demonstrate how a class biased modern femininity was disguised as rather an uncolored and common ideal.

5.3.1 Addressing Women as Consumers

As discussed earlier in this study, the increasing participation of women in daily public life with the processes of modernization brought along several regulations regarding their new situation. Apart from reforms, political and judicial arrangements, women's and family magazines also emerged as influential tools of such ordering. As Uygur Kocabaşoğlu (1984: 4) informs, the first Turkish magazines

in the Ottoman Empire began to be published in the mid nineteenth century and after the Second Constitutional Revolution in 1908 magazine publishing in Turkey has begun to grow even more rapidly. Women's magazines would also have share of their own within this lively publication activity. Besides, the emergence of women's publications were also encouraged by both women's increasing engagement into the issues concerning their public and family lives and the atmosphere of freedom that came with the reforms of the period (İlyasoğlu and İnsel, 1984: 163-164). In this sense, male reformers and editors have contributed much to the development of women's publications. Kocabaşoğlu (1997: 101) even suggests that man in the name of women initiated the first women's publications in Turkey, as different from the Western context where women's magazines mushroomed as part of the rising women's movements. According to Kocabaşoğlu (1997: 102) this further influenced the quality and quantity of advertisements addressing women in these journals. That is, since women's journals were not the products of women's will fighting for their rights and status, they were not considered and addressed as purchase decision makers in the ads published in these magazines. However, women's magazines are not limited to those published by men. Starting from 1886 with *Şükûfezar* women have been producing their own journals (İlyasoğlu and İnsel, 1984: 164). Akşit (2005: 123) refers to two other types of women's magazines in addition to those published by men in their wider interest in social transformation, which are feminist magazines and those women's magazines focusing on the issues of fashion and personal care. Particularly the last type of magazines was potent in creating women as consumers.

The advertisements of electric appliances published extensively in women's and family magazines attest to Akşit's view that these periodicals were influential in interpellating women as consumers, as well as regulating their public and familial relations. In some of the advertisements in question women are directly depicted as the actor of purchasing, who bases her decisions on rational considerations. The 1938 advertisement for Frigidarie refrigerators (Figure 27) is an example to the point. The ad depicts a woman contemplating on which refrigerator to buy. Her image appears on the backdrop of a large number of coins emphasizing the criteria of economy as the most significant point of evaluation. The copy "Begin saving already now with Frigidaire" also supports the image in its claim to thrift. In the long text below women are also taught of other benchmarks for refrigerator selection. To this end it dwells widely on the technical and functional features of the product. It touches upon the new mechanical component *Ekovat* which makes the refrigerator silent and economic, *Quickube* drawers which supplies ease in use and the white, smooth porcelain which gives it the hygienic and neat appearance. In this manner women are not only taught about the desirable qualities of a refrigerator but also the technical details that prove the appeal.



Figure 27 Frigidaire refrigerator ad, 1938 (*Yedigün*, Issue 276, 21 June 1938, p. 28)

Another ad from the same year (Figure 28) depicts a woman showing the other the guarantee certificate of her Frigidaire refrigerator just in front of it. Frigidaire is promoted in the ad as the brand, which supplies “the true five years of guarantee.” Moreover, the copy assumes this five years of guarantee as the certification of the product’s quality and advanced technology which could not be supplanted by other emergent devices within the guaranteed period of time. The technical details behind such technology are not explained in detail as in the previous example. However, still women are featured as both the pursuers of such improved technology as the interlocutors of the ad.



Figure 28 Frigidaire refrigerator ad, 1938 (Yedigün, Issue 270, 10 May 1938, p. 28)

More common examples are however those which speak to women through her responsibilities as a mother and housewife and that denote a comfortable and enjoyable lifestyle. Sometimes the ads bring together the image of the woman as decision-maker, as technology and functionality seeker, and as children's and family's caretaker. Again another Frigidaire ad (Figure 29) concentrates this time on the comfort and ease that comes along with a refrigerator. In the image we see a mistress accompanied by her servant while having her new refrigerator installed by two technicians. On the other hand the copy asserts that women who spent the summer in their summerhouses were glad to have one Frigidaire refrigerator and they even wondered how they could survive without one in previous summers. What makes this ad striking is that it defines a clear cut distinction between the makers, buyers, beneficiaries and users of domestic technologies. The mistress's distance

from the technicians suggests that the refrigerator is designed by men as a device to ease women's household tasks. Yet, the woman who does the work and who enjoys the comfort is not the same. While the servant will be in control of the refrigerator the mistress will be enjoying the resulting comfort. The addressee of the ad is not the servant who will be using the device but the mistress who will be buying it to be used by the servant.



Figure 29 Frigidaire refrigerator ad, 1935 (Yedigün, Issue 133, 25 September 1935, p. 28)

It is possible to find other similar examples. For instance an *Ameli Elektrik* cover from 1930 (Figure 30) depicts a woman served coffee by her servant while she is reading in a room cooled by electric fan and illuminated by electric light. Like the examples above the woman is dressed in posh clothes indicating that she is not involved in any kind of labor. There is also not any clue about the kind of devices that the servant used to prepare the coffee. The only visible electric devices are the fan and the lampshade, which serve for the comfort of the housewife like the servant

does. Like the woman who has a summerhouse, this one also lives an affluent life. All the electric devices come to be defined as part of such a prosperity rather than devices to fulfill efficient housework. None of the women depicted in this image also attest to the kind of idealized mother, wife and housewife by the republican ideology. They rather seem to belong to the excessively modernized segment leading a life of luxury from which the more austere defined republican modernity strived to distance itself.



Figure 30 Cover of *Ameli Elektrik* Issue 41, January-February 1930

Here, a need to distinguish between certain kinds of electric devices could emerge. A fan or a refrigerator with which one does not accomplish a task would be suggested to be different from those devices that aid tasks like cooking, cleaning or laundry. In this sense the marketing strategies used for promoting a refrigerator and a vacuum cleaner or an electric iron should inevitably be different. However, the

advertisements for such tools of domestic labor also work to erase the traces of labor involved in fulfilling the tasks and rather place the emphasis on the settings these devices are used in. The way a vacuum cleaner is promoted by SATIE (Figure 31) is an example to this claim. The ad depicts a woman sweeping her home with her high-heeled shoes and long gown on. The room she is cleaning is decorated in a modern way with simplistic, undecorated furniture. The copy below reads “modern vacuum cleaner.” Despite she is not assisted by any servant, she seems as comfortable and as content like the women above. Actually, the vacuum cleaner itself comes to be identified as the servant that provides her the comfort and makes cleaning to appear not like an exhausting work. Even, this woman could be deemed as a properly modernized one who thought of replacing flesh and blood servants with mechanic ones, who undertakes the household of her own home and still remains as well kept as the modern outlook requires.



Figure 31 Modern vacuum cleaner (*Ameli Elektrik*, Issue 61, May-June 1933, pp. 57-58)

Akşit (2005: 124) propounds that in the women’s magazines it was inevitable to construct the image of a middle class housewife in order to support the formation of

a new national bourgeoisie. As analyzed in the previous sections of this study the articles on the virtues of housewifery and the real essence of women as homemaker served thoroughly to this end. Furthermore, as Chatterjee (1989: 116) propounds, the nationalist ideology of modernization praises the middle-class housewife and strives hard to distinguish her from both the excessive Westernized snob women and the vulgar woman of the lower classes. Sancar (2004: 207) observes a similar predisposition in the discourse on modern femininity and domesticity in Turkey, which plays a crucial role in defining class differences between the traditional woman, the dandy and the ideal woman.

Advertisements of domestic technologies, which are published alongside these articles on ideal femininity in the magazines, do well in drawing a sharp boundary between the traditional woman and the modern one. As most of the ads suggest, the traditional woman is the one who does not resort to the help of electric technologies in doing housework and hence continue to experience it as a strenuous burden. However, they are still far from distinguishing the appreciated middle-class ethos from upper class modernity. This is apparent in the way women are depicted as managers of the household who coordinate servants and purchase decisions rather than the major undertakers of housework. Moreover, by using the same emphases on the issues of hygiene, health, economy and efficiency the ads promote kind of an upper-class life that is often condemned as excessively modernized by the authors of those articles. This failure becomes clearer in the advertisements that dwell on the image of woman as mother. In what follows I will focus on such examples in detail.

5.3.2 The Caring Mother

The idealized image of the woman as the caring mother and informed housewife by the nationalist discourse on modernization has always been employed markedly in the advertisements of domestic appliances. The advertisements depicting the mother along with her children while involved together in doing some housework or enjoying the time the mother saved from housework together are popular examples. *Ameli Elektrik* employed such images repeatedly on its covers. In one of these images (Figure 32) a mother is depicted while instructing her little daughter on ironing. As the naked doll placed nearby suggests, they are ironing its dress. Thus, the whole scene is set up as an exercise on good motherhood in which the required knowledge and skills are transferred from the mother to the child and then to the coming generations represented by the baby doll. Besides, the task of ironing is not different from a game that they would play together because the electric appliance transforms ironing into a very simple task.



Figure 32 Cover of *Ameli Elektrik* Issue 34, March 1929

In another cover of the same we come across quite a similar scene. In this instance (Figure 33) the mother is sewing something under electric light while her daughter monitors her. They do not do the work together but still the cover illustrates doing housework together as a fun and instructive activity that could be done together. Both of these images capitalize on the emotional aspects of housework and childcare rather than their rational attributes to sell their promise. Indeed, the references to rationality are latent. If rational housework means saving time and labor, then these images pledge that the housewife will have more time and energy left after using these devices. However, the visual language is rather concerned with exhibiting what the housewife can do with this time she saved than how she saved it.



Figure 33 Cover of *Ameli Elektrik* Issue 24, February 1928

These images of caring mothers also helped to fortify the traditional gender roles within a family. While mothers turned household tasks into leisure activities to enjoy their time with daughters, they allocated their spare time to play games with their sons as depicted in the Hoover vacuum cleaner advertisement (Figure 34) from the early 1950s. The ad is in the form of a short graphic novel narrating the story of a boy feeling neglected by his mother who is snowed under household chores. The boy complains why his mother cannot manage to spare time for him as his friend Ali's mother did. Thereupon the woman asks Ali's mother how she can find time to play with him all the time to learn that she has a vacuum cleaner at home. After returning home she immediately tells the situation to her husband to convince him to buy the same vacuum cleaner. In the end after buying the appliance they all turn out to be happy to spend time together as they wish. Here the transformation that the mother

undergoes from the first strip to the last is also worth attention. In the first strip we see the mother bent double to clean the floors with the traditional broom. Until she owns a vacuum cleaner she wears a headscarf while doing housework. After receiving her new device she all of a sudden transforms into this tall and slim lady holding the vacuum cleaner in her hand as an accessory that complements her posh outlook. With her remarkably elongated elegant body and smoothly combed hair, all of which make her to look even younger, she gets wrapped up in an upper class appearance and gets dissociated from the middle-class setting that she is placed in.

**Vakti olmıyan
anne..**

Tosun, yalvararak :
«Anneçim gel biraz
benimle oyn» dedi.
Fakat annesi Selma, daima evi temizlemek, süpürmekle meşgul-
dü. «Gelemem yavrum, hiç vaktim yok» diye cevap verdi.

«Fakat anneçim Ali'nin annesi kendisiyle hep oynuyor!» «Ne diyeyim oğlum, her halde onun annesinin benden daha çok fazla boş vakti vardır.»

Ertesi gün, Selma, Ali'nin annesine, oğlu ile oynamaya nasıl vakit bulabildiğini sordu. «Kocam bir elektrik süpürgesi aldı. Bu sayede çok boş vaktim kalıyor!»

O gece, Selma kocasına dedi ki :
«Biliyor musun Tosun'la meşgul olmıya daha çok vakit ayırma-
lıyım. Muhakkak bir Hoover
elektrik süpürgesi almalyız. Ay-
da 25 lira taksitle verilyormuş.»

Birkaç hafta sonra, Tosun soru-
yor : «Anneçim, benimle oynama-
ya vaktin var mı? Annesi,
«İstedığın zaman oynayabiliriz
vavrum, HOOVER sayesinde ar-
tik her şeye vaktim var.»

BİR HOOVER ELEKTRİK SÜPÜRGESİ almak aynı zamanda fev-
kalide iktisadlıdır, zira halılarımızın uzun müddet dayanmasını
temin eder, HOOVER, dövecüleri sayesinde halımın derinlerine
kadar nüfuz eden kum ve toprak tanelerini temizler. HOOVER,
yalnız halıları değil, muşambaları, perdeleri, koltukları da temizler.

Süpürgecin çatışmasını bayilerde görebilirsiniz.

AYDA
25
LİRA

HOOVER

Dünyanın en üstün elektrik
SÜPÜRGESİ

AYDA
25
LİRA

MATAŞ TİCARET T. A. Ş. GALATA, TAHİR HAN, İSTANBUL

41

Figure 34 Hoover vacuum cleaner ad, 1952 (*Hayat*, July 1952)

Once the middle-class ethos in these images are disrupted, they begin to act in another level in which they do not speak about proper motherhood or domesticity but a modernity coded through certain tastes, lifestyles, manners and appearances. This tendency becomes more discernible as the relation between the mother and the child mitigates. In the advertisement for Frigidaire refrigerators (Figure 35) the mother and child relation is weakened through their placement and looks heading in opposite directions. The baby is busy with a toy in its hand while waiting for the food in its feeding chair. At the same time, the mother is taking a bottle of milk out the refrigerator. But her attention is not on her baby waiting for the milk. She is showing the bottle at her hand to a friend who is curiously watching her. The mother seems like making a show of the advantages of this technology she owns. As the viewer, we also become a part of the audience of this exhibit because our focus is on the mother who is placed at the center of the scene.

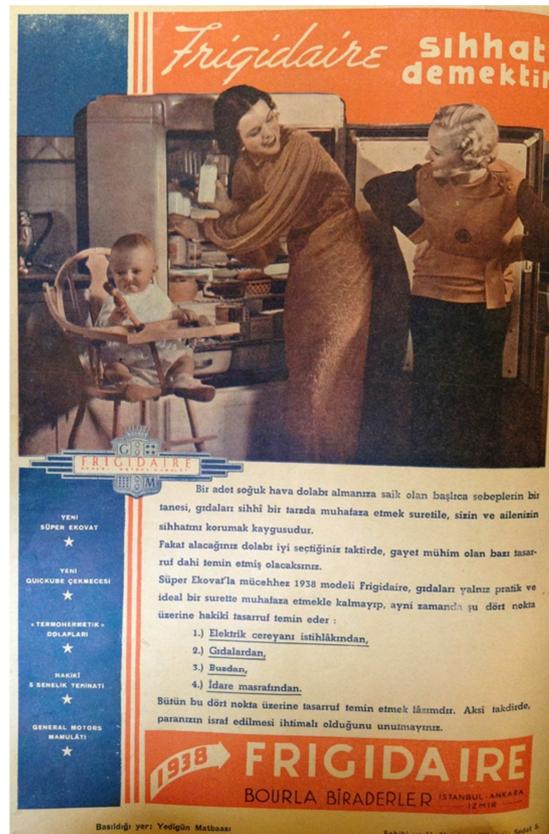


Figure 35 Frigidaire refrigerator ad, 1938 (*Yedigün*, Issue 274, 7 June 1938, p. 28)

In another ad for Frigidaire (Figure 36) the mother totally disappears from view. In a sequence of strips we see a baby taking a tour outside with this woman who seems to be like his nanny. Another woman approaches them to caress the baby whom appears to her quiet healthy and robust. Then the nanny begins to tell and we learn that only three months before this baby was very weak and infirm. He recovered right after his parents bought this Frigidaire refrigerator on the advice of the pediatrician. In the final strips the nanny exhibits proudly the refrigerator which rehabilitated the child. In this instance, the maternal care is just reduced to the economic power to supply the child with a caretaker other than mother and proper goods. The mother is not expected to devote all her time and energy to her child. She has the chance to lead a life of her own as long as she makes sure that her baby is kept in good condition.



Figure 36 Frigidaire refrigerator ad, 1935 (Yedigün, Issue 114, 15 May 1935, p. 28)

To sum up, despite their familiar insistence on the issues of health, hygiene, efficiency and economy, the ads for domestic appliances are far from constructing or

reflecting the kind of idealized middle-class domesticity. In a similar way, they cannot be read as texts that encourage supporting rational housework techniques through the use of novel technologies. They rather dwell on such rational considerations like efficiency or hygiene to emotionalize the housework. However, this sentimental tone does not suffice to cover over the implications of classiness and fashionability. In a manner to support these inclinations, the appliances promoted in the ads lose their connection to machinery and technology. They are not represented as machines facilitating household labor, but as a symbol of status like any other piece of decorative accessory. Hence, technology loses its supposed neutrality and begins to mark the class relations as well.

5.3.3 The Ambiguously Charming Woman

It is striking that the visual language of domestic appliance ads exhibits a strong affinity with that of beauty and fashion products. Women are always depicted well groomed, well kept, beautiful and vivacious. As Türkoğlu (1995a: 7) states, the woman body began to be largely exploited in the ads for consumer goods particularly after veiling for women were legally banned in Turkey. On the other hand Kocabaşoğlu (1997: 103) adds that the commodification of women body was particularly a common visual strategy utilized in the ads for male products throughout the early years of the republic. By this way, different stereotypical representations of women began to popularize in the advertisements. The images of “woman as a businesswoman, woman doing leisure activities, woman as a good wife and mother, woman who infatuates man with the products she uses and clean, neat

and orderly woman” began to crowd the pages of various periodicals (Kocabaşoğlu, 1997: 103). Türkoğlu (1995a: 7) groups these popular female images of the 1930s under two wider categories: “girlfriends who entrap through their charm” and “young ladies who are worth marrying.”

Despite their charm and gleam the women of the domestic appliance ads do not fall under any of these categories. To explain their allure and impact another type of woman should be pointed at. They are neither temptresses nor austere. They do not also represent the so-called masculinized woman of the business life. They neither belong home nor outside it. They are just at the threshold, on the doorstep, in-between the seductive woman and chaste wife.

Most of the domestic appliance ads employ the themes of socialization and entertainment. We see in the images women enjoying companionship of their friends at home, conversing around a table or with drinks in their hands or just looking at the device admiringly. Like the SATIE advertisement (Figure 37) socialization can also be implied with just a single person carrying a tray full of beverages and fruits. It is difficult to distinguish whether the woman serving the drinks is a servant or the housewife. While her hair ribbon makes one think that she is the servant, the prom dress she wears on suggests that she is rather a housewife delivering a party at her home. Whatever she is, the main point that the ad highlights is the way that refrigerator helps her to deliver such an elegant party with a rich dining table as the food and beverages in the refrigerator suggest. As Isenstadt (1998) suggests in her analysis of the refrigerator ads in the 1950s, the refrigerators filled to the brim with fresh and delicious food signify “abundance.” In the case of Turkey, the references to

the abundant lifestyle merge with allusions to a Western lifestyle. The wine of glass, cake and the crab we see in the refrigerator are all sumptuous pieces of a Western gusto. Thus, the refrigerator becomes also part of this affluent Westernized setting. This is not the ideal type of modern lifestyle appreciated by the discourses on modernity. It is not despised either. This may be due to the fact that the very recipients of these ads and the products they promote belong to this particular segment of the society. In a similar manner, their women are depicted with a cautious tone.



Figure 37 Refrigerator promotion by SATIE, 1931 (*Ameli Elektrik*, Issue 52, July-August 1931, pp. 105-106)

The vigilant approach is apparent in the series of ads (Figure 38) for Hoover products like washing machine and vacuum cleaner. Different from the refrigerator ads, these ones do not resort to the concept of socialization to make their claim. However, they build the argument on the time that the spare time woman would be endowed with by using these appliances. The promise is that women would take this time for just themselves “to ramble on and have fun.” By this way they can feel like the stars they

adore. The ad never suggests that the woman would turn into a star. On the contrary, it warns that “being a star is not within everybody’s means.” The small image of the happy housewife below assures also that she will still be the housewife caring for his home. Thus the woman would be as glamorous as these stars by easing her work with electric devices without any threat to lose her true essence as a housewife.



Figure 38 Hoover washing machine and vacuum cleaner ads, 1952 (*Hayat*, September 1952; *Hayat*, December 1952)

These series of advertisements were published in the very early 1950s, when domestic appliances began to disseminate to a wider public. As Türkoğlu (1995b: 15) informs the multi-party system which was established in 1945, lifts the ban on the imports the next year and enables the introduction of many consumer products like refrigerators, radios and automobiles into the country with relatively affordable prices. Most of these products are exported from the U.S. Therefore its references to Hollywood and hence an American style of life is explicit. It also speaks to a more middle-class audience who also became able to access these technologies after their popularization. In tandem with these developments, the images of women in the ads

are also claimed to have transformed. Gençtürk Hızal (2013: 287) claims that the women depicted in the ads of the 1940s seemed more “feminine” when compared to the images of women in the 1920s and 1930s. However, when we look back to the advertisements of domestic appliance ads published in 1930s, we can come across the same glamorous image of women. Frigidaire advertisements use these images of stunning woman oftentimes. In another ad for its refrigerators (Figure 39) the company depicts a woman sipping her drink. Her image overlaps a picture of a coffee shop where many other people also enjoy their beverages. The woman’s image is much bigger, which leads to suppose that she is not part of the crowd behind her. It may be presumed that by buying the refrigerator she brought the exclusive joyous atmosphere of the coffee shop into her home. She is fancy and flamboyant. She calls to enjoy the summer time. She speaks a language of joy and fun rather than duties and responsibilities. However, still she keeps the distance with the unfavorable allusions of such a lifestyle.



Figure 39 Frigidaire refrigerator ad, 1935 (*Yedigün*, Issue 125, 31 July 1935, p. 28)

The advertisements for electric fans from the 1930s constitute an exceptional case with respect to the foregrounding image of woman. Different from the ads for other appliances like refrigerators or washing machines, these women appear on the ads without any visual or textual reference to rational or emotional aspects of domesticity like maternal care, hygiene or economy. They rather emphasize the pleasure or joy of the summer brought about by the electric fan. Like in the advertisement published by SATIE (Figure 40) the woman in the ads pose to underscore the claim to enjoyment. The similarity of the woman's pose and outfit to those in the Orientalist paintings is also striking especially when it is considered together with the copy propounding "the pleasure of the summer is complete with a fan."

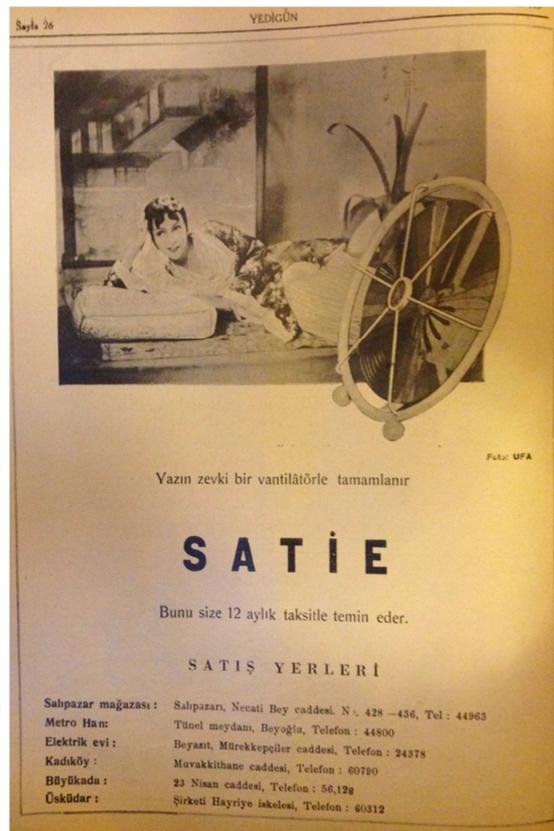


Figure 40 Electric fan promotion by SATIE, 1935 (*Yedigün*, Issue 113, 9 May 1935, p. 26)

Eroticization of woman seems to be a common strategy to encourage the purchase of electric fans in the 1930s. In another image promoting fan (Figure 41), which was

also used as the cover image of the 56th issue of *Ameli Elektrik*, a woman relishing the breeze of the fan is illustrated. Her skirt flits, conjuring up the famous scene of Marilyn Monroe in *The Seven Year Itch*. Despite the illustration does not invoke the allure of the woman as strong as a photographic image it still blends the idea of the pleasure of summer with the female sexual charm. In the ad where the completely naked body of a woman is partly hidden behind the electric fan, the eroticization of the female body becomes explicitly overt.

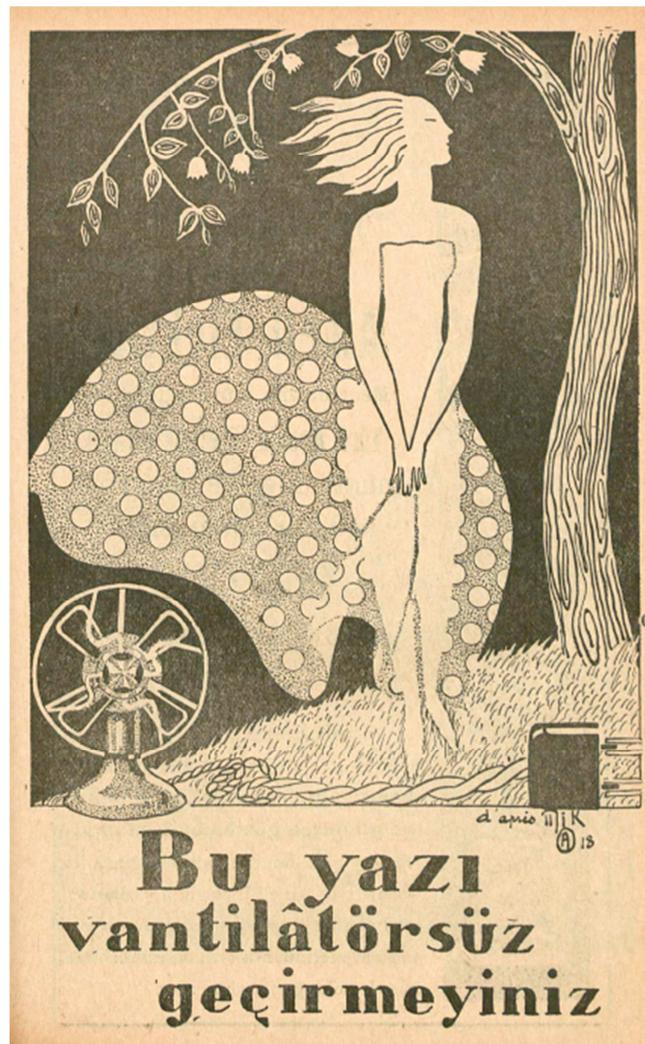


Figure 41 Electric fan promotion by SATIE, 1932 (*Ameli Elektrik*, Issue 55, May-June 1932, p. 82)



Figure 42 Electric fan ad, 1935 (*Hafta*, 5 June 1935)

Then the question arises: for who are these women intended to act as models or what kind of a modern femininity are they representing? The questions become even more inextricable when the fact that these appliances were not mentioned within the critiques of rising consumption culture through the mid-1940s. Actually, as exemplified in the previous chapter, domestic appliances were deemed as luxury and their necessity was put to discussion by many authors in the journals. But still, they were not as despised as the silk stockings or radios were, as the kinds of products that allure women so as to make them forget about their essential duties. At this point two different narratives of modernity arise which are similar to different kind of modernities constructed in the canonic novels and popular love stories of the early republican period as pointed by Sancar (2012). While the canonic novels adhere to the ideal of modernity as constructed by the founding ideology, popular love stories are built on issues like “Western apparel, flirt, make up, and fashion which are excluded by the canonic and legislator discourse” (Sancar, 2012: 148). Through their emphasis on such issues these narratives represent the modernity as conceptualized and experienced by the bureaucratic elites. In a parallel manner, it can be suggested that domestic appliance ads appeal to such a high-class, exclusive understanding of

modernity. As the social group, which could have access to such technologies, the appliance ads speak to the well off in order to supply them with the signs of status around which they could construct a certain taste and consolidate their class identities. While doing this the ads establish their claim to modernity through references to the issues of health, hygiene, efficiency and economy. However, dwelling on these purportedly neutral attributes does not help to conceal the class coding of modernity within the ads.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

How was the modern woman portrayed in the advertisements for domestic appliances published in popular magazines in Turkey from 1930s to the 1950s? To what extent did these representations tally with the ideal image of the modern Turkish woman as imagined by the new republican ideology? How did electric household appliance ads function in reproducing the republican discourses on modern femininity? These were the basic initial questions that motivated this study. Arguably, those main research questions assumed a monolithic category of modern republican woman. Besides, the questions postulated unison between republican reforms and technological advancements in their potential to modernize women. The two processes were interrelated to female modernization through their potential to transform women's traditional household tasks and responsibilities. Consequently the research was framed within the question of women's emancipation from the home. The study was aimed at identifying the reflections of republican discourses concerning women's emancipation on the way domestic appliances are promoted. However, a basic inquiry into the history of electrification in Turkey, the schools in

the study of the sociology and history of technology, feminist critiques of those approaches and the feminist histories of modernization in Turkey complicated the way the research material is treated.

As elaborated in Chapter Two, the introduction of electricity into Turkey was welcomed as a powerful symbol and catalyst of civilization and desired progress. Further reading revealed that the practical applications of electric power at different domains were conceptualized differently and that there was not just one way to represent electricity as a technological innovation. At the industrial level electricity was conceptualized as an arduous power that would invigorate the national progression via rationalized production. In this respect the immaterial power of electricity came to be embodied in the industrial machinery, which further evoked a technocratic belief in the transformative power of technology. The urban uses of electricity for transportation and street illumination sustained the powerful overtone by identifying the technology as an agent of control over the society and hence social order. At the domestic level, the use of electric energy did not seem to be as natural and indispensable as it was in the industrial and urban context. The limited availability and the high prices of electricity trammelled its justification as a vital technology in domestic life. Therefore, the promotion of domestic electrification was marked by the attempts to create the need for it. This was accomplished principally by relating it directly to a modern way of living based on such attributes like efficiency, economy, hygiene and health as well as the metaphorical allusions to enlightenment.

Concluding that the construction of certain lifestyles, habits and tastes was central to the promotion of domestic electrification Chapter Three delved into a more exhaustive inquiry into the ways electricity was represented for home users. The main argument was that the process of domestication that electricity underwent in order to get attuned to household values was not free from a process of gendering. At the moment electricity entered home it lost all these robust connotations acquiring milder associations and this brought with it the gender coding of electricity as female. In this respect electricity was either mythified as a pixie with some magical and epic qualities or anthropomorphized as a servant. This servant, either with or without magic qualities, was all the time portrayed as superior to the flesh and blood servant in terms of both diligence and virtues. The allegorization of electricity as the “servant princess” in *Ameli Elektrik* bears traces of both visual strategies and encapsulates the differences from a real servant through ennoblement. The nobility was also apparent in the epic scenes that were dream-like representations of a prosperous life. Actually these references to nobility opened up a new path for the analysis of visual representations in question. Particularly in the images where the human servants were juxtaposed to women served by electric servants, the difference between both became even more manifest. The slender and elegant appearance of the women owning an electric appliance stood in direct contrast with the vulgarity of those women representing either women without appliances or the servants that appliances intend to replace. The evident gap of social status surfacing in the images made me think that what is in question was rather promotion of status symbols than functional and efficient aids to facilitate housework. The way electricity and electric appliances were defined as exigencies of modern times did not suffice to obscure class connotations. On the contrary, the exclusion of certain women from the

blessings of modernity pointed at a class-biased definition of the modern. The statistical data regarding the use and prices of electricity in Turkey from its introduction in the mid-1910s to the 1950s, as shown in Chapter Two, also supported the claim that the technology was accessible by a small upper-class, urban minority. Therefore, I reformulated the research on tracing these ambiguities in the definition of the modern, which undermined the claims to a more universal, inclusive understanding of modernity based on such quasi-neutral attributes of technology such as efficiency and rationality.

In Chapter Four I concentrated on the discursive fissures in the construction of modern domesticity in order to trace the latent class connotations involved in its definition. The issue was framed within two fields, which are the architectural construction of the modern home and particularly its kitchen and redefinition of housework through scientific principles widely referred to as Taylorization of housework. Both of the experiences were analyzed with an attention on the ways they appropriated the European and American patterns. The background of the development of modern architecture in Turkey manifested that the European originated international style in architecture was handled by both republican reformists and architects as an agent to inculcate modern habits and lifestyles among the citizens. However, modern house as constructed in Turkey emerged as an ambiguous realm wherein certain values came to conflict with each other. The democratic precepts of the international style as it emerged in Europe were renounced and the style was reduced to its formal characteristics that were in turn applied in construction of cubic villas for the bureaucratic elite. As opposed to the public housing programs for working classes in many European states like Germany,

the modern home in Turkey addressed a privileged minority of elites. In a similar manner, access to the indispensable technological amenities of the modern home like electricity and gas systems became an issue of a class privilege.

The translation of the scientific household principles to fit with republican Turkey's economic, social and cultural agenda also underscored the class privileges that influenced the access to technological amenities. As the institutions responsible for the dissemination of rationalized household, Girls' Institutes allocated an important place for teaching of Taylorist housework principles in their curriculum. While in the US, from where these scientific techniques of household emerged, the use of electric appliances for household occupied a good part of the application of Taylorist principles, the necessity of the appliances were barely mentioned in the course books and other texts on scientific housework in Turkey. It seemed noteworthy that the appliances were promoted within the pages of middle-class family and women's magazines as the indispensable tools of modern kitchens, while the same devices were excluded from the must have lists for housewives educated in the widely middle-class institutions. What is more, in the same magazines the necessity of the appliances was debated within the framework of an attempt to distinguish the luxurious from the comfortable. Most of the time domestic appliances were taken as signs of sumptuousness and an ostentatious culture. The advertising images also depicted appliances as display pieces to be appreciated and admired as signs of status. It was thus concluded that the universalistic claims to functionality and efficiency were employed to cover over the connotations of a more upper-class definition of modernity.

Chapter Five traced the reflections of class coding of modernity in images of women using electric appliances in the advertisements. The chapter was built on the critiques of the emancipatory promises of both domestic technologies and republican reforms within the feminist studies of technology and early republican history. Feminist writing on the construction of female identities within nationalist movements like the Turkish case disclosed that feminine subjectivity was a prominent area of struggle in regulating Western influences. Therefore, the identity of modern Turkish woman was carefully distinguished from that of the Western woman. The chapter situated technology, and more specifically domestic electricity, as one of the Western influences that permeated women's daily lives and sought for the signs of class coding of modernity within the debates regarding excessive modernization. It was asserted that the ads pointed to a modernity that was despised by the official ideology as excessively westernized. A life based on exhibition of affluence and entertainment was depicted through images of well-kept alluring women enjoying their time spared by appliances in the ads. The kind of domesticity and femininity constructed as modern in the advertisements for domestic appliances were far from being congruent with the canonic ideal of modern Turkish woman despite the fact that the advertising images and copies capitalized largely on the canonic images of modern Turkish woman as a caring mother and wife. The modern women's duties of motherhood and wifehood were rather reduced to her purchase decision of an electric appliance, which henceforward would fulfill the care that she should exert on her family. The emphasis on her devotion was also shifted to her right to enjoy her time to take care of herself and to entertain. As such, it was argued that the advertisements actually acted as etiquettes for women of a certain social group wherein they were told about the ways they would behave and look like.

In sum, a contribution of this study has been to introduce advertising images into the repertoire of the visual culture of modernity in Turkey. Once the advertising images for electric appliances were taken into consideration it came into relief that the middle-class ethos of domesticity was not the only idealized form of household by the republic. In a similar manner, the devoted mother and the chaste woman of this family was not the only praised form of modern femininity. On the contrary, different forms of domesticity and femininity based on different class positions were defined by the ideologues of modernization in Turkey. Within these class-segregated interpretations of modernity the alluring and pretentious woman was identified as modern as her modest counterpart. As opposed to the middle-class domesticity based on thrift, austerity and modesty, the upper-class domesticity valued the display of social status and consumption of goods to this end and again both of these lifestyles were deemed equally modern. What is more, this study unfolded that the official ideology did not preclude such a pretentious modernity as much as the critiques of excessive modernization suggested. On the contrary, the promotion and consumption of electric appliances constituted one of the realms wherein the “conspicuous consumption” was intended to be normalized as modern through allusions to such quasi-neutral attributes like rationality, cleanliness, economy and efficiency.³⁷

Pointing at these paradoxical definitions of the modern that exist together, it became possible to disclose the ambiguities and discrepancies underlying the official visual and textual discourses of modernity. By the emphasis on ambiguity I refer to both

³⁷ The notion of conspicuous consumption is coined by Thorstein Veblen to refer to the acquisition of goods as signifiers of prosperity and agents of its social display. For a more detailed elaboration on the concept please see Veblen, Thorstein. 2009. *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. (Reissue ed.) Oxford: Oxford University Press.

multiplicity of actors that have a voice in constructing what the modern is and the diversity of emergent discourses all of which have efficacy. The study began by denying the Western monopoly on modernity and acknowledging the non-Western countries' agency in negotiating, interpreting and appropriating modernity following theories on "alternative" and "non-Western" modernities. Further analysis revealed that modernity also altered within the local contexts that it is put under interpretation. For the case of this study, advertisements of domestic appliances disclosed that the governmental actors were not alone in demarcating the boundaries of the modern. Other ideologues from the market like advertisers got involved in negotiating the modern so as to meet their interests. These multiple interventions ended in the emergence of alternative modernity to the canonic modernity of governing elites and undermining their claim to a monolithic understanding of modernity. Class relations are pointed as the most influential factors in introducing the paradoxes and subverting the claim to uniformity of modernity.

At the same time, this dissertation has underlined the fact that republican conception of modern domesticity was the amalgam of European and American patterns, the former standing for a social-statist model and the latter for a more corporate driven one. The inquiry into the construction of modern domesticity made it manifest that the American driven corporate model of domesticity was adopted in the attempts to disseminate domestic electrification as different from the statist development of the technology at the industrial level. This further made it possible to discuss that contrary to what is widely mentioned in the literature, the influence of Americanization entered into the country earlier than 1950s. The shift to more liberal economic policies and economic development programs under the support of

American institutions marked not the beginnings but popularization of Americanization in the country.

The dissemination of electric appliances under such liberal economic policies and the evident influence of Americanization is still waiting for scrutiny. It would be interesting to trace the shift of discourses in the promotion of domestic appliances throughout the transformation from a statist, close economy to a more outward liberal economy. The surfacing of previously latent references to Americanization with the influence of such economic developments would also be another point to dwell on. Finally the influences of the transformation from a more progressive cultural agenda to a more conservative one with the 1950s would also be traced in the way domestic appliances are promoted.

One of the drawbacks of this study is that it handled all electric appliances as one uniform category. Refrigerators, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, light bulbs, irons and fans were all analyzed as devices with similar qualities and attributes. This largely derived from the limited types of appliances available at the period in question. Refrigerators were the most common appliances entering the market in the 1930s. There were some advertisements for electric fans and ovens as well. However, the ads for other devices like vacuum cleaners and washing machines began to proliferate only in the 1950s. But research conducted on the subject in different contexts reveals that the characteristics of appliances could considerably differ from each other. In this respect Inés Pérez's (2012) study on the transformation of refrigerator from an luxurious item to a basic necessity in Argentina is telling. As Pérez (2012) remarks refrigerators were displayed in the living rooms of most

families who could afford to buy one as symbols of status until the mid-1950s, when the devices began to be democratized by means of the economic policies of Peron government. Mostly because of their expenses most of the amenities “had an ambiguous status within the home: they were identified as unnecessary luxuries, as frivolous ways of spending money, or simply as ‘womanly stuff’” (Pérez, 2012: 167). For most women from the lower classes the laborsaving qualities of appliances were taken as signs for indolence and hence were condemned (Pérez, 2012: 167). Among many other appliances, the refrigerator was the most easily welcomed one owing to its unambiguity as a device “[condensing] the images of abundance, a breadwinning husband and a homemaking (and thrifty) housewife into one entity” (Pérez, 2012: 170). Further research would concentrate on these differences between the attributes of the domestic appliances.

The other drawback to be mentioned is the exclusion of users’ perspectives from the analysis of the construction of modernity. This derives from the limited scope of a dissertation rather than the negligence of users’ agency in appropriating the prescriptions offered to them. An analysis of the way the advertisements are received by various audiences and the ways the promoted devices are used at homes would reveal how the emergent discourses of modern domesticity and femininity were opposed, challenged and altered. For instance Figen Işık’s (2013) recent study on the ways refrigerators are used by women from different social classes in the 2000s illustrates very well the diverse conceptions of the device. As the research suggests, women from both working classes and upper classes got along on the “confidentiality” of the refrigerator deriving from the quality and quantity of its ingredients (Işık, 2013: 40). However, the majority of the women from upper classes

were rather concerned with the cleanliness and orderliness of the refrigerators to manifest their skills of housewifery and etiquette (Işık, 2013: 40). On the other hand lower class women concentrated upon the fullness of their refrigerators, which would act as a “mechanism of control and inspection” by the community dwellers who would unconstrainedly open up their refrigerators (Işık, 2013: 39). This research is valuable in that it indicates how upper classes internalized the discourses of rationality and efficiency dominant in the promotion of domestic appliances. A retrospective study to be held with a parallel approach would expose the ways women from different classes identified with or opposed to the dominant discourses of domesticity and femininity.

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