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DESIGNING AND CONSUMING THE MODERN IN TURKEY

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The materiality of interior space reveals a celebration of some ideas, values, beliefs, visions, and even ideologies, while suppressing others. Its reading provides an intriguing social history and serves as a tool through which we can make sense of dominant design concepts, inclinations, and preferences floating around globally at a historical moment in a society. Although never fully in command of how interiors are shaped, all actors responsible for their creation, such as owners, users, decorators, interior designers, and architects, contribute to the discursive formation of certain concepts such as modernity (Gürel 2008: 230). This chapter discusses the production and consumption of design and modernity through design practices in Turkey. From late-nineteenth-century Ottoman palaces to twentieth-century domestic spaces, the chapter shows how design served as a mechanism for constructing and consuming modern identities associated with Westernization.

The nineteenth century: building Western identities and opening up *liminal spaces*

Nineteenth-century Ottoman palaces, such as Dolmabahçe (1842–56) and Beylerbeyi (1861–5), were seminal examples of architectural, interior, and landscape design representing the convoluted notions of contemporary and Western identities during late-Ottoman rule. These buildings were different from the Topkapı Palace, which had been the main residence of the sultans since the 1470s, during the rise of the empire. Building Dolmabahçe not only demonstrated Sultan Abdülmecid's interest in the process of Westernization, which started at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but also reflected the new state protocol introduced by the administrative reforms (*Tanzimat Fermanı*) of 1839. Dolmabahçe Palace (the design of which is widely attributed to Garabet Balyan and Nikogos Balyan) was planned to meet the new diplomatic requirements, such as those established during the Congress of Vienna in 1815, which Topkapı Palace's spatial arrangements could not fulfill (Ortaylı 2006: 92). Ceremonies and receptions that would have been held in the interior rooms and exterior courtyards of Topkapı were held in the wholly interior world of Dolmabahçe's stately halls.

Their monumental mass, adorned on the exterior with a mixture of Neoclassical, Empire, Baroque, and Rococo elements, was organized in a symmetrical and axial composition resonating with Beaux-Art architectural conventions. The impressive interior spaces displayed Baroque features, characterized by carved, gilded, and painted applications created by a number of notable artists, craftsmen, and designers. Among them was Séchan, the decorator of the Paris Opera House, designed by Charles Garnier (Hellier 1993: 166). The ceiling decorations resembled European precedents, and coexisted with intricate ornaments of traditional Ottoman artistry and the Islamic tradition of non-figurative decorations (Gautier 1990).

Symbols of Ottoman Westernization, the residential and state halls of nineteenth-century palaces were filled with eclectic Western-style furniture and artifacts, such as paintings, sculpture, and crystal chandeliers. Their materiality displayed an ideological shift from the golden ages of the empire and a divergence from the customary fittings of Topkapı Palace, characterized by traditional built-in interiors with closets, shelves, and low seating units dressed with cushions and textiles, tiled surface treatments, traditional ornaments, and non-figurative embellishments (Gürel 2009b: 48). While this shift arguably indicates the changing perception of the West as economically, politically, and militarily superior to the late-Ottoman state, it also signifies its ties with Europe. The word *ottoman* as a piece of furniture, and the use of the Turkish terms *sofa* and *divan* in Europe, mirror the other side of this influence and exchange.

Westernization in forms of design also showed itself in the homes of the late-Ottoman elite, especially bureaucrats and the wealthy non-Muslim population of cosmopolitan cities, such as Istanbul and Izmir. The materiality of their homes helped construct new social identities associated with the Western world. European furniture coexisting with traditional elements was a significant component of this materiality. For example, a piano, often associated with the female members of the household, was a new object in the elite home; it displayed the socio-cultural stance of the family as much as educating female members of the household did (Dumont 1993: 284; Gürel 2009b: 47–67). After the War of Independence, this agency of the piano specifically, and design generally, stayed firm in the homes of the early Republican elites, whose family structures and lifestyles reflected the social transformations and political changes implemented with the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923.

The injection of European design elements and objects into traditional Turkish living spaces and everyday practices created hybrid environments that simultaneously accommodated Western with local or traditional concepts, spaces, objects, and materials. These surroundings opened up *liminal spaces*, which could not simply be explained through the binary oppositions of East and West, new and old, or customary and uncusomary. They existed in between these oppositions (Gürel 2007: 261–74; Gürel 2011a: 185).

Constructing a Republican identity and seeing domestic space as an agent of *renewal*

Western representation, whether played out by the presence of furniture (such as a piano exposing social reform in the domestic sphere) or by the architecture of the new capital's state buildings (representing revolution in the political structure), was important to the founding ideology and modernization project of the new secular state that replaced the

monarchic structure of the Ottoman Empire. During the early Republican era, foreign architects and planners, mostly from Germany and Austria, were invited to Turkey to construct the new capital, Ankara, and its governmental buildings. Among them were Clemens Holzmeister, Paul Bonatz, Ernst Egli, Bruno Taut, Martin Wagner, Martin Elsaesser, Franz Hillinger, Wilhelm Lihotzky, and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky. These architects also greatly influenced the Turkish architecture schools, bringing with them prominent European concepts of design and steering the education of emerging Turkish architects. Ernst Egli, for one, took over the head position in the architecture department of Istanbul's Academy of Fine Arts, the first school of its kind in Turkey, established by the well-known art historian and artist Osman Hamdi Bey in 1882. Egli's term followed the resignations of Giulio Mongeri in 1928 and Vedat Tek in 1930—two “masters” of the First National Style. Under Egli's direction, the curriculum underwent a major transformation. Egli was assisted by Arif Hikmet Holtay, Sedad Hakkı Eldem, and Seyfettin Arkan, who became prominent and influential Turkish architects themselves. Bruno Taut succeeded Egli in 1936.

International faculty also joined the interior design program at the Academy. In 1929 Philip Ginther, an Austrian professor, was appointed to establish an interior design *atelier* as a branch of the Academy's Department of Decorative Arts, which had been launched in 1923. Ginther also taught interior design to architects (Cezar 1983: 23–4). In 1939, the French artist Marie Louis Süe, known for his work in the Art Deco style, became the director of the decorative arts department. Süe had a profound influence on students during his tenure (Fer 2005). While European designers were invited to Turkey to teach, Turkish artists and designers were also sent to Europe to learn about the state of the arts. For example, interior designer Nizami Bey was sent by the Academy to the Ecole des Arts Appliqués in Paris; he also worked at the Gaumont and Paramount studios for a while. As published in a 1932 issue of *Mimar* (later *Arkitekt*), his drawings show the enthusiasm of introducing to Turkish designers not only the latest European ways of design, but also how stylish interiors should look (see Figure 38.1). They portrayed living spaces, domestic study rooms, and an

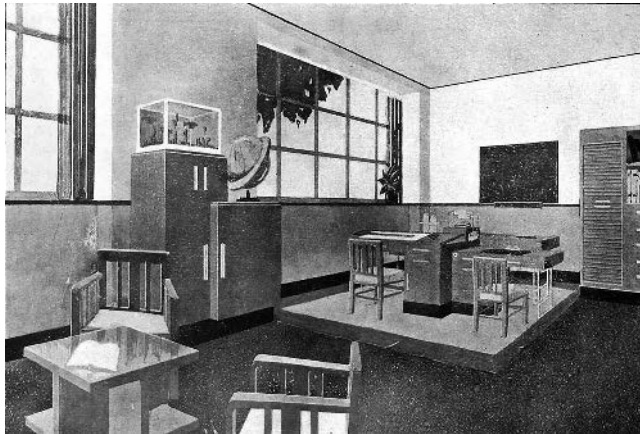


Figure 38.1 Decorator Nizami Bey's sketches show how contemporary interiors should look. *Mimar*, no. 5, 1932, p. 145.

Chamber of Turkish Architects with the permission of Eren Savcı Sayar.

executive office with modern furniture reverberating with Bauhaus designs, and a woman's bedroom in Art Deco style.

Foreign architects also left their mark on Istanbul Technical University, the other major institution of higher education in Turkey. The institution was established as the Civil Service School of Engineering in 1884, and renamed in 1944. It underwent modernizing reforms through the efforts of Emin Onat, who invited Clemens Holzmeister and Paul Bonatz to teach there. Holzmeister was given the responsibility of designing the administrative district in Hermann Jansen's 1927 master plan for Ankara. In the early Republican era, the government commissioned foreign architects to design important public buildings, while Turkish architects' practices were mainly limited to residential architecture. The latter saw themselves as educators and cultural leaders responsible for modernizing the country and training people in contemporary ways of living and Western lifestyles through architectural, interior, and furniture design. As one early Republican architect put it in 1936, architects were missionaries of civilization, responsible for "introducing beds to those who [were] used to sleeping together on earthen floors, to teach those who [sat] on the floor how to use chairs, to provide tables for those who [ate] on the floors, to revolutionize lifestyles" (Sayar 1936: 47; Nalbantoğlu 1997: 202). This role had a profound impact on Turkish design culture. Architects and designers sought to design the modern home conceptualized as appropriate for the citizens of the new nation-state (Bozdoğan 2001).

Outlining the architect's role as an "intellectual leader" in charge of guiding social life and defining contemporary interiors, architect Aptullah Ziya, in the first issue of *Mimar* (1931), stressed the importance of producing plans that would facilitate Western modes of living yet accommodate Turkish families' cultural priorities rather than copying European ones. An apartment plan he proposed in that issue is worth analyzing, as it represents some of the prevalent concepts of 1930s architectural culture. Ziya's proposal reflected the changes that had taken place in the family structure, especially the emphasis on the nuclear family as the smallest unit of society, and also displayed new lifestyles shaped by contemporary modes of living. Ziya (1931) stated, "Apartment life is the life of the twentieth century. The *konak* and *köşk* [mansions and villas] era in which brides, grooms, fathers and mothers all lived together is over." Gender segregation was no longer a consideration in planning, and women were promised equality in the domestic space. The woman was assigned a space in the study, and her everyday activities were given primary consideration. The piano – a symbol of Westernization in Ottoman elite homes – was still given a prominent location, and a library accompanied it. Both these inclusions showed and idealized the education of the Republican family. Furniture, such as dining room sets, study tables, and sewing tables, with layouts and suggestions for use, portrayed the Republican family, with the husband and wife sharing space and working and entertaining together. What had been rooms of unspecified function in traditional houses were now planned for different activities, such as dining, sleeping, sitting, and studying (Batur 1998: 219). In earlier homes, spaces were simply referred to as rooms; exemplifying plans of the 1930s, Ziya's plan labeled rooms according to their designated function, such as living/reception, study, and bedroom. The architect emphasized function and considered privacy an important cultural issue. Spaces were compartmentalized into rooms either by permanent walls or by temporary dividers, such as folding screens and curtains. Large windows were included to let more sunlight into interiors. In line with the tenets of the Modern Movement, these windows suggested healthier environments but were dressed with curtains, showing a sensitivity

to the cultural issue of privacy. In general, traditional domestic layouts emphasized introversion and segregation; the high walls of the courtyards were used to keep the gaze of outsiders away from the household.

The perspective drawings that accompanied Ziya's proposed plan depicted sleek interiors dressed with unadorned planar furniture in tune with Bauhaus designs, simple curtains, abstract art, and modern lighting fixtures. Comparable to Nizami Bey's illustrations of interiors mentioned above, they were a strong contrast to the eclectic Western interpretations and cluttered interiors with porcelain bibelots, crystal and silver accessories, textiles, and lace cloths. Such interior design proposals, characterized by plain and shiny surfaces, clean lines, airy and well-lit spaces, and equipped with comfort systems such as electricity and hot water, followed the precepts of the, so-called, Cubic architecture of the time and promoted a new taste for the new home embodying new concepts of living. In this spirit, Republican intellectual Ismail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu asked, addressing furniture in Turkey, "Isn't new taste born out of new life?" (Baltacıoğlu 1934: 211). Celal Esat Arseven (1931) declared, "New furniture in a new house," suggesting the use of functional furniture in his seminal book *New Architecture (Yeni Mimari)*, in which he welcomed the general principles of the Modern Movement, German Functionalism, and Le Corbusier, and introduced them to a Turkish audience of architects. Arseven, Ziya, and other contemporaries conceptualized interior design not only as a significant task of the architect, but also as a measure to portray "civilization."

However, modern designs were not always well received by consumers or intellectuals. In fact, many did not want to part from their inherited furniture (Bozdoğan 2001: 212). Some considered the Cubic architecture and interiors of 1930s houses and apartment buildings cold, bare, and even alien (Karaosmanoğlu 1997 [1934]: 141; Bozdoğan 2001: 212, 193–7; Uzunarslan 2002: 102–11). Distaste towards this style in general is well depicted in the writings of intellectuals such as Peyami Safa, and in literature, such as the well-known novel *Ankara* by famous novelist Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (1934). Yet, beyond consumer preferences, architects' and designers' promotion of modern and functionalist home designs helped form a discursive field around concepts of the new home. They prompted the questions: How should a contemporary Turkish home be? How should a contemporary home be furnished? How should contemporary cities take form? Domestic space was conceptualized as a reflection of Republican modernity, and contrasted non-functional, eclectic, ornate, and lavish late-Ottoman elite homes with Western influences, as well as traditional homes lacking contemporary comfort systems and lifestyles. In this way, the domestic space was seen as an agent of renewal.

Modern domicile, modern women

The separation between the Republican and Ottoman home was politically charged and embodied changes in social and family structures, idealizing and promoting the nuclear family (Göle 1997: 74; Bozdoğan 2001: 63, 193–7). Republican intellectuals, including Safa, Baltacıoğlu, and Muhittin Birgen, emphasized the Republican family as different from the Ottoman family (Yaman 2013: 87). In the new family model, women were pledged equality, based on the Republican revolutions that transformed women's status in society. Women were granted the right to vote and to stand for election in 1930 and 1934,

respectively, and polygamy was abolished with the adoption of the Turkish Civil Code in 1926. Women's new social status, their presence in the public domain, and their Western look were important to the process of nation-building and the project of modernization (Arat 1997). They were given the role of representing the nation as a Western, democratic, and secular state. Women became key figures in separating Republican modernity from Ottoman traditionalism.

As mothers or care givers women were tasked with shaping Republican youth and, as homemakers, with shaping modern domestic interiors. This discursive formation of women can be followed through oral histories, books, newspaper articles, advertisements, and popular magazines depicting women's contemporary roles, such as how they should look, dress, and create new homes. Even though Republican women were represented and promoted as educated public figures working in the public sphere as pilots, doctors, lawyers, and teachers in urban and rural areas alike (in stark contrast to Ottoman women), their responsibilities at home remained solid (Gürel 2009a: 708; 2011b).

Women's social roles as mothers, wives, and homemakers were glamorized in the post-World War Two era, when women were "domesticated" and turned into "Mrs. Consumers," managing the house in the dynamics of Cold War geopolitics (Hayden 1984; May 1988; Ross 1995; Sparke 1995; Gürel 2009a; 2011b). Feminine images of the ideal housewife positioned happily in the hygienic surroundings of a comfortable home, equipped with modern household goods and appliances, spread from the United States to the rest of the capitalist world, where America came to be recognized as a powerful symbol of modernity. Articles in popular magazines and newspapers, posters, the film industry, radio programs, television where available, and advertisements helped disseminate these images. In the US advertisements depicting idealized women in a graphic style, which became characteristic of the post-war era, appealed chiefly to a white, middle-class mass market (Harris 2007: 242). In Turkey, where foreign policy firmly identified with the post-Second World War Western sphere, these images also filled the media (see Figure 38.2). Popular magazines—such as *Hayat* (1956–78), which translates as *Life* and was modeled after the American *Life* magazine, its forerunner, *Resimli Hayat* (1952–5), translates as *Life with Pictures*, and *Yedigün* (1933–51), translates as *Seven Days*—portrayed the notion of the modern woman as a Western persona. Catering largely to a female readership, these publications worked similarly to women's magazines elsewhere, not only in constructing a gendered identity for women first and foremost as homemakers, but also in playing a role in spreading and normalizing state-led modernization efforts. The modern Turkish woman, like her Western counterpart, was widely presented as a clean, well-dressed, well-groomed, and soignée figure representing the family and the nation on the domestic front (Gürel 2009a: 709). The materiality of the home was an extension of her gendered identity as a homemaker and displayed her and her family's modernity in the same socio-cultural background and economic strata (ibid.). Even the famous Turkish architect and educator, Sedad H. Eldem, who was well-known for his interior schemes and furniture design, recognized women's important role as decorators defining the modern domicile, and wrote that "cultivated and tasteful families wished for a new style in their life and were able to accomplish this" through able young housewives (Eldem 1973: 10).

For the housewife modernity was signified not so much by the style of decor as by the comfort systems that eased everyday household tasks and living conditions. Many women were glad to move from older houses to apartments because the latter offered spatial



Figure 38.2 Advertisements for radios.

Yedigün, October 30, 1948.

arrangements that were “easier to maintain than the old houses with multiple layers and nooks,” as stated by a woman who convinced her husband to move to a new apartment from their nineteenth-century house in the late 1950s (Gürel 2009a: 714). Apartment buildings, especially those for the upper-middle class, were usually designed with central heating by radiators (as opposed to stoves, which could only heat a single room) and had bathrooms and kitchens with hot water and modern fixtures, and well-lit and airy interiors. Moreover, apartment living provided the inexpensive services of a *kapıcı*, a serviceman responsible for maintaining the building. His duties also included managing the heating and hot water, collecting the garbage, cleaning the building, looking after the grounds, collecting the maintenance fees, and providing security for residents. The *kapıcı* helped with small market shopping, easing women’s daily household chores (Gürel 2009a: 716).

As an affordable form of modern living, new apartment buildings and their interiors, which had been viewed as symbols of modernity since the nineteenth century, increasingly started to replace older houses.

One of the most important spaces of the modern home was the bathroom, composed of a bathtub, sink, water closet, and sometimes a bidet. As cultural leaders early Republican architects had already incorporated such fixtures into modern domestic plans in the form of a combined bathroom, also using the traditional squat toilet (referred to as the *alaturca* toilet) and the *kurna*, a container from which water was poured with a cup on to the body for bathing. Their explanations reflect a sensitivity to cultural norms and their views about the new bathroom as a comfort zone embodying contemporary lifestyles (Ünsal 1939: 61; Ziya 1931: 18–19). By the second half of the twentieth century, modern bathroom fixtures became the norm in Turkish home design (Gürel 2008: 230). As I have discussed elsewhere, these fixtures contributed to forming a modern consciousness. The materiality of the bathroom signified modernity. “A shift from traditional fixtures to ‘modern’ ones indicated a desire to belong to a universal world civilization” or “the industrial West.” While propagating Western codes of hygiene and lavatory habits, this shift also exemplifies the translation of bathroom practices. A bathtub or bidet was rarely used as intended. A (telephone) shower was welcomed because it was compatible with traditional ways of bathing (ibid.: 226–8). As I have also argued, “the bathroom work[ed] as a modern space in which not only traditional practices [were] transformed, but also an environment where new concepts [were] negotiated” (ibid.: 231).

Arguably, the widespread use of modern bathroom fixtures was a result of the proliferation of apartment units with new bathrooms and their operation as agencies of modernization, development, and hygienic living conditions (ibid.: 220–4). A celebration of apartment buildings as such can be followed through the advertisements of the era. For example, advertisements for prize houses and apartments offered by different banks populated newspapers and magazines. These often paired the home with a contemporary female figure, the happy “Mrs. Consumer” making the modern home (Figure 38.3). Apartments were featured as a way to a healthy and happy life for the housewife, who could engage in consumption. They were also conceptualized as the opposite half of the dichotomy of old and/or ramshackle houses, and the new squatter settlements which proliferated as a result of the rapid urbanization that occurred with migration from rural areas. This situation was caused by the mechanization of the countryside, when foreign aid in the form of agricultural machinery arrived as a means to promote democratic capitalism. As part of post-Second World War American politics, this aid, delivered under the Marshall Plan from 1947, was meant to prevent the spread of Communism.

Home technology products, such as radios, refrigerators, and washing machines, were a showcase of modernity, and often domesticated with homey accessories, such as decorative cloths placed on top. Another signature space of the modern home was a kitchen equipped with contemporary amenities. Kitchens of the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s were too small to accommodate refrigerators, which, being imported, were also expensive. So when they were obtained they were placed in the hall or the living area. Until they became more common, with the production of the Arçelik brand in the 1960s, refrigerators usually had no assigned space in home plans. Home designs starting from the latter half of the 1950s, such as the Ataköy apartment blocks, provided space for refrigerators in the kitchen (Gürel 2012: 122). Kitchens with US-made refrigerators displayed an American influence, which can be traced not only to advertisements in popular magazines, but also to *Arkitekt*, the



Figure 38.3 A bank's advertisement for prize apartments.

Hayat, June 28, 1957.

country's only professional periodical in the 1950s, in which the American kitchen featured as an ideal form of contemporary domestic life. As a reflection of this influence, some architects experimented with open kitchen layouts. However, these designs were not picked up by the masses because they were not compatible with Turkish food preparation and living room practices.

If modern equipment, such as bathroom fixtures and appliances, was a significant indicator of the modern domicile in an urban context, furniture was another. Interiors in the first half of the 1950s were usually characterized by neoclassical furniture accessorized with decorative textiles, lace table covers, vases, and bibelots. Well-made furniture in a classical style, antiques and their replicas, perhaps helped their owners express a connection to late-Ottoman aristocratic taste (Gürel 2009b: 51). Production of such furniture was limited and expensive, however, as noted by Zeki Sayar, publisher of *Arkitekt*. He viewed providing quality furniture to the masses as a national problem that required the government's immediate attention, and according to him and many others, modern designs were an inexpensive and quality answer to this problem (Sayar 1950: 61–3). Yet, architects and designers promoted modern furniture designs not only because they were functional and could be mass-produced at affordable prices, but also because they suggested a reform in public taste. *Arkitekt* featured designs by famous international and Turkish designers. Mid-century modern designs, characterized by a sleek look, planar elements, and new materials, were custom-made and sold in up-market stores (Gürel 2009b).¹ Together with the use of new materials, including plastics, Formica, vinyl, and nylon, in the second half of the 1950s and throughout the 1960s, modern furniture designs suggested a connection

to post-Second World War ideas and ideals of the new Western sphere, in which the US emerged as a symbol of modernity. Modern designs were consumed as a strategy of distinction, conveying Western acquired taste or “cultural capital” in Bourdieu’s (1984) terms, as well as modern identities (Gürel 2009b).

Displacement of living room practices

Whether decorated in modern or classical styles, a home’s materiality, ranging from furniture to appliances to bathroom fixtures, was a showcase of a family’s position. The living room as center stage where guests were entertained, worked as a status space representing its occupants’ cultural capital, individuality, and distinction, even though it was usually composed of mass-produced items (Davis 1990). As Orhan Pamuk (2003) wrote in his novel *Istanbul: Memories and the City*, living rooms (historically called reception or guest rooms) were like museums, filled with eclectic furniture, textiles, accessories, and knickknacks, all of which were kept in mint condition, waiting for guests. This function and cultural practice changed widely in the 1970s, when television sets entered the home. Television became the center of attraction in the living room, not only bringing the world into the domestic realm, but also changing and displacing concepts of entertainment and established social practices. Before television, radio had had a prominent role in connecting the domestic space to the world outside and, along with the record player, was a major means of entertainment. Attendance at movies, nightclubs, and *gazinos*, which were important sites of live music and entertainment in the Turkish context, was also transformed. Visiting friends, neighbors, and/or relatives who owned an early television set and gathering in front of it to watch a popular show in the evening, after the television broadcast started, widely replaced conversing over food and beverages. Television not only rearranged social interaction, but also furniture layout; because it became the focus of the living room, it dictated the arrangement of seating units. Also given spatial prominence before television was the architectural element of the fireplace, which sometimes appeared in home plans of the 1950s and 1960s for an urban middle- to upper-class. The fireplace was used as a focal point, guiding the furniture arrangement of the living room. As architect Nejat Ersin (2006) stated, during the 1950s and 1960s domestic designs with fireplaces rented out more easily. Moreover, American officials residing in Turkish cities constituted a considerable market for rental apartments at the time, and they preferred fireplaces (Gürel 2011a: 181). Usually detailed with local marble in white and black, a fireplace was more of a symbolic and decorative element than a functional one, representing social distinction and belonging to a socio-cultural group associated with the Western world. The entrance of television shifted the symbolic meaning and spatial role of fireplaces as well, and consequently, their appearance in urban apartment plans ceased. However, they continued to appear in summerhouses, or vacation homes, and suburban villas, which multiplied in the 1980s.

Final words

This chapter has discussed how design concepts and practices operated in transforming and constructing social, cultural, and civic identities and how this construction was

instrumental for consuming contemporary designs associated with the convoluted notions of Westernization and modernization. I have argued that design worked as a means to build contemporary lifestyles and visions of the ideal home, and that it would be a fallacy to read the contemporary home, from the palatial architecture of the nineteenth century to the domestic space of the twentieth century, as Western imitations. Likewise, it would be a mistake to interpret the architects, interior designers, and amateur decorators—the last usually housewives—as imitators of the prevalent design concepts and, so-called, Western trends disseminated through the media including (depending on the historical period) popular magazines, professional journals, movies, radio programs, television shows, advertisements, posters, etc. Rather, domestic space is suggested here as a site of modernity, where prevalent concepts, forms of inhabitation, technological developments, and objects are picked up and mediated, and through mediation are meaningfully translated, reproduced with shared values and the common meanings of a culture, and consumed as such. Even technological imports and/or new domestic objects, such as radios, gramophones, record players, stereos, refrigerators, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, dishwashers, microwaves, televisions, video players, CD players, DVD players, MP3 players, computers, laptops, plasma TVs, and the newest digital entries are culturally worked to find a meaningful social and physical space in the domestic domain in different social strata. For example, radios and televisions accessorized with lace doilies are a vivid manifestation of this translation in a domestic landscape. Referring back to my argument at the beginning of the chapter, we can view the hybrid domestic interventions discussed here as spaces of modernity existing in between the familiar, the customary, the traditional, the new, the foreign, and the modern.

Note

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- 1 The designers included: Sadi Öziş, İlhan Koman, and Şadi Çalık who formed Kare Metal; Azmi and Bediz Koz who formed Butik A; Yıldırım Kocacıklıoğlu and Turhan Uncuoğlu who formed Interno; Neziğ Eldem, Turgut Cansever, and Şevki Vanlı who designed furniture for Selçuk Milar's Galeri Milar.

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