

Transformation of The Kitchen Spatiality : A Case Study on Istanbul Apartments in 20th Century



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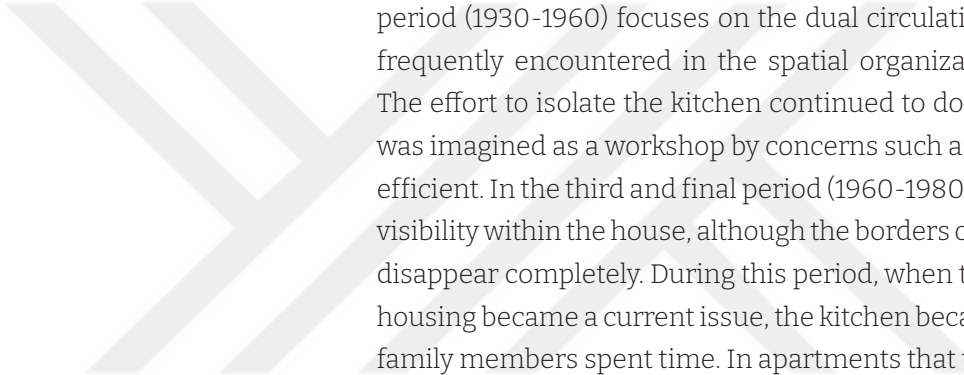
Abstract

In the conventional sense, the kitchen is a workplace where activities related to nutrition take place. The kitchen includes many food-related practices such as preparation, cooking, storage, and repurposing leftover food. However, these work cycles are not the only factor affecting the spatiality of the kitchen. The kitchen, which was accepted as a working space throughout the 20th century, is the subject of various academic disciplines such as gastronomy, architecture, and sociology. Recently, multidisciplinary works on kitchens have started questioning the new potentials of food-related actions, and therefore redefining the kitchen. These studies, such as *The Food Axis: Cooking, Eating, and the Architecture of American Houses*ⁱ, *Commensality: From Everyday Food to Feast*ⁱⁱ, or *Cuisine Urbaine*ⁱⁱⁱ, carried out at the intersection of food and space, demonstrate that the daily life practices of a society, and the social structure have a significant impact on a study about kitchen spatiality. Therefore, in this research, space is considered with its multi-actors and constantly transforming structure, beyond being a backdrop where daily events take place. The effects of social change on the spatial transformation of the kitchen are examined. The research focuses on middle-class families and housing forms in Istanbul, which experienced dramatic changes in every aspect of life between the 1850s and 1980 when modernization initiatives were dominant. An archive search was conducted on *Arkitekt* magazine which provides a broad perspective on the 20th century owing to its long-lasting publication life. Floor plans of apartments, the dominant housing type for middle-class families, accessed in the magazine's archives, were compared. As a result of this comparison, three periods were determined based on the space organization in the plans. The approaches to the kitchen and the spatiality of the kitchen in these three periods are associated with social changes. An attempt was made to expand the research with information obtained

i. Elizabeth Collins Cromley, *The Food Axis: Cooking, Eating, and the Architecture of American Houses* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2010).

ii. Susanne Kerner and Cynthia Chou, "Introduction," in *Commensality: From Everyday Food to Feast*, ed. Susanne Kerner, Cynthia Chou, and Morten Warmind (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).

iii. "Cuisine Urbaine," Urban Tactics, accessed December 24, 2023, <https://urbantactics.org/projects/cuisineurbaine/cuisineurbane.html>.



from sources such as magazines, newspapers, literary works, and films regarding everyday life and social structure. At the end of the 19th century, the kitchen which was a working space for servants, was not wanted to be included in the house. However, this situation changes during the transition from mansion to apartment. The first period (1850s-1930) examines the situation that occurred under the influence of this radical change in housing type. The second period (1930-1960) focuses on the dual circulation system, which is frequently encountered in the spatial organization of apartments. The effort to isolate the kitchen continued to dominate. The kitchen was imagined as a workshop by concerns such as being sanitary and efficient. In the third and final period (1960-1980), the kitchen gained visibility within the house, although the borders of the kitchen did not disappear completely. During this period, when the concept of social housing became a current issue, the kitchen became the place where family members spent time. In apartments that the middle class can afford, the kitchen was more than just a working space. The impact and transformative power of society's living practices in the spatiality of the kitchen can be read through these three periods. Following social changes can become a method to expand the definitions guided by standards and mainstream architectural practices in kitchen design and to discover new possibilities. In addition, this work, which looks at the house through the kitchen, shows the multi-layered state of the house. Throughout this research, the importance of providing alternative perspectives in order to discover this multi-layered state of space was experienced.

Key Words: Kitchen, Social Structure, Everyday Life, Apartment, Workspace, Spatial Organization, *Arkitekt*.

Science Code: 80107

Özet

Konvansiyonel anlamda mutfak beslenme ile ilgili eylemlerin gerçekleştiği bir çalışma mekanıdır. Mutfak, yemeğin hazırlanması, pişirilmesi, gıdanın saklanması, artan yemeğin yeniden değerlendirilmesi gibi bir çok yemek ile ilgili pratiği barındırır. Ancak mutfağın mekansallığını etkileyen tek faktör bu iş döngüleri değildir. 20. yüzyıl boyunca çalışma alanı olarak kabul edilen mutfak, gastronomi, mimarlık, sosyoloji gibi çeşitli akademik disiplinlerin konusu olmuştur. Son zamanlarda mutfaklarla ilgili yapılan multidisipliner çalışmalar, gıdalla ilgili eylemlerin yeni potansiyellerini sorgulamaya ve dolayısıyla mutfağı yeniden tanımlamaya başladı. Yemek ve mekan konularının kesişiminde yapılan, *The Food Axis: Cooking, Eating, and the Architecture of American Houses*ⁱ; *Commensality: From Everyday Food to Feast*ⁱⁱ; ya da *Cuisine Urbaine*ⁱⁱⁱ gibi çalışmalar, mutfak mekansallığı üzerine yapılacak bir çalışmada gündelik hayat pratiklerinin, toplumun yaşama biçiminin ve toplumsal strüktürün önemli bir etkiye sahip olduğunu gösteriyor. Dolayısıyla bu araştırmada mekan, olayların yaşandığı bir arka plan olmasının ötesinde çok aktörlü ve sürekli dönüşen yapısı ile ele alınmaktadır. Mutfağın mekansal dönüşümündeki toplumsal değişimin etkileri incelenmektedir. Araştırma, modernleşme girişimlerinin ağırlıkta olduğu 1850'li yıllardan 1980'li yıllara kadar hayatın her alanında çarpıcı değişimler yaşayan İstanbul'daki orta sınıf aileler ve konut biçimlerine odaklanmaktadır. Uzun süreli yayın ömrü nedeniyle 20. yüzyıla geniş bir bakış açısı sunan *Arkitekt* dergisi üzerinden bir arşiv taraması yapılmıştır. Derginin arşivindeki orta sınıf aileler için baskın konut tipi olan apartman planları karşılaştırılmıştır. Bu karşılaştırma sonucu planlardaki mekan organizasyonu esas alınarak üç dönem belirlenmiştir. Bu üç dönemdeki mutfağa olan yaklaşım ve mutfağın mekansallığı ile toplumsal değişimler ilişkilendirilmiştir. Toplumun gündelik hayatına ve yaşama biçimine

i. Elizabeth Collins Cromley, *The Food Axis: Cooking, Eating, and the Architecture of American Houses* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2010).

ii. Susanne Kerner and Cynthia Chou, "Introduction," in *Commensality: From Everyday Food to Feast*, ed. Susanne Kerner, Cynthia Chou, and Morten Warmind (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).

iii. "Cuisine Urbaine," Urban Tactics, accessed December 24, 2023, <https://urbantactics.org/projects/cuisineurbaine/cuisineurbane.html>.

dair dergi, gazete, edebi eserler, filmler gibi kaynaklardan elde edilen bilgiler ile araştırma genişletilmeye çalışılmıştır. 19. yüzyıl sonunda mutfak konuta dahil edilmesi istenmeyen, hatta aile üyelerinin dahil olmadığı, hizmetlilerin çalışma mekanı iken, konaktan apartmana geçiş sürecinde bu durum değişmektedir. Birinci dönem (1850ler-1930) konut tipindeki bu radikal değişim etkisinde oluşan durumu incelemektedir. İkinci dönem (1930-1960) ise apartmanların mekansal organizasyonunda sıkça karşılaşılan ikili dolaşım düzeni üzerine odaklanmaktadır. Mutfağın izole edilme çabası baskın olarak devam etmektedir. Sıhhatli ve verimli olmak gibi kaygılar ile de mutfak bir atölye olarak tahayyül edilir. Üçüncü ve son dönemde (1960-1980) ise mutfağın sınırları tamamen yok olmasa da mutfak konut içinde görünürlük kazanır. Sosyal konut kavramının gündem haline geldiği, bu dönemde mutfak aile üyelerinin vakit geçirdiği mekan haline gelir. Orta sınıfın karşılayabileceği apartmanlarda mutfak yalnızca bir çalışma mekanı olmanın ötesine geçmektedir. Mutfağın mekansallığındaki toplumun yaşama pratiklerinin etkisi ve dönüştürücü gücü bu üç dönem üzerinden okunabilmektedir. Mutfak tasarımında standartların ve ana akım mimarlık pratiklerinin yönlendirdiği tanımları genişletmek ve yeni olasılıkları keşfetmek için sosyal değişimlerin izini sürmek bir yöntem haline gelebilir. Ayrıca konuta mutfak üzerinden bakan bu çalışma, konutun da çok katmanlı halini gösterir. Bu araştırma boyunca mekanın bu çok yönlü halini keşfetmek adına alternatif bakışlar oluşturmanın önemi tecrübe edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mutfak, Sosyal Yapı, Gündelik Hayat, Apartman, Çalışma Mekanı, Mekansal Organizasyon, *Arkitekt.*

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Table of Contents

LIST OF TABLES.....	xi
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 1: THRESHOLDS IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE KITCHEN.....	15
1.1- Integration of The Kitchen to The House Plan (1850s-1930)	24
1.1.1- Kitchens of Mansions	28
1.1.2- Dwellings of Low-Income Families and Kitchen Tactics	35
1.1.3- Kitchens of Early Apartments in Galata	37
1.2- Quest for an Efficient and Sanitary Kitchen (1930-1960)	45
1.3- Making The Kitchen Visible (1960 - 1980).....	64
CONCLUSION.....	81
APPENDIX: APARTMENT PLANS IN THE ARCHIVE OF ARKITEKT MAGAZINE	93
REFERENCES	187

List of Tables

Table 1 - Comparison of apartment plans in the archives of <i>Arkitekt</i> magazine.....	18
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List of Figures

Figure 1 - Street view of Tüten Apartmanı.....	1
Figure 2 - Tüten Apartmanı, Floor Plan	2
Figure 3 - Interstitial Breakfast by “taking place”	7
Figure 4 - Cooking and eating as an art object by Thai artist Rirkrit Tiravanija	8
Figure 5 - Production of a kind of local beverage in a participative way during the workshop	8
Figure 6 - Plan of Mutfak (Kitchen) Workshop, drawn by Burcu Serdar Köknar	8
Figure 7 - Cuisine Urbaine by AAA	9
Figure 8 - Infinity Kitchen by MVRDV	9
Figure 9 - Hacking The Modern Kitchen	10
Figure 10 - Nelly Custis Lewis’s Virginia plantation house, Woodlawn, ca. 1800	11
Figure 11 - House of an Architect in Kuzguncuk, 19th Century	31
Figure 12 - Representation of modern furnitures in a children’s book in the Ottoman Empire	32
Figure 13 - Depiction of Kitchen Interior and Kitchen Items	34
Figure 14 - The Temporal Kitchen Set Up in The <i>Sofa</i>	36
Figure 15 - Tünel Apartmanı, Floor Plan	39

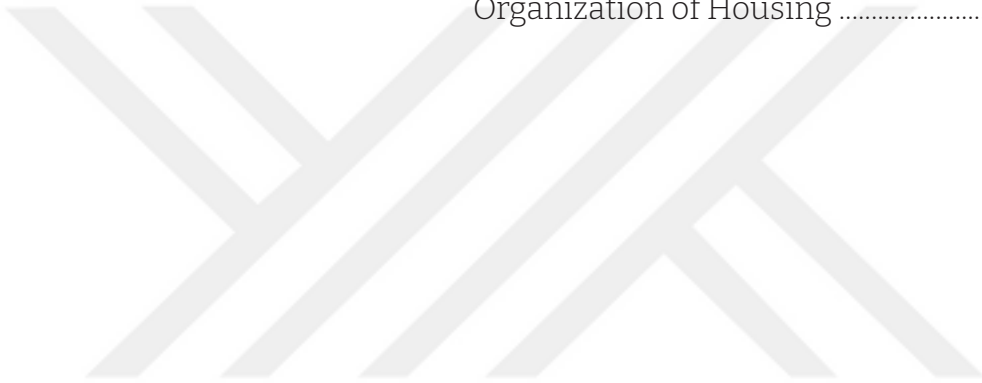
Figure 16- Bagdatlian Apartmanı, Floor Plan	40
Figure 17 - Leonidas Apartmanı, Floor Plan	41
Figure 18 - Mimicopoulo Apartmanı, Floor Plan	42
Figure 19 - Kitchen Scenes in the Movie “Muhsin Bey”	44
Figure 20 - Doğan Apartmanı, Floor Plan	45
Figure 21 - Scenes from the Movie “Lüküs Hayat”	47
Figure 22 - Ataköy Sitesi, Floor Plan of One of the Type Projects	48
Figure 23 - Levend 4. Mahallesi, Floor Plan of One of the Type Projects	49
Figure 24 - An Apartment in Kadıköy, Floor Plans	50
Figure 25 - Scenes from the Movie “Leylaklar Altında”	52
Figure 26 - Ceramic Advertisement with a Bathroom Image	52
Figure 27 - Ceramic Advertisement with a Kitchen Image	52
Figure 28 - Birkan Apartmanları in Bebek, Floor Plans	53
Figure 29 - An Apartment in Maçka, Floor Plans	55
Figure 30 - (Left) A cover page of “Ameli Elektrik” Magazine, (Middle) A Training Workshop in SATIE’s Kitchen, (Right) Permanent Exhibition of Electrical Devices in Taksim	57
Figure 31 - (Left) A cover page of “Ev - İş” Magazine, 1942; (Right) The poster prepared by a government institution for Local Products Week includes the	

phrase “Housewife, prepare jam and syrup.”	58
Figure 32 - (Left) A view from kitchen classroom; (Right) Floor Plan of a Girls’ School in Germany	59
Figure 33 - An Idealized Kitchen Published in Yedigün magazine in 1933	60
Figure 34 - (Left) A view of Frankfurt Kitchen, (Right) Frankfurt Kitchen Plan	61
Figure 35 - Scenes from the The film A Step-Saving Kitchen	61
Figure 36 - Photographs published in Arkitekt magazine about the design of American kitchens	62
Figure 37 - Plan and section drawings of a kitchen	63
Figure 38 - Ataköy Sitesi, One of The Floor Plans of New Type Projects	66
Figure 39 - Ataköy Sitesi, One of The Floor Plans of New Type Projects	67
Figure 40 - Yıldız Barbaros Bulvarı Apartmanları, One of The Floor Plans of Type Projects	69
Figure 41 - Levent Apartmanları, One of The Floor Plans of Type Projects	70
Figure 42 - Scene from the Movie “Çöpçüler Kralı”	71
Figure 43 - Scenes from the Movie “Zengin Mutfağı”	71
Figure 44 - Ortaköy Sitesi, The floor plan of Block B	73
Figure 45 - Balıkçı Koyu Sitesi, The ground floor plan	74
Figure 46 - Lightwell and Kitchen Scenes from the Movie “Şendul Şaban”	76
Figure 47 - The refrigerator, located in	

the entrance hall77

Figure 48 - The importance of the connection between
the kitchen and the dining area for the housewife
is emphasized in the magazine77

Figure 49 - The Transformation of The Kitchen in Spatial
Organization of Housing86







Introduction

“The maid who opened the door of the apartment floor in Ayazpaşa told Ömer that they were waiting for him to sit down for dinner. After taking his coat, he led her into a well-lit living room.”¹ In the novel *Cevdet Bey ve Oğulları* (*Cevdet Bey and His Sons*), the transition process from mansion to apartment building and the social change throughout the 20th century can be traced. As middle and upper-class families transitioned from mansions to apartments, they did not abandon their customs such as employing domestic servants. Additionally, the spatial organization of apartments differed significantly from today’s standards.

Tüten Apartmanı is frequently mentioned in both literature and architectural publications as a notable architectural structure. This apartment building, located on Gümüşsuyu Avenue, providing access from Kabataş to Taksim Square, is one of the popular examples of the architectural understanding of the 1930s in Istanbul. The architectural elements influenced by modernism in its facade are noteworthy. (Figure 1)

The building mentioned in the article titled “Kira Evi” written by Adil Denктаş in the *Arkitekt* magazine in 1936 is Tüten Apartmanı.² In addition to characteristic facade drawings and photographs, interior photographs, and floor plans are shared in this article. When the plan is examined, a notable spatial organization with a dual circulation system is observed. (Figure 2) The primary circulation, located more centrally, provides access to the living rooms and bedrooms. This primary circulation reaches the wider and more elegant staircase. It is observed that the secondary circulation carries a service circulation characteristic as it connects the relevant spaces. The spaces here are designed for functionality and are located in the less visible parts of the building. The staircase here is a minimum-space solution, serving as a service staircase. The kitchen located at the center of this secondary circulation, is isolated to the extent that it cannot have a direct relationship with the primary circulation. Comparing the spatial organization of contemporary apartments and this apartment from the 1930s, the change in the location and design of the kitchen is noteworthy. Today, in addition to being a space

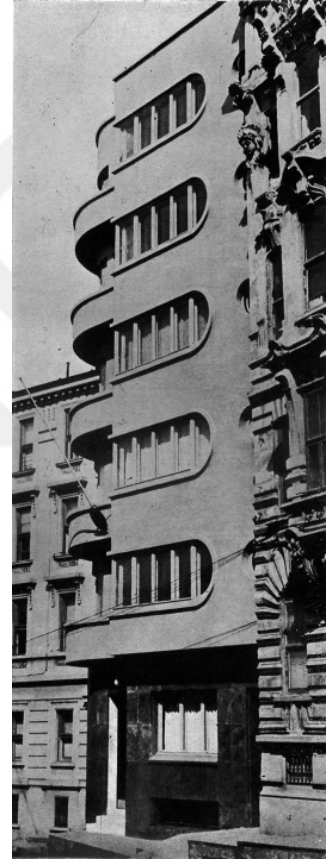


Figure 1: Street view of Tüten Apartmanı. (Adil Denктаş, “Kira Evi,” *Arkitekt* 1936, no. 1936-05-06 (65-66) (1936): 133-138.)

1. “Ayazpaşa’daki apartman katının kapısını açan hizmetçi, Ömer’e yemeğe oturmak için beklenildiğini söyledi. Paltosunu aldıktan sonra, onu iyi aydınlatılmış bir salona soktu.” See: Orhan Pamuk, *Cevdet Bey ve Oğulları* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003), 121. It was translated into English by the author of the thesis.

2. Adil Denктаş, “Kira Evi,” *Arkitekt* 1936, no. 1936-05-06 (65-66) (1936): 133-138.



Figure 2: Tüten Apartmanı, Floor Plan. (Adil Denктаş, "Kıra Evi," Arkitekt 1936, no. 1936-05-06 (65-66) (1936): 133-138.)

that accommodates actions related to cooking, the kitchen has transformed into a socialization space where people spend time together, eat, and engage in conversations, with its central position in the house. This transformation is further emphasized by the kitchen becoming an interactive space in a different dimension, as observed in social media posts related to food, and users sharing content from their domestic kitchens. However, the spatial organization of the apartment plan from the 1930s belongs to a different kitchen concept, far away from this current approach. Therefore, starting from this spatial organization, this research explores the changes in the kitchen before and after this period, as well as the reasons for these changes.

In architecture, the kitchen is one of the main workspaces where nourishment-related activities happen. This changes under the influence of certain thresholds in the historical process. Lots of factors such as human actions, cook recipes, food preservation methods, utensils, building technologies, etc. have constructed kitchens together. In addition to technological developments, society's lifestyle and social relations have also impacted on designing a kitchen. For example, if we imagine a society that prefers raw foods and does not have cooking in their cuisine, we cannot talk about the main elements such as fire, stoves, and ovens in the kitchen of this society.

This research aims to re-discuss the conventional kitchen definition, through a historical process. It proposes to provide the basis for alternative perspectives on kitchen design by observing the relationship between the spatiality of the kitchen and changes in daily life. By questioning the boundaries of the definition of kitchen, it tries to understand the future of the transforming kitchen and how social concerns affect kitchen design today.

This study explores the shift in the location, design, and use of the kitchen due to societal transformations. The emphasis is placed on scrutinising the design of the kitchen as a functional workspace, unraveling the significance of the kitchen for the household members sharing the same dwelling, and expounding upon spatial transformations of food-related spaces within this integral domestic setting. In this context, the study examines the spatial change in the housing forms of middle-class families in Istanbul, which have undergone dramatic changes throughout the 20th century, with a focus on food-related spaces, namely the kitchens. An attempt has been made to discover the relationships between this transformation in spatial organization and changes in the patterns of societal patterns.

After the proclamation of the Tanzimat Fermanı (Imperial Edict of Reorganization) in 1839, the momentum of modernization movements in the Ottoman Empire significantly increased. As the capital of the empire, Istanbul was the city most affected by these modernization movements.³ During this period, significant transformations occurred, including modern municipal initiatives, the integration of public transportation into the urban circulation system, and efforts to provide electrical energy to the city. Magazines and newspapers also played a crucial role in contributing to societal life.

Despite the initiatives taken, the Ottoman Empire faced major economic and political challenges at the beginning of the 20th century due to factors such as wars and delays in following industrialization. These economic challenges influenced the daily lives and preferences of society. After the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, Istanbul, like the entire country, underwent a radical period of change, the most significant of which was losing its status as the capital. Consequently, urban development initiatives shifted towards the new capital Ankara. The new government, driven by the republican ideology and sought to create a nation-state identity, implemented a series of reforms that redefined societal norms and relations. These reforms addressed issues directly impacting housing, such as the concept of family and the social position of women. In addition, modernist concerns in Europe were closely followed. The search for how to achieve a higher level of health and welfare on a social scale was carried out in Turkey with a sensitivity similar to that in Europe.

The establishment of the Democrat Party (DP) in 1946, ended the single party period and with the elections in 1950, it came to power. Radical implementations that have affected society since the establishment of the Republic have largely shaped the policies and rhetoric of the DP. Most significantly their popular slogan “Yeter! Söz milletindir!” (Enough! The word belongs to the people!) expressed the critical approach of the DP to the policies of the early years of the Republic. Claiming that Istanbul had been neglected by the previous administration, DP focused its discourse and policies on the physical development of the city. During this period, with increased mechanization in agriculture in Anatolia and the development of industry in Istanbul, migration to Istanbul surged, accelerating population growth. Subjects related to religion, which had been kept in the background with secular policies in the early years of the Republic, were politicized. A period began where the Turkish identity developed by nation-state policies

3. Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in The Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 31-37.

was blended with Islamic values. The events of September 6-7, 1955, targeting non-Muslim citizens, also known as the Istanbul Pogrom, changed the social structure of the city.⁴ This population movement contributed to the emergence of a new Istanbul identity. Habits related to work, daily life, and entertainment underwent transformation under the influence of both the government's approach and the practices of those coming from Anatolia. Cultural values, ways of life, and consumption patterns were redefined during this period of societal change.⁵ If one reason for this dramatic change was the migration, the other significant cause was the inclusion of Turkey in the Marshall Plan in 1948. Consequently, the United States replaced European countries as the role model for Turkey's modernization efforts. Turkey was conceptualized as "Little America," in line with the populist rhetoric and liberal economic policies of the DP.⁶ This conceptualization was felt at the urban scale through modernization projects, popularized lifestyle culture, and individual design practices.⁷ Similarly, articles in *Arkitekt* magazine reflect these themes in their discussion of architectural and design approaches in the United States. For example, articles such as "Amerika Birleşik Devletlerinde Nasıl İkamet Ediliyor?" (How is Residence Undertaken in the United States?), "Bir Amerikan Mutfağının Tertibatı" (The Arrangement of an American Kitchen), "Birleşik Amerika'da Modern Ev Mimarisi" (Modern Home Architecture in the United States), "Amerikan Şehirlerinin Giriştiği Yenileme Faaliyet Projeleri" (Renewal Projects Undertaken by American Cities) and "Amerika'da Yeni Şehirler" (New Cities in America) published between 1950-1967 introduce the architectural approach to urban planning, architecture and residential life in the United States.⁸

In order to evaluate the continuities and transformations in residential architecture throughout the 20th century, an archival research was conducted. *Arkitekt* magazine having had a continuous publication life between 1931 and 1980, has become the primary venue for this research. As an architecture magazine, *Arkitekt* did not solely focus on the buildings, but also evolved into a platform for architectural discourse where architectural productions were criticized, new technologies and products were showcased, and international architectural news were featured. These features, in addition to being a source for the archive, shed light on the design approach and architectural concerns of the period in which it was published.

This research was mainly focused on the archive of *Arkitekt* Magazine, which is accessed by the Chamber of Architects.⁹ However, since the *Arkitekt*

4. İpek Yada Akpınar, "Sunuş," in *Osmanlı Başkentinden Küreselleşen İstanbul'a: Mimarlık ve Kent, 1910-2010*, ed. İpek Yada Akpınar (İstanbul:Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2010).

5. Murat Balamir, "Türkiye'de "Apartkent"lerin Oluşumu: Mülkiyet İlişkilerinin Dönüşümüne Dayalı Kentleşme," in *Tarihten Günümüze Anadolu'da Konut ve Yerleşme*, ed. Yıldız Sey (İstanbul:Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1996), 335.

6. Akpınar, "Sunuş."

7. Meltem Ö. Gürel, "20. Yüzyıl Ortası Modernizminin Türkiye'deki Açılımları Üzerine Okumalar ve Bir Kitap," *Arredamento Mimarlık* 2015, no. 290 (May 2015): 115-118.

8. *Arkitekt*, 1931-1980, <http://dergi.mo.org.tr/detail.php?id=2>.

9. Ibid.

journal was published between 1931 and 1980, other resources were included in the study to expand the research. The three-volume “*Türk Evi*” books prepared by Sedad Hakkı Eldem, which contain comprehensive studies on Ottoman house architecture, are used to obtain information about the kitchens in the houses before the apartments.¹⁰ In addition, since this book is a source where many mansion plans are compiled, it has been evaluated to make sense of the position of the kitchen in the spatial organization of the house for the pre-apartment period. The book “*Apartment*”, which is the expanded version of Ayşe Derin Öncel’s doctoral work, inquires about early apartments as new housing forms between 1831-1905 in Galata.¹¹ Among the studies on early apartment examples examined during the research process, this study is a significant source for this study, as it focuses on Istanbul and includes plan drawings of apartment buildings. This book is used to understand the architectural features of early apartments before 1931 within the scope of the research.

Along with the archival research, the political, technological, and social changes that influenced the spatiality of houses during this period were examined. Issues such as societal roles assigned to family members, the employment of servants by the middle class, the idealized identity for women, the accessibility of electrical energy and water at the residential scale, and the emergence of social housing standards were examined concerning the transformation of houses and food-related spaces.

Furthermore, to provide a broader perspective on the everyday life and lifestyle of the period, various productions from different disciplines, including magazines, newspapers, literary works, and films, were consulted. Information obtained from these sources offered insights into the appearance of the kitchen and life within it.

In architecture, design, and art, gastronomy-related works have become very popular since the end of the 20th century. In this research, food and architecture relations have been searched focusing on the kitchen as a workspace in everyday life. I trace the relationship between the kitchen and the everyday life patterns of society with this research. I focused on these relations to discover possibilities for kitchen design. Is the kitchen only a workspace or a service space? Otherwise, can the kitchen be defined as a living space with superposed spatial relations?

In order to ensure the transdisciplinary position to this research and to define where it is positioned among other food-related studies, a literature

10. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Evi: Osmanlı Dönemi / Turkish Houses: Ottoman Period, vol. 1* (Istanbul: Türkiye Anıt Çevre Turizm Değerlerini Koruma Vakfı, 1984).

11. Ayşe Derin Öncel, *Apartment: Galata’da Yeni Bir Konut Tipi* (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2014).

review was conducted. Studies on the intersection of food and architecture have been examined in areas such as gastronomy, art, history, sociology, archaeology, anthropology, architectural history, architectural design, and urban design. Different studies investigating the effects of food production and consumption on space design and spatiality, from urban design to kitchen and even product design, have been examined.¹²

The book “Commensality: From Everyday Food to Feast” examines the cultural significance of food for societies. The book includes studies from different social science fields such as archeology and anthropology. In particular, it is examined through different geographies and different periods that eating together is an important action that shapes society. In addition to the ceremonial feasts, attention is drawn to the acts of eating together in daily life. It is stated that the social structure is reinforced with the communication established along with sharing food during everyday commensality.¹³ Also, Boris Andersen proposes a holistic and interdisciplinary research approach, the Foodscape-perspective, in his work on commensality. With this approach, it is pointed out that commensality is always lived in a physical and material context. Borris stated, “commensality cannot simply count as being an inter-subjective and mental phenomenon, but has to be researched as a part of a physical–material context.”¹⁴ At this point, since architecture is a practice directly related to the physical and material context, the value of interdisciplinary studies about food-related issues in this field is understood.

In addition to the studies emphasizing that food-related activities bring together and act in socially unifying roles, the studies on exploring different spatialities through new experiences through food-related events, show the multi-layered structure of food-based architectural approaches. (Figure 3) Through case studies such as Madaleines Madteater¹⁵ and NoRA¹⁶ which approach food as an experience and an event, Anna Marie Fisker and Tenna Doktor Olsen underline that food plays an important role at different scales, which strengthens social relations and increases communication for future cityscapes.¹⁷



Figure 3: Interstitial Breakfast by “taking place”. (Teresa Hoskyns, and Katie Lloyd Thomas, “Taking Place 8: Interstitial Breakfast: Making Space for Questions about Architecture and Feminism,” *field 7*, no.1 (2017): 115-128.)

12. The food-related activities are used as spatial tactics to provide participatory and social mediums in different practices such as the “interstitial breakfast” event organized by “taking place” (see: Teresa Hoskyns, and Katie Lloyd Thomas, “Taking Place 8: Interstitial Breakfast: Making Space for Questions about Architecture and Feminism,” *field 7*, no.1 (2017): 115-128.), “The Field Kitchen Academy” project carried out by “Ground eV” (see: “Our Philosophy,” Field Kitchen Academy, accessed December 24, 2023, <https://www.fieldkitchen-academy.org/our-philosophy>), and the picnic organized by Oda Projesi (see: Yağmur Yıldırım, “Charting Spatial Practices of Feminisms in Turkey: Sensitivities, Tools, and Tactics” (Master’s Thesis, Kadir Has University, İstanbul, 2020), 47-49.).

13. Susanne Kerner and Cynthia Chou, “Introduction,” in *Commensality: From Everyday Food to Feast*, ed. Susanne Kerner, Cynthia Chou, and Morten Warmind (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).

14. Boris Andersen, “Commensality between the Young,” in *Commensality: From Everyday Food to Feast*, ed. Susanne Kerner, Cynthia Chou, and Morten Warmind (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).

15. “... Madeleines Madteater dissolves the ordinary restaurant meal into a theatre play orchestrated by live performance, artificial light, mediated pictures, sound, and architectural settings.” See: Fisker, and Olsen, “Food, Architecture and Experience Design,” 66.

16. “...NoRA creates both an intimate space within the pavilion, but further unfolds food activities, social events, and a sensuous environment into the city and surrounding landscape.” See: Fisker, and Olsen, “Food, Architecture and Experience Design,” 69.

17. Anna Marie Fisker, and Tenna Doktor Olsen, “Food, Architecture and Experience Design,” *Nordic Journal of Architectural Research* 20, no. 1 (2008): 63-74.



Figure 4: Cooking and eating as an art object by Thai artist Rirkrit Tiravanija. (The Museum of Modern Art, "Rirkrit Tiravanija | Untitled (Free/Still)," Youtube video, February 3, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0xRx2s3F-pSg&t=47s>.)

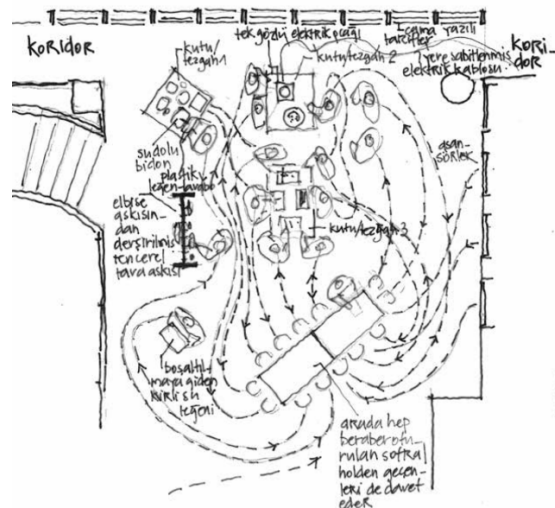


Figure 5: Production of a kind of local beverage in a participative way during the workshop. (RAD, "Designeast 05 Camp In Kyoto- Moving Day," Vimeo video, February 7, 2015, <https://vimeo.com/118989411>.)

Studies in which food preparation and cooking processes are included in addition to eating together are noteworthy. Thai artist Rirkrit Tiravanija turned cooking and eating into works of art with his artworks in the early 1990s. He turned the art gallery into a free space where food is cooked and served.¹⁸ (Figure 4) Incorporating a similar approach to this conceptual artworks, Designeast 05 Camp conducted by the RAD (Research for Architectural Domain, RAD LAB) in Kyoto is a workshop where food preparation and cooking is a triggering factor in the production of space.¹⁹ The campground and its surroundings have become a kind of common place with actions such as preparing food and eating together. (Figure 5) Examples of these studies on food and spatial practices can be multiplied. In particular, studies in which the kitchen has become a constitutive factor of space and questions the definition of a kitchen.

Mutfak (kitchen), one of a series of workshops organized by the Faculty of Arts Design and Architecture (FADA) at Mef University, is another example that questions the spatial potential of the kitchen. Participants were included in the process of setting up the kitchen and preparing the food, new spatial experiences were produced. (Figure 6) One of the crowded areas of the university's circulation axis was chosen as the workshop area and this area was temporarily converted into a kitchen.²⁰ This situation allowed everyone who comes and goes, other than the participants and tutors, to participate in the spatial formation and create a commoning. Beyond being a mere workplace where food is produced, the kitchen goes beyond its definition and becomes a socializing and sharing place.

Figure 6: Plan of Mutfak (Kitchen) Workshop, drawn by Burcu Serdar Köknar. (Burcu Serdar Köknar, "Mutfak Günlükleri," *Betonart*, no.64 (2020): 33-37.)



18. "The kitchen as a meeting place. Lessons from contemporary art," AGI Architects, accessed January 17, 2022, <http://www.agi-architects.com/blog/en/the-kitchen-as-a-meeting-place/>.

19. "Designeast 05 Camp In Kyoto- Moving Day," RAD, accessed December 24, 2023, <https://radlab.info/post/94222369678/designeast-05-camp-in-kyoto-moving-day>.

20. Burcu Serdar Köknar, "Mutfak Günlükleri," *Betonart*, no.64 (2020): 33-37.

“Cuisine Urbaine”, developed by Atelier d’Architecture Autogérée (AAA), a studio that conducts studies and research on an urban scale, is a type of mobile kitchen project that acts as an urban catalyst supporting public space.²¹ (Figure 7) Doina Petrescu mentioned that “Cuisine Urbaine is an urban device that articulates the memory of places, individual tastes, cultural backgrounds, personal narratives, know-hows, inventions and lucky finds. Together with the very act of cooking, other informal practices take place around the kitchen: meetings, discussions, testimonials, storytelling, exchange, play. It is a tool for concocting food, the community and the city.”²² From a social perspective, she draws attention to the importance of this approach, which goes beyond the ordinary and places the kitchen in a public space. Examples of urban-scaled works²³ that question and expand the definition of public space can be multiplied, such as this project, which focuses on creating a space for sharing and socializing by using the kitchen and food-related practices.

Infinity Kitchen, one of the works at the 2016 Venice Architecture Biennale, was designed by MVRDV, an architecture office that works on a global scale. Infinity Kitchen is an installation that displays the entire food preparation process at every stage, with all its components made up of transparent elements. This kitchen installation, which deals with the modular kitchen of the modern world in all its nakedness, raises awareness about the kitchen, which is compressed into a single space and contains a process that includes very intense actions.²⁴ (Figure 8) It encourages the designers to discuss this kitchen design issue again by revealing all the mess.



Figure 7: Cuisine Urbaine by AAA. (“Cuisine Urbaine,” Urban Tactics, accessed December 24, 2023, <https://urbantactics.org/projects/cuisineurbaine/cuisineurbaine.html>.)



21. “Cuisine Urbaine,” Urban Tactics, accessed December 24, 2023, <https://urbantactics.org/projects/cuisineurbaine/cuisineurbaine.html>.

22. Doina Petrescu, “Losing Control, Keeping Desire,” in *Architecture and Participation*, ed. Peter Blundell Jones, Doina Petrescu, and Jeremy Till (London: Routledge, 2005), 60.

23. “The Kitchen Square,” Studio Elin Strand Ruin, accessed December 24, 2023, <https://www.studioelinstrandruin.se/>.

“About,” The Mobile Food Collective, accessed December 24, 2023, <https://mobilefoodcollective.wordpress.com/history/>.

“About,” R-Urban, accessed December 24, 2023, <http://r-urban.net/en/sample-page/>.

“Özenle Kurutun,” İKSV, accessed December 24, 2023, <https://tasarimbienali.iksv.org/tr/kalici-eserler/ozenle-kurutun>.

“Güneş Mutfağı,” İKSV, accessed December 24, 2023, <https://tasarimbienali.iksv.org/tr/kalici-eserler/gunes-mutfagi>.

24. “Infinity Kitchen,” MVRDV, accessed December 24, 2023, <https://www.mrvd.com/projects/243/infinity-kitchen>.

Figure 8: Infinity Kitchen by MVRDV. (“Infinity Kitchen,” MVRDV, accessed December 24, 2023, <https://www.mrvd.com/projects/243/infinity-kitchen>.)



Figure 9: Hacking The Modern Kitchen. (“Hacking The Modern Kitchen,” İKSV, accessed December 24, 2023, <http://2tb.iksv.org/proje.asp?id=18>.)

Hacking The Modern Kitchen, one of the works in the 2nd Istanbul Design Biennial in 2014, is another work that questions the approach to the kitchen.²⁵ (Figure 9) People from many different disciplines come together and try to integrate the traditional knowledge obtained from Anatolian geography into urban modern cuisine. This study is remarkable in that it creates tactics²⁶ to hack the modern kitchen, but also makes you think about how a kitchen constructed on standards can be transformed. This perspective supports reading the kitchen as a place of know-how transfer, a place of socialization, a place of education, and a place of memory, in line with the opportunities it offers.

While these studies explore the possibilities of food-related activities, questioning the spatiality of the kitchen, and its definition. However, it is not sufficient to conduct research by focusing only on the space that comes to mind when considering the definition of today’s kitchen. Beyond the design of the kitchen, the relationship of the kitchen with other spaces of the house, the location of the kitchen, and how food-related actions and cycles transform the house should be observed. Elizabeth Collins Cromley developed the ‘food-axis’ concept and advanced her studies in line with similar concerns in her article and book. Cromley states “I use the concept “food axis” to explore the way houses are shaped instead of the usual “kitchen” and “dining room” because of the historical migration of the uses associated with those room names. The nature of a room - its relation to other parts of the house and to the outside world - changes so significantly according to the demands made of it and the social context in which it is embedded that current room names impede understanding.”²⁷ (Figure 10) With this framework, Cromley examines how the kitchen, which was previously seen as a dirty and smelly place, has now become a place for socialization. She associates changing social roles and the transformation in residential architecture with the food axis approach by going beyond the boundaries of the kitchen.²⁸ Cromley’s studies on kitchen spatiality in the United States are supportive and guiding for this research on domestic kitchens in Turkey.

When examining academic studies on housing beyond research focused on kitchens, it is observed that evaluations are often made based on facade features and the relationship the housing establishes with the urban area. In studies specifically dedicated to the spatial organization of housing, evaluations have centered more around living spaces such as rooms and salons rather than service spaces, including the kitchen. Within studies

25. “Hacking The Modern Kitchen,” İKSV, accessed December 24, 2023, <http://2tb.iksv.org/proje.asp?id=18>.

26. “Hacking The Modern Kitchen,” Design-Trak, accessed January 17, 2022, <http://design-trak.com/tr/works/modern-mutfagi-hackleme-gastronomika/>.

27. Elizabeth Collins Cromley, *The Food Axis: Cooking, Eating, and the Architecture of American Houses* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 2-3.

28. Elizabeth Collins Cromley, “Transforming the Food Axis: Houses, Tools, Modes of Analysis,” *Material Culture Review* 44, no. 1 (June 6, 1996). Accessed December 24, 2023. <https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/MCR/article/view/17695>.

dedicated to house kitchens, there has been an observed focus on the interior design of the kitchen, often neglecting the relationship of the kitchen with other spaces. Therefore, in this research, drawing inspiration from Cromley's concept of "the food axis," a similar approach has been adopted. Spatial organizations of housing are investigated through the kitchen, where food-related activities are concentrated.

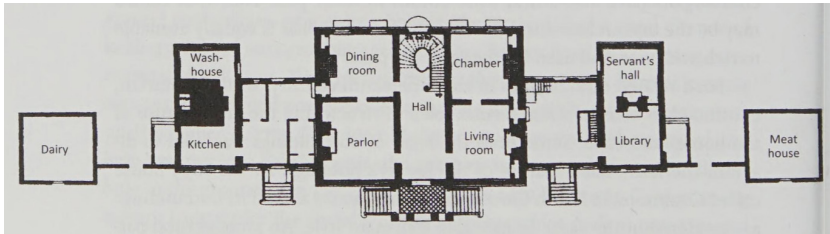


Figure 10: Nelly Custis Lewis's Virginia plantation house, Woodlawn, ca. 1800. (Elizabeth Collins Cromley, *The Food Axis: Cooking, Eating, and the Architecture of American Houses* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 80.)

Throughout this research, to discuss the definition and spatiality of kitchen produced by mainstream architecture, I need to clarify which approaches about space and spatiality provide theoretical frame to this research. Academic studies that go beyond the subject-object duality, consider 'space' as becoming, and focus on processes and practices²⁹ have been guiding this thesis. In addition, current perspectives in architecture³⁰ draw attention to the features of space that are changing and transforming. Space is produced by many human and non-human actors and the relationships of these actors. Apart from seeing only the space as a static background, those perspectives provide alternative ways. Thus looking at the kitchen and its spatiality through social relations and everyday life becomes possible.

Sociologist Martina Löw offers a wide-angle perspective on the debates on space in her work in which she explores the relationship between space and sociology and examines the constitution of space as a social process.³¹ She criticizes absolutist conceptions of space since these reduce space to a fixed and rigid plane, see as immobile and independent of action. Using the relativist ideas of space, she treats space as a relational arrangement of bodies. She also argues that for this reason, space will not constitute independent of time. "Accordingly, space cannot be the rigid container existing independently of social and material conditions, but rather space and the world of material bodies are interwoven with each other."³²

29. Sabine Hansmann, in her work, goes beyond the traditional architectural approach and explores the possibilities of monospace with the concept of "spacing". She evaluates spatial approaches in the field of architecture in her work. In order to overcome the subject-object duality, she goes beyond the features of the space such as form, size and style and considers the multi-actor structure of the space, processes and practices. She draws attention to the dynamic aspects of space such as production processes, occupation, temporality and social relations. According to Hansmann, "In contrast to buildings divided by walls into a sequence of rooms, monospaces are determined far less by the building shell than by a reciprocal relationship between space and practice and objects, materials and human bodies." and she expands its work through monospace sample spaces. Drawing on the sources of actor-network theory (ANT), the study aims to enrich the understanding that space is a complex process shaped by the interaction of many human and non-human actors in addition to architects. See: Sabine Hansmann, *Monospace and Multiverse: Exploring Space with Actor-Network-Theory* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2021), 13-21.

30. "Everybody knows—and especially architects, of course—that a building is not a static object but a moving project, and that even once it has been built, it ages, it is transformed by its users, modified by all of what happens inside and outside, and that it will pass or be renovated, adulterated and transformed beyond recognition." In the study of Bruno Latour and Alben Yaneva in which they evaluate architecture and architectural theories within the framework of Actor-Network Theory (ANT), it is emphasized that a building is not a static object. By giving examples of the architectural project process, it is underlined that a building is produced by many actors from the first design stage. From the design process to use and even demolition, buildings are in a transformation. They state that the representation methods are still insufficient to show this non-static structure of the building and architectural design processes. However, although the common approach which sees buildings and resulting architectural products as static objects, is pragmatic and usual, Latour and Yaneva thought that changing this view offers new potential for architectural design. See: Bruno Latour and Alben Yaneva, "«Give Me a Gun and I Will Make All Buildings Move»: An ANT's View of Architecture," *Ardeth*, 1 | 2017, 103-111.

31. Martina Löw, *The Sociology of Space: Materiality, Social Structures, and Action*, trans. Donald Goodwin (New York: Springer, 2016), 105-127.

32. *Ibid.*, 106.

With this point of view, she states that space is constituted through processes. In the continuation of her work, she investigates the factors in the establishment of the space and examines their effect on structuring society.³³

These perspectives will enable us to make sense of the spatiality of the kitchen, which is a place where many human and non-human bodies come together, located at the center of daily life, containing many different actions and processes. In addition to dimensions of space, the scope of architecture includes various factors like actions, materials, processes, social relations, and everyday life. Therefore, designing a kitchen is significantly influenced by relations, actions, workflows, and materials.

33. Löw basically divides the multi-actor structure of the space into two as living beings and social goods. She uses the concept of social goods for non-human bodies. She underlines that social goods can be divided into primarily material goods or primarily symbolic goods, but they can never be purely material or symbolic goods. She states that in the arrangements made while creating the space, the material properties of the goods will be dominant, but they will gain meaning with their symbolic properties. (Löw, *The Sociology of Space*, 130.) With this multi-actor situation that draws attention, we can understand non-human bodies' effects on the constitution of space through their socially ascribed meanings of them, the positioning of these objects, their relations with other actors, and their symbolic values. We can follow the potentials of a space shaped by intense activities such as the kitchen, by paying attention to these relationships, which perhaps do not attract our attention most of the time, among the activities that become routine in daily life.

Thresholds in The Transformation of The Kitchen

01

“Kitchen” is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as “A room or area equipped with facilities for the cooking and preparation of food”. The origin of the word “kitchen” in English is based on the Latin word “cocina”, which means kitchen.³⁴ The origin of the word “*mutfak*” in Turkish is the equivalent of the Arabic word “*matbah*”, which means kitchen.³⁵ The word “*matbah*” is frequently encountered in the Ottoman Turkish texts until the beginning of the 20th century. In Turkish dictionaries, the word “*mutfak*” is defined as the place where food is cooked.³⁶ The word “*matbah*” in Arabic is the conjugation of the word *ṭabāḫa* طبخ, which means to cook.³⁷ When definitions are examined in dictionaries, the kitchen appears as a space where the act of cooking takes place. However, the spatial organization of the places related to food changed and got increasingly concentrated throughout the period covered by the research. Today, the kitchen encompasses activities such as storage, washing, preparation, cooking, and eating. However, this was not valid until the late 20th century. There were separated and specialized spaces, meeting the needs of food-related processes. Therefore, an English explanation of Turkish place names that lack contemporary equivalents will be provided upon their initial mention in this research. Subsequently, the Turkish versions of these place names will be used.

Storing food was a crucial concern during a time when not all kinds of food were available every season in supermarkets found in every neighborhood, and most importantly, refrigerator technology had not yet been developed. In the summer seasons, vegetables and fruits were prepared for long-term storage using methods like pickling, making jam, and drying. These preparations ensured accessibility to a variety of foods during the winter seasons. It was essential to store foods away from the humidity and heat of the kitchen. The pantry, where food was stored, emerged as a significant food-related space. Pantries with easy access to the kitchen were commonly found in households, storing items in sacks, baskets, barrels, glass bottles, and plastic bins. The term “*kiler*” was used as the equivalent of the word “pantry” in the floor plans examined.

34. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “kitchen (n.1),” December 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/1170668018>.

35. *Güncel Türkçe Sözlük*, s.v. “mutfak,” December 2023, <https://sozluk.gov.tr/>.

36. Doğan Hasol, *Ansiklopedik Mimarlık Sözlüğü* (İstanbul: Yapı-Endüstri Merkezi Yayınları, 1979), 365.

37. *Nişanyan Sözlük*, s.v. “mutfak,” December 2023, <https://www.nisanyansozluk.com/kelime/mutfak>.

Nowadays, it is quite easy to access water in cities. Thanks to the infrastructure works of the municipalities, water is supplied to each building. When you start cooking, it is enough to turn on the tap to wash food. Devices working with natural gas or electricity allow hot water to flow from the taps in seconds. However, reaching the water at the end of the 19th century was not so easy. Wells in the gardens, water tanks, and cisterns (*sarnıç*) built under the garden or under the house were the components of the house to supply water to the house.

Today, we obtain the necessary heat energy for cooking from white goods such as stoves and ovens, which are powered by natural gas or electricity. However, in previous times, supplying the heat energy was not so clean and odorless. Heat energy was obtained by burning wood and coal. These exhaustive and smoky works became reasons for different spatial needs. Besides a place that was needed to store fuel, the stove did not occupy a small space to be placed on the counter. Built-in wood-fired ovens and cast iron stoves were used to cook. Moreover, these works that were quite difficult for a person to handle, required more labor. For this reason, there was a constant need for a staff of servants and accommodation areas for them. In addition, spatial solutions were needed to prevent food smells and smoke from reaching other parts of the house. Isolating the kitchen from the living spaces of the house, and defining service areas, and corridors are among these spatial solutions.

The “*ofis*”, another food-related space, is frequently seen in the plan drawings throughout the research. Today, the word “*ofis*” (office) is generally used to describe the workspace of white-collar workers like bureau (*büro*) or study room (*çalışma odası*). However, in plan drawings and texts, especially during the return of the 20th century, the words “bureau and study room” were used for the house owners’ workspace. In the same period, the word “*ofis*” (office), whose origin is French, defines a kind of food-related space, which is a service space that connects the room and the kitchen, where the food is prepared for presentation.³⁸

While this research focuses on the kitchen, other food-related spaces are also examined. Moreover, the transformation of these spaces and the change in their locations around the kitchen and within the house was observed.

Throughout the 20th century, apartments emerged as the primary housing option for middle-class families in Istanbul. Therefore, the discussion

38. Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. “‘offices’ in office (n.), sense 7.a,” December 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/6603366297>.

on evolving kitchens involves a comparative analysis of house plans, with a particular emphasis on the spatial organization of apartments. Apartments, in this context, refer to multi-story structures comprising independent units where different families coexist within a communal dwelling framework. In addition to the apartment building (*apartman*, *apartıman*, or *apartman binası*), the terminology used to describe this housing form during the 20th century includes various names such as rental house (*kira evi*), house (*konut*), dwelling units (*iskan ünitesi*), social housing (*sosyal konut*), and housing site (*site*). Consequently, all multi-story buildings featuring independent units are encompassed in the study. A table has been compiled from the apartment plans in the *Arkitekt* magazines, according to the spatial organization of the apartments. This table addresses key criteria such as the presence of food-related spaces, the orientation of kitchens towards the lightwell (*aydınlık*) or their positioning on the facade, and the existence of service entrances and service corridors. In the table, the apartments are listed chronologically according to the year of publication. The “X” symbol is placed if an apartment meets the features in the relevant headings. However, in case the legibility of some plan drawings is low or the spaces cannot be defined due to the lack of information in the plan drawings, the decision was made with an analogical approach in light of the information obtained from the buildings constructed in the same period. In some points where no certain information can be obtained, the symbol “/” is used. For example, if there is no clear information about a place that can be used as a storage or a servant’s room due to the size and location of the room, the “/” symbol is placed under these two headings. (Table 1)

The purpose of this table is neither to make a typology study, nor make a judgment by reading through the plan. This table fundamentally assists in identifying the thresholds in the transformation of middle-class family kitchens throughout the 20th century. Three different periods can be defined by examining the spatial organization of the house in terms of food-related spaces during the 20th century: Integration of the Kitchen to the House Plan (1850s-1930), Quest for an Efficient and Sanitary Kitchen (1930-1960), Making The Kitchen Visible (1960 - 1980). While certain time intervals are defined, it does not imply that any form of spatial organization does not recur before or after that period. These periods define intervals where specific spatial organizations for the middle class living in Istanbul are accumulated and more frequently repeated.

Table 1: Comparison of apartment plans in the archives of Arkitekt magazine.

- quest for an efficient and sanitary kitchen (1930-1960)
- making the kitchen visible (1960 - 1980)
- state-supported mass housing / social housing projects
- housing projects built by organizations such as cooperatives

Title	Publication Date	Kitchen (located on the façade)	Kitchen (looks to aydınlık (lightwell))	Ofis (Office)	Kiler (Pantry)	Hizmetçi Odası (Maid's Room)	Sandık Odası or Yüklük (Storage)	Service Entrance	Service Stair	Service Hall
Mühendis İbrahim Galip B. Apartmanı - Ayaspaşa	1931		X	X		X		X	X	X
Park Apartmanı - Nişantaşı	1931		X	X		X		X		
Işık Apartmanı	1932	X			/					
Apartman Binası - Pangaltı	1932		X		/	/	/	X		
Apartman Avan Projesi	1932	X		X		X		X		X
Nan Apartmanı	1932		X					X		
Hüsnü B. Apartmanı	1932		X	X						
Mühendis Derviş Bey Apartmanı	1932		X				X	X		
Bosfor Apartmanı	1932		X			X		X		
Hasan B. Apartmanı	1932		X							
Melek Apartmanı	1932		X	X	X			X		
İstiklâl Apartmanı	1932		X			X				
Münip B. Evi	1932		X				/			
M. H. Evi	1932		X							
İhsan Bey Evi	1933	X						X		
Pertev Apartmanı	1933	X				X		X		X

Table 1 (continued).

Title	Publication Date	Kitchen (located on the façade)	Kitchen (looks to aydınlık (lightwell))	Ofis (Office)	Kiler (Pantry)	Hizmetçi Odası (Maid's Room)	Sandık Odası or Yüklük (Storage)	Service Entrance	Service Stair	Service Hall
Şevket Bey Apartmanı	1933		X					X		
Seza Apartmanı	1933		X	X			/	X		
Agop Efendi Apartmanı	1933		X				/	X		
Röntgen Apartmanı	1933	X		X		X		X		X
Ceylân Apartmanı	1933	X		X		X		X	X	X
İki Ev	1934	X			X		X	X		X
Avniye Hf. Kira Evi	1934		X					X		
Bir Kira Evi (Fındıklı)	1934	X	X							
Bayan Firdevs Evi	1934		X	X	X	X		/		
İskeçe Apartmanı (Maçka)	1934		X			X		X		
Mühendis İzzet Bey Apartmanı	1934		X	/				X		
Küçük Apartman Projesi	1934	X								
Şeref Apartmanı	1934		X	/	/	X				
Halit Ziya B. Apartmanı	1934		X	X		X		X		
Kira Evi (Fatih)	1935		X					X		
Kira Evi	1935		X	/				X		/
Kira Evi (Kadıköy)	1935		X	X		/	/	X		
Kira Evi (Taksim)	1935		X			/	/	/		
Dr. Ziya ve Dr. Zeki Kira Evleri	1935		X			X		X		
"Cili" Kira Evi	1936		X	X		X		X		X

Table 1 (continued).

Title	Publication Date	Kitchen (located on the façade)	Kitchen (looks to aydınlık (lightwell))	Ofis (Office)	Kiler (Pantry)	Hizmetçi Odası (Maid's Room)	Sandık Odası or Yüklük (Storage)	Service Entrance	Service Stair	Service Hall
Kira Evi (Ayazpaşa)	1936		X	X		X	X	X	X	X
Erenköy'ünde Bir Ev	1936	X		X						
İkbal Kira Evi	1936		X	X						
Firat Kira Evi	1937		X	X		X		X		
Maçka'da Prof. A. A.Evi	1938	X		/				/	/	/
İki Ailelik Bir Ev	1939	X		X		X				
Kadıköy'ünde Bir Ev	1939	X								X
Taksim'de Bir Kira Evi	1939		X	X				/		/
Taksim'de Bir Apartman	1939		X			X				
Doğu Apartmanı	1940		X			X				
Göksun Kira Evi	1940	X				X		X		
Demir Ağ Kira Evi	1940		X	X		X		X	X	
Bir Kira Evi	1940		X	X		X		X	X	X
Bir Kira Evi	1940		X	X	X	X		X		
Bir Kira Evi	1941		X	X		X	X	X		
Şişli'de Bir Kira Evi	1943		X			/	/			
Maçka'da Bir Apartman	1946	X	X			/	/	X	X	/
Başaran Apartmanı	1949		X	X	X		X	X		
Birgiler Apartmanı	1950	X		X		X		X		X
Çifte Evler ve Apartman	1950	X						X		X

Table 1 (continued).

Title	Publication Date	Kitchen (located on the façade)	Kitchen (looks to aydınlık (lightwell))	Ofis (Office)	Kiler (Pantry)	Hizmetçi Odası (Maid's Room)	Sandık Odası or Yüklük (Storage)	Service Entrance	Service Stair	Service Hall
İlbay Apartmanı	1951		X				/	/		
Sadıklar Apartmanı	1951		X	X		X		X	X	
Nişantaşı'nda Bir Apartman	1951		X	X		X	X	X		
Levend 4. Mahallesi	1956	X		X		X				X
İstanbul Belediyesi T. Emlak Kredi Bankası Blok Apartmanları Atatürk Bulvarı	1957		X				X	/		X
Kalamışta Bir Apartman	1957	X				X		/		X
M. K. Apartmanı	1957		X	X		X	X	X		
Ataköy Sitesi Ataköy Sitesi Hakkında Rapor	1958	X		X		X		X		X
Birkan Apartmanları	1959	X		X		X	/	X		X
Kervansaray Apartmanı	1960		X	X		X		X	X	X
Hukukçular Sitesi	1961 - 1970	X								
Bir Apartman Binası (Emlak Caddesi)	1962		X	X	X	X		X	X	X
Petrol İş Sitesi Vaziyet Plânı	1962	X								
Topağacında Bir Apartman	1963		X			/		/		
Türkiye İş Bankası A. Ş. İkramiye Apartmanları Mahallesi	1964	X								
Liman Dok İşçi Sitesi	1964	X								
Emel Yapı Kooperatifi Blok Apartmanı	1965		X		X		X	/		
Günaydın Apartmanı	1966		X			X		X		
Ordu Yardımlaşma Kurumu İçin Apartman ve Ticari Tesisler Projesi	1966	X								
Sümer İşçileri Konutları	1969	X								

Table 1 (continued).

Title	Publication Date	Kitchen (located on the façade)	Kitchen (looks to aydınlık (lightwell))	Ofis (Office)	Kiler (Pantry)	Hizmetçi Odası (Maid's Room)	Sandık Odası or Yüklük (Storage)	Service Entrance	Service Stair	Service Hall
Osmanlı Bankası İskan Üniteleri	1969	X								
Yeşil Yurt'da Bir Apartman	1970		X					X		
Dublex Apartmanlar	1971	X	X			X				
Hürriyet Gazetesi Yapı Kooperatifi	1971	X	X							
Türksan Sitesi	1973	X	X					/		
Bir Çayhane ve Konut	1973	X						X		
Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Ataköy Sosyal Konut Uygulaması	1975	X								
Bir İskan Ünitesi	1975	X		/						X
Tekül Apartmanı - Çiftelhavuzlar	1976	X								
Tahincioğlu Apartmanları Çiftelhavuzlar	1976	X				X		X		X
Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Sosyal Konut İnşa Faaliyeti	1978	X								
Yapı ve Kredi Bankası A.Ş. Yardım ve Emekli Sandığı Vakfı Vali Konağı Sitesi	1978	X	X	X		X		X		X
Bağdat Caddesinde Dubleks Bir Apartman	1979	X	X							
Balıkçı Koyu Sitesi - Tuzla	1979	X	X							
İstanbul Esnaf ve Sanatkar Dernekleri Birliği Bağ-Kur Kredili Yapı Kooperatifi	1979	X								

During the first period, that coincides to the the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, mansions which are two or three-story structures located within a garden, lost their popularity for middle-class families. Their preference shifted towards living in apartments, which are multi-story buildings consisting of independent units. In other words, it is a period when apartments began to be seen in urban life as a new mode of housing for middle-class families in Istanbul. The period examined under the title 'Integration of the Kitchen to the House Plan' approximately covers the 1850s to the 1930. Although this period is outside the timeframe when Arkitekt magazine was published, the primary reason for including it is to demonstrate that the radical change in the middle-class housing form in Istanbul began during this timeframe. In this period, the societal perspective that previously did not consider the kitchen as part of the dwelling, and suggested planning it outside, changed. This shift was due to the consolidation of the dwelling into a single floor, which forced the integration of the kitchen into the house plan.

The second period covers approximately between 1930 and 1960, when social changes took place after the declaration of the republic. While Istanbul lost its status as a capital, the structure of its middle class citizens changed. Society was now shaped by nation-state policies. During this period, apartment life became normal and widespread for the middle class in urban areas. Concepts such as standardization and mechanization were on the agenda in line with modernization movements. Modernist concerns about being sanitary and efficient have spread to all areas of life. In this period, which is examined under the title "Quest for an Efficient and Sanitary Kitchen", while developments in Europe and America are closely followed, modernist concerns and habits from the past determine the spatial organization of the house and the design of food-related spaces.

The third period, coinciding with the time between 1960 and 1980, was marked by the observable impacts of the political changes from the 1950s on both the urban and housing scales in Istanbul. This era, characterized by a rising population due to migration from rural regions, not only significantly altered the social structure but also led to a housing crisis, forcing authorities to reevaluate existing housing policies. When social housing became the state's agenda, a kind of democratization is observed in the spatial organization of housing. The prevalence of distinct demarcations segregating kitchens from living areas was diminishing within residences facilitated by middle-class

households. During this period, investigated under the heading “Making The Kitchen Visible,” the domestic kitchen has surpassed its conventional role as a utilitarian workspace, opening up to interaction not only with housewives but also with other family members and even intimate guests. Due to the change in housing supply, such as large-scale urban transformation projects, and state-supported large-scale mass housing constructions based on type projects, the research was limited to the 1980s. However, at this point, it should be mentioned that the kitchen designs and spatial organizations of the houses in the third period predominantly repeat themselves in the post-1980 period.

1.1- Integration of The Kitchen to The House Plan (1850s - 1930)

During the turn of the 20th century in Istanbul, while societal and urban changes were observed, there was a simultaneous transformation in housing practices and domestic life. Mansions³⁹ became insufficient to meet modern requirements. A demand emerged for a new housing style tailored for the needs of middle and upper-income classes, comprising Muslim and non-Muslim Ottomans involved in bureaucratic and commercial activities. The decline in the popularity of mansions in Istanbul led to the emergence of apartments, initially conceived as a solution to the housing challenges faced by the urban working class due to rapid industrialization in Europe. By the end of the 19th century, apartments had evolved into the preferred housing choice for the middle and upper class in the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁰ Studies examining the records of apartment residents with the names and occupations indicate that the middle class started to prefer residing in apartments.⁴¹ Examining this housing transformation is crucial for comprehending the dominant housing form of the 20th century, namely apartments. One of the key factors triggering the transformation in the spatiality of the kitchen is the change in the form of housing. In Ottoman geography, mansion’s ground floor typically accommodates service areas. The main floor of the house is situated in the upper floors. Consequently, in these traditional houses, the term “house plan” specifically denotes the floor plan that encompasses the living spaces.⁴² Kitchens, traditionally not affiliated as a part of the house and placed among

39. In this thesis, the term “mansion” refers to detached houses, typically made of wood, situated within a garden. These houses consist of at least two floors and are suitable for the residence of a single extended family. The size and grandeur of these residences vary according to the family’s economic status. Besides, while features may differ based on climate and topography, mansions share common characteristics in terms of spatial organization in the Ottoman geography. Referred to in literature with terms such as “Ottoman House” or “Turkish House,” this type of residence has been named differently, including “konak,” “yalı,” “köşk,” or “ev” depending on its location and size. See: Doğan Kuban, *Türk Ahşap Konut Mimarisi: 17.-19. Yüzyıllar* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2021).; Sedat Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Evi: Osmanlı Dönemi / Turkish Houses: Ottoman Period, vol. 1* (Istanbul: Türkiye Anıt Çevre Turizm Değerlerini Koruma Vakfı, 1984).

40. Serim Denel, “Batılılaşma Sürecinde İstanbul’da Tasarım ve Dış Mekanlarda Değişim ve Nedenleri” (PhD thesis, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, İstanbul, 1982), 52-54.

41. Hakan Kaynar, *Projesiz Modernleşme: Cumhuriyet İstanbul’undan Gündelik Fragmanlar* (Istanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2012), 134.

42. In Ottoman geography, mansion’s ground floor typically accommodates service areas. The main floor of the house is situated in the upper floors. Consequently, in these traditional houses, the term “house plan” specifically denotes the floor plan that encompasses the living spaces. See: Sedat Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri* (Istanbul: Pulhan Matbaası, 1954), 11-14.

other service spaces, were now inevitably incorporated into the house plans. Therefore, in this section, the isolated kitchens of the mansions at the end of the 19th century and the kitchens of the early apartments in Istanbul are examined.

After the proclamation of the Imperial Edict of Reorganization (*Tanzimat Fermanı*) in 1839, the momentum of modernization movements in the Ottoman Empire significantly increased. The urban fabric and social life of the capital transformed in parallel with these changes.⁴³ Significant European capitals that modernized under the influence of the Industrial Revolution, were taken as examples for the modernization of Istanbul. From this point of view, reform was defined as the process of codification, systematization, and control. This led to the replacement of the decentralized Ottoman bureaucracy with a centralized hierarchy of civil servants.⁴⁴

During the second half of the nineteenth century, modern municipal works were carried out on city scale. *Altıncı Daire* (The Sixth Department), the first municipal organization of the Ottoman Empire in the modern sense, was established within the boundaries of today's Beyoğlu Municipality, covering the area of Galata and its surroundings.⁴⁵ Municipal works in the urban design context such as street lighting, street widening, and partial urban planning were conducted. These spatial changes have provided suitable urban conditions for early apartment buildings which are examined in this section. Old buildings were being demolished and modern structures were constructed in their stead.⁴⁶

Public transportation systems were a spatial development that increased encounters between people. The administrators reached a consensus that modernization could be attained by instilling a systematic order into the urban structure, facilitating effective communication between various parts of the capital, and enhancing the overall urban aesthetics.⁴⁷ Developments in this direction encouraged interactions between people from different social and ideological backgrounds. Residents of clustered neighborhoods, set apart by their ethnic and religious backgrounds, began to coexist in communities organized according to their economic class. This shift altered the previously clustered social structure of society.⁴⁸

While the city was becoming suitable for the construction of modern structures with infrastructure works, a modern middle class was forming that would prefer to dwell in these structures. Furthermore, the growing number of Ottoman-language magazines and newspapers⁴⁹ served as an additional

43. Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in The Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 31-37.

44. Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, 42-48.

45. Öncel, *Apartman*.

46. *Ibid.*, 30.

47. Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, 158.

48. Kaynar, *Projesiz Modernleşme*, 142.

49. İrvin Cemil Schick, "Sunuş," in "*Osmanlı Hanımları*" *Mutfakta: Osmanlıca Kadın Dergilerinde Yemek ve Mutfağa Dair Makaleler*, ed. Abdullah Uğur (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2019), 9.

indicator of the acceleration of social interaction. These publishing activities affected the architectural and spatial preferences of the society.⁵⁰

Despite increasing social interaction in the urban area⁵¹, men were more visible in the public place than women who were encouraged to stay at home.⁵² This situation also is observed in magazines published for women during the turn of the 20th century. Articles in magazines targeted at a female audience, like *Şükûfezar*, *Mürüvvet*, and *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, typically focused on topics pertinent to housing and private life. They often included articles about activities suitable for domestic spaces, such as cooking and sewing, which were deemed fitting pursuits for women.⁵³ Although these domestic responsibilities have been assigned to women for a long time, gender-based distinctions and the boundaries of private and public spaces started to blur at the end of the 19th century.

The living culture of upper-class Istanbul families, characterized by the spatial organization rooted in gender discrimination and the cohabitation of multiple generations as an extended family, started to undergo a transformation in alignment with the modernization movements initiated with the proclamation of the Imperial Edict of Reorganization (*Tanzimat Fermanı*) in 1839.⁵⁴

In the houses of upper class families, there was a spatial organization based on gender and the dichotomy of private and public spaces. *Selamlık* was a place where men received their guests and engaged in social interactions. *Selamlık* was also used as a kind of workspace where the men conducted business interviews.⁵⁵ Conversely, the *harem* remained isolated from men who were not family members, serving as the space where the household carried out its daily activities. It is worth noting that female guests were received in the *harem* section. Additionally, men spent time with their families within the *harem*.⁵⁶ Furthermore, houses belonging to certain prominent and high-ranking families were not comprised of a single building but rather a cluster of structures. In such residences, the “*harem*” and “*selamlık*” sections were constructed as separate buildings, making this distinction more pronounced.⁵⁷ However, this spatial organization was changing for families adopting modern values during the turn of the 20th century. In 1923, when the Republic was declared, the “*harem*” and “*selamlık*” division of space in houses lost its validity for upper-class families who adopted Western values.⁵⁸

Another significant development that shaped the spatiality of the house during this period was the move away from extended family living,

50. Gürbey Hiz, “Servet-i fünûn’da toplumsal mekânın anlatılar ile üretimi: Tahayyüller, inşalar ve deneyimler atlası (1891-1910)” (PhD thesis, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, İstanbul, 2020).; İsmail Tosun, “II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Osmanlı Dergilerinde Mimarlık” (Master’s thesis, Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, İstanbul, 2019).

51. Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, 69-70.

52. Ibid, 8.

53. Schick, “Sunuş,” 10-25.

54. Sibel Bozdoğan, “Modern Yaşamak: Erken Cumhuriyet Kültüründe Küçük Ev,” in *Tarihten Günümüze Anadolu’da Konut ve Yerleşme*, ed. Yıldız Sey (İstanbul:Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1996), 313.

55. Nigan Bayazıt, “Safranbolu Evlerinin Plan Tipolojisi ve Kullanıcı İhtiyaçları Hiyerarşisi,” *Tasarım+Kuram* 10, no.17 (2014): 1-15.

56. Ferhunde Özbay, *Dünden Bugüne Aile, Kent ve Nüfus* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2015), 114.

57. Doğan Kuban, *Türk Ahşap Konut Mimarisi: 17.-19. Yüzyıllar* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2021).

58. Bozdoğan, “Modern Yaşamak,” 313.

where multiple generations resided together. Ferhunde Özbay, demographer and sociologist, draws attention to the fact that marriage at a late age, relatively low fertility, and nuclear family structure are common among the Muslim population of Istanbul for both men and women according to the population census of 1907.⁵⁹ The family underwent a notable democratization, placing an emphasis on the marital couple as companions and showing a heightened interest in the health and upbringing of children.⁶⁰ The transition from mansions to apartments has led to ambiguous boundaries of privacy in domestic life. The concept of privacy transformed both in residential settings and at an urban level.⁶¹

Despite the growing prevalence of the nuclear family format, these mansions accommodated a sizable number of residents. In his study on traditional Ottoman houses, Sedad Hakkı Eldem notes that the population in these houses was at least 10 people, including servants.⁶² It is essential to acknowledge that, beyond the family structure defined solely by kinship ties, additional individuals living in the household, contributing to fulfilling daily needs, were regarded as integral members of the family within this housing context.⁶³

These mansions necessitated a significant labor force for tasks such as carrying coal, shopping, cooking, and house cleaning.⁶⁴ As a result, the house should be considered not just as a shelter, but also as a workplace. The kitchen played a crucial role in this labor cycle, essential for maintaining the continuity of life in the house. In an era dominated by distinct gender roles, the man, designated as the family head, bore the responsibility of providing the family's financial income, while the woman, acknowledged as the family's mother, managed the housework cycle.⁶⁵ In addition to female servants, male servants were also involved in various domestic roles. Men took charge of cooking, gardening, or transportation, while women handled cleaning, laundry, and the care of patients or children. In these houses, the spatial arrangement was designed to minimize interactions between male servants and female family members.⁶⁶ Ferhunde Özbay contends that precise data on servants in Ottoman traditional houses is unavailable. However, literature and historical accounts indicate that their numbers were significant. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, as the slave trade was prohibited, there was a corresponding decline in the number of slaves. Nevertheless, the demand for domestic labor persisted. During this period, impoverished or orphaned village girls were adopted by middle-class households under the pretext

59. Özbay, *Dünden Bugüne Aile*, 113.

60. Bozdoğan, "Modern Yaşamak," 313.

61. Kaynar, *Projesiz Modernleşme*, 142.

62. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Evi: Osmanlı Dönemi / Turkish Houses: Ottoman Period*, vol. 2 (İstanbul: Türkiye Anıt Çevre Turizm Değerlerini Koruma Vakfı, 1984), 14.

63. Yıldırım Yavuz, "Türkiye'de Çok Katlı Sosyal Konuta İlk Örnek: İstanbul-Laleli'de Harikzadegan Katevleri," *Çevre*, no. 4 (July&August 1979): 80.

64. Kaynar, *Projesiz Modernleşme*, 133.

65. Özbay, *Dünden Bugüne Aile*, 115-120.

66. *Ibid.*

of protection. This practice endured for an extended period and became institutionalized as maids exchanged domestic services for basic needs such as shelter.⁶⁷ With the decline of the empire's economy, ensuring the continuity of daily life in mansions became increasingly challenging. However, the abandonment of existing housing practices and the preference for apartments were not only influenced by economic factors. The transformation of apartments into symbols of modern life must have had a great impact in the changing preferences of the society.⁶⁸

This period, which includes the transition from mansion to apartment, is discussed under three different subheadings. The first one investigates the design and features of kitchens in 19th century mansions, emblematic of the conventional residential architecture for middle and upper-class families during the latter half of that century. The second subheading explores the abandonment of these mansions by the middle and upper class families and their transformation into shelters for low-income families. This section investigates how these families adapt the kitchen spaces to meet their needs. In the third and final part, the kitchens of the early apartment examples which were newly incorporated into the urban space during this period, are examined.

1.1.1- Kitchens of Mansions

Despite the decline of mansions, some families adhered to the traditional lifestyle in these houses during this period. This section of the research, focusing on the transitional phase from mansions to apartments, requires an initial examination of family relations, daily life within households, the placement of kitchens within houses, and the spatial configuration of kitchens in mansions.

Peyami Safa's novel *Fatih-Harbiye* explores the conflict between modern and traditional lifestyles in early twentieth-century Istanbul.⁶⁹ It offers a glimpse into family life in mansions. The novel depicts Fatih as a district rooted in tradition, notable for its old mansions, while Harbiye represents the modern aspect of Istanbul. Numerous narratives within the novel offer insights into the architectural layout of the period, the positioning of the kitchen within the home's spatial arrangement, and the inhabitants' interaction with their living space. One of the main characters, Neriman, is the daughter of

67. Özbay, *Dünden Bugüne Aile*, 115-120.

68. Sedat Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Evi: Osmanlı Dönemi / Turkish Houses: Ottoman Period, vol. 1* (İstanbul: Türkiye Anıt Çevre Turizm Değerlerini Koruma Vakfı, 1984), 9.

69. Peyami Safa, *Fatih Harbiye* (İstanbul: Ötügen, 1999)

a middle-class family facing economic hardships. She resides in an old and modest mansion in Fatih with her father and the household servant, Gültür. In an attempt to demonstrate that she is a responsible and well-educated young girl to her father, she ventures into the kitchen to assist Gültür. As evident from women's magazines of the time, it was emphasized that, socially, kitchen work was the duty of the women in the household. Every detail in the kitchen that frustrates Neriman provides insights into the spatiality of kitchens of this period. When Neriman enters the kitchen to cook, she picks up the coal bucket and empties the coal onto the stove. Being unaccustomed to such tasks, she wishes to wash her stained hands but finds the tin bucket (*teneke*) empty. Gültür fetches well water using a jug (*maşrapa*), yet Neriman becomes angrier as the well water does not bubble easily. While Neriman waits by a stone sink, Gültür brings fresh water from a clay pot (*küp*).

The use of coal and wood-burning stoves to generate the necessary heat for cooking, the absence of a municipal water system, and reliance on well water all underscore the substantial amount of labor needed to manage even daily chores in these kitchens.

Despite Neriman and her father embodying a middle-class family that faces economic struggles, the household still employs a servant, Gültür. However, her role in the house is not limited to working as a paid maid. She is like a member of the family with ambiguous boundaries. Instances such as her recollections of Neriman's childhood, her vested interest in Neriman, and her involvement in family affairs contribute to the perception of Gültür as an integral part of the household. Gültür's position illustrates the practice of taking in orphaned or economically disadvantaged girls as servants, ostensibly for their protection.

Gültür's memories shed light on the daily life of upper-class families in old magnificent mansions. In the section featuring Neriman's grandmother, the narrative emphasizes the qualities expected of a skilled housewife. Gültür describes the grandmother as knowledgeable about all aspects of housework, responsible for managing servants, overseeing their tasks, and providing training. It is highlighted that the grandmother read books to the servants, turning the mansion into a quasi-school. In addition to the relationships of the individuals in this house, items that belong to the traditional house culture such as mattresses (*şilte*), cushions (*minder*), and copper braziers (*mangal*) are mentioned with nostalgic feelings. These highly portable items facilitated the flexible arrangement of rooms for various functions, such as sleeping, sitting,

eating, etc., in mansions where specific functions were not assigned to rooms. Additionally, the presence of modern furniture like consoles, sofas, and chairs is noted. These furniture was strategically placed in a way that guests could see. The household continued the habits of the traditional lifestyle and did not prefer to use modern furniture. This condition reflected the spatial dilemma in society caught between modern and traditional values.⁷⁰

Sedad Hakkı Eldem, in his study on traditional Ottoman houses, defines rooms and “sofa”⁷¹ as the main components of the house.⁷² Eldem views the kitchen as a space that should be grouped with other service areas and maintains that it does not impact the overall housing plan. Whenever possible, the kitchen was designed as an independent entity, separate from the rest of the house.⁷³ This underlines that the kitchen is seen merely as a workspace corresponding to the necessary work package to ensure the continuity of family life in the house. However, in more dense urban areas, the kitchen had to become a part of the residence. Even in this case, there was no kitchen or food-related space on the second floor, which is considered the main space for Ottoman houses. The kitchen was located on the ground floor, especially with a separate service entrance. (Figure 11) Along with food-related areas such as the kitchen and cellar, stables and horse carriages were also located on the ground floor, depending on the income level of the family.⁷⁴

Eldem contends that individuals placed significant importance on their homes, frequently praising and boasting about them. As a result, he emphasizes that for many, their house is akin to a personal palace.⁷⁵ This viewpoint may have led to the exclusion of dirty, smelly, and messy spaces where household chores were carried out, from being considered integral parts of the house. Celal Esat Arseven, citing examples of expansive mansions requiring a substantial workforce, details the existence of rooms encircling the courtyard, primarily designated for male servants. Additionally, he notes that the kitchen was situated in the garden, detached from the main house.⁷⁶ At the end of the 19th century, the importance of having a garden or courtyard of the house is emphasized. It is stated that creating an area in the garden for stacking coal and wood was necessary. Additionally, it was recommended that the kitchen be built separately from the house, to keep bad odors away and to minimize the fire hazard posed by the stove. A transition space between the kitchen and the house must have been essential.⁷⁷

70. Safa, *Fatih Harbiye*.

71. *Sofa* appears as both a circulation space and a place where the residents of house comes together. The rooms open to the sofa, which is generally designed as the center of the house. See: Eldem, *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri*.

72. Eldem, *Türk Evi*.

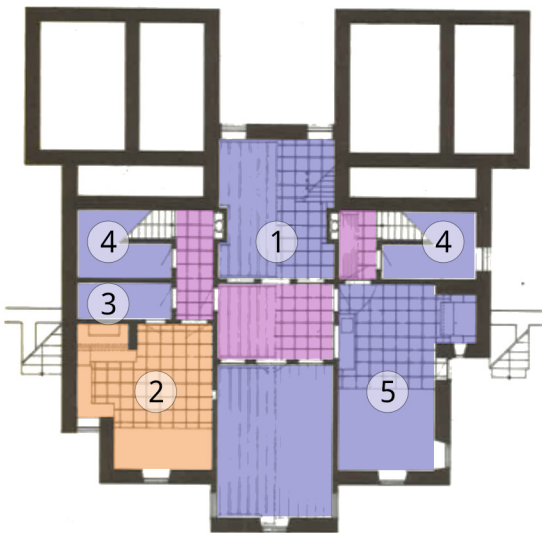
73. Eldem, *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri*, 14.

74. Yavuz, “Harikzadegan Katevleri,” 80.

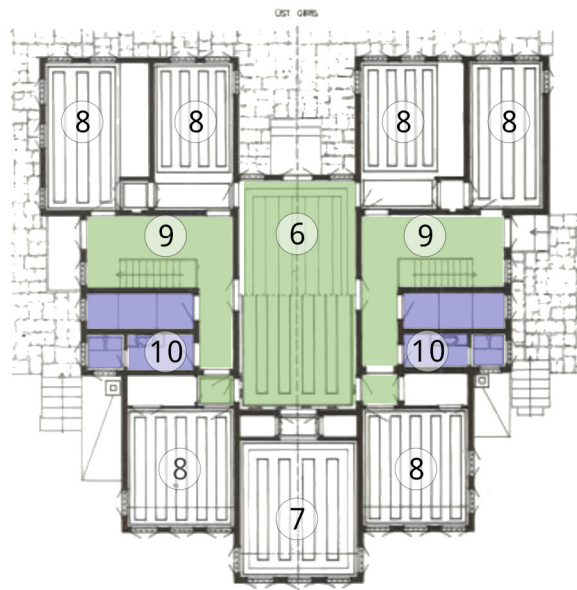
75. Eldem, *Türk Evi*, 60.

76. Celal Esat Arseven, *Türk Sanatı* (İstanbul: Türk Ocakları Merkez Neşriyatı, 1984), 108.

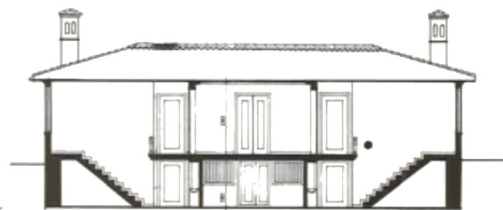
77. Meral Nayman Demir, trans., “Aile: Evin Tertip ve Tanzimi (1880),” in “Osmanlı Hanımları” *Mutfakta: Osmanlıca Kadın Dergilerinde Yemek ve Mutfığa Dair Makaleler*, ed. Abdullah Uğur (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2019), 31-34.



ground floor plan



main floor plan



1: stone-paved common space on the ground floor (*taşlık*) - 2: kitchen
 3: pantry - 4: storage - 5: laundry - 6: sofa - 7: main room (*başoda*)
 8: room - 9: secondary sofa (*bölük sofası*) - 10: WC

kitchen
 service space
 service circulation
 main circulation

Figure 11: House of an Architect in Kuzguncuk, 19th Century. (Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Evi: Osmanlı Dönemi / Turkish Houses: Ottoman Period*, vol. 1 (İstanbul: Türkiye Anıt Çevre Turizm Değerlerini Koruma Vakfı, 1984), 234.)



Figure 12: Representation of modern furnitures in a children's book in the Ottoman Empire. ("Home furnishings' as portrayed in a children's reader, 1909," Salt Araştırma, Alan Duben&Cem Behar Arşivi, accessed December 24, 2023, <https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/29800>.)

While modernization movements influenced society, Western home decoration, and lifestyles became status symbols for the middle class. (Figure 12) Although no rooms were specifically designated for particular functions, modern furniture, such as dining tables was used in residences, as mentioned in the *Fatih-Harbiye* novel. However, this change does not necessarily imply that specific functions were assigned to rooms in practice. For example, despite the presence of dining tables, the tradition of eating at floor tables persisted.⁷⁸

In his memoir titled *Bir Zamanlar Nişantaşı'nda* (*Once Upon a Time in Nişantaşı*), Hıfzı Topuz describes how porcelain dinnerware were displayed in vitrines in the salons open to guests in the old mansions. On the other hand, the daily dining practices of the period, as quoted by Sociologist Mübeccel Kıray, were different from the Western eating habits. Kitchens were located outside of the house, and meals were served to rooms on trays. There was no tradition of a large dining table where all household members gathered to eat. Instead, meals were delivered to rooms according to the number of people, and then plates were cleared by the servants.⁷⁹ While the lifestyle within mansions has undergone a transformation over time, it is noteworthy that kitchens remain distanced from being perceived as an inherent component of the house.

Topuz gives information about the use of kitchens in old mansions in *Nişantaşı*. He states that in addition to the monumental entrance gate of the mansions, there was a second entrance used by servants and vendors. The kitchen was located on the ground floor with other service spaces such as the pantry. Sometimes the dining room was also located on this floor. Rotating cabinets (*dönme dolap*) which were used as a service tool between the dining room and the kitchen, ensured the privacy of the dining room. While the dining room typically contained items used for dining service, the kitchen was equipped with functional items used in the food preparation processes. Additionally, there were examples where cisterns meeting the water needs of residences could be accessed from the kitchen.⁸⁰

Although there was diversity in the dimensions of houses, it is notable that there existed a commonality in the spatial configuration of these mansion-like structures. Key features such as the kitchen's separated access to the outside, its positioning within the ground floor plan, and the interior views of the kitchens demonstrate a shared mentality. The book *Osmanlı Adet, Merasim ve Tabirleri* (*Ottoman Traditions, Ceremonies, and*

78. Özbay, *Dünden Bugüne Aile*, 117-118.

79. Hıfzı Topuz, *Bir Zamanlar Nişantaşı'nda* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2017), 46-48.

80. Topuz, *Bir Zamanlar Nişantaşı'nda*, 46-48.

Expressions), written by Abdülaziz Bey, who lived between 1850-1918, sheds light on modest mansion-like detached houses located near the city walls. In a modest detached house mentioned in the book, there is a small kitchen with a low ceiling on the ground floor. The kitchen is located on the side of the ground floor, facing the garden. The other room on the ground floor is described as being used as a daily living and dining area due to its warmth. These houses are characterized by their comparatively smaller gardens or courtyards, in contrast to the gardens typically found in larger mansions. Furthermore, instead of the cisterns commonly present in larger mansions, these smaller dwellings relied on large pots (*testi*) placed in the courtyard to meet their water needs.⁸¹

In the magazines published specifically for women during the final years of the Ottoman Empire, there are explanations about the approach to the kitchen and the organization of food-related spaces in the house. The content of the articles indicates that the target group of these magazines during this period consisted of women from middle and upper-middle-class families. Therefore, the depictions of kitchens and houses in these texts are representative of the social class with middle and upper-middle income.⁸² While explaining how the kitchen arrangements should be, the woman, who is the manager of the house, is reminded not to leave the employees in the kitchen unattended. It is stated that one side of the kitchen is reserved for the stove using coal as fuel. It is recommended that the stove be at a height suitable for use while standing or sitting on a chair. It was stated that the idea of raising the stove above the ground was not welcomed by the cooks. However, the importance of this innovation was emphasized by the fact that the lady of the house would enter the kitchen and the hem of her dress should be protected from ashes.

In addition to the stove, it is observed that coal, used as fuel in ovens, was an essential part of cooking. Tools such as tongs, blowers, and shovels were used to control the fire in the oven and were usually hung on the wall on both sides of the stove. There should be a surface for placing dirty dishes at a height suitable for standing use, and right next to it, there should be a washing area made of stone or thick white wood in a cavity form like a tub. It is also stated that this tub should have a hole in its bottom to drain the water. It is noteworthy that even standardized sinks, which do not require explanation today, were described in detail. Additionally, sinks, now often produced prefabricated, were manufactured on-site at the beginning of the

81. Kaynar, *Projesiz Modernleşme*, 111-112.

82. Meral Nayman Demir, trans., "Aile: Evin Tertip ve Tanzimi (1880)," in "*Osmanlı Hanımları" Mutfağında: Osmanlıca Kadın Dergilerinde Yemek ve Mutfağa Dair Makaleler*, ed. Abdullah Uğur (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2019), 31-34.

century. Above this washing area, there should be shelves called *terek* (wall-mounted plate rack) where the washed kitchen utensils would be placed. Furthermore, nails, for hanging large kitchen utensils like pans should be located next to the shelves. (Figure 13) After the cooking and washing areas, the storage area was mentioned. It was recommended to have a cabinet that is large and deep enough to cover almost the entire wall. This cabinet should have contained open shelves, parts covered with wire cages, sections with lids, and drawers. The items to be stored in each part were specific. Plates and pans were recommended to be placed on open shelves, products such as meat in wire cage sections, products like oil in covered sections, and salt and spices in drawers. In addition to this large cabinet, there were supposed to be *küfe* (wicker baskets) on both sides of the cabinet. One of these was used to store fresh vegetables and the other for collecting garbage.

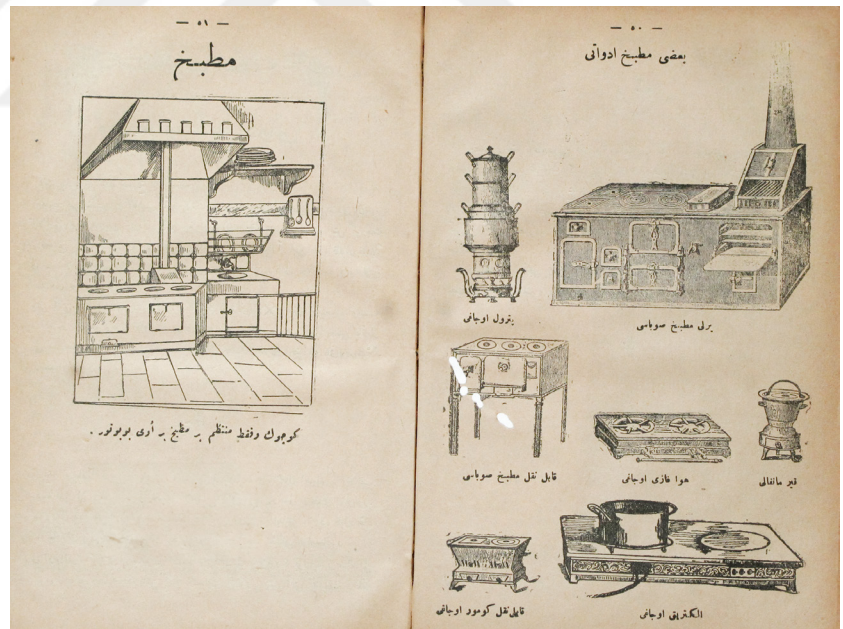


Figure 13: Depiction of Kitchen Interior and Kitchen Items. (Mehmed Reşad, *Fenn-i Tabahat (Aşçılık Bilimi)* (1921-1923))

It is also stated that the kitchen should not have more than two windows. Additionally, in houses with a courtyard, it was recommended to have a door from the courtyard to the street, if possible, without passing through the house. This door was used for tasks that would pollute the house, such as carrying wood and coal and being used by the *saka* (water vendor) who brought fresh water to the house.

At the turn of the 20th century, kitchens were quite different from what we have today. In these spaces, which do not have any standardized equipment, continuous counters, or technological devices, the cooking process was very messy, odorous, and time-consuming. Before examining the kitchens of apartment buildings, which are the new housing type, it will be useful to examine the housing practices produced by low-income classes and the cooking space in these practices in order to understand the idealized kitchen for the middle class.

1.1.2- Dwellings of Low-Income Families and Kitchen Tactics

In this era, Istanbul experienced a surge in population density. The Ottoman Empire's territorial losses due to wars such as the 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian War, the 1912-1913 Balkan Wars, and the 1914-1918 World War I resulted in substantial migration to Istanbul from the impacted regions. As the population rapidly grew, the demand for housing increased. The existing housing model of mansions in gardens proved insufficient to meet this demand. Istanbul, compelled to seek new forms of housing, entered a phase of transformation. Beyond the alternative housing choices offered to Istanbul's middle class, new housing models emerged for low-income families. These included repurposing old inns and outdated multi-story mansions for residential use, where low-income families occupied individual rooms in shared living arrangements.⁸³

İsmail Hakkı Sunata's memoir titled *İstibdattan Meşrutiyete, Çocukluktan Gençliğe* (From Despotism to Constitutionalism, From Childhood to Youth), mentions how old mansions were rented room by room and used by different families.⁸⁴ One of these mansions was the birthplace of İsmail Hakkı Sunata, a dilapidated three-storey mansion in Fatih-Yenibağçe. Numerous low-income families resided in this old mansion. Here, the privacy boundaries had significantly diminished. The mansion's *sofa*, once a central space for family gatherings, now functioned as a communal apartment hall. Portable braziers, traditionally used for heating, served as the primary cooking heat source in place of a stove. During meal preparation, women tenants temporarily transformed the *sofa* area into a kitchen.

83. Kaynar, *Projesiz Modernleşme*, 111-112.

84. Ibid.

It is also observed in the 1962 movie *Acı Hayat*, directed by Metin Erksan, a low-income couple who are about to get married are looking for a house to rent.⁸⁵ Looking for a house they can afford to rent, the couple enters an old mansion in the garden. In this part of the film, sections from the daily life of the ruined mansion, where many different families live together and rooms are rented separately, are presented. The *sofa* on the ground floor is used as a playground where children run. On the upper floor, the *sofa* is used by three women tenants as a workspace. Here, one of the women is washing clothes and the other is washing dishes. The other woman is preparing food on a makeshift counter. Clothes are drying on a rope hanging from wall to wall. On the top floor, two tenant women cooking in the temporal kitchen set up in the *sofa* greet the couple, and one of the women summarizes the way of life here: “I live in the room opposite. All tenants cook their meals in the *sofa*, it is a common space. Electricity and water fees are paid jointly. Do you like the room?”⁸⁶ (Figure 14) Although the movie *Acı Hayat* is from 1962, the lives of the families in this old wooden mansion match the housing practices of low-income families in the early 20th century.



Figure 14: The Temporal Kitchen Set Up in The *Sofa*. (Yeşilçam Nostalji, “Acı Hayat,” directed by Metin Erksan, August 19, 2022, video, 1:30:08, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L1tKy7c3Dgk&t=938s>.)

⁸⁵. Yeşilçam Nostalji, “Acı Hayat,” directed by Metin Erksan, August 19, 2022, video, 1:30:08, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L1tKy7c3Dgk&t=938s>.

⁸⁶. Ibid.

⁸⁷. Kaynar, *Projesiz Modernleşme*, 116-117.

Kaynar states that masonry buildings with narrow and long plans built on small plots in the Fener neighborhood shared the same fate as mansions. Here, different families shared the kitchen on the ground floor.⁸⁷ At the beginning of the 20th century, there were apartment-like housing consisting of units with their own kitchens, albeit small, for low-income families. In Aziz Nesin’s book *Böyle Gelmiş Böyle Gitmez (Istanbul Boy: The Autobiography*

of Aziz Nesin), in which he tells his childhood memories, one of the houses where his family moved was the four-five storey masonry house in Langa, between Laleli and Yenikapı.⁸⁸ In this house, which can be described as a type of apartment, only one family accommodated on each floor. However, there was only one room on the entire floor. The water needs of the house were met with water carried in buckets from the nearby fountain. Additionally, each tenant family cooked their own food on their own floor. The fact that the smell of the neighbor's cooking on the upper floor reaches disturbingly to the other floors indicates that there was some kind of kitchen on each floor, even if it was not well designed and constructed.

While Kaynar compares this house in Langa to the apartment buildings that emerged in Galata towards the end of the 19th century, he emphasizes that their common feature is that they are multi-storey and the floors are independent of each other.⁸⁹

During this period, for low-income families living in Istanbul, accommodation in flats with their own kitchens and bathrooms was associated with the dream of being middle class. For middle-class families during this period, residing in an apartment was an indication of adopting a modern lifestyle, whereas the primary expectation for low-income families was to provide shelter in healthy conditions and privacy.

1.1.3- Kitchens of Early Apartments in Galata

During the turn of the 20th century, when apartment buildings were newly incorporated into the urban fabric, the vertical space organization of the traditional multi-storey house had to transform into a horizontal space organization in a single floor plan. In early apartment examples, a spatial organization shaped around common principles was not yet observed. Kitchen spatialities in these buildings, which can also be seen as an experimental production, are discussed in this section. Ayşe Derin Öncel, delving into the early apartment buildings in Galata and examining the interplay between spatial changes and lifestyles, emphasizes that the transition from vertical to horizontal spatial layouts in homes, the cohabitation of multiple families in a single building, and the functional categorization of rooms are key innovations apartments brought to society.⁹⁰

88. Aziz Nesin, *Böyle Gelmiş Böyle Gitmez* (İstanbul: Düşün Yayınevi, 1966), 186.

89. Ibid.

90. Öncel's architectural survey study with archival significance and plan drawings of apartments are enlightening for this research regarding the transition process from mansions to apartments. See: Ayşe Derin Öncel, *Apartman: Galata'da Yeni Bir Konut Tipi* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2014), 3-8; 363-418.

It should also be emphasized that until the 1960s, the concept of condominium ownership did not exist. The ownership, and consequently, the construction costs of the apartment buildings until the second half of the 20th century were the responsibility of a single person. These apartments were considered investment tools to be rented out. Therefore, the land area was used to the maximum.

When these plans are examined, one of the common features is that the building limits follow the plot boundaries. As can be observed in the plans, leaving a very small lightwell at the border of the neighboring building, not leaving a setback distance at the plot border on the street facades, and extending the building volume in the form of a bay window (*cumba*) on the upper floors facing the street, shows the desire to provide maximum use of the land. (Figure 15-16-17-18)

Galata, which did not have grid-based texture, was a dense urban area with a long history, shaped by factors such as city walls and topographic conditions. Therefore, these apartments built within this texture cannot share a certain size or plan scheme. Some apartment buildings have very narrow plans, while others have plans with proportions close to a square. There are examples in the plans that do not have standard geometry following the diagonal plot boundary. Although these conditions make it difficult to group the plans, common points can be identified.

Unlike the Ottoman housing tradition, the plans showcase openings from room to room, a characteristic more common in European housing cultures. In addition, the corridors seen in plans providing indoor circulation are also mostly seen in Western housing culture. Noteworthy are the instances where sofa-like spaces are incorporated into apartment plans. Despite these shared spaces being perceived as a continuation of existing housing culture, Öncel argues that such spaces in apartments do not provide comfortable conditions due to their introverted, dark, and stuffy nature, unlike their traditional counterparts.⁹¹

The superposition of multi-storey mansions in a single-floor plan may be one of the reasons for such situations as seeing transitions from room to room, corridors becoming the dominant circulation space, and *sofa*-like spaces not being able to provide comfort conditions. At this point, it is no longer sustainable that service spaces such as kitchens are generally located outside the house or on the ground floor. The kitchen, like other service areas, is included in the floor plan.

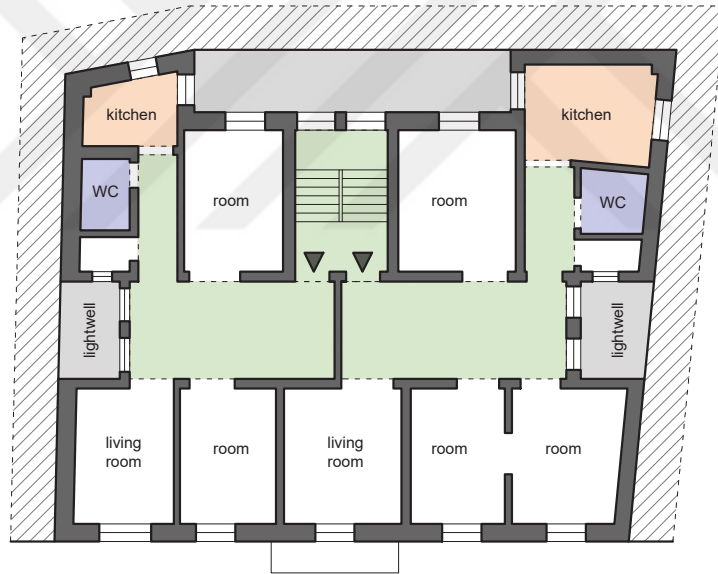
91. Öncel, *Apartman*, 263-293.



- lightwell
- service circulation
- kitchen
- service space
- main circulation

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

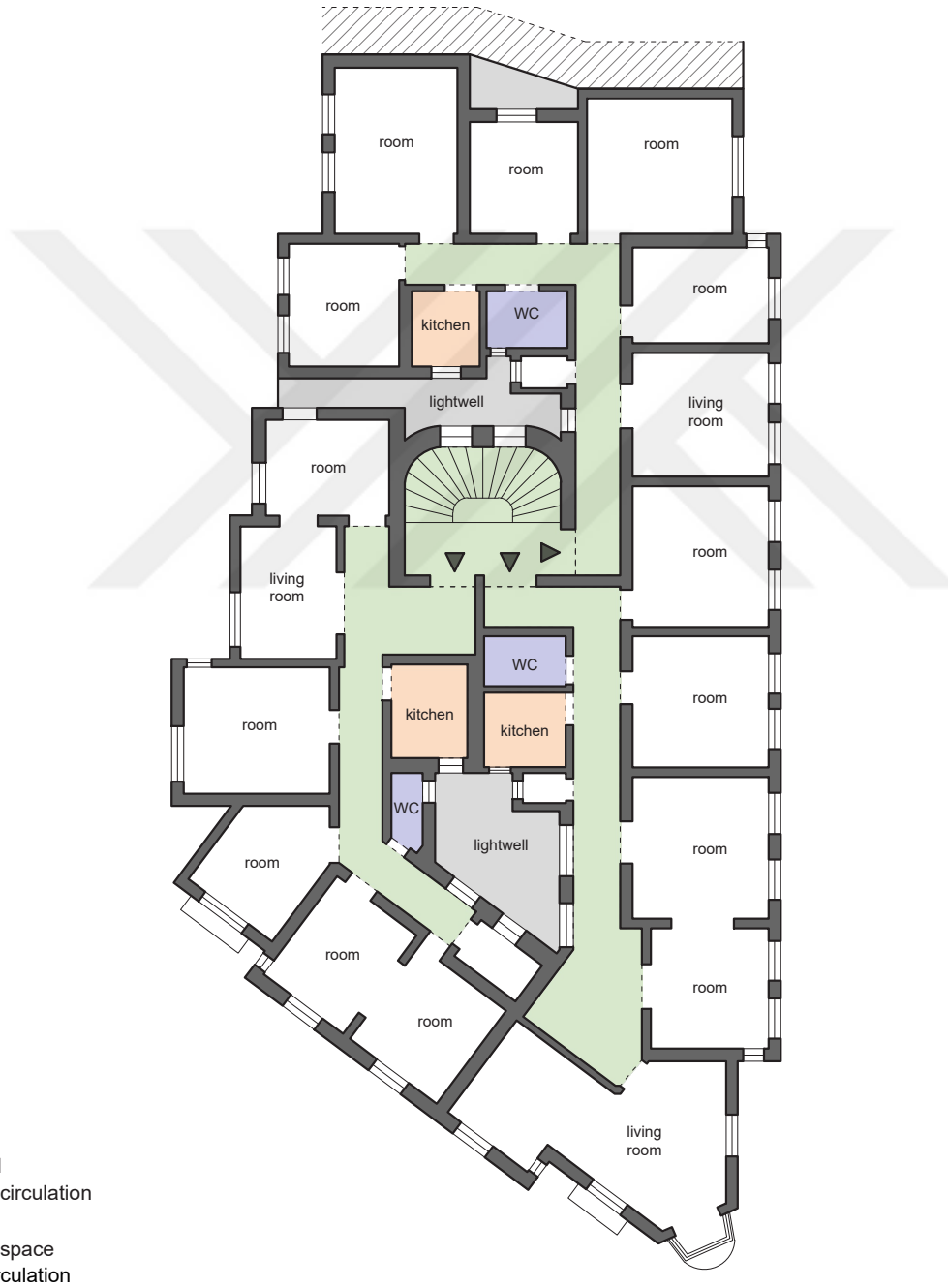
Figure 15: Tünel Apartmanı, Floor Plan. (Ayşe Derin Öncel, *Apartman: Galata'da Yeni Bir Konut Tipi* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2014), 394.)



- lightwell
- service circulation
- kitchen
- service space
- main circulation

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Figure 16: Bagdatlian Apartmanı, Floor Plan. (Ayşe Derin Öncel, *Apartman: Galata'da Yeni Bir Konut Tipi* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2014), 386.)



- lightwell
- service circulation
- kitchen
- service space
- main circulation

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Figure 17: Leonidas Apartmanı, Floor Plan. (Ayşe Derin Öncel, *Apartman: Galata'da Yeni Bir Konut Tipi* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2014), 392.)



- lightwell
- service circulation
- kitchen
- service space
- main circulation

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Figure 18: Mimicopoulo Apartmanı, Floor Plan. (Ayşe Derin Öncel, *Apartman: Galata'da Yeni Bir Konut Tipi* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2014), 397.)

While some kitchens are positioned close to the entrance in apartment plans, some kitchens are placed considerably farther away. The sizes of kitchens also vary significantly. Despite these differences, the commonality lies in the placement of kitchens facing the airshaft or the rear facade, keeping them away from the main facade. Furthermore, the plans lack additional spaces related to food other than the kitchen. Kitchens are designed as single, integrated spaces. Additionally, wet areas like the kitchen, toilet, and bathroom are often planned together. In some instances, toilets and bathrooms are accessible from the kitchen. While information about the kitchen's size, location, and its relationship with other areas of the house is available in the accessed plans, no data was found regarding the interior design.

The kitchen scenes in the movie *Muhsin Bey* contain information about the interior appearance of kitchens in early apartments.⁹² The apartment where *Muhsin Bey* resided as a tenant, is *Doğan Apartment*, one of the early apartment buildings that is still used as housing today. *Muhsin Bey* is introduced as a well-known and respected person who has adopted modern values. He defines himself as middle class at the beginning of the film. However, suffering from economic conditions, he was trying to continue his life in the part of the city that had become a kind of ghetto for impoverished groups and minorities. Information about *Muhsin Bey*'s economic situation is given in the scenes where he is worried about the constant need for renovation of his old apartment. In its ruined state, this building provides accommodation opportunities for those in economic hardship in the city. *Doğan Apartment*, which was a representation of modernity and the new housing style when it was built, is now outdated and in need of renovation. Since this apartment building had not undergone a comprehensive renovation before the film was shot, this building reflects the spatial characteristics of the period when it was first built. (Figure 19-20)

Since the movie takes place in the 1980s, the kitchen contains items from that period such as a refrigerator and a countertop stove. However, apart from these items, wooden storage areas such as *terek*, shelves, and wire cabinets are similar to the storage areas in old mansion kitchens. There is a washing area made of stone, one side appears in the form of a tub suitable for washing tasks, and the other side appears as a flat surface to put the dishes on. The washing area in the kitchens described in Ottoman women's magazine⁹³ is similar to *Doğan Apartments*. (Figure 19)

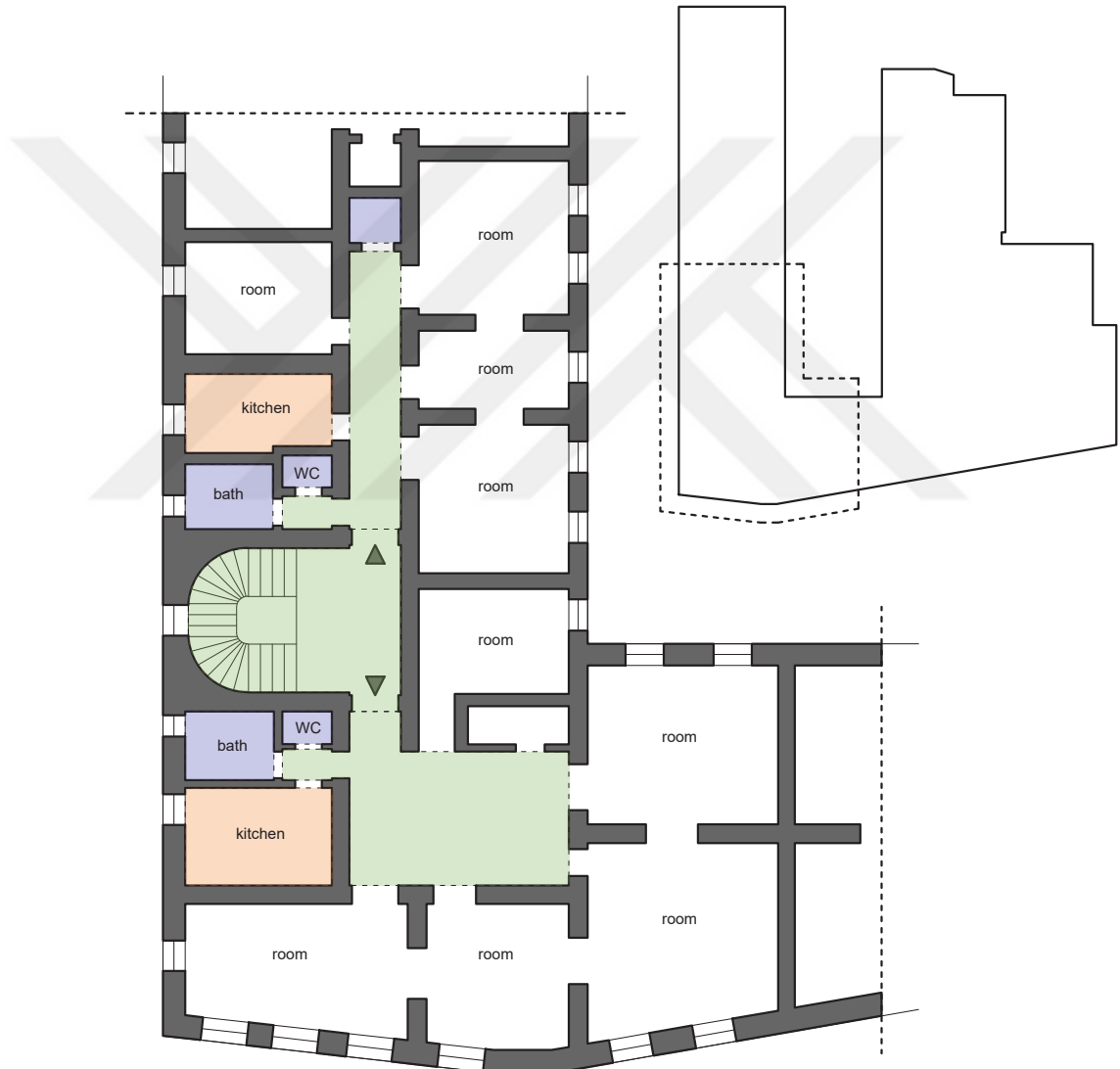
92. Türk Filmleri, "Muhsin Bey," directed by Yavuz Turgul, March 9, 2021, video, 1:36:18, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d7_HT-bgDP4.

93. Meral Nayman Demir, trans., "Aile: Evin Tertip ve Tanzimi (1880)," in "Osmanlı Hanımları" *Mutfakta: Osmanlıca Kadın Dergilerinde Yemek ve Mutfığa Dair Makaleler*, ed. Abdullah Uğur (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2019), 31-34.



Figure 19: Kitchen Scenes in the Movie “Muhsin Bey”. (Türk Filmleri, “Muhsin Bey,” directed by Yavuz Turgul, March 9, 2021, video, 1:36:18, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d7_HT-bgDP4.)

Opposite the washing area, the ceramic-coated concrete counter on which the stove is placed provides a limited working area. In this kitchen, which has a narrow long plan, a wooden dining table has been placed to meet the need for a countertop. In Doğan Apartments, there is a kitchen view that does not have the wide, continuous countertops that we are used to seeing today.



- lightwell
- service circulation
- kitchen
- service space
- main circulation

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Figure 20: Doğan Apartmanı, Floor Plan. (Ayşe Derin Öncel, *Apartman: Galata'da Yeni Bir Konut Tipi* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2014), 404.)

In summary, until the early 20th century, kitchens were kept separate from the main floor plans where accommodated living spaces in houses due to concerns about dirty, smelly, and messy work cycles. Kitchens, along with other service areas designated as workspaces, were kept isolated from the main floors of mansions. While the changing social life parallel with modernization movements also affected domestic life, the interior of the kitchens was a continuation of the interior spaces of traditional houses. During the turn of the 20th century, for the middle class, the lady of the house was responsible for the supervision of the housework, and the servants were also a part of the family beyond the kinship relations. Therefore, although the nuclear family structure became familiar, the crowded household structure drew attention. Due to social and spatial changes, apartment buildings emerged as an alternative to mansions that no longer met modern needs. In this period of increased interaction and decreased privacy, these crowded households and housework cycles stack together in a house unit consisting of a single floor plan. Although similar situations are detected in the spatial organization of early apartment buildings, a conventional arrangement regarding food-related spaces could not be observed. The fact that the kitchen does not have a definite place in the space organization of early apartments can be interpreted as a spatial quest arising from the new lifestyle of society. The spatial solutions produced by this quest are observed in the apartments produced during the 20th century.

1.2- Quest for an Efficient and Sanitary Kitchen (1930-1960)

After the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, society and its daily life were shaped by nation-state policies. The modernization efforts of the last period of the Ottoman Empire continued in a more radical way. The initiatives taken on issues such as building a modern Turkish identity, encouraging the nuclear family structure, increasing women's rights, and encouraging modern education influenced architecture. The apartment buildings, that were visible in the last years of the Ottoman Empire, were a very suitable form of housing for the middle-class family structure of the republican ideology. In the first half of the twentieth century, apartment

buildings became common in many parts of the city.⁹⁴ After the declaration of the Republic, industrialization initiatives were prioritized. New technologies and modern products became accessible to society. The imported products and services from Western countries, which experienced the Industrial Revolution process early, simultaneously transformed social life in Turkey. With the effect of this social transformation, the criteria in the design and use of space have changed.

In addition to being the symbol of modernity and urban life, apartments became a common form of housing at the beginning of the twentieth century, thanks to their infrastructure and spatial conditions that made the use of new products and services possible. The words “*Şişli’de bir apartman, yoksa eğer halin yaman*” (If you don’t have an apartment in Şişli, your situation is dire.) from the operetta *Lüküs Hayat*, written by Cemal Reşit Rey in 1933, indicate that living in an apartment shows a high level of welfare and is a symbol of adapting to modern life.⁹⁵ (Figure 21)

Radical changes in all areas of life after the proclamation of the Republic deeply affected Istanbul, which lost its status as the capital city. Thus, bureaucrats, who constituted a part of Istanbul’s middle and upper-income class, left Istanbul and became the actors of the new capital, Ankara. The newly established state focused on especially Ankara in the context of urban-scale works and construction activities. The 1923 population exchange between Greece and Turkey, also affected the structure of Istanbul’s population. Because of the developments mentioned in this period, the population of Istanbul decreased for a short period, but the housing problem continued. As a solution to this housing problem, early mass housing projects were carried out in different forms and at various scales, such as row houses, apartment buildings, and detached houses within gardens. Although different housing typologies have been produced in these housing projects, apartments that enable more than one family to reside in a small area were dominant. These apartment buildings, which changed the texture and landscape of the city, simultaneously produced their own criticisms. Especially the apartment buildings built in the first half of the twentieth century were criticized for being suitable for the residence of high-income bureaucrats, merchants and industrialists.⁹⁶ Social housing standards were tried to be determined through legal regulations such as the Real Estate Credit Bank Law (*Emlak Kredi Bankası Kanunu*) and the Building Construction Incentive Law (*Bina Yapımı Teşvik Kanunu*) enacted in the 1940s.⁹⁷



Figure 21: Scenes from the Movie “Lüküs Hayat”. (Türk Filmleri TV, “Lüküs Hayat,” directed by Lütfi Akad, May 18, 2023, video, 1:27:06, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FK9BHW57NoA>.)

94. Gülçin Pulat Gökmen, “Türkiye’de Apartmanlaşma Süreci ve Konut Kültürü,” *Güney Mimarlık*, no. 5 (September, 2011): 12-16.

95. Ibid.

96. Yıldız Sey, “Cumhuriyet Döneminde Konut,” in *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, ed. Yıldız Sey (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998), 276.

97. Ibid., 286.



*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Figure 22: Ataköy Sitesi, Floor Plan of One of the Type Projects. ("Ataköy Sitesi," *Arkitekt* 1958, no. 1958-02 (291) (1958): 61-66.)



- lightwell
- service circulation
- kitchen
- service space
- main circulation

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Figure 23: Levend 4. Mahallesi, Floor Plan of One of the Type Projects. (Kemal Ahmet Aru, "Levend 4. Mahallesi," *Arkitekt* 1956, no. 1956-03 (285) (1956): 140-153.)



- lightwell
- service circulation
- kitchen
- service space
- main circulation

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Figure 24: An Apartment in Kadıköy, Floor Plans. (Zeki Sayâr, "Bir Kira Evi," *Arkitekt* 1940, no. 1940-11-12 (119-120) (1940): 241-244.)

However, the apartments built were criticized for being too large and were found to be far from being affordable for low-income families. Levent and Ataköy housing blocks in Istanbul can be given as an example of this situation.⁹⁸ During the twentieth century, instead of solving the housing problem and providing access to healthy housing for low-income people, apartment buildings continued as a residence option for middle and upper-class families. (Figure 22-23)

In the 1930s, the role of the architect and how the house should be designed began to constitute the main agenda of architecture magazines. Suggestions for the new house were supported by idealized drawings.⁹⁹ Celal Esat Arseven, in his book *Yeni Mimari (New Architecture)*, published in 1931, explains the necessity of designing homes in accordance with the needs of the emerging society, emphasizing modernist concerns such as ensuring ventilation, brightness, and ease of management.¹⁰⁰

In the context of modernization policies, despite the emphasis on health and efficiency, apartment kitchens have been located away from natural light and ventilation. Kitchens typically faced the open space within the apartment building referred to as the lightwell. Kitchens were expected to receive fresh air and natural light from these spaces. (Figure 24) There may be two reasons for this situation: to prevent to be seen of kitchen activities from outside the building or to allocate the house's scenic and spacious facades to the living room and bedrooms. In both cases, the kitchen was not considered among the main spaces of the house. The approach seen in Ottoman mansions was reflected in apartments, where domestic life is superposed on a single floor. In an article published in the *Arkitekt* magazine dated 1931, Istanbul residences were criticized. It was stated that even if the new apartments had elevators and service stairs, they did not meet the comfort conditions. It is emphasized that comfort was not only the popularized innovations of the period such as modern bathrooms, central heating, and electricity. Kitchens facing the lightwell were insufficient to receive natural air or light. Indeed, this situation did not meet modern concerns for ensuring the health and comfort of the user.¹⁰¹ The situation remained unchanged until the mid-twentieth century. This is evident in a 1949 article from *Arkitekt* magazine, where criticism is leveled at the small and dark kitchens commonly found in apartments.¹⁰²

Between 1930 and 1960, the spatial organization of apartments has evolved within certain principles. Importance was given to the living room and

98. Sibel Bozdoğan, "The Predicament of Modernism in Turkish Architectural Culture: An Overview," in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1997), 141-145.

99. Mimar Aptullah Ziya, "Binanın İçinde Mimar," *Arkitekt* 1931, no. 1931-1 (1931): 14-20.

100. Celal Esat Arseven, *Yeni Mimari* (Istanbul: Agah-Sabri Kitaphanesi, 1931), 15-16.

101. M. Vedat, "İstanbul İkametgahları," *Arkitekt* 1931, no. 1931-10 (10) (1931): 322-325.

102. Gerhard Kessler, "İstanbul'da Mesken Darlığı, Mesken Sefaleti, Mesken İnşaatı," trans. Ekmel Zâdit, *Arkitekt* 1949, no. 1949-05-06 (209-210) (1949): 131-134.



Figure 25: Scenes from the Movie “Leylaklar Altında”. (John Henderson, “Leylaklar Altında,” directed by Suavi Tedü, June 18, 2017, video, 3:00:16, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t_AfcayiGwl.)

the dining area, which served as the public space where guests were received. These spaces were ideally separated by a door or at least an interior divider. Furniture such as tables, chairs, and sofa sets were placed in these spaces.¹⁰³ (Figure 25)

Bedrooms were generally positioned to face the rear facade, ensuring privacy and providing access to natural light, scenery, and fresh air. Bathrooms, used primarily by residents and also by guests, were given significant importance in interior design. This is exemplified by the focus on bathroom aesthetics in ceramic advertisements from the 1938 issue of *Arkitekt* magazine, indicating their recognized importance. The ceramic advertisement is first published using residential bathroom and commercial space examples, and then a kitchen example is given. When comparing the shared bathroom and kitchen visuals, it can be observed that aesthetics take precedence in the bathroom, whereas the kitchen is designed more as a workshop, prioritizing functionality over aesthetic concerns. (Figure 26-27)

However, other spaces in the house, defined as service areas, were placed in the remaining gaps after the positioning of bedrooms and living rooms. The service areas, that ensured the continuity of life in the house, including the kitchen, office (*ofis*), bathroom, toilet (*hela*), storage (*yüklük, sandık odası*), maid’s room, and service corridor. Unlike early apartments in Galata at the beginning of the 20th century, the food-related spaces are more fragmented in apartments between 1930 and 1960. In addition to the kitchen, the pantry, office, and the service corridor, were part of the spatial organization. It is essential to note the presence of a second entrance that was used to access the kitchen. In house plans, rooms are defined by function, and the dining room, as a food-related space, was associated with the kitchen.¹⁰⁴ (Figure 28)

Figure 26: Ceramic Advertisement with a Bathroom Image. (“Reklamlar,” *Arkitekt* 1938, no. 1938-08 (92) (1938): 243-250.)

Figure 27: Ceramic Advertisement with a Kitchen Image. (“Reklamlar,” *Arkitekt* 1938, no. 1938-10-11 (94-95) (1938): 326-342.)



103. Özbay, *Dünden Bugüne Aile*, 120-121.

104. Gökmen, “Türkiye’de Apartmanlaşma Süreci ve Konut Kültürü,” 12-16.



- lightwell
- service circulation
- kitchen
- service space
- main circulation

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Figure 28: Birkan Apartmanları in Bebek, Floor Plans. (Halûk Baysal, and Melih Birsal, "Birkan Apartmanları," *Arkitekt* 1959, no. 1959-01 (294) (1959): 5-10.)

In some examples, this dual circulation is designed, starting from the main entrance of the apartment building. In addition to the main entrance and circulation of the building, a service entrance and a secondary staircase are seen in the plans. (Figure 29) The service circulation was designed to facilitate the kitchen's work cycles, including market shopping and garbage disposal. It extended all the way to the apartment, sometimes provided access to the service corridor, sometimes to the corridor that facilitated the main circulation of the apartment, and at times directly to the kitchen. *Cevdet Bey ve Oğulları* (*Cevdet Bey and His Sons*), a novel written by Orhan Pamuk in the 1980s, unfolds the story of a wealthy İstanbulite family spanning three generations from the 1900s to 1970s.¹⁰⁵ In this novel, which takes place in the Nişantaşı district, readers can trace the societal changes along with their spatial reflections. The story begins in the family's old mansion. Then this mansion is demolished and a multi-storey building is constructed on its site. The residents of the old mansion, who once lived together, now resides in separate apartments within this building. A section in the novel depicting the visit of Ahmet, the cousin of a resident of this new apartment, Cemil, illustrates the daily use of this new dual spatial formation as follows: "Ahmet went down stairs at quarter to eight. He knocked on Cemil's door. The servant girl who opened the kitchen door did not run and open the big main door for him as she did to others. Smiling as if she saw something fun and cheerful, she let him in through the kitchen door. Ahmet drank a glass of water in the kitchen, to smell the scent of the kitchen, to watch the bustle, to find out what was cooking, and to prepare himself for the crowd inside."¹⁰⁶

The secondary door, referred to as the kitchen door, opens into the private part of the house, and one reaches the living room by passing through the kitchen. Having two separate doors for entering the apartment from the apartment hall, reflects the attempt to isolate the housework cycles and living spaces from each other spatially.

The kitchen was not a place where family members cook meals, eat together, or spend time. It was a workspace. This was also highlighted by the existence of a space known as the ofis which was typically situated between the kitchen and the dining room. It was a transition space between the kitchen and the dining area usually without any windows. The cooked meals were prepared for service here, in order to keep away kitchen odors and noise from the dining room.

105. Orhan Pamuk, *Cevdet Bey ve Oğulları* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003).

106. "Ahmet saat sekize çeyrek kala üç merdiven aşağı indi. Cemil'in kapısını çaldı. Mutfak kapısını açan hizmetçi kız başkalarına yaptığı gibi koşup ona büyük ana kapıyı açmadı; eğlenceli, neşeli bir şey görmüş gibi gülümseyerek mutfak kapısından onu içeri aldı. Ahmet biraz mutfak kokusunu koklamak, telâşi seyretmek, ne yemek olduğunu öğrenmek için, biraz da içerdeki kalabalığa kendini hazırlamak için mutfakta bir bardak su içti." See: Orhan Pamuk, *Cevdet Bey ve Oğulları* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003), 575. It was translated into English by the author of the thesis.



*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Figure 29: An Apartment in Maçka, Floor Plans. (Emin Necip Uzman, "Maçka'da Bir Apartman," *Arkitekt* 1946, no. 1946-03-04 (171-172) (1946): 51-55.)

At the beginning of the 20th century, middle-class families living in mansions employed servants due to both the size of the house and the inadequacy of technology, requiring a larger workforce. Middle-class families moving out from mansions to apartments continued this practice. As a reflection of this lifestyle, maid's rooms were commonly found in apartments.¹⁰⁷ Due to the reduction in house size and advancements in technology, the requisite workforce for domestic tasks has diminished. The maid's rooms accommodated dimensions suitable for the stay of a solitary individual. These rooms were incorporated into the spatial organization of the apartment, positioned to capture natural light from the lightwell, akin to the kitchen.

Outside the apartment unit, there was a need for a workforce responsible for the maintenance of common areas. To address this need, a staff member known as a janitor (*kapıcı*) was employed, whose role involved meeting the shared needs of all apartments in the building. Janitors, who needed to be in the apartment at all times, were generally provided with accommodation in the entrance or basement of the apartment. However, these accommodation conditions offered to janitors were far beyond meeting the healthy and sanitary housing needs of the period. An article from the 1956 issue of the *Arkitekt* magazine, addressing this topic and drawing attention to developments in Lausanne and Paris, emphasizes the need for institutionalization of janitor services and the adherence to specific standards. It underscores the necessity of regulating the conditions provided to janitors to expect them to deliver a high-quality service.¹⁰⁸ This situation underlines that the janitor service, which developed with apartment life at least during the first half of the twentieth century, was seen as a form of cheap domestic labor that did not have an institutional job description and security, and whose expenses were shared.¹⁰⁹ Janitors were not only responsible for the maintenance of the common areas but also were responsible for tasks such as daily shopping of the apartments, removing garbage from the units, and carrying it out of the building. This way, janitors were also involved in some aspects of kitchen work.

Notable spatial organizations allow for two separate circulations until reaching spaces such as bedrooms used by the main residents of the house and halls accessible to guests, starting from the street entrance of the apartment building. In addition to the primary circulation of the apartment building, some apartments had a service entrance on the ground floor. The

107. Gökmen, "Türkiye'de Apartmanlaşma Süreci ve Konut Kültürü," 12-16.

108. Zeki Sayâr, "Kapıcılar," *Arkitekt* 1956, no. 1956-01 (283) (1956): 10.

109. Özbay, *Dünden Bugüne Aile*, 120.

service entrance led to service stairs that allowed servants and janitors to access the unit. The secondary entrance of apartment unit provided access to a service corridor where service spaces such as pantry, maid's room, *yüklük*, kitchen, and ofis are gathered. The kitchen occupied a significant place along this service circulation. Food-related activities mostly took place in this space. The *ofis* acted as a buffer zone between the kitchen and the dining hall. Through the *ofis*, this service circulation opens up to the dining hall, used by the main residents and guests. These spatial organizations ensured that the service needs of the house were met in isolation from the daily life of the household. In the vertical spatial organization of multi-story mansions, the placement of service spaces on the ground floor and access to these service spaces through a secondary entrance, distinct from the main entrance of the mansion, is addressed by this dual circulation in the horizontal spatial organization of apartments. This approach can be seen as a spatial translation of the old habits of families transitioning from mansions to apartments.

The widespread use of electricity in the first half of the twentieth century is another important issue affecting the design and use of kitchen. The spread of electrical service progressed in direct proportion to the introduction of white goods technology such as refrigerators and ovens into homes. The electricity production efforts of the Ottoman Empire were affected by the wars, and electrical energy could not be provided to residences systematically until the 1920s. However, during this period, electricity was only available in certain parts of Istanbul.¹¹⁰



Figure 30: (Left) A cover page of “Ameli Elektrik” Magazine, (Middle) A Training Workshop in SATIE’s Kitchen, (Right) Permanent Exhibition of Electrical Devices in Taksim. (SATIE, “La Cuisine à L’Électricité,” *Ameli Elektrik* 9, no. 65 (1934): 7-8.)

In the 1930s, the use of electrical energy in the house and the presence of electrical appliances in the kitchen became the symbol of modernity. However, electricity connection was not common in Turkey during this period. Families that could use electricity at home were limited to the middle and upper classes.¹¹¹ “*Ameli Elektrik*” magazine, published jointly by “Tesisat-ı Elektrikiye Türk Anonim Şirketi” known as SATIE (Société Anonyme d’Installations Électriques) and “Dersaadet Elektrik ve Tramvay Şirketi” (Istanbul Electricity and Tramway Company), explains the benefits of electricity

110. Nurçin İleri and Cansu Değirmencioğlu, “Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye’sinde Asri Ev Tartışmaları ve Elektrikli Tenvirat,” *ViraVerita E-Journal: Interdisciplinary Encounters*, no. 12 (November 2020): 97-98.

111. Leyla Bektaş Ata, “Mutfak: Bir Piknik Tüpünün Peşinde ya da Evin Kumanda Merkezinde,” *Metro Gastro*, no. 105 (Nisan-Mayıs-Haziran 2022): 57.



Figure 31: (Left) A cover page of “Ev- İş” Magazine, 1942. (“Cover Page”, Ev- İş, no. 67 (1942)); (Right) The poster prepared by a government institution for Local Products Week includes the phrase “Housewife, prepare jam and syrup.” (“İhap Hulusi Görey,” Markut.net, accessed December 25, 2023, [https://markut.net/sayi-9/ihap-hulusi-gorey/.](https://markut.net/sayi-9/ihap-hulusi-gorey/))

and how this innovation can be used in our homes and our daily lives. In the first issues of the magazine in the 1920s, while electrical energy was still being delivered to limited regions, new technologies such as refrigerators were introduced in detail.¹¹² SATIE organized special workshops and courses on how to cook in new kitchens with electrically powered devices.¹¹³ (Figure 30) In an issue dedicated to kitchens in the *Ameli Elektrik* Magazine dated 1934, slogans underlined that electric kitchen appliances made household chores easier: “What a powerful servant electricity is, it does every job.” (*Elektrik ne kuvvetli bir hizmetçi, o her işi yapar.*)¹¹⁴ In Arseven’s *Yeni Mimari* (1931), electricity, declared as an integral part of the emerging architecture, was anticipated to eliminate the need for servants by offering contemporary solutions to the challenges of kitchen tasks.¹¹⁵ Creating the new home, under the influence of modernist movements, was an issue on a global scale. Imagining electrical technology as a servant doing everything in every corner of the house was compatible with the scientific, hygienic and economical features of the modern house. In the new home of the machine age, electricity was a leading development.¹¹⁶ However, considering the primitive design of electrical kitchen appliances in the early 20th century and the limited accessibility of electricity services to the general population, the kitchen, in comparison to today, remained in a state that demanded substantial labor.

The electrical service would certainly facilitate daily household tasks and eliminate the need for servants over time. However, in apartments where the need for domestic help decreased, there was still a requirement for labor. Although there was a period when women’s rights were expanded, the responsibility of doing the housework was assigned to women in the early republican period. In the new society, while women were encouraged to work outside the home like men, they also had to cover the housework.¹¹⁷ In middle and upper-class families, women were traditionally held responsible for overseeing household chores in mansions, but the situation changed in apartment living. Women were expected to personally handle kitchen tasks in apartments. (Figure 31) In an article published in “*Ev ve Eşya*” (Home and Furniture) section of an issue of *Yedigün Magazine* published in 1933, it was pointed out that kitchens were women’s halls.¹¹⁸ Examples from Europe and America are given, and in the face of the difficulty of employing maids in these places, women entering the kitchen and taking over the housework were shown as examples. Reader women were reminded of the importance of doing kitchen work and entering the kitchen.

112. “Les Réfrigérateurs Électriques,” *Ameli Elektrik* 3, no. 17 (April 1927): 244-246.

113. SATIE, “La Cuisine à L’Électricité,” *Ameli Elektrik* 9, no. 65 (1934): 7-8.

114. “Nasıl Eyi Pişirmeli,” *Ameli Elektrik* 9, no. 66 (1934): 3.

115. Arseven, *Yeni Mimari*, 56.

116. Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası: Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye’sinde Mimari Kültür* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2013), 236-237.

117. Arseven, *Yeni Mimari*, 18.

118. Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası*, 220..

The approach that emerged in the early 20th century, considering the kitchen as a woman's workshop, remained influential for a long time. The idea of women actively participating in public life, declared with the establishment of the Republic, did not find practical realization. Even for middle and upper-class women, participation in the paid labor economy remained limited until the second half of the 20th century.¹¹⁹ State initiatives aimed at providing girls with education in modern conditions, such as girls' institutes, also reinforced this attitude toward women. Women were taught how to perform kitchen and household tasks through scientific and modern methods. The reasonable woman presented by the Republic ideology was still responsible for the home and kitchen; however, unlike in the past, she was expected to work rationally.¹²⁰ In an article published in *Arkitekt* in 1932, a girls' school in Germany was given as an example of how girls' institutions should be designed.¹²¹ The kitchen classrooms in this example were similar to the small kitchens designed in apartments with modernist approaches. Like, these kitchen classrooms were at the center of the school plan, houseworks and kitchen works were central to women's education. (Figure 32) Mimar Abidin argued that educational buildings with a similar spatial quality should be built in Turkey, based on this example project he gave. Modern societies agreed that women should be held responsible for housework. Discussions in Europe were also followed in Turkey, regarding kitchen design, which was at the center of household chores.

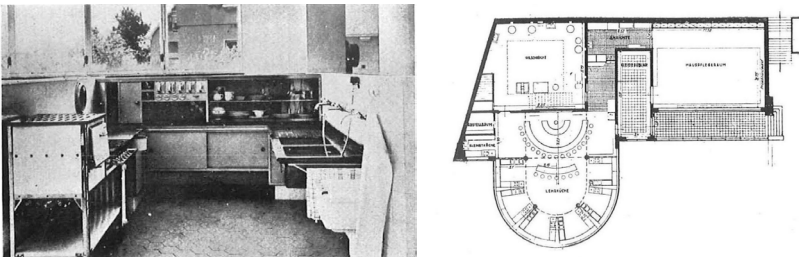


Figure 32: (Left) A view from kitchen classroom; (Right) Floor Plan of a Girls' School in Germany. (Mimar Abidin, "Ev İşleri Mektepleri," *Arkitekt* 1932, no. 1932-01 (13) (1932): 28-29.)

119. Özbay, *Dünden Bugüne Aile*, 118-119.

120. Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası*, 216.

121. Mimar Abidin, "Ev İşleri Mektepleri," *Arkitekt* 1932, no. 1932-01 (13) (1932): 28-29.



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Orta halli bir aile ev yaptırırken odaların bu cedvelde göre hesap etmelidir.

deceğiz. Evvelâ mutfak diyip geçmemeli. Mutfağın asri bir evde salon kadar, yatak odası kadar ehemmiyeti vardır. Biz evlerimizi yaptırırken mutfağa hiç ehemmiyet vermez, ve ekseriyetle sıhhatimizle alakadar olan bu "odayı" bodrum katına, karanlık bir köşeye sıkıştırırız. Mutfak evin ilk katında, salonun, yemek odasının bulunduğu yerde olmalıdır. Yukarıya dercettiğimiz mutfak numunesi asri evlerde ve apartmanlarda ekseriyetle kabul edilen tiptedir. Mutfakta herşey, yerdeki çimlere varıncaya kadar temizlik alameti olan beyaz renktedir, Sol taraftaki dolaplara ve raflara dikkat ediniz. Her şey yerli yerindedir. İçi çinko kaplı küçük çekmeceler erzak için yapılmıştır. Raflara tabaklara ve kavanozlara dizilmiştir. Hiç birşey yerlerde sürünmüyor. Süpürgeler bile sol taraftaki büyük dolabın içinde saklıdır. Heyeti umumiyesile bu mutfak bir kadını eve bağlayacak, ve içini açacak mahiyettedir. Şüph

Figure 33: An Idealized Kitchen Published in *Yedigün* magazine in 1933. (Melike Usalp Tuncer, "Potential For Popular Dissemination: An Analysis Of The 'Ideal Home' Discourse In The Weekly *Yedigün* Magazine" (Master's Thesis, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, 2006), 94.)

122. "Şimdi ev kadınının günün muayyen saatlerini geçirmek mecburiyetinde olduğu mutfağın şekliinden ve taksimatından bahsedeceğiz. Evvela mutfak diyip geçmemeli. Mutfağın asri bir evde salon kadar, yatak odası kadar ehemmiyeti vardır... Yukarıya dercettiğimiz mutfak numunesi asri evlerde ve apartmanlarda ekseriyetle kabul edilen tiptedir... Sol taraftaki dolaplara ve raflara dikkat ediniz. Her şey yerli yerindedir. İçi çinko kaplı küçük çekmeceler erzak için yapılmıştır. Raflara, tabaklara ve kavanozlara dizilmiştir. Hiç birşey yerlerde sürünmüyor." See: "Ev ve Eşya," *Yedigün*, no:7 (April 1933): 2.

123. Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası*, 220.

124. Juliet Kinchin and Aidan O'Connor, *Counter Space: Design and the Modern Kitchen* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2011).

Articles and images about how kitchens should be, frequently appeared in publications, giving examples from Europe: "Now we will talk about the form and organization of the kitchen where the housewife has to spend certain hours of the day. First of all, the kitchen should not be overlooked. The kitchen is as important as the living room or the bedroom in a modern house... The kitchen sample we have included above is of the type generally accepted in modern houses and apartments... Pay attention to the cabinets and shelves on the left. Everything is in its place. Small drawers covered with zinc were made for supplies. Plates and jars are lined up on the shelves. Nothing is crawling on the ground." ¹²²

The image, accompanying the article in "Ev ve Eşya" (Home and Furnishings) section of a 1933 issue of *Yedigün Magazine*, reminiscent of the Frankfurt Kitchen, reflects that the search for a new kitchen on the global scale was also followed in Turkey.¹²³ (Figure 33) Developments such as mass production, mechanization, and standardization emerged as responses to the concern for efficiency during periods of the World Wars (World War I (1914-1918); World War II (1939-1945)). Particularly influenced by Taylorism, the modes of production underwent significant changes, evident in the design of workspaces. One such workspace affected by these transformations was the kitchen. The endeavor for efficiency, pervasive across all aspects of life, led to the creation of designs for kitchens that could meet people's nutritional needs quickly and with minimal effort. One manifestation of this perspective was the Frankfurt Kitchen.

Frankfurt Kitchen designed by the Austrian architect Margarete (Grete) Schütte-Lihotzky during 1920s, is the most popular kitchen design produced in this period.¹²⁴ By analyzing all actions encompassed by the kitchen, such as food preparation and cooking, a scientific perspective was prioritized to minimize user effort and time. Determinations were made regarding where each material should be stored and where specific actions should take place. New materials like aluminum and emerging technologies such as electricity have significantly influenced these kitchen designs. Both a new worldview and advancements in materials and technologies played crucial roles in shaping the designs of these new kitchens. (Figure 34) Approached almost like an assembly line, these kitchens were modernist workspaces where time and space were isolated. The users of these kitchens and all encompassed work processes have been delineated.

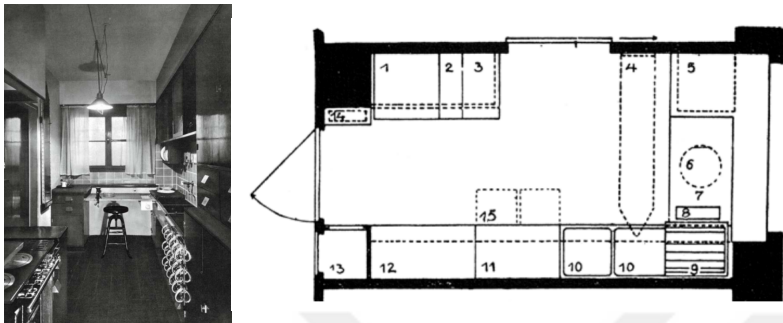


Figure 34: (Left) A view of Frankfurt Kitchen, (Right) Frankfurt Kitchen Plan (Juliet Kinchin and Aidan O'Connor, *Counter Space: Design and the Modern Kitchen* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2011), 18-22.)

The film *A Step-Saving Kitchen*, published in the United States as a product of a similar study on kitchens developed by The Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics in the 1940s, documents the approach to the design of these new kitchens.¹²⁵ Experiments to determine ideal countertop dimensions were one of the methods of revealing efficient and functional kitchen design through scientific means. (Figure 35)



Figure 35: Scenes from the The film *A Step-Saving Kitchen*. (US National Archives, "A Step Saving Kitchen, 1949," Youtube video, May 5, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2N9RCQjPqh4>.)

Kitchen designs, supposedly timeless and believing that society's way of life will always continue in the same manner for the sake of standardization, disregarded time. These designs made decisions on every aspect, such as cooking methods, the presence of ingredients, kitchen tools, and even how and in what positions bodies should be present. Modernist approaches, in which the concern of being efficient and sanitary was at the forefront, were

¹²⁵. "Step-Saving Kitchens," National Agricultural Library, accessed December 24, 2023, <https://www.nal.usda.gov/collections/stories/step-saving-kitchens>.

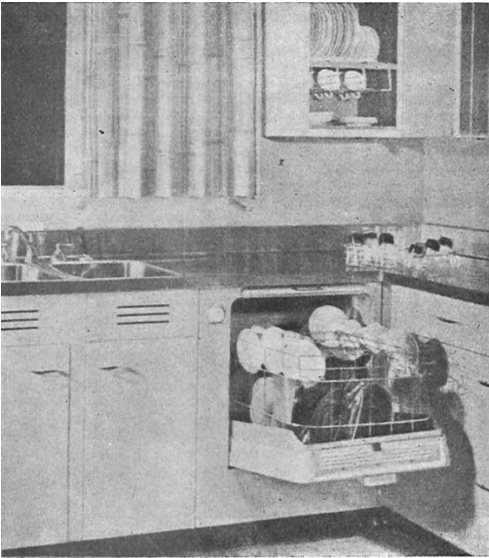
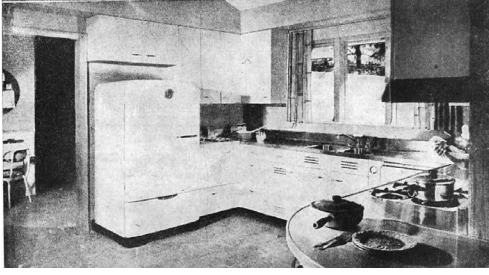


Figure 36: Photographs published in *Arkitekt* magazine about the design of American kitchens. ("Bir Amerikan Mutfağının Tertibatı," *Arkitekt* 1950, no. 1950-07-10 (223-224-225-226) (1950): 158-161,166.)

126. Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası*, 221.

127. Lami Eser, *Modern Ev Mutfağları* (İstanbul: Pulhan Matbaası, 1952).

128. "Bir Amerikan Mutfağının Tertibatı," *Arkitekt* 1950, no. 1950-07-10 (223-224-225-226) (1950): 158-161,166.

129. Naci Cemal, "Büyük Mutfağlar," *Arkitekt* 1936, no. 1936-02 (62) (1936): 52-54.

130. Gerhard Kessler, "İstanbul'da Mesken Darlığı, Mesken Sefaleti, Mesken İnşaatı," trans. Ekmel Zâdit, *Arkitekt* 1949, no. 1949-05-06 (209-210) (1949): 131-134.

simultaneously observed in Turkey.¹²⁶ The book "*Modern Ev Mutfağları*" (*Modern Home Kitchens*) written by Lami Eser in the 1950s can be given as an example of this situation. Considering the kitchen as a woman's workshop, Eser expressed how to design an efficient and sanitary kitchen. He based his work on research and studies in the United States and Europe.¹²⁷

Details about the new kitchen design are also given in the article titled "*Bir Amerikan Mutfağının Tertibatı*" (*The Arrangement of an American Kitchen*), published in *Arkitekt* magazine in 1950.¹²⁸ This article includes explanations about continuous countertops, defined storage units, and the positioning of technological devices that were integrated into the lives of users in the twentieth century. (Figure 36) In addition, as an important detail, the article proposed to locate the dining area in the kitchen. This proposal can be interpreted as encouraging other members of the family, other than women, to enter the kitchen. In addition, this kitchen design introduces a new approach that allows the kitchen to go beyond being defined as a purely efficiency-oriented workplace.

When the apartment plans in *Arkitekt* magazine between 1930 and 1960 are examined, the locations of chimneys and hoods were specified in the spaces designated as kitchens. These chimneys, which appear in the plan drawing, are an important criterion in determining the location of the kitchen in plans where location names are not written. In the article titled "*Büyük Mutfağlar*" (*Great Kitchens*) published in *Arkitekt* magazine in 1936, ventilation systems of kitchens were explained through plan and section drawings of an average residential kitchen. These section drawings give an idea about the interior design of the kitchen plans examined during this period.¹²⁹ The kitchen drawings in this image show how the kitchen was designed as a working space. (Figure 37) Countertops used as work surfaces are other spatial elements included in kitchen drawings and apartment plans. Although the furnishings of other rooms are shown in the plans, the kitchens do not have a dining table and chairs. Indeed, in most of the apartments of the period, there is not enough space in the kitchens to place a table and chairs. The fact that kitchen spaces were squeezed into small spaces in this way parallels the approach of planning the kitchen in minimum space in Frankfurt kitchens. However, small kitchens were criticized, in the mid-twentieth century. There was a debate during this period regarding the establishment of specific principles, such as kitchens being at least nine square meters, to ensure the comfort conditions of the residence.¹³⁰

It is also noteworthy that there were two separate doors in the kitchens. This situation caused a significant part of the kitchen area to be reserved for circulation. The kitchen, which had two separate doors, can be read as a machine on a mass production line with input and output. Order was one of the important keywords for new kitchens, it was advised in publications to organize the kitchen like an industrial production place.¹³¹

During the period spanning approximately from 1930 to 1960, in the apartments, food-related spaces were positioned based on specific spatial organizations. Among the food-related spaces, there were different areas such as the kitchen, pantry, office, service corridor, and more. With these mentioned spatial configurations, an attempt was made to isolate the circulation related to the kitchen and household chores from the living spaces of the primary users of the house. This situation still indicates the perception of the kitchen as a workspace during this period. The societal roles of women in middle-class families were redefined. Women, previously held responsible for overseeing household chores, were now expected to enter the kitchen and engage in cooking. These kitchens in residential buildings were considered women's workshops. The existence of the maid's room, but in size only allowing accommodation for one person, may be the spatial translation of the middle class not rapidly abandoning old habits and the fact that household chores were not yet significantly facilitated by newly introduced electric appliances. Besides imported electrically powered kitchen appliances were placed in kitchens, also global-scale debates on kitchen designs were followed and adopted. Design proposals for the kitchen, aiming to create an efficient and hygienic workspace, showed a similar mentality with the food-related spatial organization seen in apartment plans. Both the interior design of the kitchen and its location in the apartment plan show that the kitchen was approached like a machine with input and output, in line with the support of the modernist perspective.

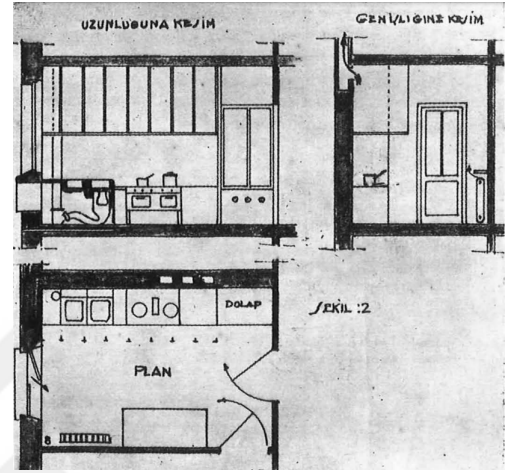


Figure 37: Plan and section drawings of a kitchen. (Naci Cemal, "Büyük Mutfaklar," *Arkitekt* 1936, no. 1936-02 (62) (1936): 52-54.)

131. Leyla Bektaş Ata, "Mutfak: Bir Piknik Tüpünün Peşinde ya da Evin Kumanda Merkezinde," *Metro Gastro*, no. 105 (April-May-June 2022): 58.

1.3- Making The Kitchen Visible (1960 - 1980)

The intensifying industrialization initiatives in Istanbul brought along challenges of population growth. Slum settlement increased in line with unplanned industrialization moves. Seeking a solution to this housing crisis, the government introduced regulations in areas such as common ownership and condominium ownership, initiating a new process. Coined by Murat Balamir as “appurtenance” (*ön paylaşimli yapım*), this process was institutionalized with the Condominium Ownership Law¹³² in 1965. Balamir emphasizes that the proliferation of apartment buildings has accelerated under this form of ownership, and the physical environment was irreversibly transformed. Balamir notes that while the government’s policies and mass housing applications in the 1980s increased housing production, they did not alter the form of ownership and the physical appearance of housing.¹³³

As a result of the regulations made by the state in the 1950s, apartments became the most important housing type to meet the increasing housing demand for the middle class of Istanbul.¹³⁴ The contractor made cost-effective housing production possible by agreeing with the land owner or owners in exchange for the ownership rights of one or more flats of the apartment building to be constructed.¹³⁵ This form of housing supply, which leads to the commoditization of housing, is called “*yapsatçı*” (constructor-seller). Esin Boyacıoğlu draws attention to Tekeli’s criticism of the form of housing supply that entered our lives after the 1950s. Because of this model, the effectiveness of architecture was limited and the exchange value became more important than the quality of the design.¹³⁶

In the 1960s, the government continued its efforts to find solutions to the housing problem. The government program expressed the intention to undertake initiatives related to the production of healthy and affordable housing. During this period, the concept of “social housing” was brought to the agenda by the state. Previous attempts to solve the housing problem were criticized because they were far from meeting the needs of low-income families. As a matter of fact, in the 1960s, the new administration underlined that they would consider this situation.¹³⁷

In the post-1980 period, housing production was affected by the active role of the state as a result of regulations such as the enactment of the mass housing law. This has facilitated the realization of large-scale projects, leading to a decrease in small initiatives. The projects carried out by the

132. “Kat Mülkiyeti Kanunu,” *T.C. Resmi Gazete*, no. 12038 (July 2, 1965): 7-14.

133. Balamir, “Türkiye’de “Apartkent”lerin Oluşumu,” 335-340.

134. Nurbin Paker and Funda Uz, “50’ler Modernizmi İçin Bir Okuma: Çatışmalar ve Uzlaşmalar Sahnesi Olarak “Apartman,”” *Arredamento Mimarlık* 2015, no. 290 (May 2015): 96-101.

135. Gökmen, “Türkiye’de Apartmanlaşma Süreci ve Konut Kültürü,” 12-16.

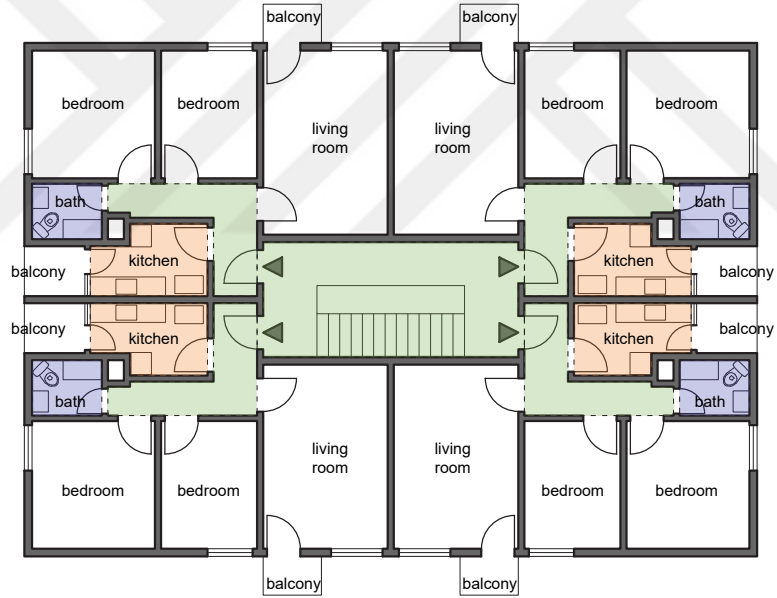
136. Esin Boyacıoğlu, “1950’ler Ankarası’nda Sıradışı Konut Kooperatifleri,” *Arredamento Mimarlık* 2015, no. 290 (May 2015): 102-106.

137. Sey, “Cumhuriyet Döneminde Konut,” 288.

“Toplu Konut İdaresi” (Mass Housing Administration) were primarily visible in Istanbul and Ankara.¹³⁸ While Istanbul was declared a metropolitan city, the urban area boundaries of the city was expanded. In the 1980s and later, Istanbul became a city where global-scale business centers were concentrated. In addition to apartment buildings and slums, gated communities, and mass housing became visible as housing supply. By creating a legal basis for urban transformation works, construction activities were accelerated. The third period of this research, which started approximately in 1960, was limited to the 1980s because of the change in the parameters of housing supply in Istanbul after 1980.

In this period covering approximately between 1960 and 1980, significant changes were observed in the floor plans of middle-class family residences. The dual entrance feature of apartment units, one for the main entrance and one for the service entrance began to disappear. Alongside this change, service corridors and service stairs became less prevalent. Spaces associated with the kitchen, such as the maid’s room, pantry, and office, were more commonly found in apartments affordable for upper-income families, while these spaces started to disappear from floor plans of middle-income households. One of the most crucial changes related to the kitchen was its position within the apartment layout. The kitchen was now positioned to face the facade. The visual relationship between the kitchen and the outside was strengthened. In addition to these changes in the spatial organization of the house, information about the interior design of the kitchen was now included in the plans published during this period; countertops were depicted along the walls, indicating the placement of kitchen appliances such as the refrigerator and stove. The large range hood drawings from previous periods were no longer present. (Figure 38-39)

138. Sey, “Cumhuriyet Döneminde Konut,” 297.



- lightwell
- service circulation
- kitchen
- service space
- main circulation

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Figure 38: Ataköy Sitesi, One of The Floor Plans of New Type Projects. (“Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Ataköy Sosyal Konut Uygulaması,” *Arkitekt* 1975, no. 1975-02 (358) (1975): 53-57.)



- lightwell
- service circulation
- kitchen
- service space
- main circulation

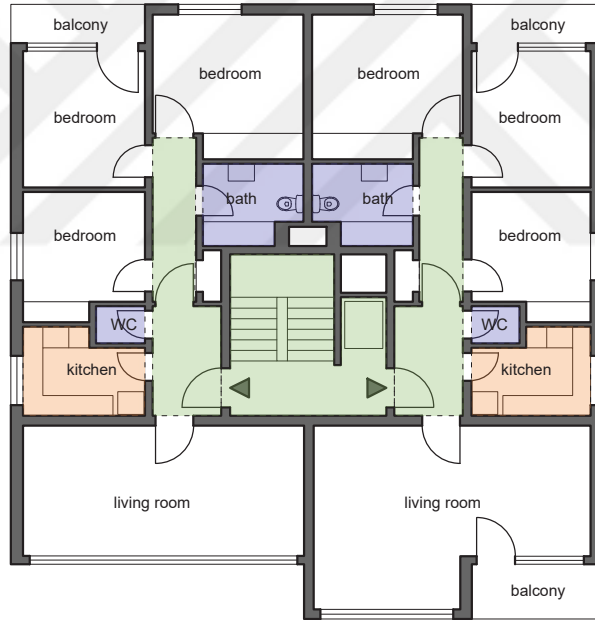
*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Figure 39: Ataköy Sitesi, One of The Floor Plans of New Type Projects. (“Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Ataköy Sosyal Konut Uygulaması,” *Arkitekt* 1975, no. 1975-02 (358) (1975): 53-57.)

In a 1975 article published in *Arkitekt* titled “Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Ataköy Sosyal Konut Uygulaması” (Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Ataköy Social Housing Project) information is provided about the current status of the Ataköy Social Housing project conducted by Emlak Kredi Bankası.¹³⁹ The article discusses the sections completed from the project’s initiation in 1957 until the publication date of the article in 1975 and outlines the subsequent phases of development. This project involved the redevelopment of an area outside the established urban zones of Istanbul, making it a significant example of the urban design and architectural approach of the time. It was executed in various stages over a long time, allowing for different approaches in housing projects between phases. Some example plans provided in the mentioned article exhibited differences in kitchen designs when compared to plans from earlier stages published in previous issues of *Arkitekt*. In the plans published in 1975, the kitchens were positioned facing the facade, allowing them to receive daylight and be ventilated naturally. (Figure 38-39) Notably, spaces such as service entrances, service corridors, maid’s rooms, and *ofis* related to the kitchen were absent in these plans. Additionally, by adopting a social housing approach, the sizes of the residential units were reduced to provide more economically feasible housing solutions. In another *Arkitekt* article evaluating the housing projects carried out by Emlak Kredi Bankası in İzmir and Istanbul in the late 1970s, changes in the spatial organization of houses can be observed.¹⁴⁰ The plans for Yıldız Barbaros Bulvarı Apartments and Levent Apartments in Istanbul show kitchens and living rooms designed with entrances close to each other. While the boundaries between the kitchen and the living room did not completely disappear, their prominence has decreased. In addition to the positions of countertops, other elements such as the sink, refrigerator, and stove were illustrated on apartment plans. Technological advancements facilitating kitchen tasks became accessible, at least for the middle class, and architectural practices have adopted specific standards for kitchens. (Figure 40-41)

139. “Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Ataköy Sosyal Konut Uygulaması,” *Arkitekt* 1975, no. 1975-02 (358) (1975): 53-57.

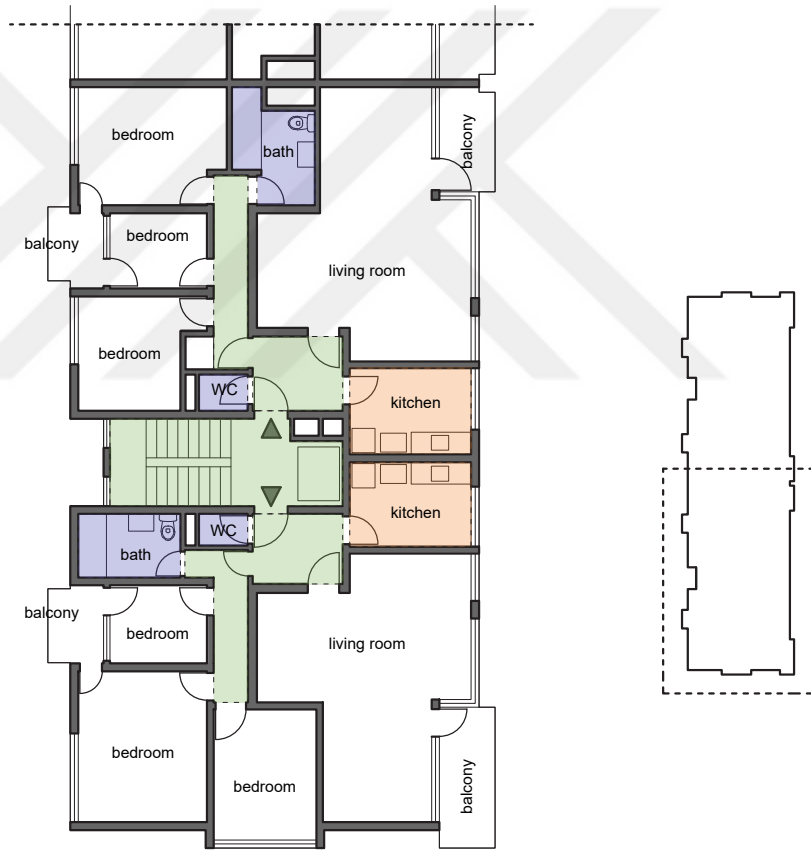
140. “Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Sosyal Konut İnşa Faaliyeti,” *Arkitekt* 1978, no. 1978-04 (372) (1978): 136-139.



- lightwell
- service circulation
- kitchen
- service space
- main circulation

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Figure 40: Yıldız Barbaros Bulvarı Apartmanları, One of The Floor Plans of Type Projects. ("Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Sosyal Konut İnşa Faaliyeti," *Arkitekt* 1978, no. 1978-04 (372) (1978): 136-139.)



- lightwell
- service circulation
- kitchen
- service space
- main circulation

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Figure 41: Levent Apartmanları, One of The Floor Plans of Type Projects. ("Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Sosyal Konut İnşa Faaliyeti," *Arkitekt* 1978, no. 1978-04 (372) (1978): 136-139.)

Another important aspect of housing's interior design and spatial organization was privacy. Design decisions such as distinguishing between day and night use, placing bedrooms on the rear facade, etc., were made to ensure privacy. The prominence of boundaries between the kitchen and the living room started decreasing during the 1960s. However, even in the early 2000s, Uğur Tanyeli expressed that in Turkey, the boundary between the kitchen and the living space continued to exist, and the kitchen did not establish a permeable relationship with other spaces. He criticizes the perspective that reduces this situation to Turkish culinary culture and cooking techniques, emphasizing the relevance of the issue of privacy.¹⁴¹ In the 1976 movie "*Kapıcılar Kralı*" (The King of Janitors), Fehmi Bey's wife gets angry when she sees Janitor Seyit in the kitchen after returning from shopping.¹⁴² Although the kitchen gained visibility during this period, it maintained its boundaries for those outside the household and the kitchen remained a private area within the house.

Between approximately 1960 and 1980, while there are films that focus on apartment life or take place in apartments, the kitchen space is not frequently encountered. The spatial organization of apartments, which gives attention to isolating kitchens and other service spaces may be one reason why kitchen space is not often seen in films from this period. However, in scenes set in houses of slums, the kitchen space is frequently seen. (Figure 42) Privacy remains a luxury concern in low-income families' houses that provide basic housing conditions. In economically upper-class families' houses, the complete separation of kitchen and service spaces is sustained as a result of a mentality similar to the mansions of the late Ottoman period. This dual spatial organization in houses of upper-class families is presented to the audience as the spatial reflection of the social polarization between the working class and upper classes in the 1970s in the film "*Zengin Mutfağı*" (Kitchen of The Rich).¹⁴³ (Figure 43) Despite all these privacy concerns, kitchen and living areas, in other words working and resting areas, come together in houses of the middle-class families. Towards the end of the 20th century, kitchens began to transform into places where one could eat, chat and spend time, as much as their size allowed.¹⁴⁴ In the late 1980s, in the sociological study conducted by Sencer Ayata on middle-class housing, there is a mention of the tendency to place tables in kitchens, no matter how small, and efforts to create a dining area for the family. In the same research, it is noted that the kitchen is opened to intimate guests visiting the home.¹⁴⁵



Figure 42: Scene from the Movie "*Çöpçüler Kralı*". (Arzu Film, "*Çöpçüler Kralı*," directed by Zeki Ökten, June 12, 2015, video, 1:19:09, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xs9XUjHvZsM>.)



Figure 43: Scenes from the Movie "*Zengin Mutfağı*". (Erler Film Türker İnanoğlu, "*Zengin Mutfağı*," directed by Başar Sabuncu, June 28, 2019, video, 1:17:27, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cTZM64JHztQ>.)

141. Uğur Tanyeli, *Konutu ve Modernleşmeyi Metropolden Okumak* (İstanbul: Ofset Yayınevi, 2004), 155-156.

142. Çiçek Film / Şeref Film, "*Kapıcılar Kralı*," directed by Zeki Ökten, August 23, 2019, video, 1:23:39, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o1LnQhQcgA>.

143. The scenes of this film "*Zengin Mutfağı*" (Kitchen of The Rich), which portrays the period of political tensions and workers' strikes in Turkey during the 1970s, all take place in the kitchen of the wealthy businessman Kerim Bey's mansion. Access to the kitchen is provided through a door opening to the garden and stairs leading up to the main floor where the houses' main residents live. The habit of isolating the kitchen and service spaces remains valid for upper-class families. In this film, it is noteworthy that none of the family members descends to the kitchen, and the kitchen is exclusively used by those who meet the household's service needs, such as the cook, the assistant, and the driver. The film portrays the social polarization between the working class and the upper class on the scale of housing. The dual spatial organization of multi-story detached houses accessible only to the upper class is considered the small-scale manifestation of social polarization. See: Erler Film Türker İnanoğlu, "*Zengin Mutfağı*," directed by Başar Sabuncu, June 28, 2019, video, 1:17:27, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cTZM64JHztQ>.

144. Özbay, *Dünden Bugüne Aile*, 124-125.

145. Sencer Ayata, "Kentsel Orta Sınıf Ailelerde Statü Yarışması ve Salon Kullanımı," *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 42 (1988): 5-25.

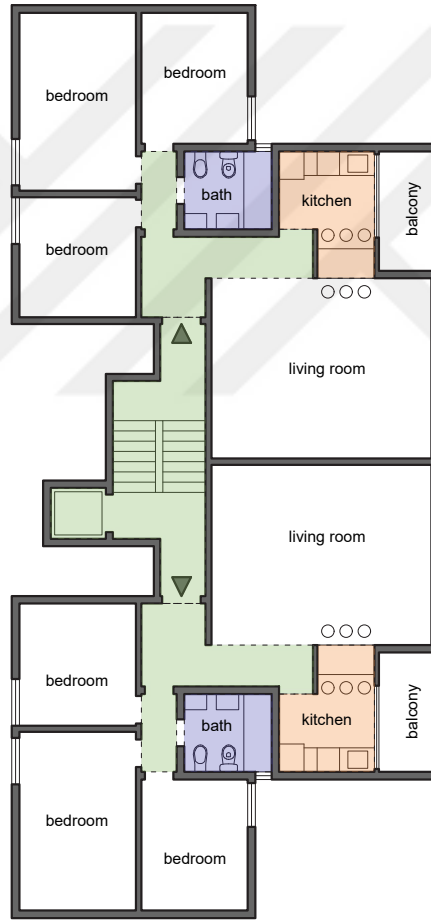
The new condition of the house, seen as a space where labor is reproduced, can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, the labor given to ensure the continuity of life in the home became more visible. On the other hand, this given labor normalized within the living spaces. However, in both cases, while actions such as working, cooking, resting, and socializing were superposed in the same space, the spatial organization of the house was democratized. In some floor plans, wide openings between the kitchen and the living room have been observed, providing a visual connection. In the article titled "İstanbul Esnaf ve Sanatkar Dernekleri Birliği Bağ-Kur Kredili Yapı Kooperatifi" published in *Arkitekt* in 1979, three different projects commissioned by the cooperative are discussed.¹⁴⁶ These projects are named Merter Sitesi, Ortaköy Sitesi, and Göztepe Sitesi, and each features different designs. The floor plan of Block B in Ortaköy Sitesi is significant concerning kitchen design. (Figure 44) The mentioned kitchen shares the front facade with the living room. The kitchen volume is set back on the facade, creating a balcony. This arrangement has prevented the kitchen from being boldly displayed and has provided a kind of privacy for the kitchen. However, what makes this plan interesting is the permeability of the boundary between the living room and the kitchen within the interior. An opening is planned in the wall separating the living room and the kitchen, designed to be used as a table from both the living room and the kitchen. In the 1979 article in *Arkitekt* featuring the Balıkçı Koyu Sitesi project, a relationship between the kitchen and living room similar to the one seen in the Ortaköy Sitesi project is apparent.¹⁴⁷ An opening is designed to allow someone preparing food in the kitchen to observe actions taking place in the living room, establishing both a visual and auditory connection. (Figure 45) This opening goes beyond a simple service window; on the living room side, a surface is added to enable users to sit and dine or have drinks, acting as a threshold that strengthens the interaction between the two spaces. These openings between the kitchen and living room could be seen as a spatial translation of the idea that the kitchen is no longer perceived solely as a workspace.

As the kitchen became more visible, the value given to it also increased. Along with the exchange value and size of a house, the decoration of its kitchen became an important criterion in the housing market. In addition to housewives taking an active role in the kitchen, even other members of the family starting to get involved in the kitchen also affected this situation.¹⁴⁸

146. Turgut Toydemir and Cevat Gülkanat, "İstanbul Esnaf ve Sanatkar Dernekleri Birliği Bağ-Kur Kredili Yapı Kooperatifi," *Arkitekt* 1979, no. 1979-03 (375) (1979): 90-93.

147. İlhan Arguvanlğıil and Semih Kaya, "Balıkçı Koyu Sitesi- Tuzla," *Arkitekt* 1979, no. 1979-03 (375) (1979): 94.

148. Nilgün Fehim Kennedy, "A Comparison Between Women Living in Traditional Turkish Houses and Women Living in Apartments in Historical Context" (Master's thesis, The Middle East Technical University, Ankara, 1999).



- lightwell
- service circulation
- kitchen
- service space
- main circulation

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Figure 44: Ortaköy Sitesi, The floor plan of Block B. (Turgut Toydemir and Cevat Gülkanat, "İstanbul Esnaf ve Sanatkar Dernekleri Birliği Bağ-Kur Kredili Yapı Kooperatifi," *Arkitekt* 1979, no. 1979-03 (375) (1979): 90-93.)



- lightwell
- service circulation
- kitchen
- service space
- main circulation

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Figure 45: Balıkçı Koyu Sitesi, The ground floor plan. (İlhan Arguvanlğıil and Semih Kaya, "Balıkçı Koyu Sitesi- Tuzla," *Arkitekt* 1979, no. 1979-03 (375) (1979):94.)

In the 1960s, the introduction of domestically produced white goods made them more accessible.¹⁴⁹ The increasing variety of electric kitchen appliances and the lack of sufficient space for them also led to a demand for larger kitchens. By the late 1960s, refrigerator designs began to resemble a form of furniture. This shift indicated a departure from perceiving the kitchen solely as a place for cooking.¹⁵⁰ The advancement and affordability of technology reduced the time and effort spent on household chores. However, this did not change the responsibility of women in middle-class families for household chores and kitchen.

During this period, employing servants became affordable, especially for upper-class families. With the prohibition of practices like servitude in 1964, the arrangement where orphaned or impoverished girls were employed for free under the pretext of protection, assisting with household chores in exchange for shelter and sustenance, came to an end. For the middle class, kitchen, and household chores were now either entirely the responsibility of the woman of the house or were assisted by a hired charlady on a daily or hourly basis.¹⁵¹ The inability of middle-class families to employ a live-in servant is also reflected in the examined floor plans, as there was no longer a maid's room in these designs. The daily lives of middle-class families during this period can be observed in the 1976 movie *"Kapıcılar Kralı"* (The King of Janitors). It was shot in an apartment building in Cihangir. Centered around the apartment life of the period, the film portrays the comedic relationships formed among individuals with diverse socio-economic backgrounds residing in different units within the same building.¹⁵² The film primarily follows the perspective of the janitor. Through the dialogues between the janitor Seyit and the residents of the building, we witness apartment life from different angles. Seyit is responsible not only for the common areas of the building but also for tasks such as the residents' daily shopping and collecting garbage from the apartments as a janitor. For middle-class families, janitors have become significant figures in the form of a shared and affordable form of labor within the apartment. Throughout the film, there is no mention of additional domestic help in the houses, while Seyit's wife works on a daily basis as a charlady, providing support to the residents with their cleaning tasks.

The mentality that the kitchen is the workshop of women, which became almost a slogan in the early period of the Republic, continued in the post-1960s period. Tasks such as kitchen work, house cleaning, and shopping were considered the woman's duty. Modern women, that used contemporary

149. Bahar Emgin, "Bir Kutuya Sığın Dünya: Buzdolabının Kısa Hikâyesi," *Metro Gastro*, no. 105 (April-May-June 2022): 63.

150. Leyla Bektaş Ata, "Mutfak: Bir Piknik Tüpünün Peşinde ya da Evin Kumanda Merkezinde," *Metro Gastro*, no. 105 (April-May-June 2022): 58.

151. Özbay, *Dünden Bugüne Aile*, 115,121-127.

152. Çiçek Film / Şeref Film, "Kapıcılar Kralı," directed by Zeki Ökten, August 23, 2019, video, 1:23:39, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o1lLnQhQcgA>.



Figure 46: Lightwell and Kitchen Scenes from the Movie “Şendul Şaban”. (Gülşah Film, “Şendul Şaban,” directed by Kartal Tibet, March 21, 2019, video, 1:33:30, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RCcO3Zh4ths>.)

153. Özbay, *Dünden Bugüne Aile*, 118.

154. Büşra Sağlık, “Türkiye’de İşgücü Piyasasında Kadının Konumu (1950-1980),” *Uluslararası Sosyal Bilimlerde Yenilikçi Yaklaşımlar Dergisi* 5, no. 4 (2021): 256-278.; Şelale Uşen and Meltem (Güngör) Delen, “Eğitilmiş Kadınların Çalışma Hayatına İlişkin Tercihleri: İstanbul Örneği,” *Kamu-İş* 11, no. 4 (2011).; Ahmet Makal, “Türkiye’de 1950-1965 Döneminde Ücretli Kadın Emegine İlişkin Gelişmeler,” *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi* 56, no.2 (February 2001).

155. Gülşah Film, “Şendul Şaban,” directed by Kartal Tibet

and rational methods to organize their homes, their participation in the workforce remained limited even throughout the 1950s.¹⁵³ During the period roughly spanning 1960 to 1980, gains in women’s rights, such as equal pay for equal work, contributed to the increased participation of women in the workforce.¹⁵⁴ Women’s visibility was increasing in the working environment and their responsibility in kitchen and housework continued.

In the 1985 film “Şendul Şaban” which offers glimpses of apartment life, the assigned responsibilities for women are also observed.¹⁵⁵ The film focuses on the life of a family in an apartment. In this film, a humorous element is created by reversing the defined roles of the woman and the man in the family. At the beginning of the film, the father figure, who is initially dismissive of household chores, becomes responsible for them due to unemployment. Throughout the rest of the film, events unfold as the father, who is traditionally not expected to engage in tasks like cooking typically associated with women, experiences these household activities. This entire process becomes a discovery of the kitchen and home, both for the father and for an observer from a different time.

The setting of the film, an apartment building, carries the spatial characteristics of buildings constructed by “yapsatçı”s (constructor-sellers) in the post-1950s period. When compared to apartment plans examined in *Arkitekt* magazine, the kitchen in the apartment is quite small and faces the lightwell. Throughout the film, the kitchens of three different apartments are presented to the audience. (Figure 46) The interior layout of these three kitchens serves as an indicator of the economic levels of the residents. First, let’s discuss the kitchen of the main characters in the film. This kitchen features ceramic-coated concrete countertops, a “terek” mounted on the wall, a two-burner cooktop, and a water container with a faucet placed next to the sink on the countertop. We also see the kitchen of the two sisters who own the apartment units. While this kitchen has the same features as the other kitchen, it is a renovated version. Modern kitchen cabinets have been added to the existing ceramic-coated countertop. Additionally, an electric toaster is placed on this new countertop. Moreover, a stove with an oven and four burners has been installed next to this new countertop. The items inside the kitchen have become indicators of an economic situation. After this kitchen scene, the audience is shown the lightwell which is almost as large as an elevator shaft. One of the sisters lowers a tray of food, prepared for the neighbor on the lower floor, using a string, taking advantage of this lightwell.

Then, we witness the kitchen of another resident living alone. The kitchen of the single man is different from the other two kitchens. Besides the ceramic countertop and the plate rack on the wall, there is only a small portable gas stove.

As the economic level of families increase, there is an increase in the importance given to the internal spatial design of the kitchen. In the renovated kitchen belonging to the sisters in the film, although the space is minimal, the placement of various electric kitchen appliances is noteworthy. Additionally, the refrigerator, located in the entrance hall that serves as an extension of the living room in the main characters' apartment, is another indication that the kitchen is too small to meet contemporary needs. (Figure 47) The apartment in this movie is a typical example of a "yapsatçı" (constructor-sellers) apartment building with poor spatial qualities and an emphasis on exchange value.

Alternative solutions were produced by the user against the small size of the kitchens. Transforming the predefined areas of the house by the user was one of these solutions.¹⁵⁶ Salons, which were reserved for guest use, became modern period *selamlık*. Thus a room in apartment units was used as a daily living room by the household.¹⁵⁷ However, this daily living room occasionally became an extension of the kitchen space and was used for various purposes. Some of the long time-consuming food preparation processes were observed to take place in this room. Actions such as peeling vegetables, rolling out dough, and wrapping vine leaves were carried out in this daily living room. Food-related actions somehow permeated beyond the boundaries of the kitchen. The influence of the USA, which began in the 1950s, persisted into the 1980s. The small size of kitchens became a common problem in apartments. Women who participated in Ayata's research expressed a desire for larger kitchens with the size and design of American kitchens depicted in movies.¹⁵⁸ The expectations of users for a spacious kitchen where they could spend there all day indicated a perception of the kitchen not only as a workspace but also as a living area. (Figure 48)

On the other hand, in some projects published in the *Arkitekt* magazine, during the period covering approximately the years 1960-1980, the kitchen layout of the previous period and the mentioned intermediate spaces such as ofis, and maid's room were still observed. Upon examining the locations of these apartments, which embody the spatial organization of the preceding era, it is observed that they are situated in neighborhoods such as Nişantaşı, Maçka, Bebek, and Fenerbahçe which were inhabited by the



Figure 47: The refrigerator, located in the entrance hall. (Gülşah Film, "Şendul Şaban," directed by Kartal Tibet, March 21, 2019, video, 1:33:30, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RCcO3Zh4ths>.)



Figure 48: The importance of the connection between the kitchen and the dining area for the housewife is emphasized in the magazine. ("Güzel Yuva," *Hayat*, no. 11 (March 1959): 21.)

¹⁵⁶ Ayata, "Kentsel Orta Sınıf Ailelerde Statü Yarışması," 5-25.

¹⁵⁷ Özbay, *Dünden Bugüne Aile*, 125.

¹⁵⁸ Ayata, "Kentsel Orta Sınıf Ailelerde Statü Yarışması," 5-25.

upper class. Therefore, these apartments do not directly affect the defined periods of this study, which is carried out on the middle class axis. In addition, while changes affecting the lifestyle of society occurred, it takes time for this situation to have a spatial reflection. Therefore, encountering housing plans and spatial organizations that carry traces of the previous era is possible.

During the period spanning approximately from 1960 to 1980, as evident in the mentioned examples, sociological changes parallel to technological advancements and economic developments transformed the spatial relationship of the kitchen with the other living areas of the house for the middle-class residing in Istanbul. The isolation of the kitchen in middle-class homes through separate entrances, and buffer zones like ofis or service halls was abandoned. Kitchens were positioned on the facade and had a closer relationship with the living room. The family members' interaction with the kitchen and, consequently, the spatiality of the kitchen, were undergoing transformation. All these situations increased the visibility of the kitchen within the house. Although concerns about privacy often led to the preservation of boundaries around the kitchen, some examples show bold initiatives that made the boundaries between the kitchen and the living room permeable. The kitchen, gaining visibility within the house, has transcended being seen solely as a workspace.



Conclusion

This study investigates the social influences and historical thresholds that influence the positioning and design of labor-intensive food-related spaces within residential settings. Within this framework, the housing practices prevalent in Istanbul throughout the 20th century, characterized by modernist considerations, are examined as a case study. In Istanbul, a city that experienced numerous transformative changes impacting housing practices during this era, the study focuses on the lives and residences of middle-class families significantly affected by these transformations. Three periods were determined based on the changes in housing typology and spatial organization of the house throughout this extensive timeframe. These three periods chronologically cover the years 1850s-1930, 1930-1960, 1960-1980.

The initial period, approximately spanning from the 1850s to 1930, has been examined under the title 'Integration of the Kitchen into the House Plan.' A notable change in the housing typology of the middle and upper-middle class is observed during this period. Throughout this research, the conventional housing form known as a mansion became unsustainable and undesirable. In its place, the apartment form gained prominence. The approach to food-related spaces during this period is markedly different from contemporary perspectives. During this era, when employing servants was widespread, the service spaces outside the living spaces considered the primary zones for family members were not viewed as integral parts of the residence, including kitchens. It was suggested to position the kitchen outside the house. In the worst-case scenario, the kitchen area should be located on the ground floor, which was not conventionally accepted as one of the main floors of the house. The externalized nature of these kitchens raises questions about who worked in these spaces. Due to factors such as inadequate technology, the lack of urban infrastructure, and the detached structure of residences, which required significant labor, even if the size of the residence varied, there was a fundamental need for a labor force. Therefore, these kitchens typically employed cooks and servants. It is essential to note the recommendations given to women living in these middle-class families in

the women's magazines or literary works of the period. The advice encourages women in these households to oversee the kitchen and its staff. This situation aligns with the specialized and isolated nature of kitchens. The societal perception of homes during the Ottoman period is crucial in this context. Especially for upper-class families, there was an approach where they viewed homes as their palaces. Therefore, it is reasonable to isolate the kitchen, which is messy and smelly and involves many work cycles, from the house. Another important point is that while family members in these mansions lived a life far removed from the food production process, meals were served individually to rooms. The communal practice of gathering around a table to eat became a common habit for these families with the influence of modernization. During this process, which also included the last period of the Ottoman Empire, the mentioned developments increased urban interaction in Istanbul. These changes were also reflected in the housing forms. Apartmentization, which is associated with urbanization, changes the perception of privacy for families living in detached houses by making encounters possible for different families to interact at least in the apartment hall and staircase. Residential life was forced to change and come together on one floor by transitioning from mansions, which have a vertical space organization, to apartments, which require horizontal space organization. When early examples of apartments in the Galata region are examined, it is observed that spatial organization forms with shared concerns were not yet visible. Except for placing salons or large rooms that could be used as salons on the main facade, there is no clear concern. The food-related spaces were mostly concentrated within a holistic kitchen. However, the location of this kitchen and its relationship with the entrance varied. An essential detail here is the coexistence of wet spaces, which could be for providing convenience related to plumbing systems. The interior spaces of kitchens in early apartments, however, were not significantly different from kitchens in mansions. During this period when apartments gained visibility in the city, the most significant shift was that the food-related spaces were obligatorily integrated into the house plan. The approach prioritizing the complete isolation of the kitchen tended to be more flexible.

The second period, spanning from 1930 to 1960, is examined under the title 'Quest for an Efficient and Sanitary Kitchen.' This era was shaped by the nation-state approach following the declaration of the republic. The ongoing modernization movement gained momentum, and the effects of

these initiatives became palpable across all social classes. The ideal housing form for the nuclear family, one of the concepts that the republican ideology emphasizes, was particularly apartments. After the introduction of apartment living in the previous period, apartments, especially for the middle class, became the predominant housing form. In examining apartment plans published in *Arkitekt* magazine throughout this era, a similar mentality in spatial organization is observed. A dual-circulation system forms the basis of this spatial organization. One of these circulations while providing access to spaces for family members within the residence, is open to guests, serving as the primary circulation. The other circulation is the service circulation, with the kitchen at its central position. This secondary circulation provides access to areas involved in food-related activities such as preparation, cooking, and storage. In this respect, the kitchen, similar to the previous period, emerges as a functional workspace within the spatial organization. This spatial organization reflects the lifestyle practices of families transitioning from mansion living to apartment living. The kitchen is isolated by service corridors, service entrances, and office spaces. The presence of a maid's room along this circulation line is noteworthy. Families transitioning from mansion living to apartment living did not quickly abandon their lifestyle habits. The interior design of the kitchen space was influenced by contemporary discussions on achieving efficiency and sanitary conditions in European kitchens. The continuous countertops in kitchen plans affirm this trend. Also, presentations about these new kitchens are found in magazines of the time. Moreover, during this period, the infrastructure developments that brought electricity to homes and the introduction of electric appliances, especially in kitchens, marked significant progress. The advent of electricity was portrayed as a relief for families struggling to employ maids, suggesting that electricity would serve as their new helpers. However, electric devices were not yet advanced enough to handle all tasks, and this situation remains valid today. Therefore, household and kitchen tasks still required manual labor. This responsibility was predominantly assigned to women in middle-class families. Despite the rhetoric of gender equality in the Republic's ideology, women's employment did not substantially increase during this period. The reduction in the number of maids, technological advancements, and the interior design of kitchens aimed at facilitating tasks all contributed to the transfer of household and kitchen responsibilities to women. Women were now expected not only to manage household affairs, as in the previous period but to actively engage

in kitchen activities. This shift resulted in kitchens being referred to as the workshop of women under the guise of the maternal mission. The statement that the kitchen is a woman's workshop coincides with concerns about making kitchens efficient and sanitary as a workspace. Simultaneously, as apartment living became widespread during this period, criticisms arose, particularly regarding the standards that apartments met for the upper-income class. Criticisms included concerns about apartments being smaller, the impracticality of kitchens, and their positioning with insufficient access to natural ventilation and light. The conflict between the sanitary aspirations in kitchen interior design and the limitations posed by the lack of natural ventilation and light in kitchens led to a paradox. Furthermore, due to leading to a loss of space, spatial organizations of apartments with dual circulation clashed with the modernist concerns of efficiency and economy. This conflict is reflected in the isolated position of the kitchen and buffer spaces isolating it, preserving privacy concerns from the past within the residence.

The approach to kitchens in which at least one of the family members was included in the second period is directly affected by the change in the spatial organization of the house in the last period. The final period examined within the scope of this research, covering approximately the years 1960 to 1980 is explored under the title 'Making The Kitchen Visible.' This era witnessed political changes in Turkey. With the Demokrat Parti coming to power, a focus was placed on Istanbul, asserting that its physical construction had been neglected in the early republican period. During this period, characterized by mechanization in agriculture and a concentration of industrial ventures in Istanbul, there was an influx of migration from Anatolia to Istanbul. The resulting population increase led to a housing crisis, prompting legal regulations, such as facilitating the construction of apartments through condominium ownership, as a solution. Consequently, the exchange value of housing began to take precedence. The term "yapsatçı" (constructor-seller) emerged, describing the form of housing supply. The "yapsatçı" apartments were criticized in studies related to housing, and scenes in films, because of features like the low architectural quality of apartment spaces, small kitchens, and their positioning with limited exposure to natural light and ventilation. Moreover, *Arkitekt* magazine's apartment plans reveal significant changes in the spatial organization of residences during this period. The 1960s marked the rise of the concept of social housing, and changes in middle-class daily practices, increasing participation of middle-class women in the workforce,

and the effects of advancing technology and infrastructure services became apparent. In this period, the dual-circulation system in affordable housing for the middle class, diminished. Spaces, other than the kitchen, dedicated to service and food-related actions in the plan were no longer encountered. Therefore, as buffer spaces isolating the kitchen diminished, the kitchen gained visibility. In some instances, openings facilitating visual and auditory interaction between the kitchen and the living room were identified. This new situation in the spatial organization of residences can be considered evidence that the kitchen transcended being merely a workspace. Findings suggesting that the kitchen transformed into a space where intimate guests, beyond family members, were included indicate that the kitchen was now perceived as a place for spending time. On the other hand, the accessibility of white goods technology shaped apartment plans. In the initial period, the kitchen's location in the plans was discernible from drawings of expansive hoods and parts where chimneys were concentrated. In the second period, the continuous countertop depiction served as a helpful element in describing the location of the kitchen in apartment plans. During this period, white goods were visibly present in kitchen plans as familiar elements. However, during the third period, particularly in apartment buildings constructed through "*yapsatçı*" practices and in older buildings, users complained about small kitchens that did not meet contemporary standards. In these apartments, kitchens extended into other parts of the house. Women carried out some of the long-lasting meal preparation processes in the living room. Refrigerators that did not fit into the kitchen were placed in the living room or dining room. Additionally, during this period, the influence of the United States was observed in the process of modernization. There were instances of women desiring American kitchens with ample space, where they could spend their whole days. The demand emerged for a space in the kitchen where the entire family could sit and have a meal. Thus, it was thought that kitchens where food-related activities took place became open to the use of all family members and even guests. This situation not only rendered kitchens visible but also democratized the spatial organization of middle-class housing. However, it is essential to note that the perception of privacy persisted, and the boundaries of the kitchen were not yet fully permeable.

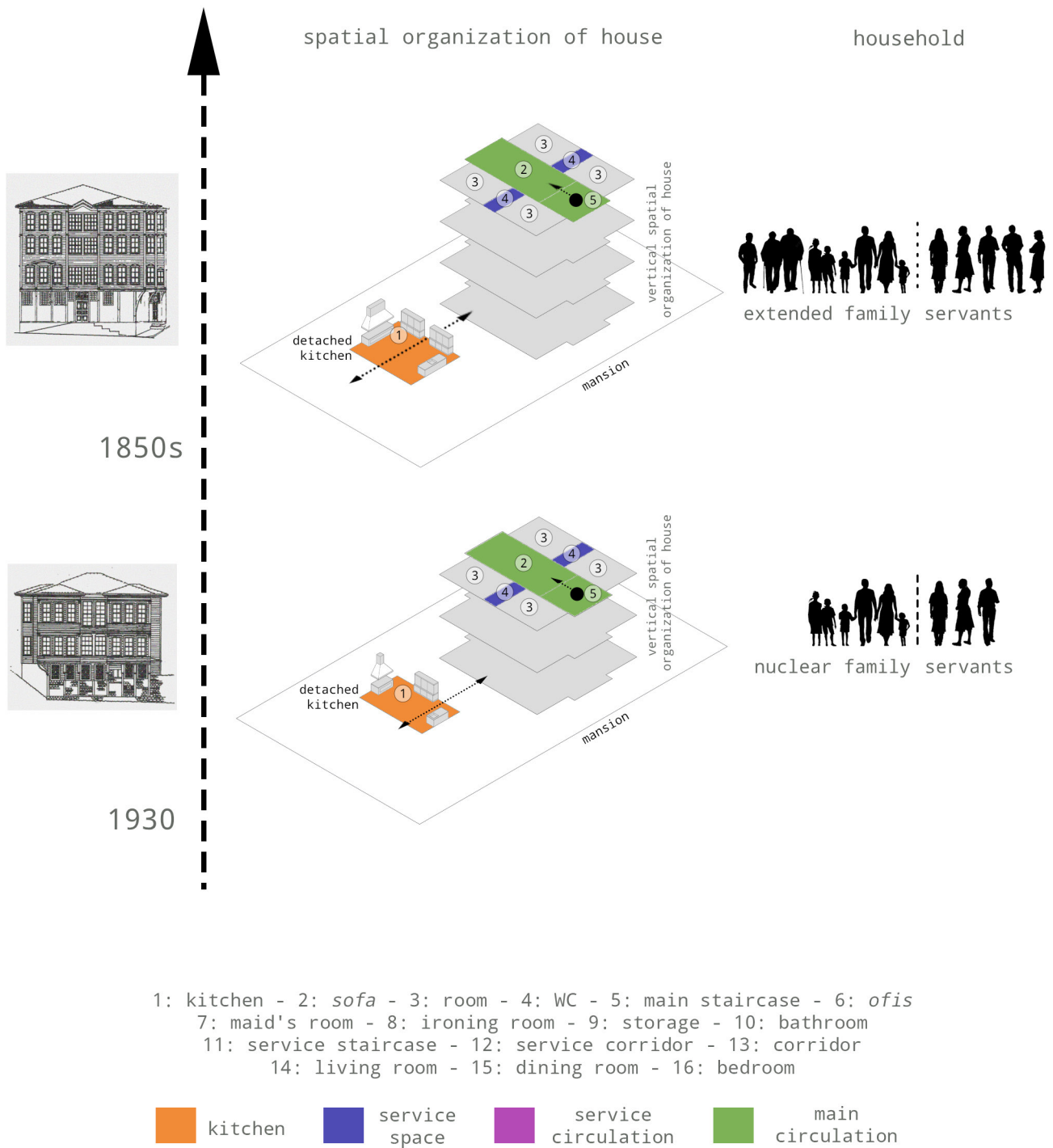
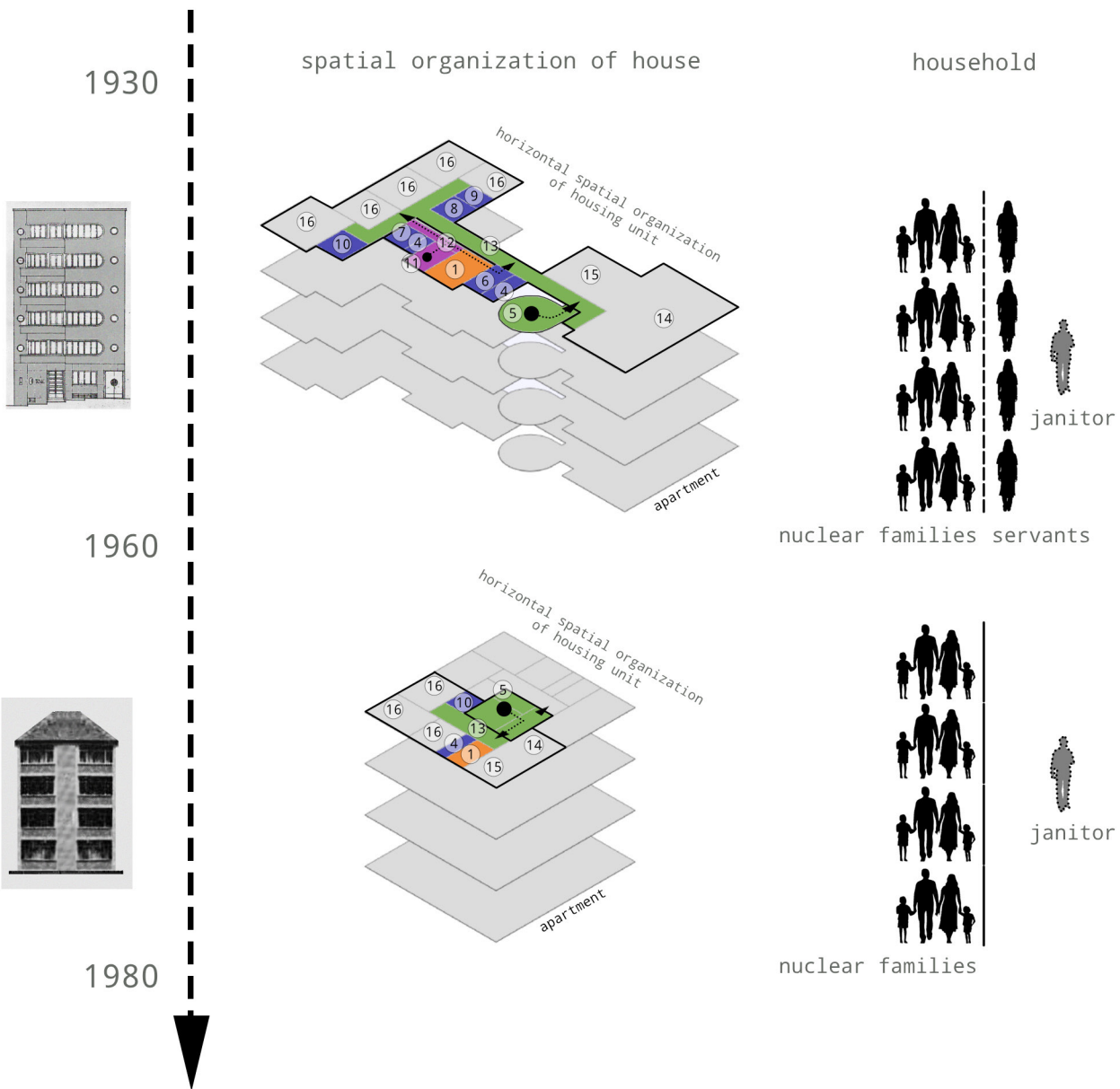


Figure 49: The Transformation of The Kitchen in Spatial Organization of Housing.



1: kitchen - 2: sofa - 3: room - 4: WC - 5: main staircase - 6: ofis
 7: maid's room - 8: ironing room - 9: storage - 10: bathroom
 11: service staircase - 12: service corridor - 13: corridor
 14: living room - 15: dining room - 16: bedroom



The kitchen's transformation during the period covered by this research is remarkable when examined through the changes in the spatial organization of the house and the household structure. While the kitchen was not considered one of the essential components of the house at the beginning of the period, it was included in the house during the transition from vertical to horizontal space organization. In the post-1930 period, the kitchen was isolated from the main spaces used by the family within the series of service spaces. In examples from after 1960, while fragmented service areas became invisible, the kitchen was directly connected to the main circulation and became more visible. This spatial process of the kitchen and house was under the influence of changes in the social structure and daily life practices of the middle class. At a time when kitchen work was done by servants, the kitchen was a secluded working place for the family. The involvement of first the woman and then other family members in the kitchen causes the kitchen to become one of the main spaces of the house. (Figure 49)

Moving beyond either the reduction of space to three dimensions or perceiving it merely as a backdrop where events unfold, the multifaceted structure of space is considered. In this context, the impact of everyday life practices and lifestyle of society on residential space through food-related actions has been observed. Drawing from studies that question the definition and potential of the kitchen, a space laden with intensive labor, this research explores how historical thresholds affecting society's daily life practices influence the housing space. This examination focused specifically on the kitchen within houses, reveals that as the kitchen gains visibility, it transcends being solely a workspace. In conclusion, this research highlights that as the kitchen gains visibility, it not only transcends its identity as a functional workspace but also transforms into a space of socialization. The opposite of this situation is also valid. The augmentation of the kitchen's definition contributes to its evolution adding layers to its utilization and, consequently, its design.

Today, we can observe from housing advertisements that the kitchen has an important place in housing marketing. The kitchen is a space equipped with standard-sized countertops as work surfaces, cabinets and shelves for storage, various stoves and ovens for cooking, and at least one sink for washing and cleaning. Although it is basically a working place that meets nutritional needs, it has become a space where the households come together, socialize, sometimes produce together, and gain new experiences.

At the same time, outside of the house, the kitchen sometimes becomes a space for workshops and solidarity movements. It has become a place where people interact, knowledge produce, and share while working and eating.

The kitchen comes to the fore as a common space. On the other hand, when individuals who do not have a passion for cooking prefer to meet their nutritional needs by ordering takeaway, the use of the kitchen changes. The size of the kitchen, the plenty of counter areas, and the amount of storage areas lose their importance. The kitchen becomes a kind of service line where the ready meals are prepared for service, the dishes are cleaned and the garbage is collected. Even though it was a period in which ordering takeaway became easier with applications such as Yemek Sepeti and Getir, and ready-to-eat meals were easier to access in markets, eating together and meeting around a table still continues to be a social and gastronomic activity beyond nutrition.

Today, depending on the size of the house, the domestic kitchen design changes. If the house is a one-room or studio apartment, an open kitchen is located on one side of the living room. If the house has two or more rooms, the kitchen is designed as a separate room that has easy access to the living room and the entrance of the house. Commonly, in these kitchens, there are sinks for washing, countertops as work surfaces, cabinets for storage and white goods such as refrigerators for storage of food, stoves, and ovens for cooking, and range hoods for evacuation of smoke. White goods can be various, such as dishwashers, microwave ovens, kettles, food processors, and coffee machines.

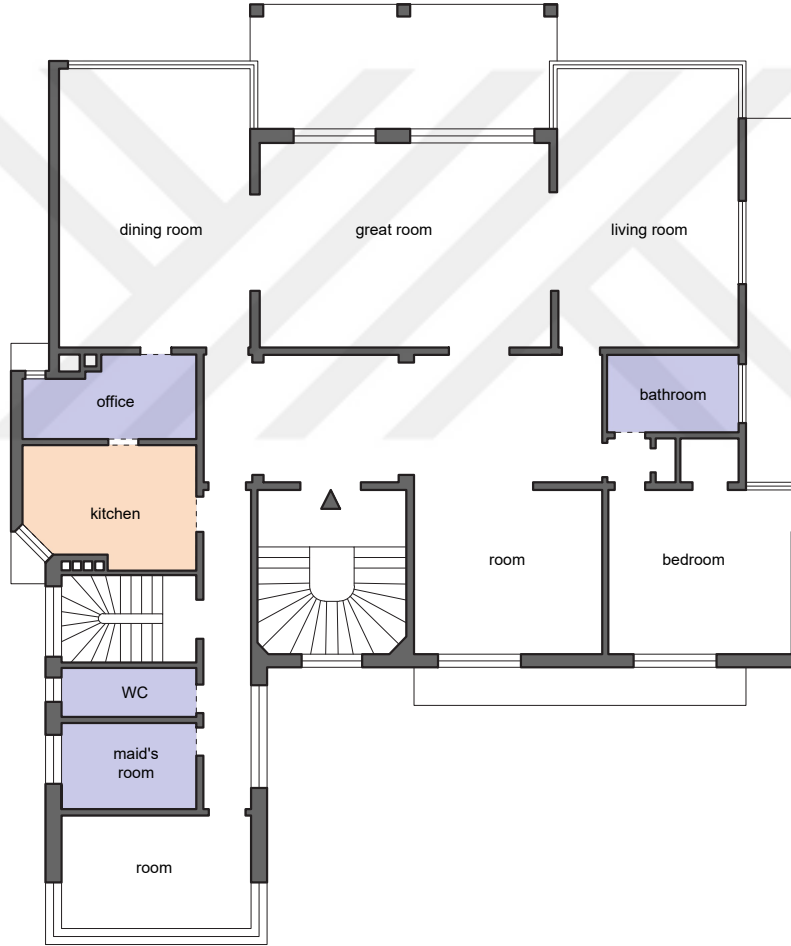
Generally, a continuous countertop surface is constructed along at least one wall. Then, all these equipments are placed under and above the counter. All dimensions are determined around certain standards. Even if the user profiles of these kitchens, the actions they consist of, and the productions they contain differentiate, standardization, which is the heritage of the modernist approaches, influenced the spatialities of kitchens. Kitchens stand out with their exchange value rather than their use value. This also makes the kitchen, the consumer of the white goods and kitchen appliances market. On the other hand, although economic and commercial concerns are at the forefront in the formation of domestic kitchens in today's cities, it is transformed and diversified with the intervention of users. While this intervention is sometimes limited to changing the color of the cabinet doors and mounting the shelves to the walls, sometimes the kitchen space is



completely renewed within the pre-defined boundaries, and sometimes the walls are demolished and the relationship between the kitchen and house is redefined.

The visibility of the kitchen transforms it into a displayed entity, inevitably leading the kitchen and its contents to become economic indicators. While the design and use of kitchens in residences vary today, kitchens remain prominently visible within homes. The widespread use of social media has further facilitated the sharing of kitchen-related activities, positioning the kitchen as a form of interactive space. Additionally, practices that extend the kitchen beyond the confines of the home, creating a form of public space through production activities, broaden the definition of the kitchen. Factors shaping contemporary society and lifestyle continue to influence the spatiality of kitchens and the spatial organization of houses similar to the 20th century. However, making predictions or claiming to design the kitchen of the future would be unwarranted. This research asserts that rather than adhering to specific standards and dimensions in kitchen design, observing and understanding the transformation process of the kitchen amidst societal changes can broaden the design process and uncover new possibilities. Moreover, this study approaches kitchen and housing design with a perspective that diverges from conventional views. By entering the apartment through the service entrance instead of the main entrance, the exploration demonstrates how the home can be read as a workspace in the world of different actors. Throughout the research, the importance of changing perspectives and questioning the definitions of today's world has been experienced.

In this process, which is approached through the frame of architecture discipline, it is necessary to talk about interdisciplinary study topics that were not included in the research but can be conducted in the kitchen axis. In particular, examining the social association of cuisine with women and examining it through gender issues are among the potential areas of study. Although spatial changes were observed through women's social roles in this space-focused study, the binary gender system and its spatial equivalents need to be considered in a different context. In addition, discussing the kitchens and spatial organizations in housing typologies in another context, from a perspective that approaches space as a social production, will expand the conclusions of this thesis and the questions it asks.

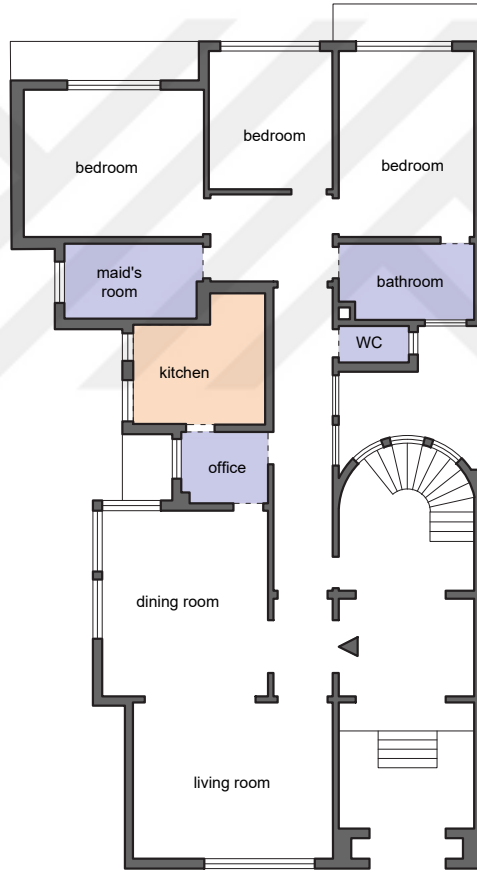
Appendix: Apartment Plans in The Archive of *Arkitekt* Magazine



-  kitchen
-  service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

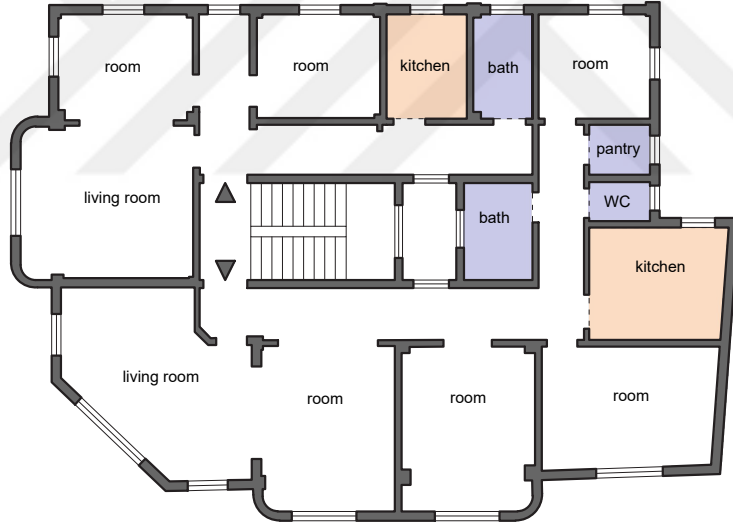
Mimar Hüsni, "Mühendis İbrahim Galip B. Apartmanı - Ayaspaşa," *Arkitekt* 1931, no. 1931-11-12 (11-12) (1931): 355-364.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

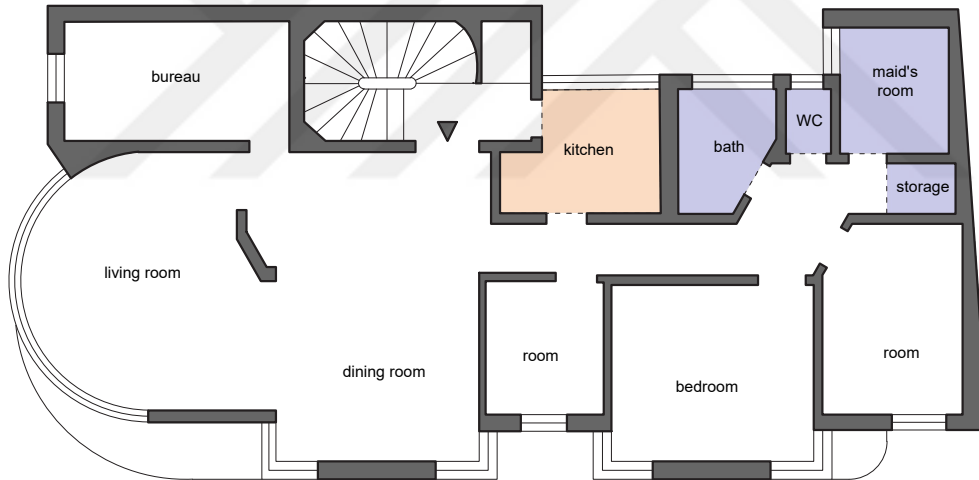
Ahmet İhsan, "Park Apartmanı - Nişantaşı," *Arkitekt* 1931, no. 1931-7 (1931): 220-223.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

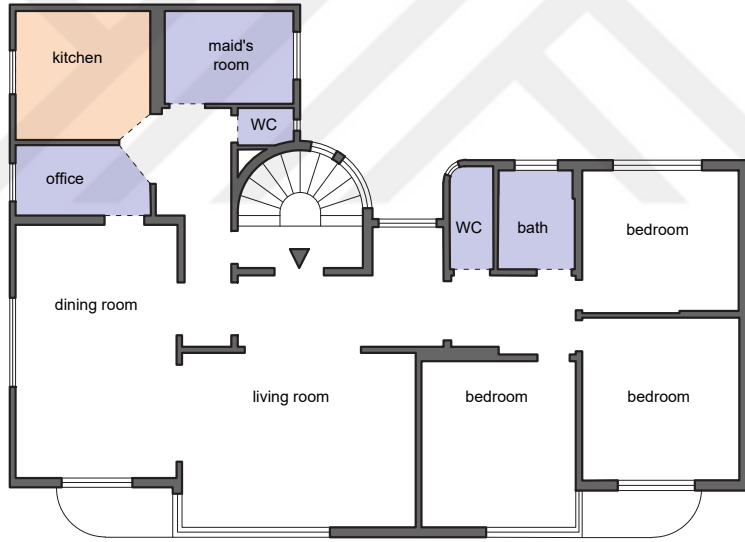
Mimar Zühtü, "Işık Apartmanı," *Arkitekt* 1932, no. 1932-02 (14) (1932): 37-38.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

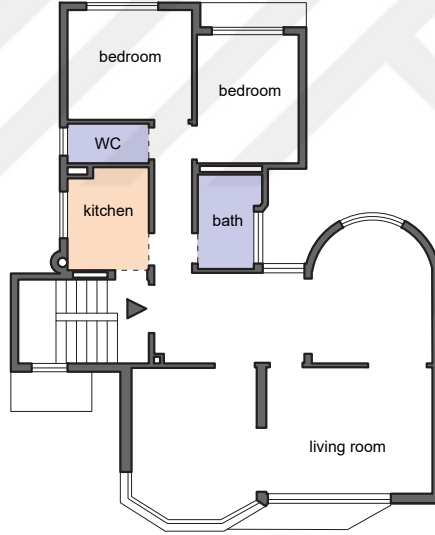
Sırrı Arif, "Apartman Binası - Pangaltı," *Arkitekt* 1932, no. 1932-02 (14) (1932): 35-36.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

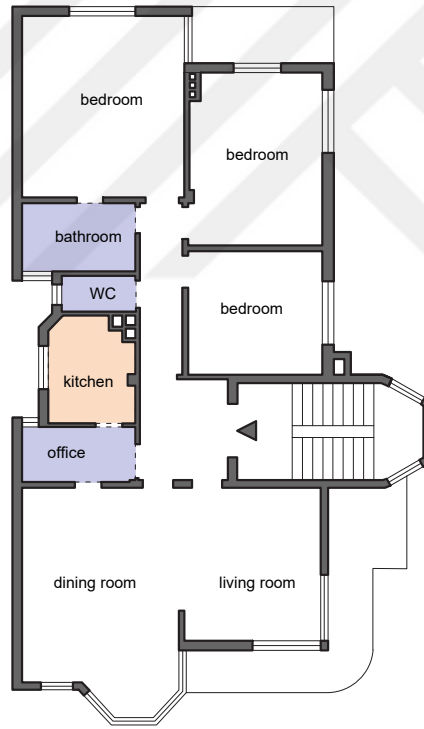
Zeki Selâh, "Apartman Avan Projesi," *Arkitekt* 1932, no. 1932-03 (15) (1932): 77-78.





- kitchen
- service space

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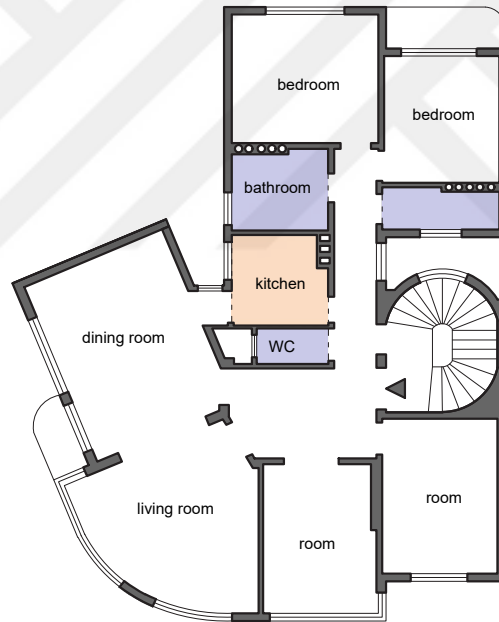
Ö. Faruk Galip, "Nan Apartmanı," *Arkitekt* 1932, no.1932-03 (15) (1932): 67-69.





-  kitchen
-  service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

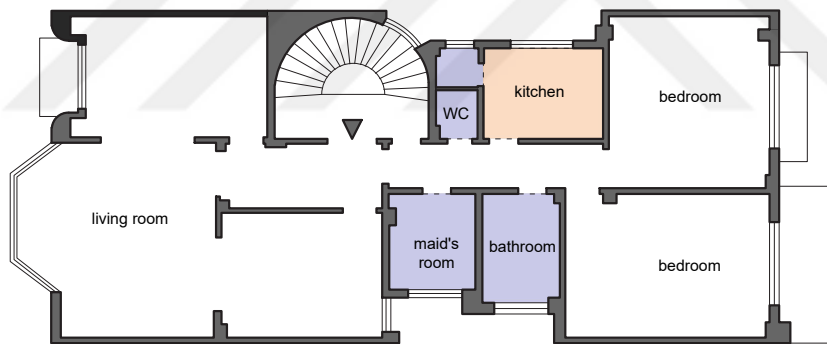
Mimar Çubukçıyan and Mimar Hüsni, "Hüsni B. Apartmanı," *Arkitekt* 1932, no 1932-06 (18) (1932): 163-167.





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*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

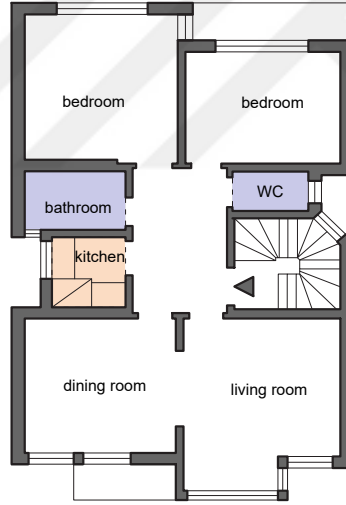
Hasan A., "Mühendis Derviş Bey Apartmanı," *Arkitekt* 1932, no.1932-09 (21) (1932): 243-247.





-  kitchen
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*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

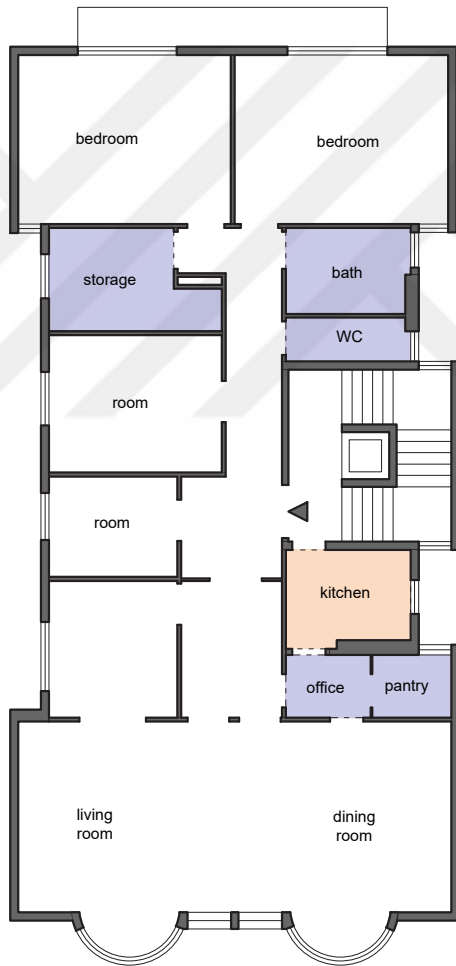
Mühendis Livas, "Bosfor Apartmanı," *Arkitekt* 1932, no. 1932-10 (22) (1932): 277-281.



-  kitchen
-  service space

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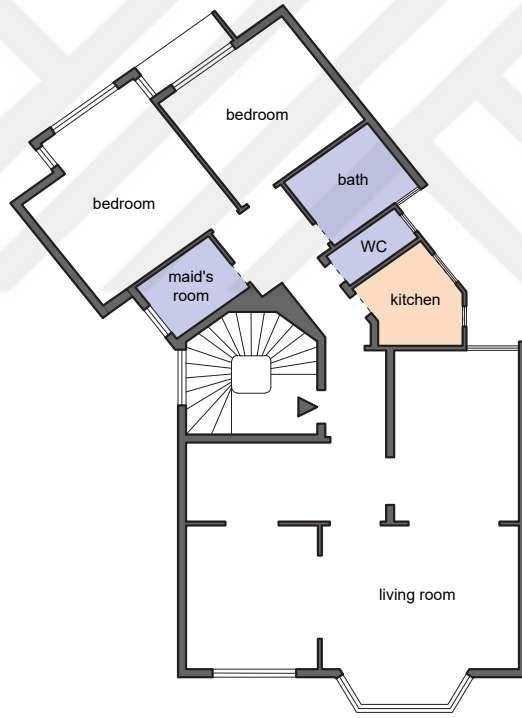
Nizamettin Hüsni, "Hasan B. Apartmanı," *Arkitekt* 1932, no. 1932-11-12 (23-24) (1932): 322-323.





- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

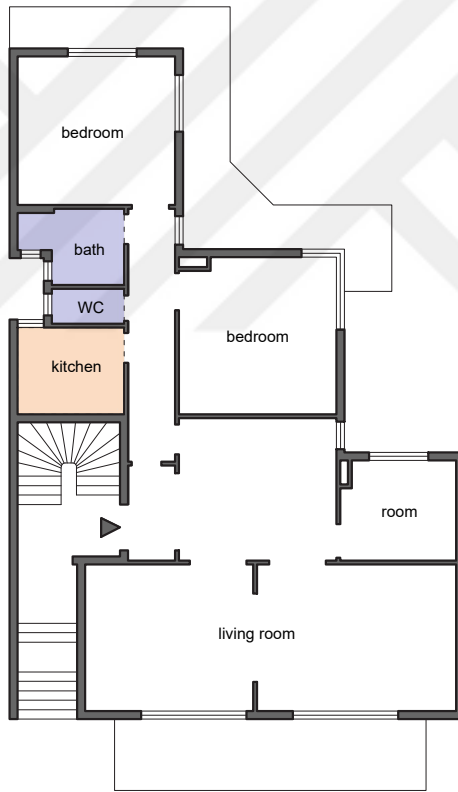
Fikri Suntur and Mimar Abidin, "Melek Apartmanı," *Arkitekt* 1932, no.1932-11-12 (23-24) (1932): 311-316.





-  kitchen
-  service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

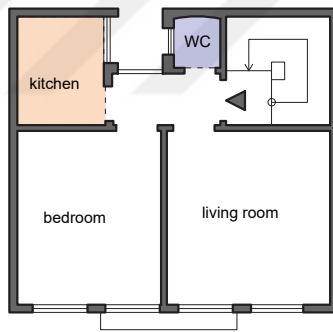
Hüsnü Çubukçyan, "İstiklâl Apartmanı," *Arkitekt* 1932, no.1932-11-12 (23-24) (1932): 308-310.





-  kitchen
-  service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

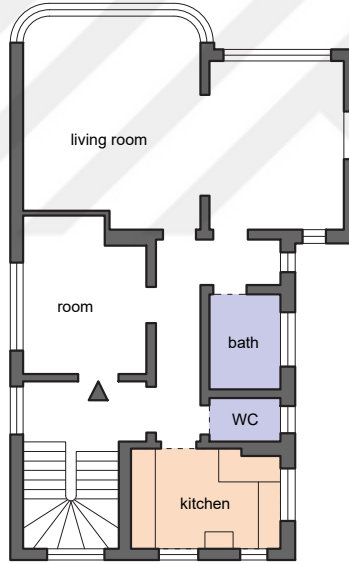
H. Hüsnü, "Münip B. Evi," *Arkitekt* 1932, no. 1932-07-08 (19-20) (1932): 225-226.





-  kitchen
-  service space

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Mimar Abidin, "M. H. Evi," *Arkitekt* 1932, no. 1932-09 (21) (1932): 255-256.



-  kitchen
-  service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

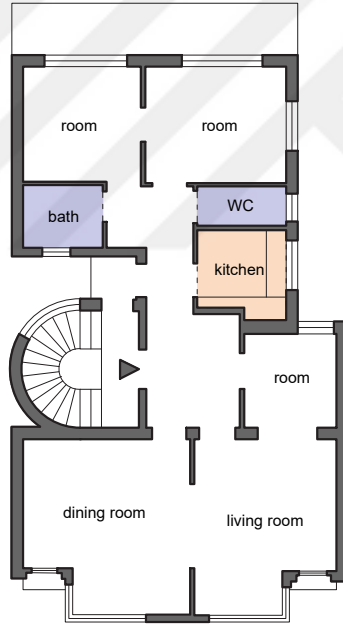
Ö.Faruk Galip, "İhsan Bey Evi," *Arkitekt* 1933, no. 1933-03 (27) (1933): 80-82.





- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

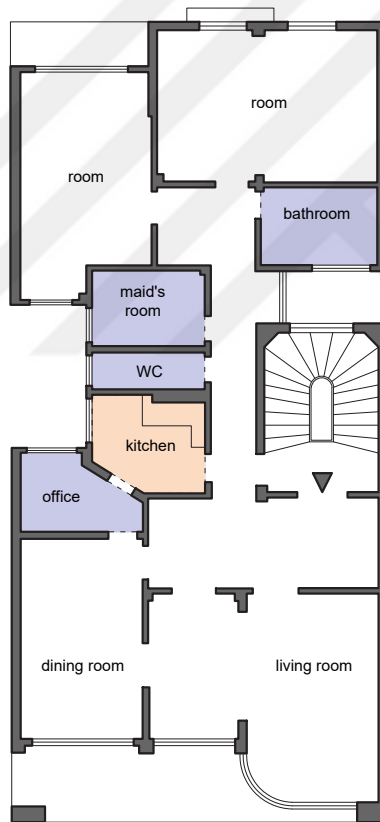
Nihat Vedat, "Perteve Apartmanı," *Arkitekt* 1933, no. 1933-02 (26) (1933): 44-46.



-  kitchen
-  service space

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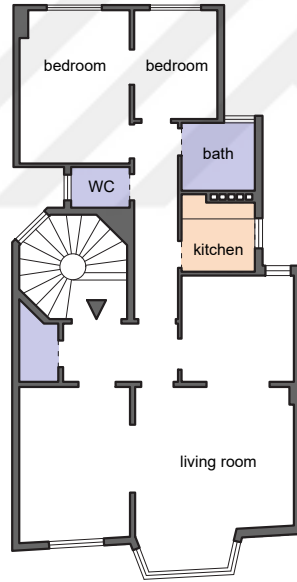
Mimar Nazif, "Şevket Bey Apartmanı," *Arkitekt* 1933, no. 1933-03 (27) (1933): 76-77.





- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Sırrı Arif, "Seza Apartmanı," *Arkitekt* 1933, no. 1933-06 (30) (1933) :165-170.



-  kitchen
-  service space

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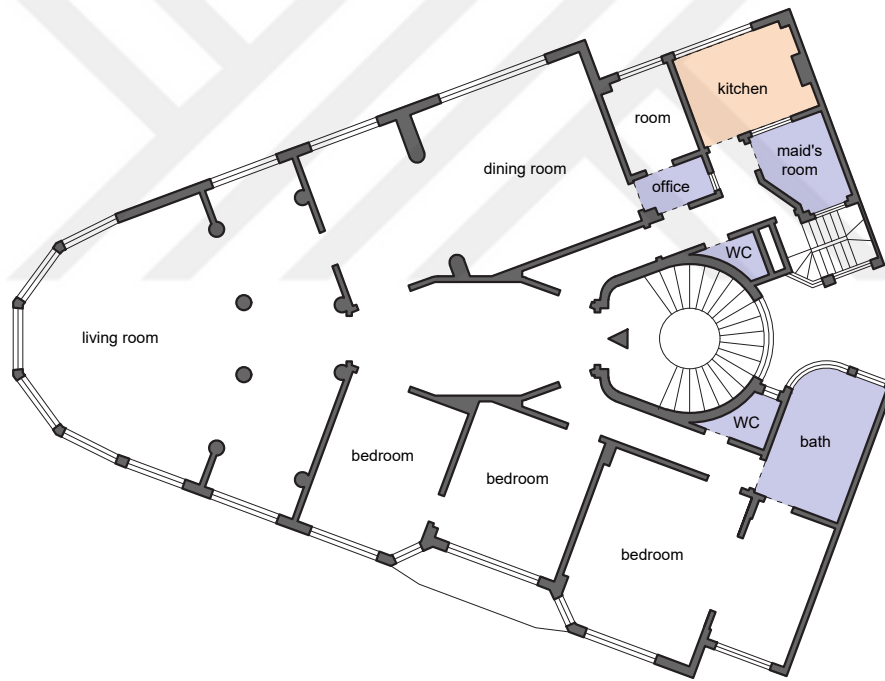
Kâhyaoğlu Nazif, "Agop Efendi Apartmanı," *Arkitekt* 1933, no. 1933-07 (31) (1933): 204-205.



- kitchen
- service space

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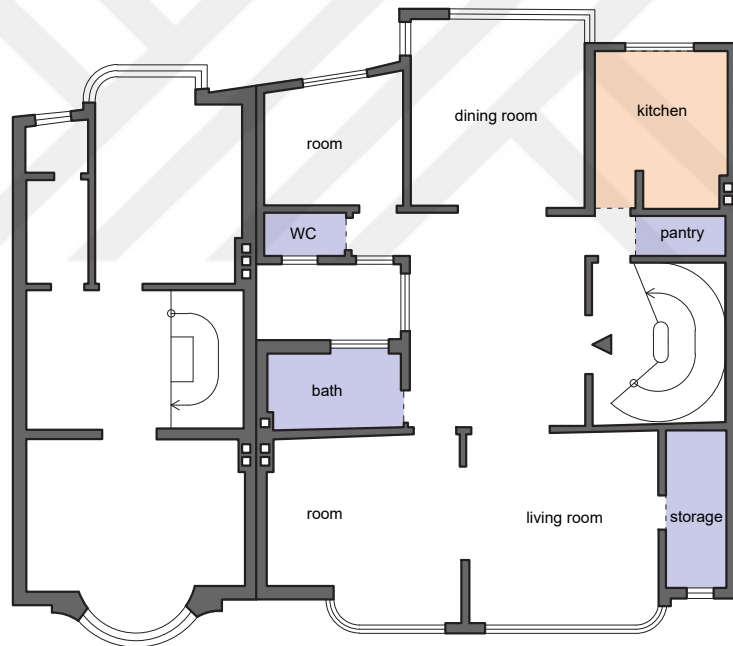
Zeki Selâh, "Röntgen Apartmanı," *Arkitekt* 1933, no. 1933-08 (32) (1933): 231-236.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

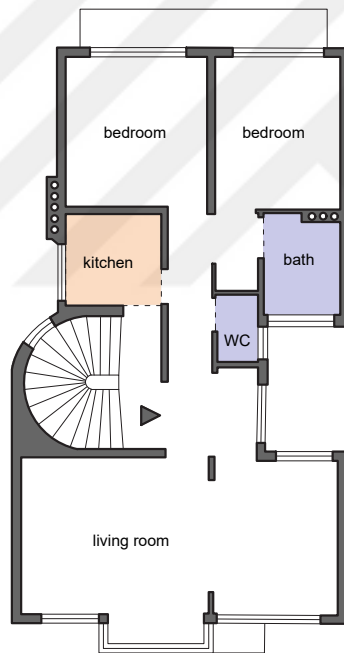
Sedat Hakkı, "Ceylân Apartmanı," *Arkitekt* 1933, no. 1933-11 (35) (1933): 331-346.





- kitchen
- service space

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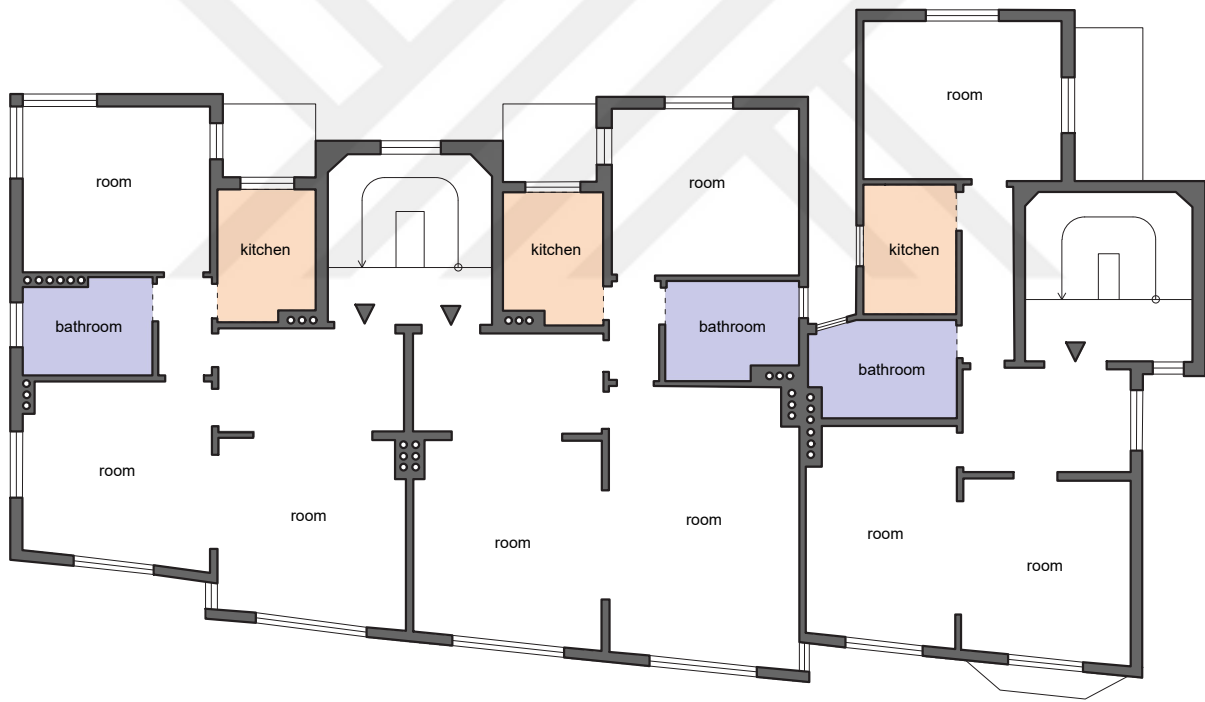
A. Kemal, "İki Ev," *Arkitekt* 1934, no. 1934-06 (42) (1934): 165-166.



-  kitchen
-  service space

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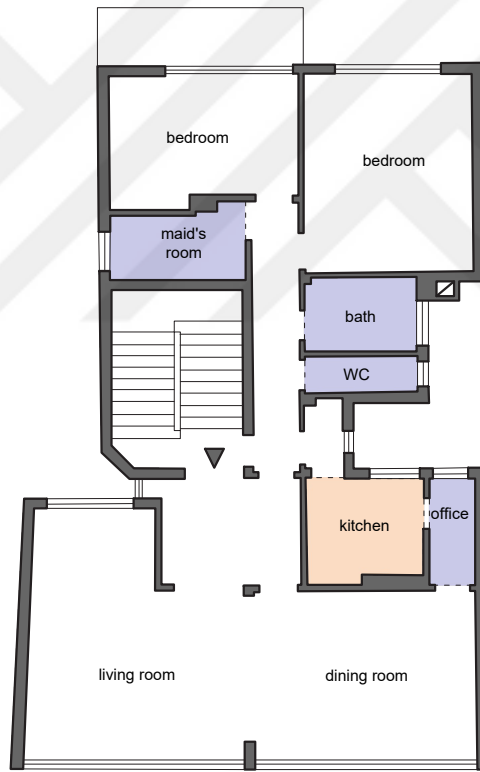
Mimar Abidin and Zeki Salâh, "Avniye Hf. Kira Evi," *Arkitekt* 1934, no. 1934-08 (44) (1934): 229-230.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

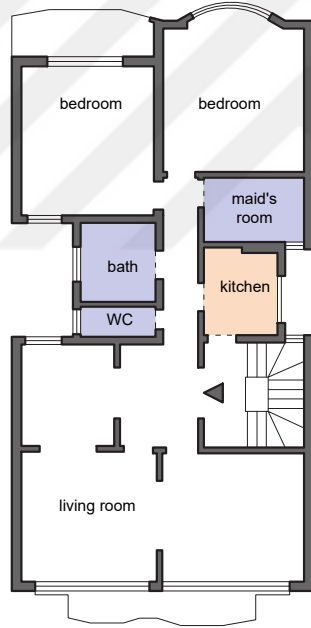
Ekrem Hakki, "Bir Kira Evi," *Arkitekt* 1934, no. 1934-11 (47) (1934): 303-304.





- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

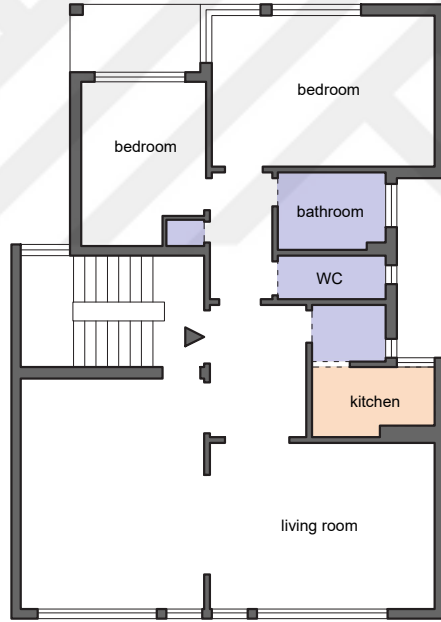
Sedat Hakkı, "Bayan Firdevs Evi," *Arkitekt* 1934, no.1934-12 (48) (1934): 331-334.





-  kitchen
-  service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

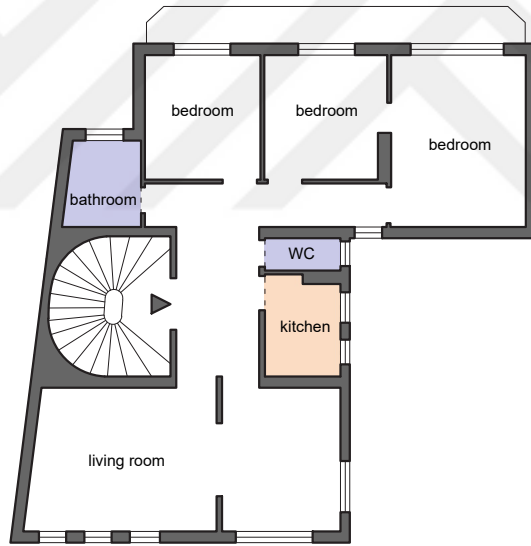
Mimar Abidin, "İskeçe Apartmanı (Maçka)," *Arkitekt* 1934, no. 1934-01 (37) (1934): 1-5.





-  kitchen
-  service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

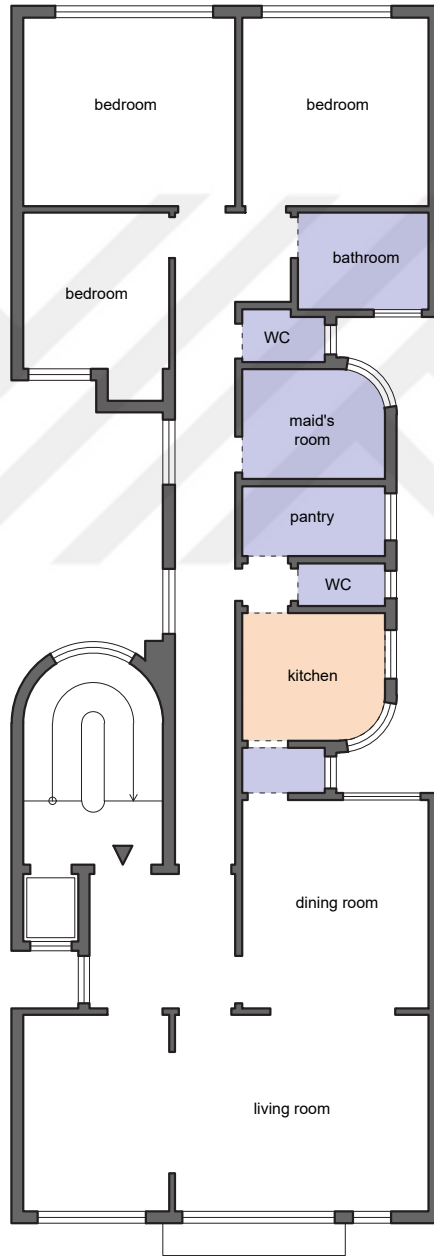
Cavit Raşit, "Mühendis İzzet Bey Apartmanı," *Arkitekt* 1934, no.1934-03 (39) (1934): 69-70.



-  kitchen
-  service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

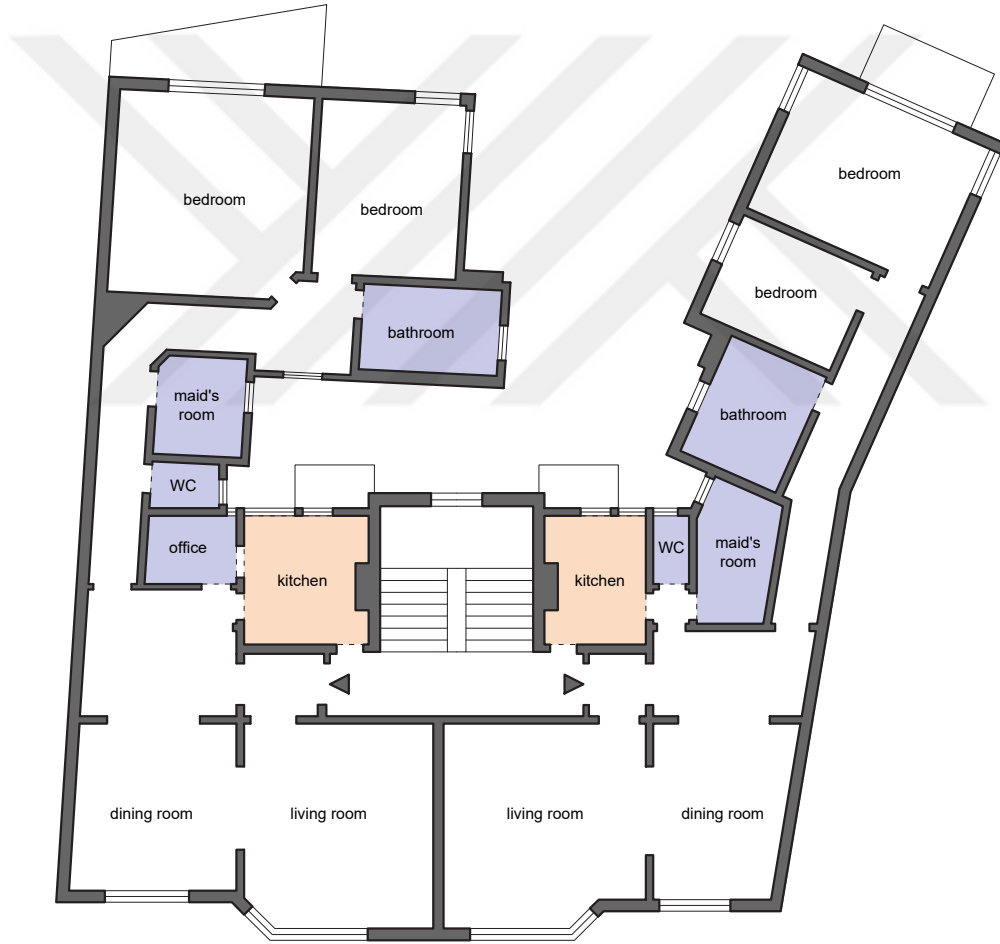
Mimar Nazif, "Küçük Apartman Projesi," *Arkitekt* 1934, no. 1934-05 (41) (1934): 144.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

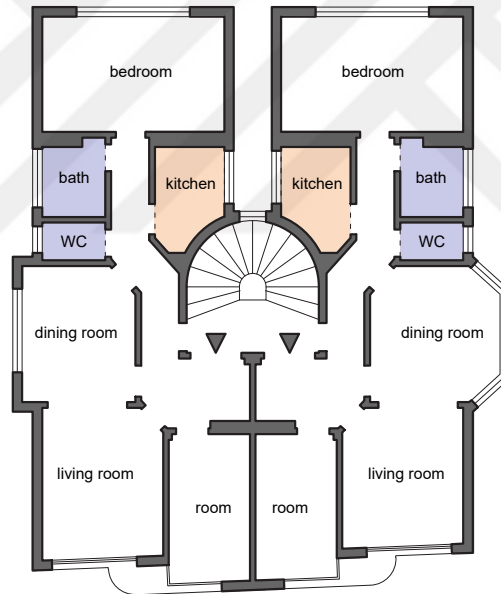
Cavit Raşit, "Şeref Apartmanı," *Arkitekt* 1934, no. 1934-05 (41) (1934): 134-136.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

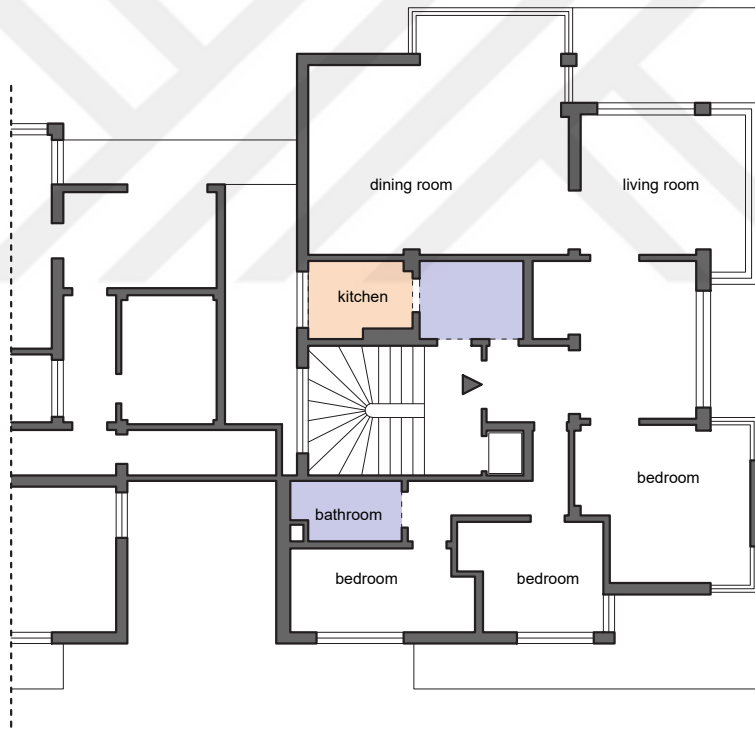
M. Vedat, "Halit Ziya B. Apartmanı," *Arkitekt* 1934, no. 1934-08 (44) (1934): 226-228.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

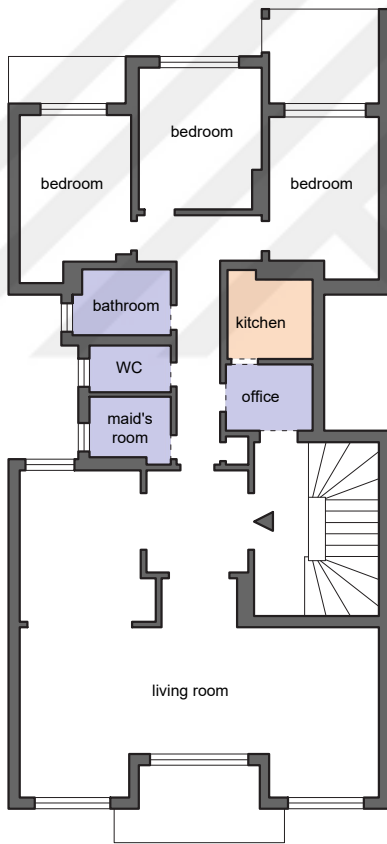
Abidin Mortaş, "Kira Evi," *Arkitekt* 1935, no. 1935-05 (53) (1935): 141-144.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

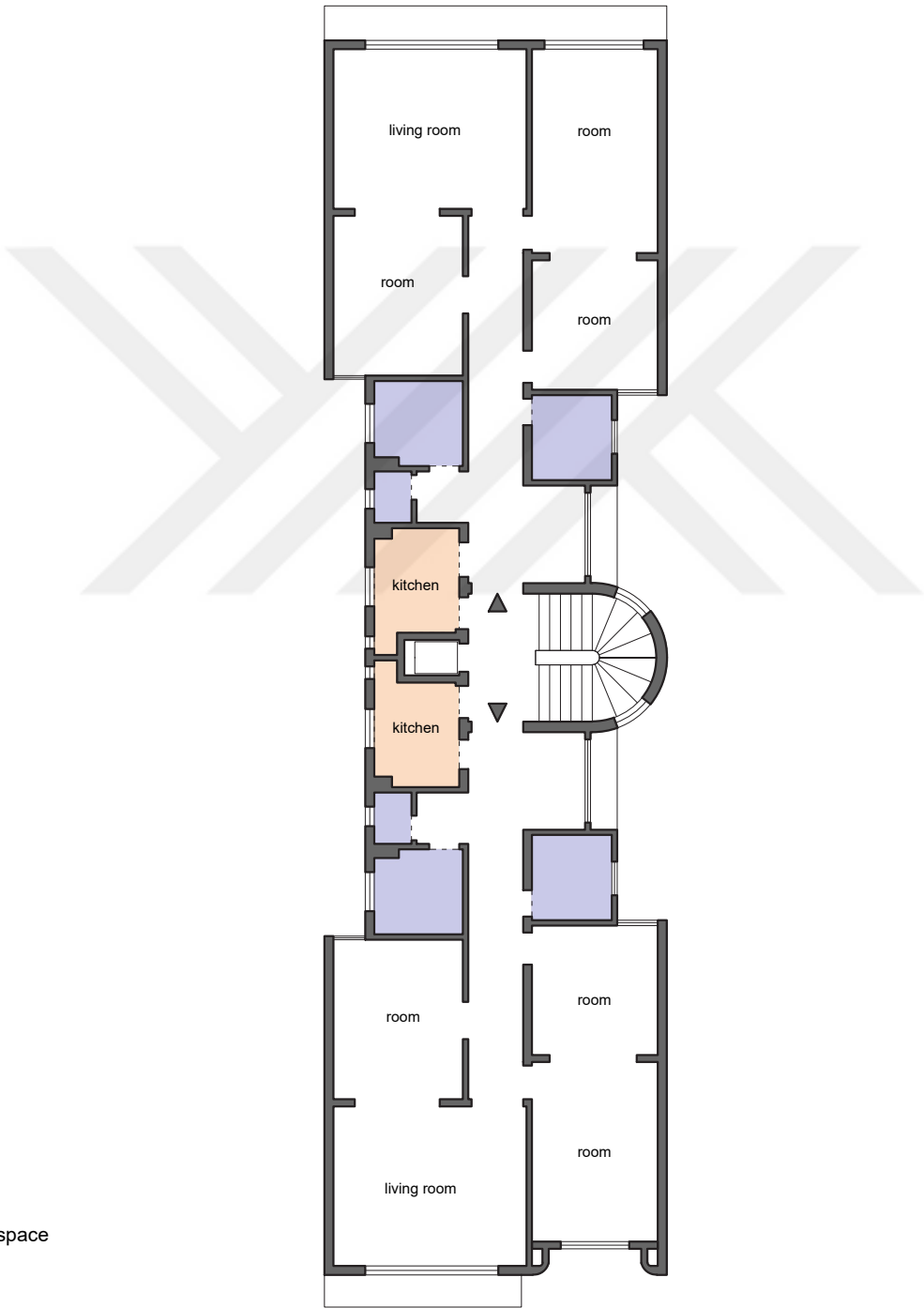
Seyfi Erkan, "Kira Evi," *Arkitekt* 1935, no. 1935-05 (53) (1935): 129-140.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

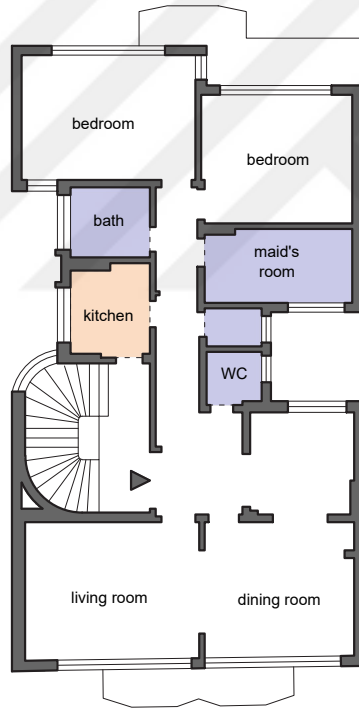
Rebii Refik, "Kira Evi," *Arkitekt* 1935, no. 1935-06 (54) (1935): 163-165.





- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

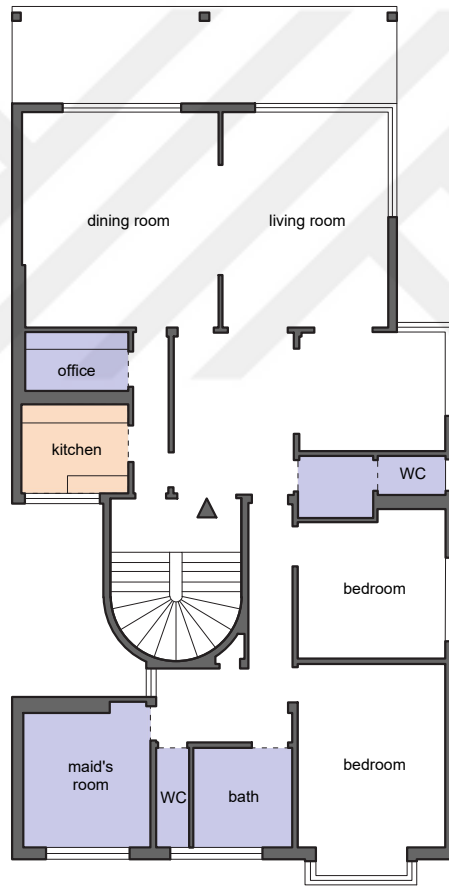
H. Adil, "Kira Evi," *Arkitekt* 1935, no. 1935-06 (54) (1935): 157-158.



-  kitchen
-  service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

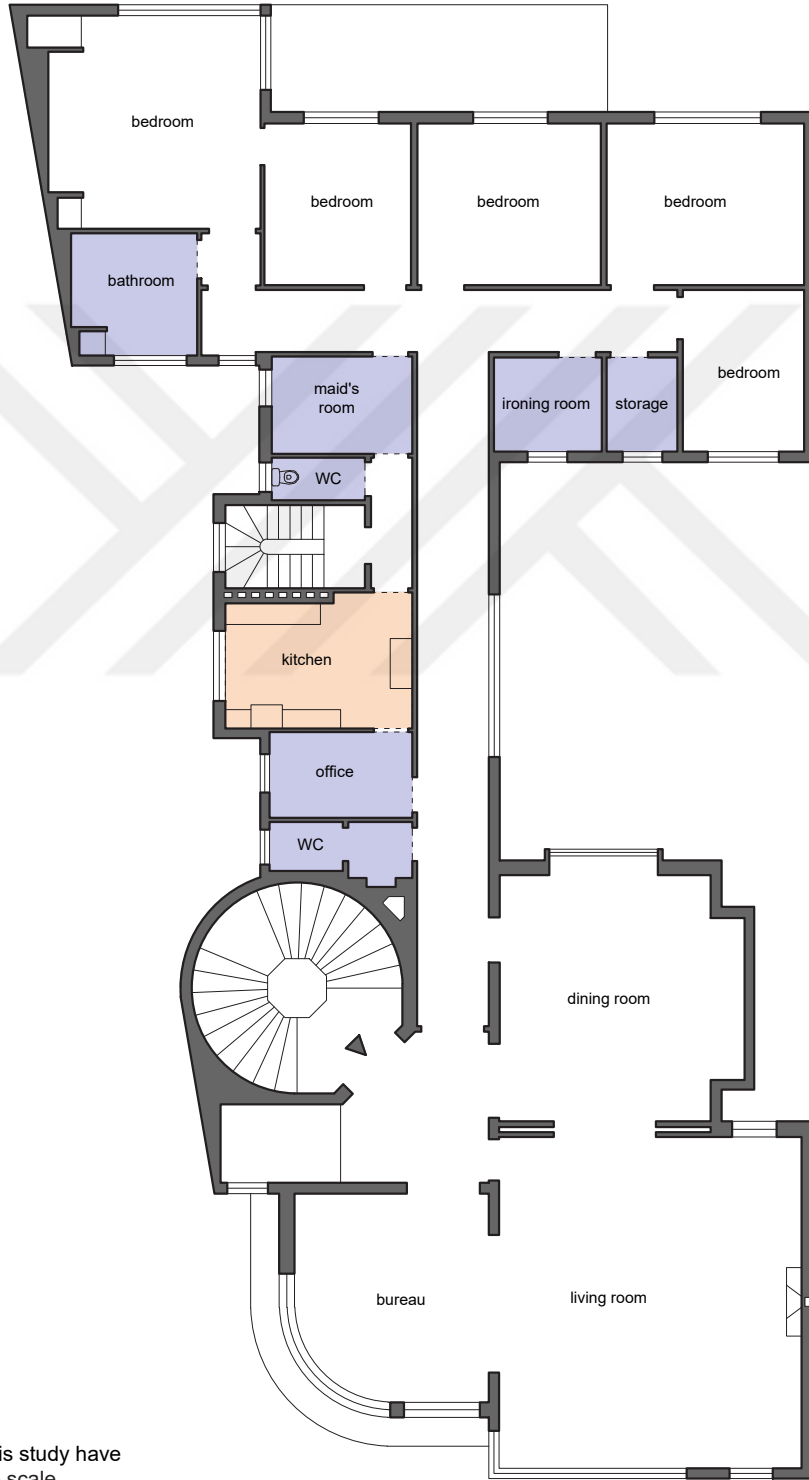
Abidin Mortaş, "Dr. Ziya ve Dr. Zeki Kira Evleri," *Arkitekt* 1935, no. 1935-10 (58) (1935): 281-284.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

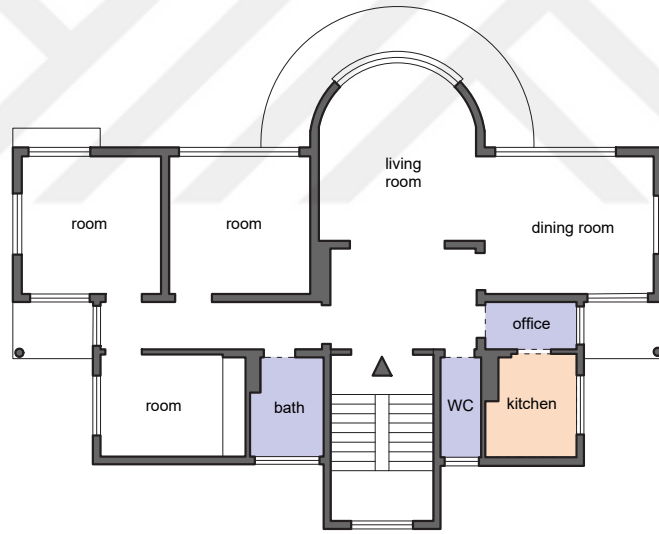
Zeki Sayâr, "Cili" Kira Evi, *Arkitekt* 1936, no. 1936-01 (61) (1936): 1-8.





- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

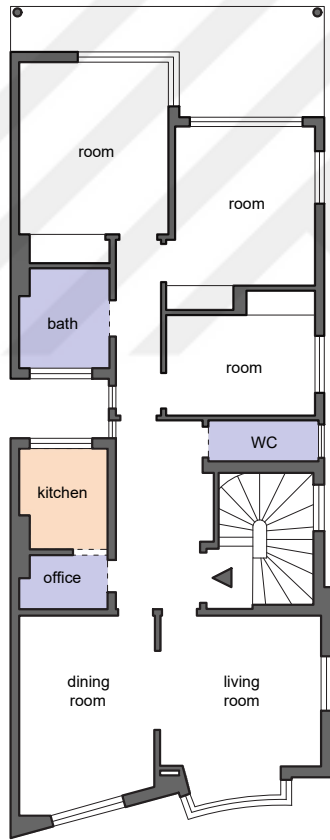
Adil Denктаş, "Kira Ev," *Arkitekt* 1936, no. 1936-05-06 (65-66) (1936): 133-138.



-  kitchen
-  service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Abidin Mortaş, "Erenköy'ünde Bir Ev," *Arkitekt* 1936, no. 1936-09 (69) (1936): 249-251.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

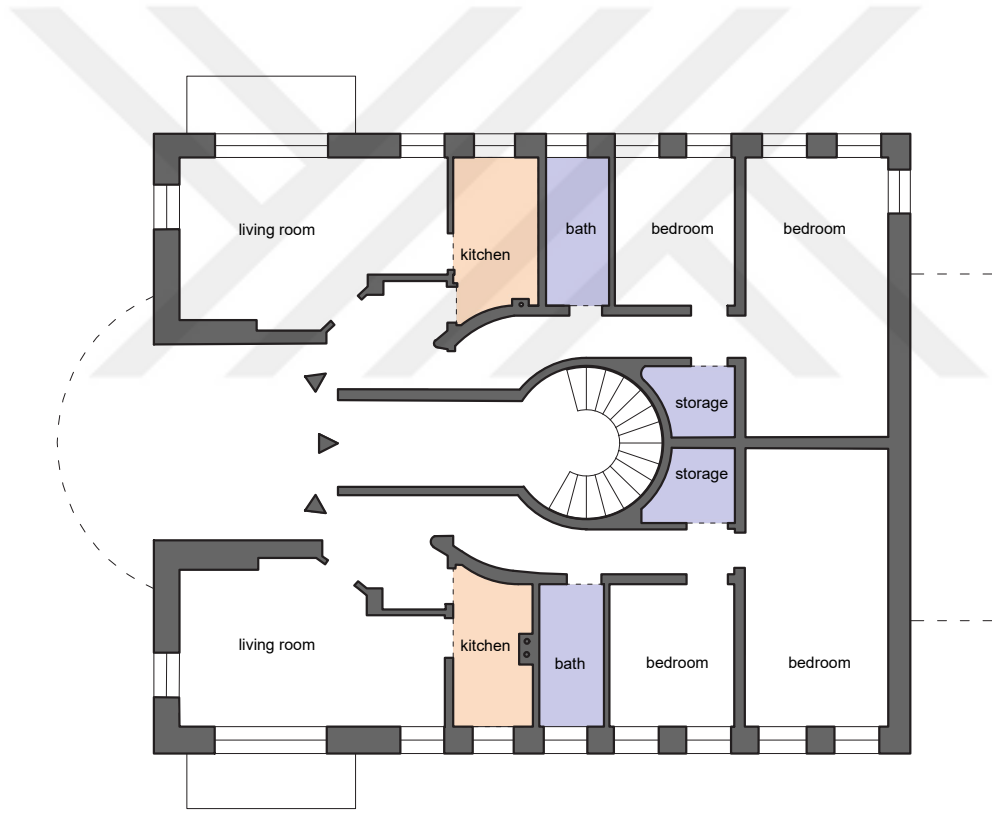
Zeki Sayâr, "İkbâl Kira Evi," *Arkitekt* 1936, no. 1936-10-11 (70-71) (1936): 297-300.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Şinasi Lügallı, "Firat Kira Evi," *Arkitekt* Cilt: 1937 Sayı: 1937-07 (79) (1937): 177-179.





- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

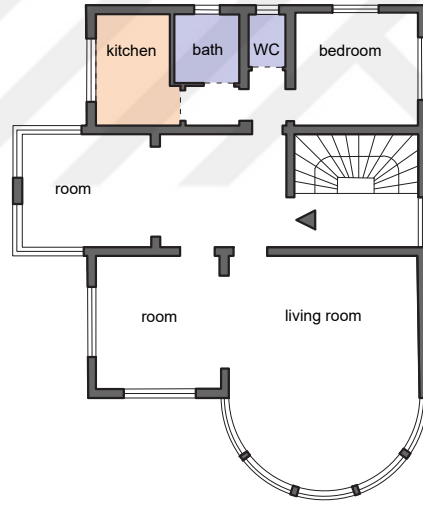
Sedat Eldem, "Maçka'da Prof. A. A.Evi," *Arkitekt* 1938, no. 1938-10-11 (94-95) (1938): 277-286.





-  kitchen
-  service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

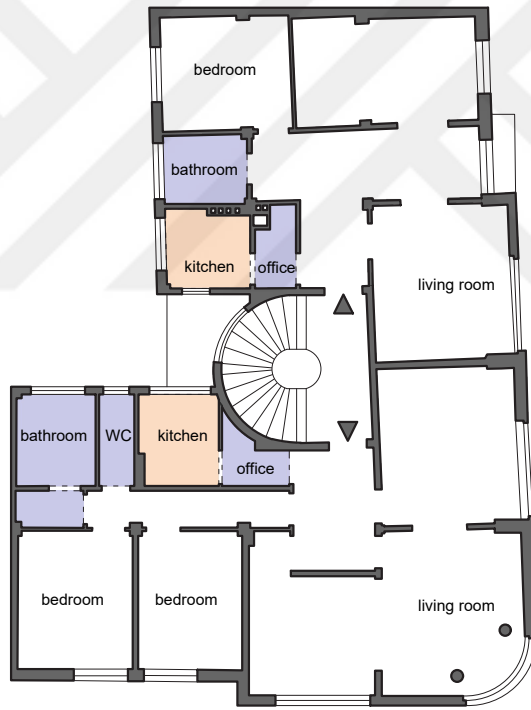
Naci Meltem, "İki Ailelik Bir Ev," *Arkitekt* 1939, no.1939-03-04 (99-100) (1939): 53-54.



-  kitchen
-  service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

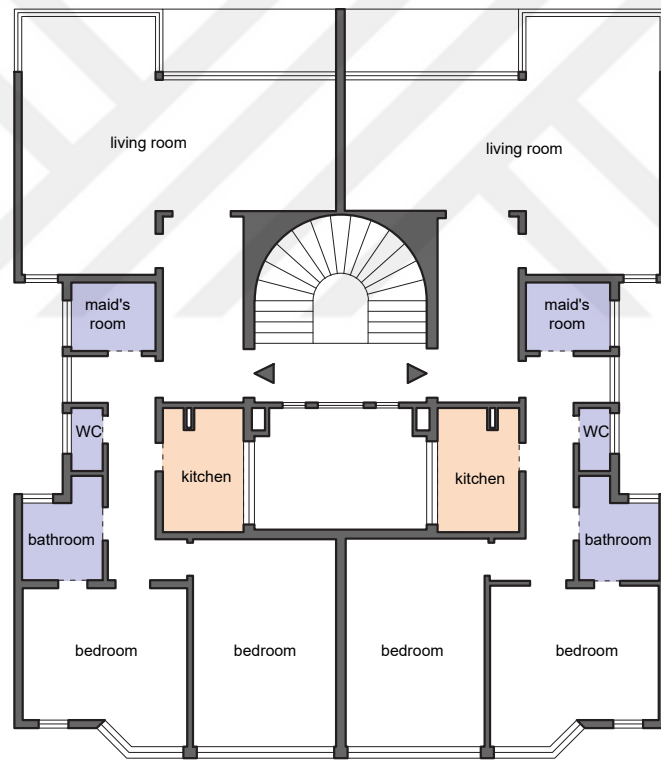
Münci Tangör, "Kadıköy'ünde Bir Ev," *Arkitekt* 1939, no. 1939-05-06 (101-102) (1939): 106-108.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Seyfi Arkan, "Taksimde Bir Kira Evi," *Arkitekt* 1939, no. 1939-05-06 (101-102) (1939): 101-103.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

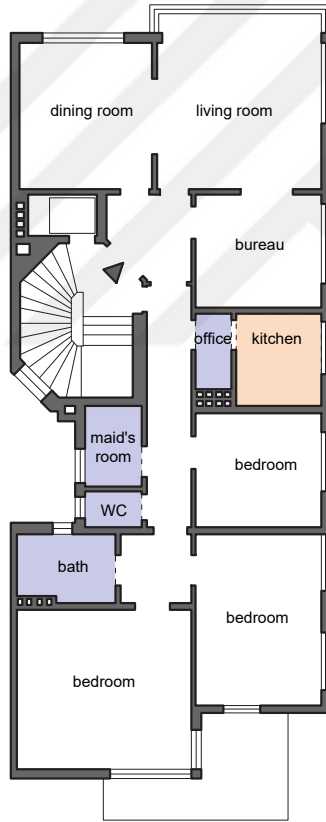
Arif Hikmet Holtay, "Taksim'de Bir Apartman," *Arkitekt* 1939, no. 1939-01-02 (97-98) (1939): 1-4.





- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

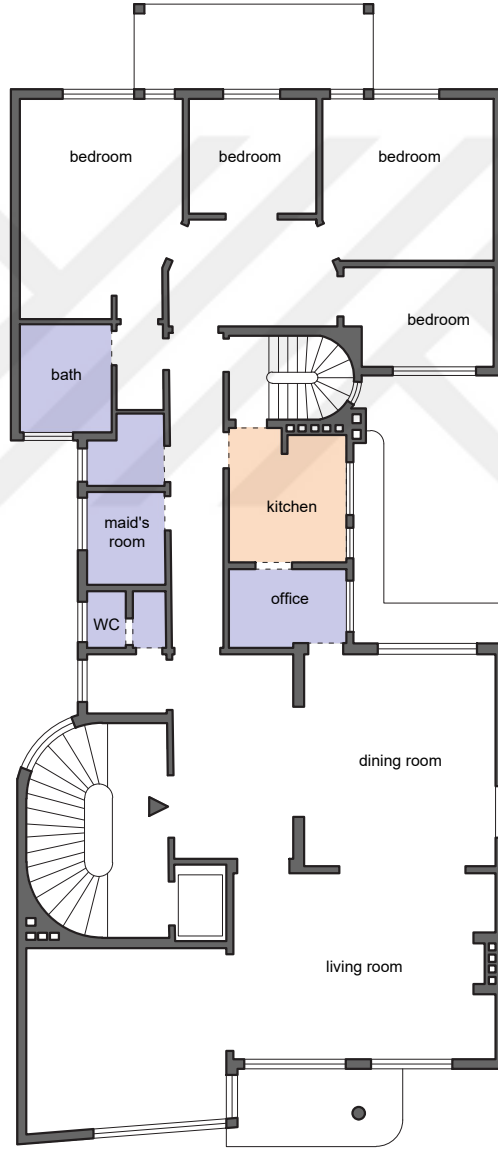
Rebil Gorbon and Mustafa Can, "Doğu Apartmanı," *Arkitekt* 1940, no.1940-07-08 (115-116) (1940): 145-147.



-  kitchen
-  service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

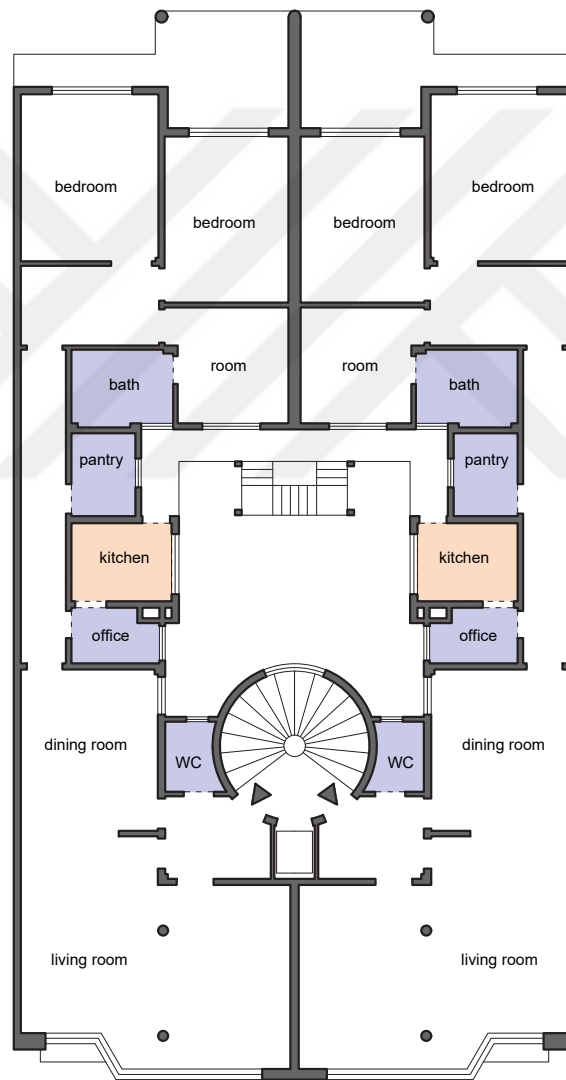
Asım Mutlu, "Göksun Kira Evi," *Arkitekt* 1940, no. 1940-01-02 (109-110) (1940): 6-7.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

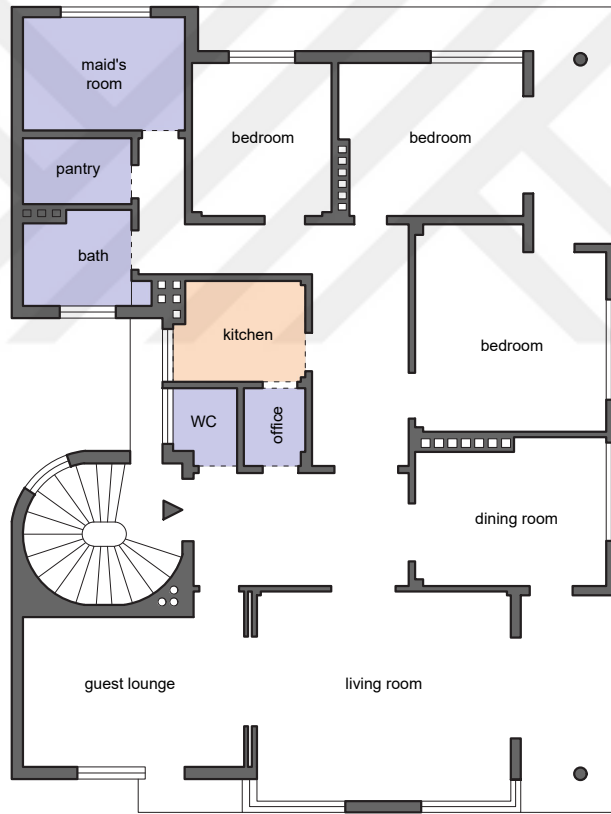
Zeki Sayâr, "Demir Ağ Kira Evi," *Arkitekt* 1940, no. 1940-01-02 (109-110) (1940): 1-5.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

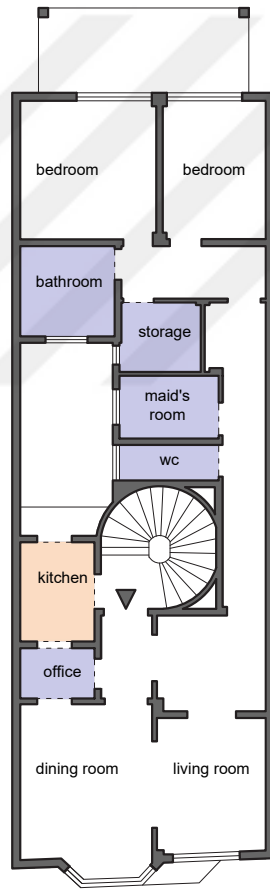
Nazif Asal, "Bir Kira Evi," *Arkitekt* 1940, no. 1940-11-12 (119-120) (1940): 245-246.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

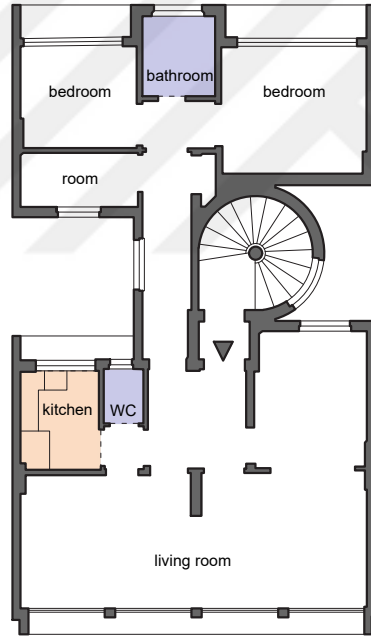
Zeki Sayâr, "Bir Kira Evi," *Arkitekt* 1940, no. 1940-11-12 (119-120) (1940): 241-244.





- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

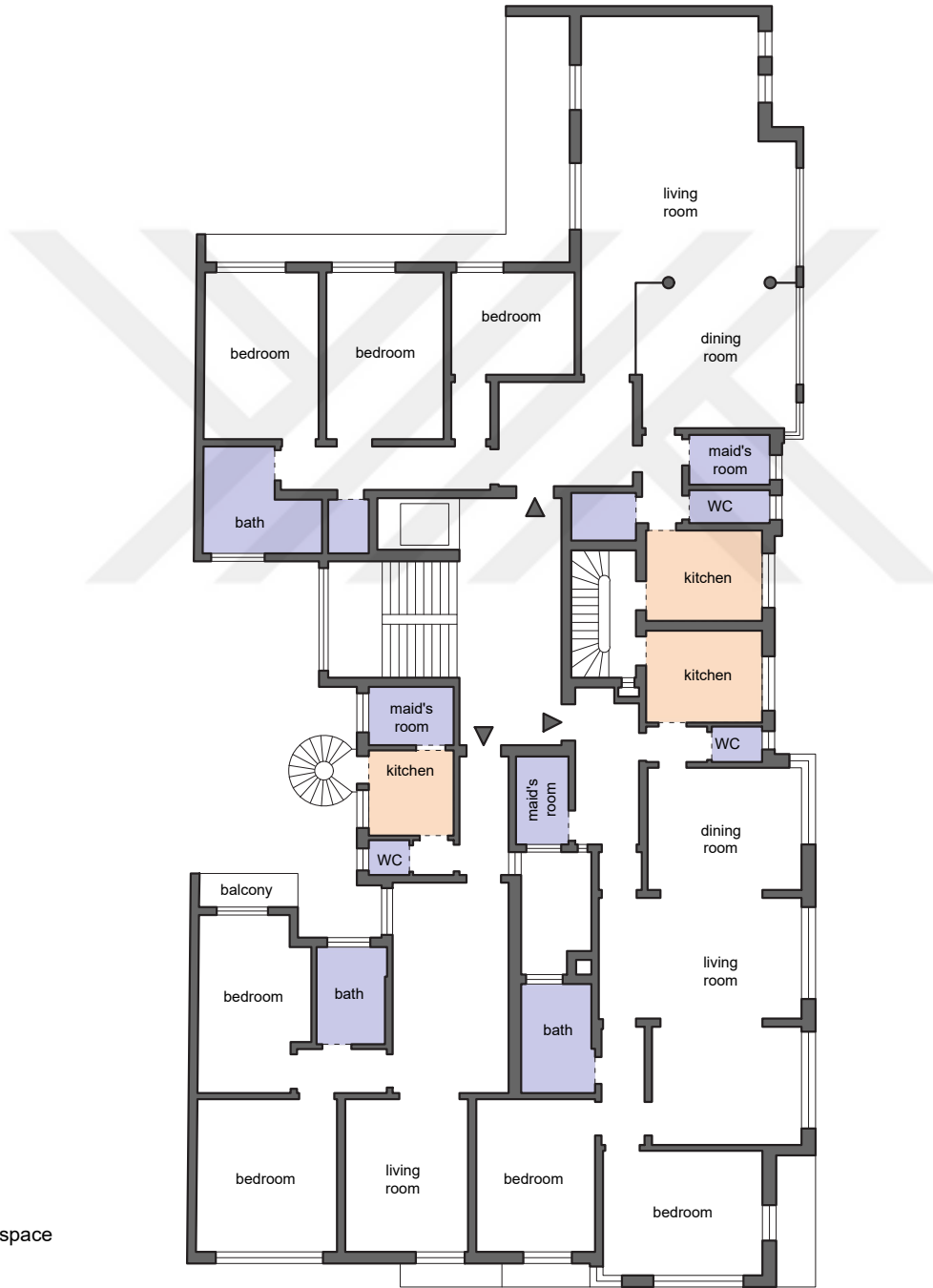
Zeki Sayâr, "Bir Kira Evi," *Arkitekt* 1941, no. 1941/42-03-04 (123-124) (1941): 57-58.



-  kitchen
-  service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Emin Necip Uzman, "Şişli'de Bir Kira Evi," *Arkitekt* 1943, no. 1943-05-06 (137-138) (1943): 99-102.



*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

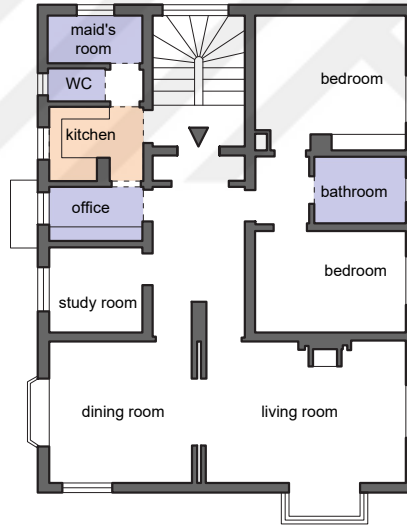
Emin Necip Uzman, "Maçka'da Bir Apartman," *Arkitekt* 1946, no. 1946-03-04 (171-172) (1946): 51-55.





- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

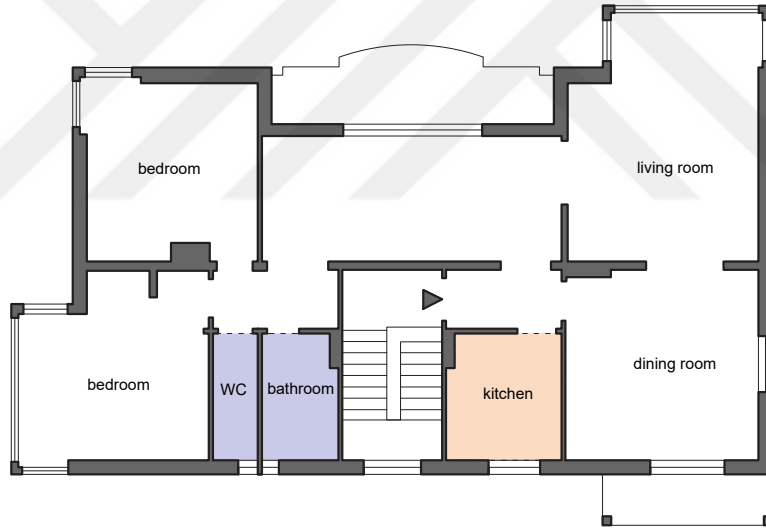
Muhittin Binan, "Başaran Apartmanı," *Arkitekt* 1949, no. 1949-03-04 (207-208) (1949): 50-53.





-  kitchen
-  service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

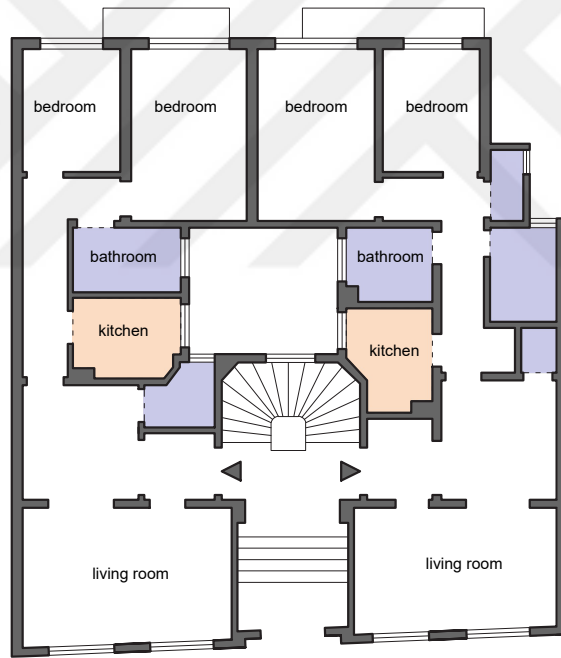
Ferzan Baydar and Leyla Baydar, "Birgiler Apartmanı," *Arkitekt* 1950, no. 1950-07-10 (223-224-225-226) (1950): 153-155.



-  kitchen
-  service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Mehmet Ali Handan, "Çifte Evler ve Apartman," *Arkitekt* 1950, no. 1950-07-10 (223-224-225-226) (1950): 142-146.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

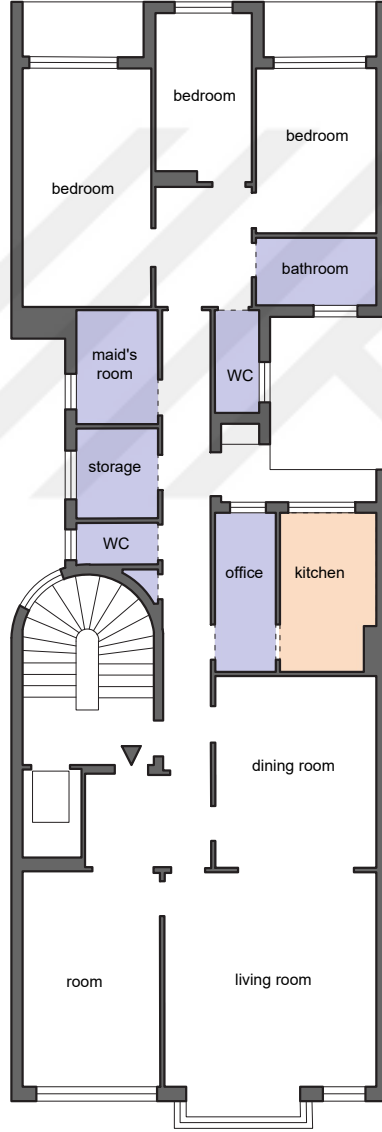
Istapan Aratan, "İlbay Apartmanı," Arkitekt 1951, no. 1951-01-02 (229-230) (1951): 13-14.



kitchen
 service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Emin Necip Uzman, "Sadıklar Apartmanı," *Arkitekt* 1951, no. 1951-05-08 (233-234-235-236) (1951): 94-97.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Emin Necip Uzman, "Nişantaşı'nda Bir Apartman," *Arkitekt* 1951, no. 1951-09-10 (237-238) (1951): 163-164.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

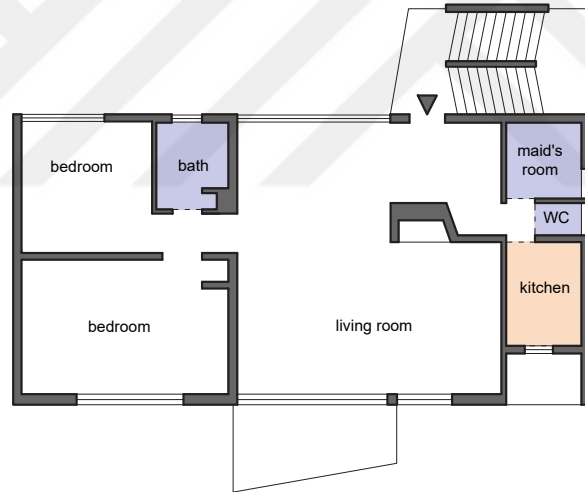
Kemal Ahmet Aru, "Levend 4. Mahallesi," *Arkitekt* 1956, no. 1956-03 (285) (1956): 140-153.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

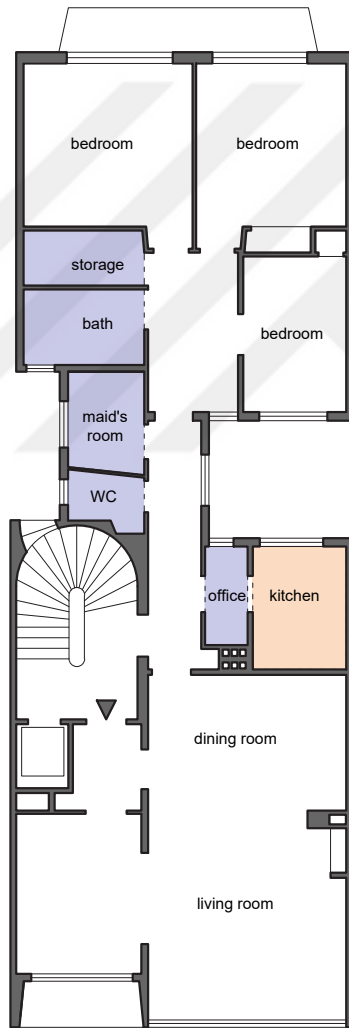
"İstanbul Belediyesi T. Emlak Kredi Bankası Blok Apartmanları Atatürk Bulvarı," *Arkitekt* 1957, no. 1957-01 (286) (1957): 12-16.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Mahmut Bir and Utarit İzgi, "Kalamışta Bir Apartman," *Arkitekt* 1957, no. 1957-03 (288) (1957): 104-108.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

H. İrfan Bayhan, "M. K. Apartmanı," *Arkitekt* 1957, no. 1957-03 (288) (1957): 99-101.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

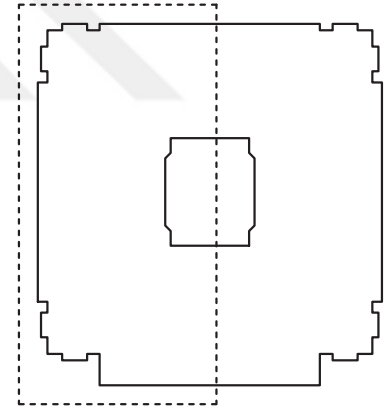
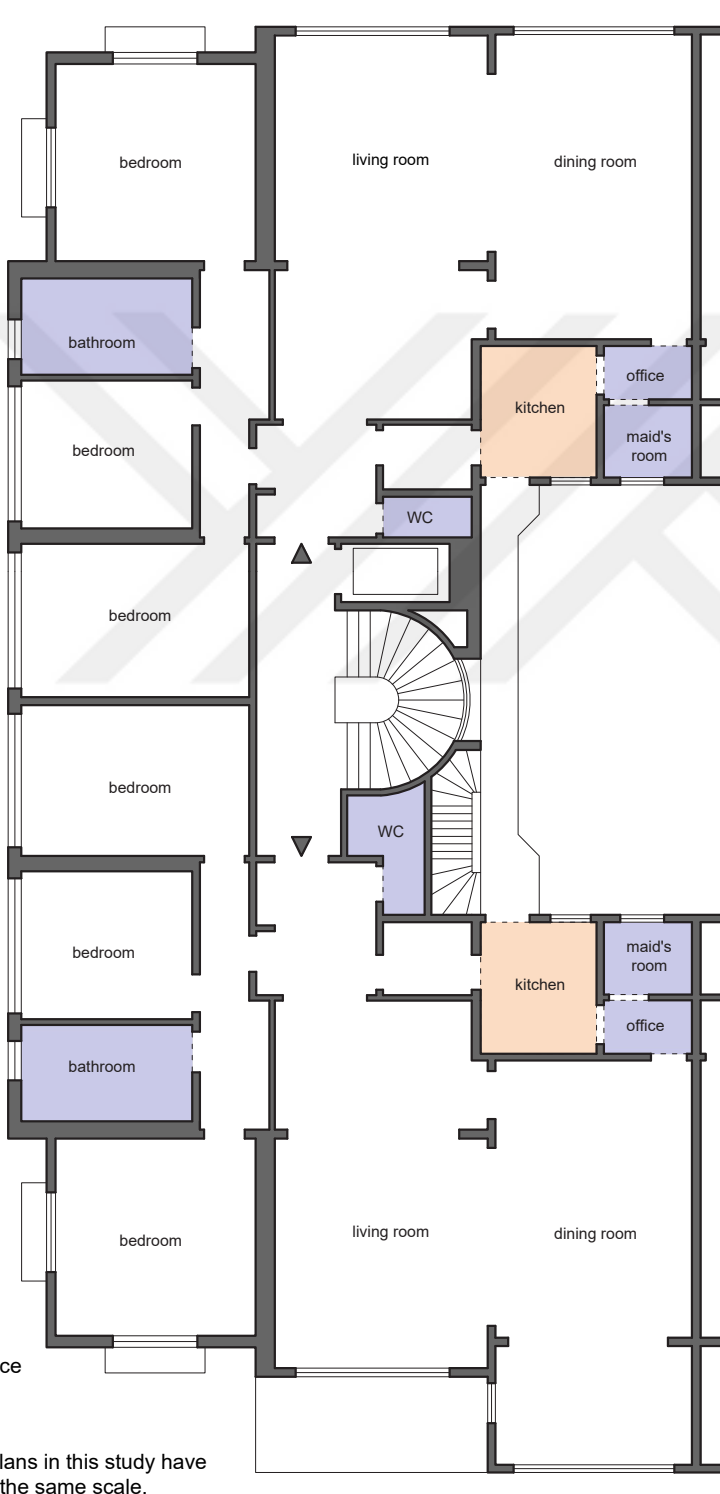
"Ataköy Sitesi," *Arkitekt* 1958, no. 1958-02 (291) (1958): 61-66.



- kitchen
- service space

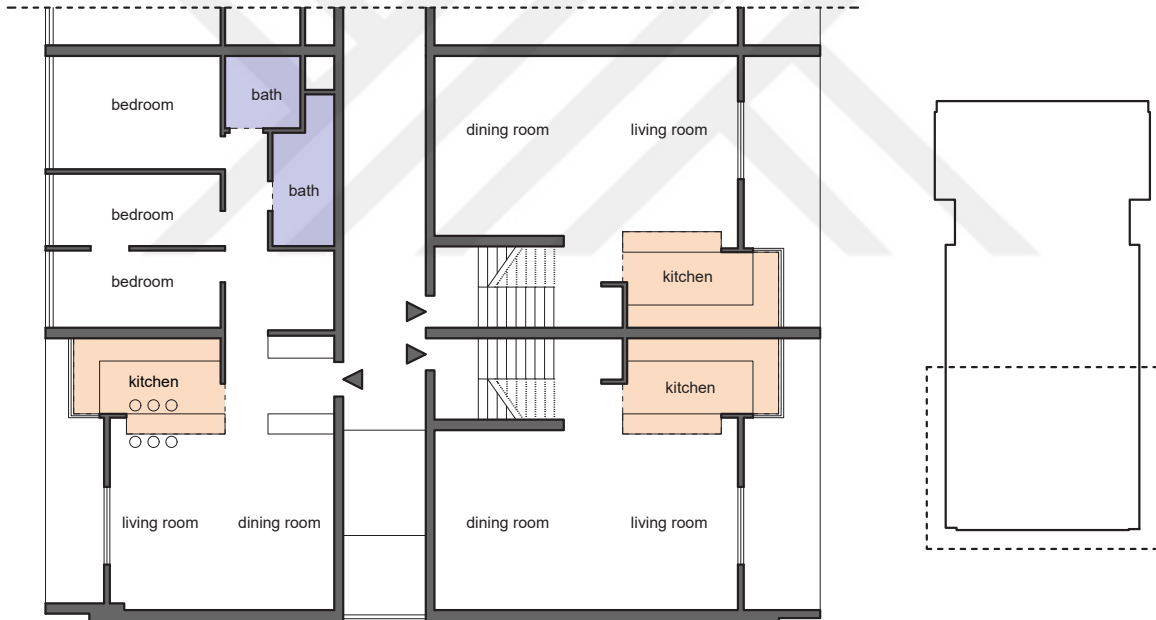
*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Halûk Baysal and Melih Birsnel, "Birkan Apartmanları," *Arkitekt* 1959, no. 1959-01 (294) (1959): 5-10.



*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

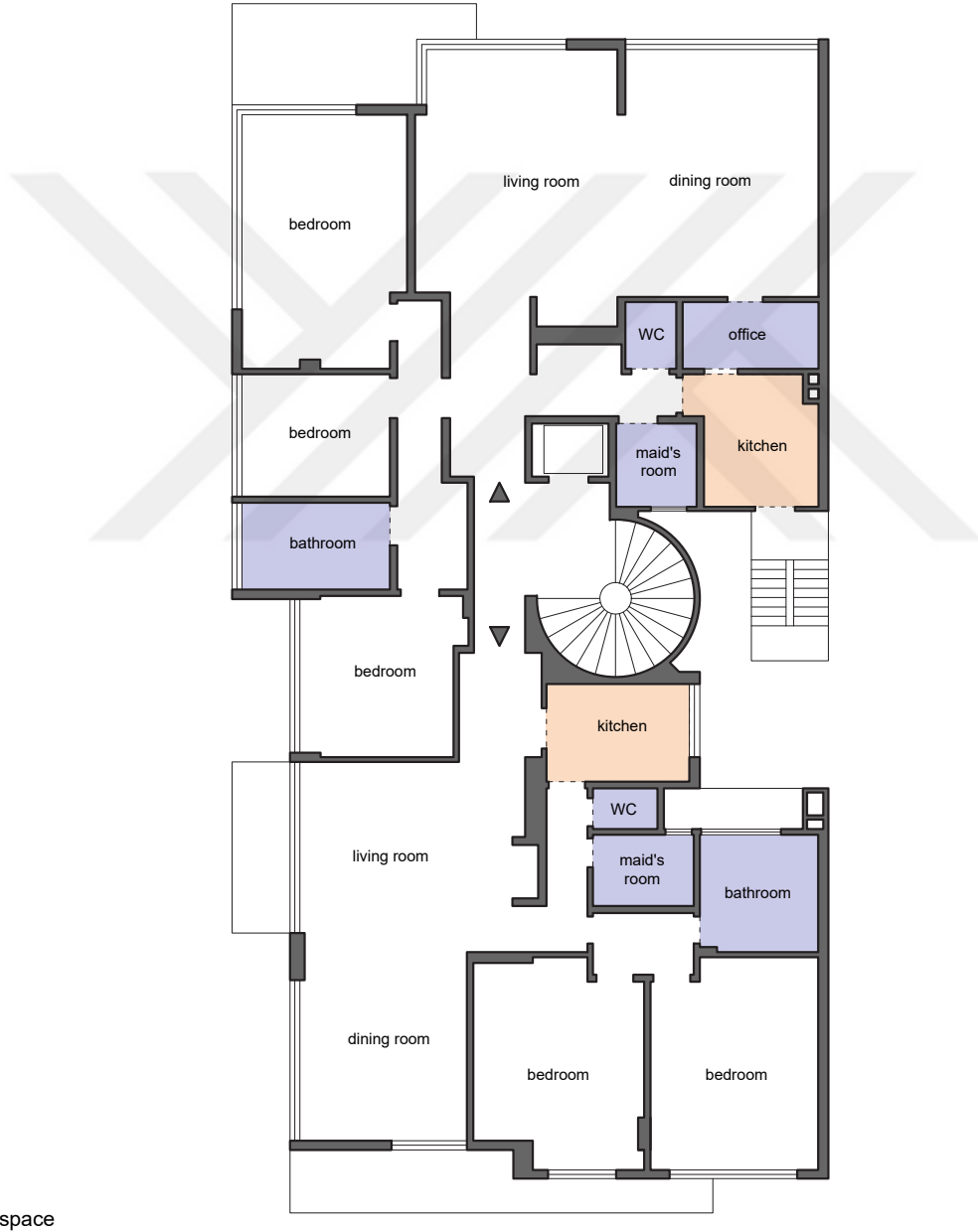
Rükneddin Güney, "Kervansaray Apartmanı," *Arkitekt* 1960, no. 1960-02 (299) (1960): 53-54.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

"Hukukçular Sitesi," *Arkitekt* 1961, no. 1961-04 (305) (1961): 163-172.



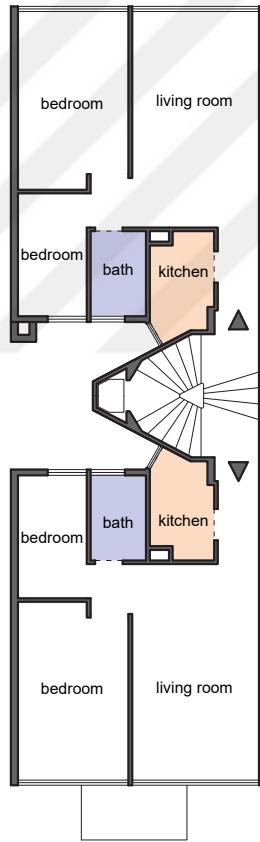
*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

"Bir Apartman Binası (Emlak Caddesi)," *Arkitekt* 1962, no. 1962-02 (307) (1962): 53-56.



*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

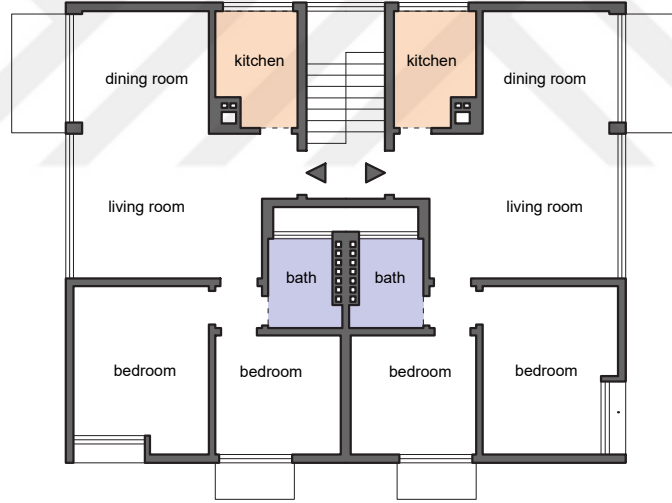
"Petrol İş Sitesi Vaziyet Plânı," *Arkitekt* 1962, no. 1962-03 (308) (1962): 111-112.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

"Topağacında Bir Apartman," *Arkitekt* 1963, no. 1963-03 (312) (1963): 101-103.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

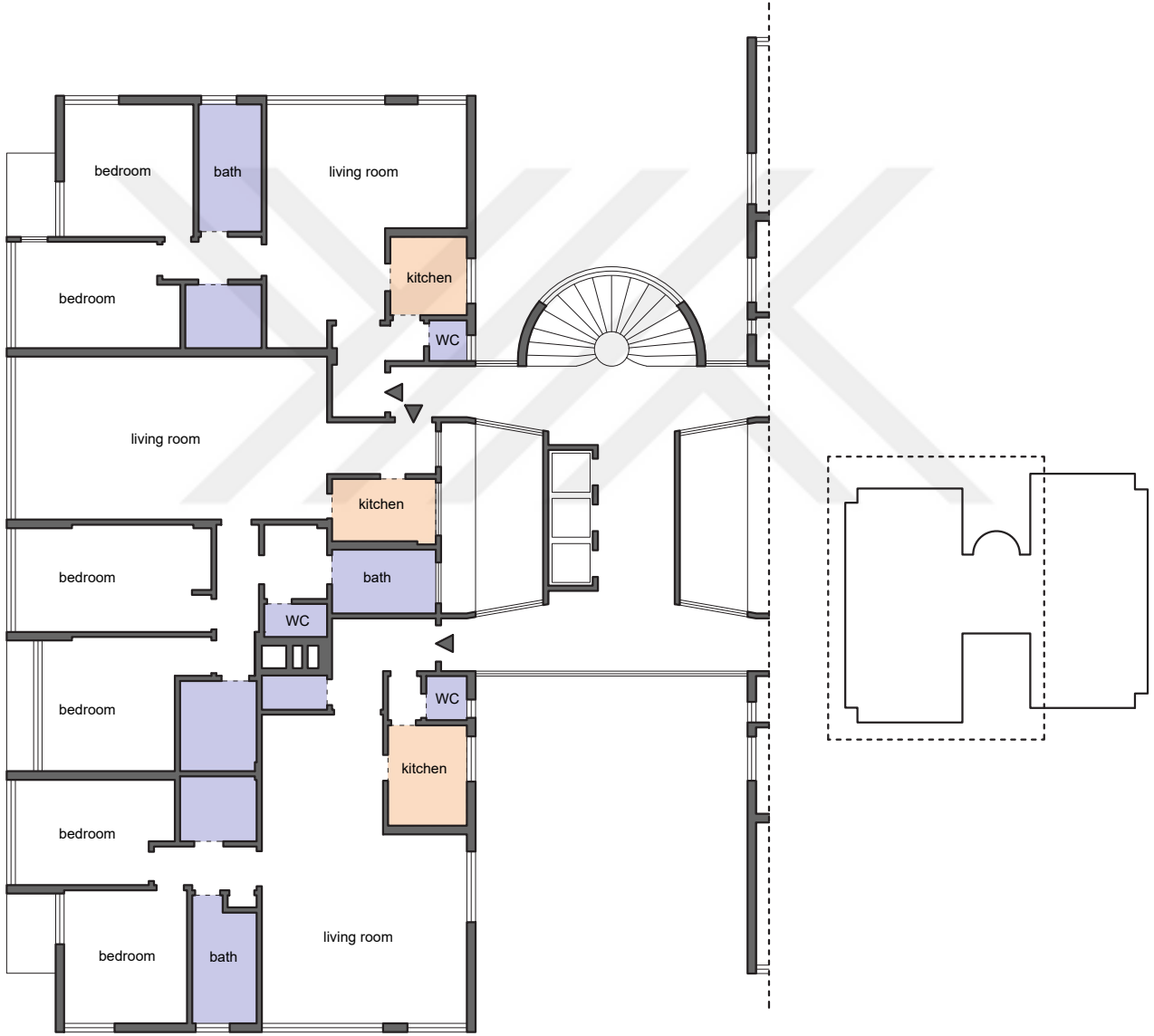
Kadri Erkman, "Türkiye İş Bankası A. Ş. İkramiye Apartmanları Mahallesi," *Arkitekt* 1964, no. 1964-04 (317) (1964): 145-149,167.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

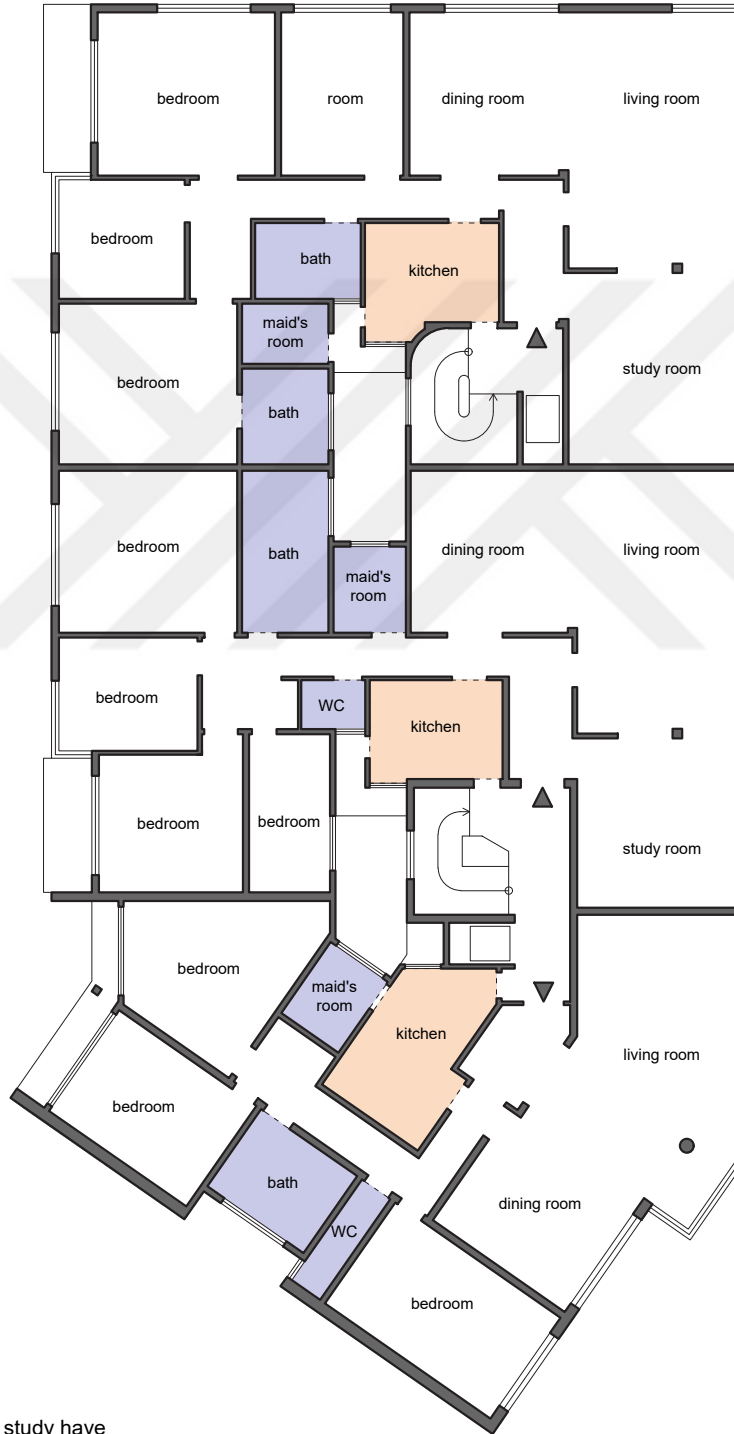
"Liman Dok İşçi Sitesi," *Arkitekt* 1964, no. 1964-03 (316) (1964): 108-110.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

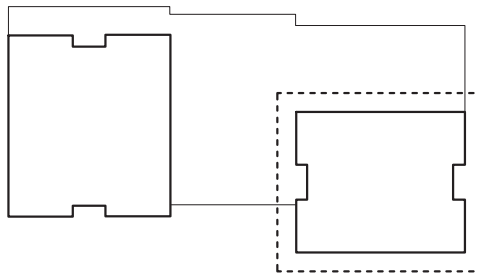
İlya Ventura, "Emel Yapı Kooperatifi Blok Apartmanı," *Arkitekt* 1965, no. 1965-02 (319): 63-64.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

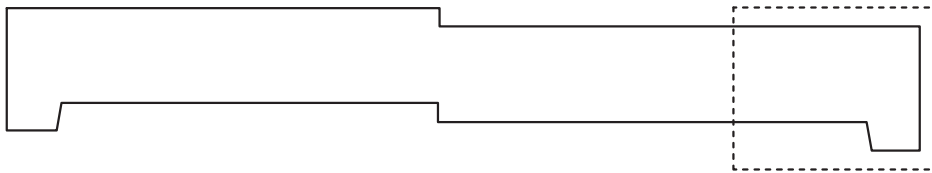
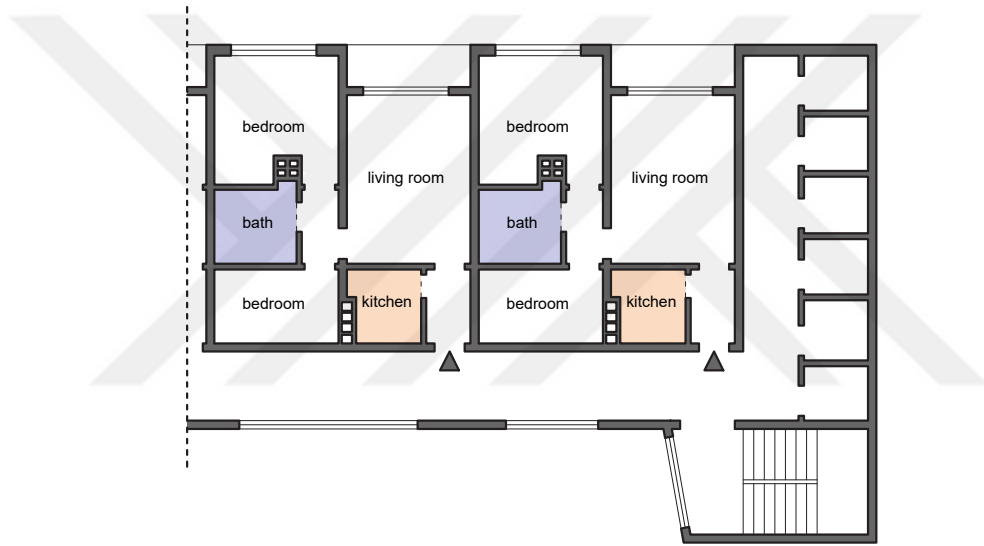
Sabahattin Tanyeri and Coşkun Kantay, "Günaydın Apartmanı," *Arkitekt* 1966, no. 1966-02 (322) (1966): 65,73.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

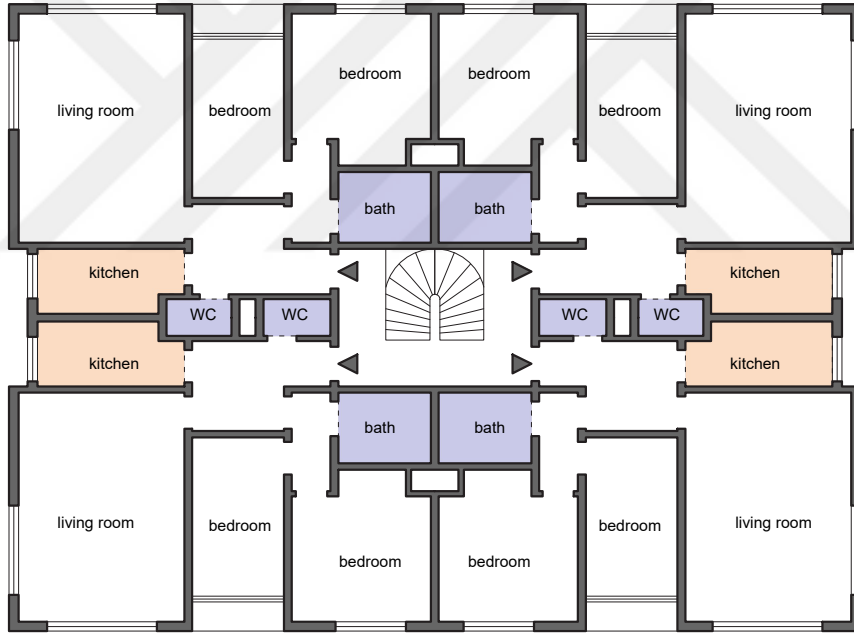
Güner Özduman and Taneri Alpay, "Ordu Yardımlaşma Kurumu İçin Apartman ve Ticari Tesisler Projesi," *Arkitekt* 1966, no. 1966-03 (323) (1966): 116.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

"Sümer İşçileri Konutları," *Arkitekt* 1969, no. 1969-02 (334) (1969): 59.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

"Osmanlı Bankası İskan Üniteleri," *Arkitekt* 1969, no. 1969-02 (334) (1969): 59.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

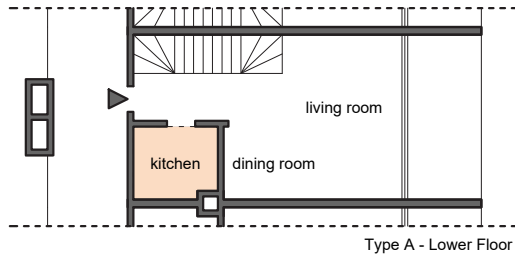
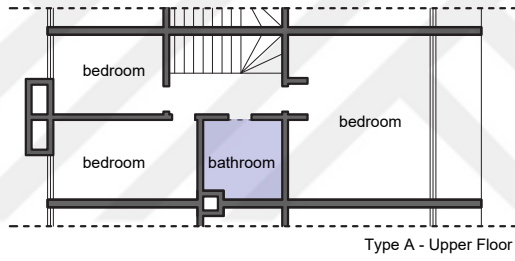
Osep Sarafoğlu, "Yeşil Yurt'da Bir Apartman," *Arkitekt* 1970, no. 1970-01 (337) (1970): 23-24.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Ahmet Oral, "Dublex Apartmanlar," *Arkitekt* 1971, no. 1971-01 (341) (1971): 13-14.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

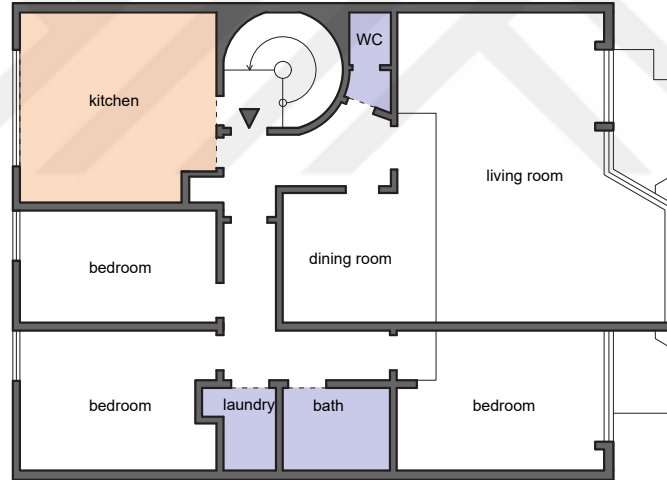
Ahmet Oral, "Hürriyet Gazetesi Yapı Kooperatifi," *Arkitekt* 1971, no. 1971-01 (341) (1971): 15.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

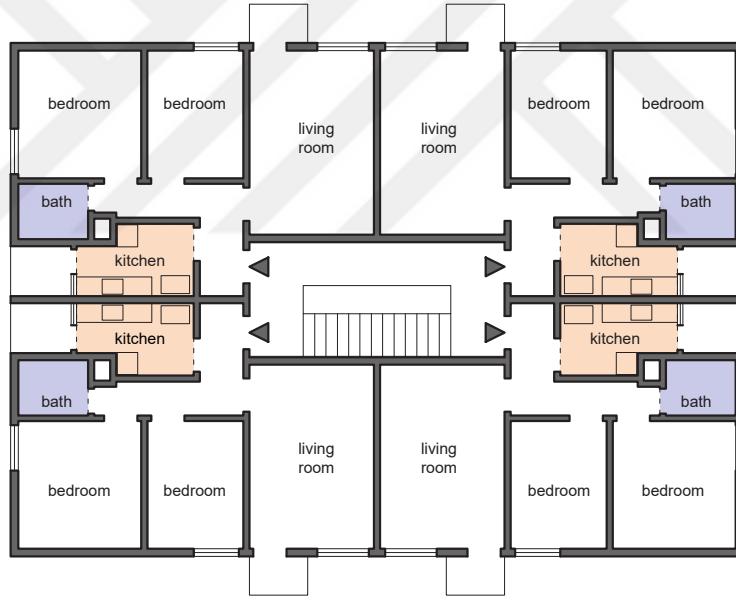
Köksal Anadol, "Türksan Sitesi," *Arkitekt* 1973, no. 1973-01 (349) (1973): 9-12.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

Orhan Şahinler, "Bir Çayhane ve Konut," *Arkitekt* 1973, no. 1973-03 (351) (1973): 126.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

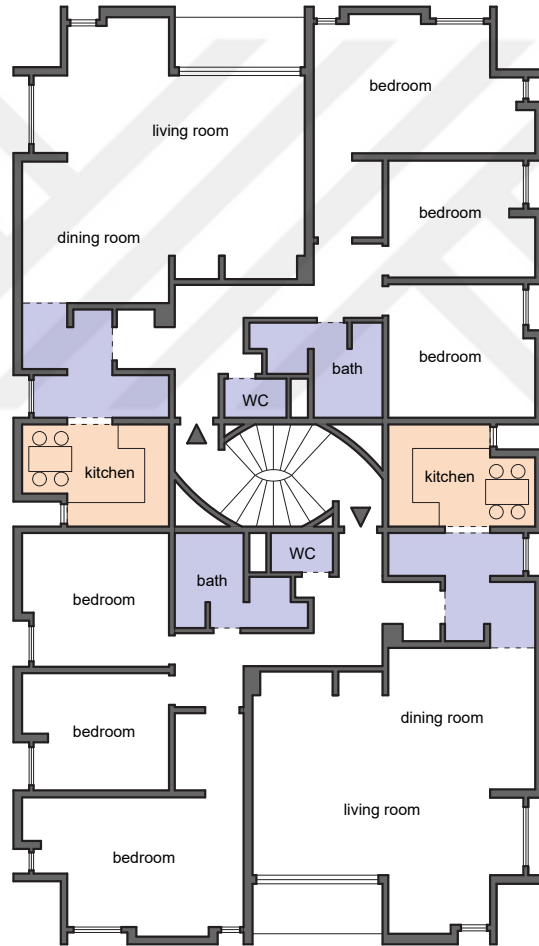
"Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Ataköy Sosyal Konut Uygulaması," *Arkitekt* 1975, no. 1975-02 (358) (1975): 53-57.



- kitchen
- service space

*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

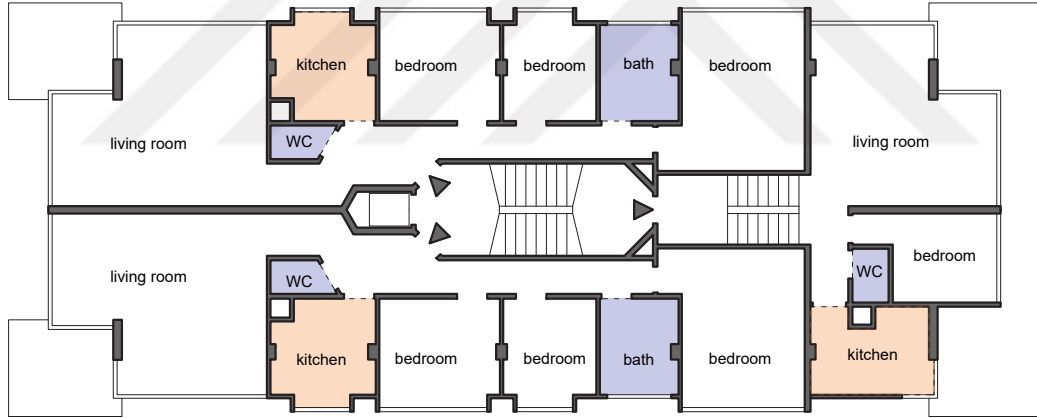
"Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Ataköy Sosyal Konut Uygulaması," *Arkitekt* 1975, no. 1975-02 (358) (1975): 53-57.



- kitchen
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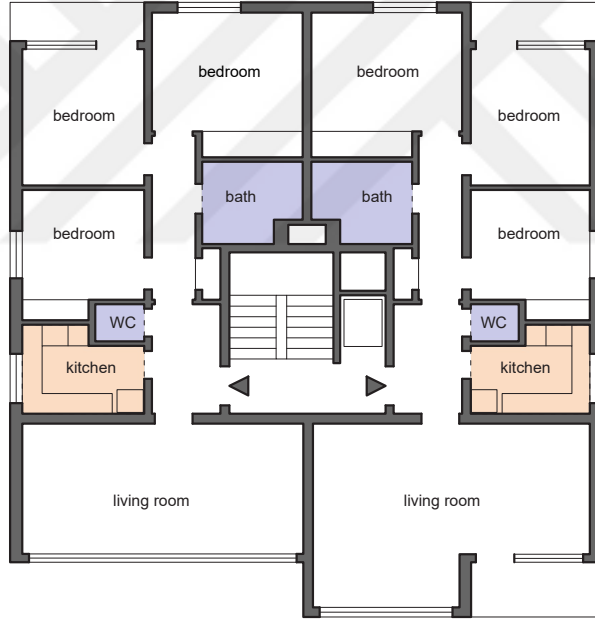
Mustafa Demirkan and Ali Muslubaş, "Tekül Apartmanı - Çiftelhavuzları," *Arkitekt* 1976, no.1976-01 (361) (1976): 18-19.



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- service space

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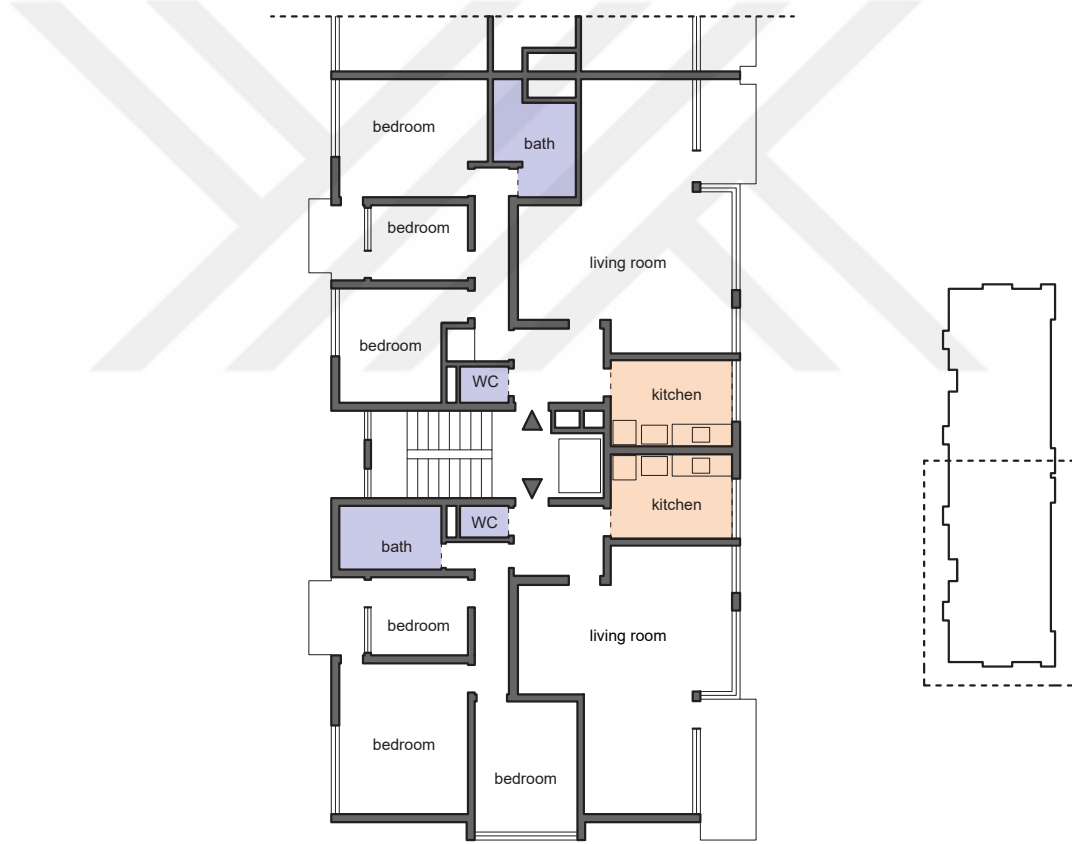
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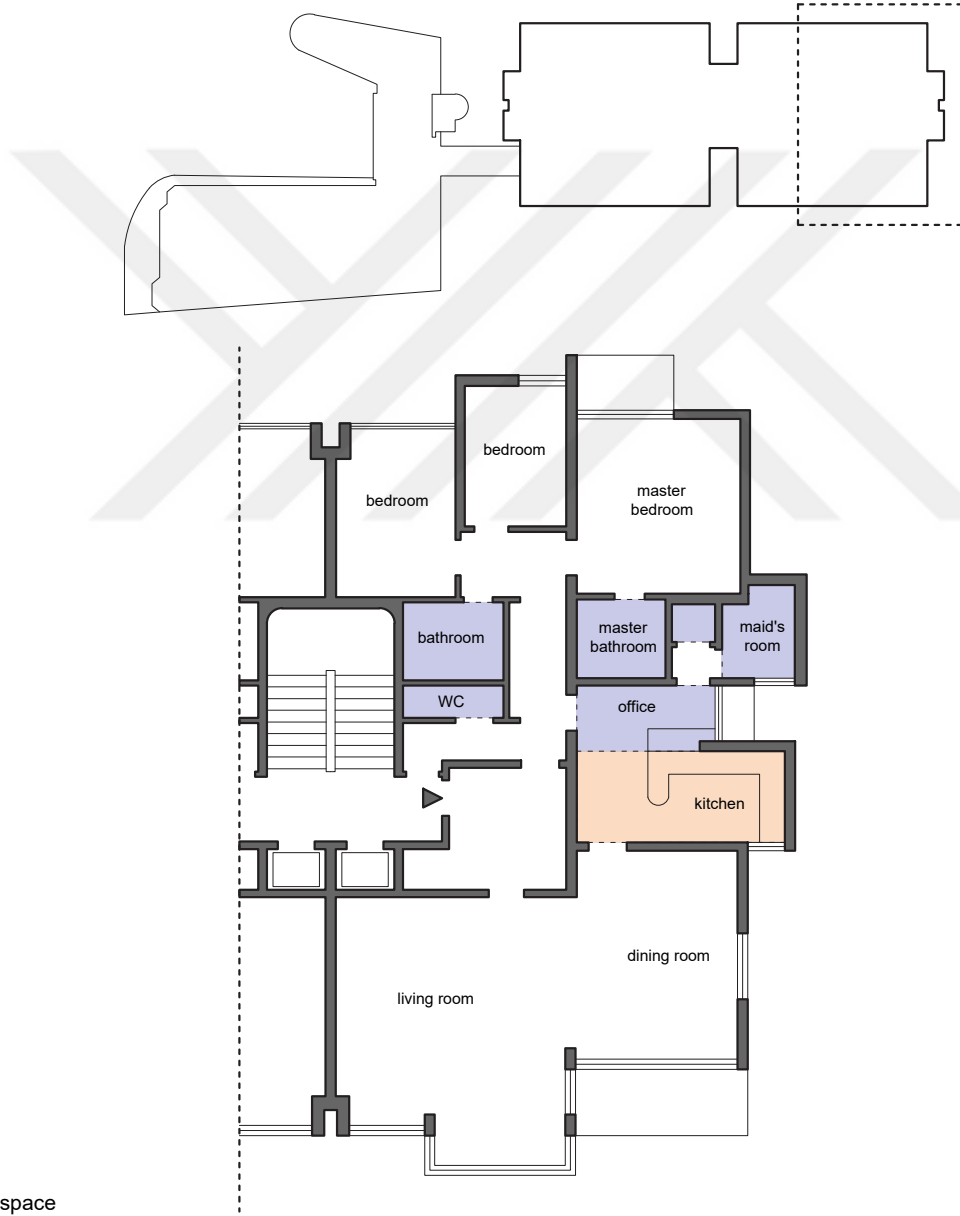
“Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Sosyal Konut İnşa Faaliyeti,” *Arkitekt* 1978, no. 1978-04 (372) (1978): 136-139.



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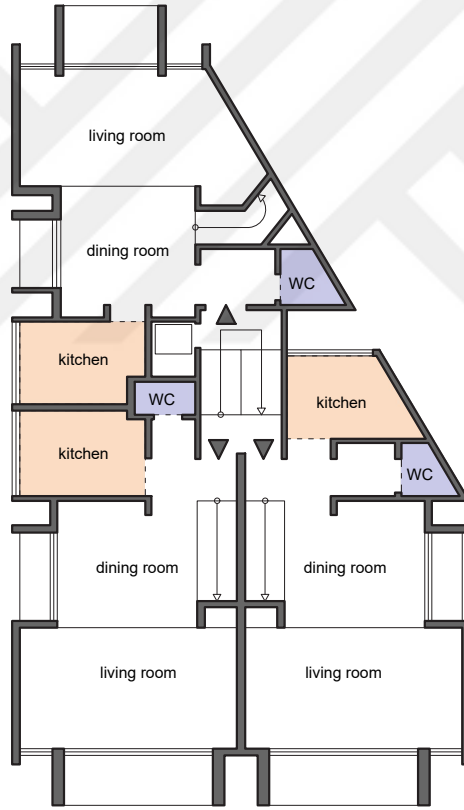
*The apartment plans in this study have been redrawn on the same scale.

“Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Sosyal Konut İnşa Faaliyeti,” *Arkitekt* 1978, no. 1978-04 (372) (1978): 136-139.



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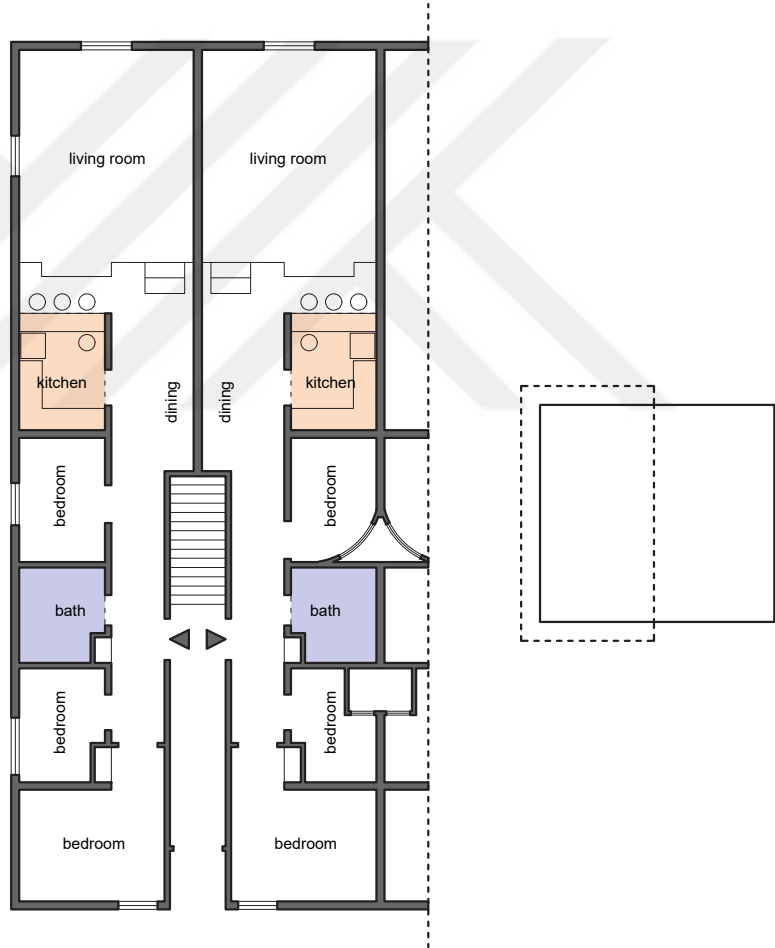
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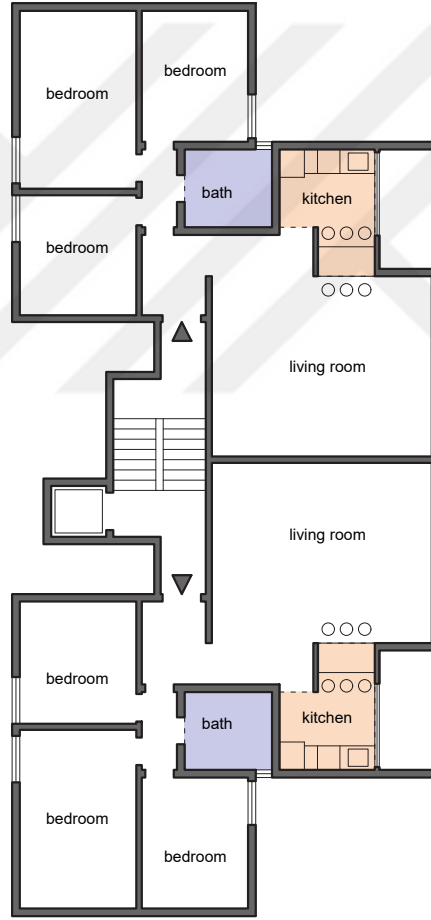
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