

GENDER, DOMESTICITY AND HOUSE IN TURKEY: CONTEXT AND
STATE OF RESEARCH

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submitted by **BEGÜMSARI** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of **Master of Science in Architecture, Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Halil Kalıpçılar
Dean, Graduate School of **Natural and Applied Sciences**

Prof. Dr. F. Cânâ Bilsel
Head of the Department, **Architecture**

Prof. Dr. Aydan Balamir
Supervisor, **Architecture, METU**

Prof. Dr. Lale Özgenel
Co-Supervisor, **Architecture, METU**

Examining Committee Members:

Prof. Dr. Aydan Balamir
Architecture, METU

Prof. Dr. Lale Özgenel
Architecture, METU

Asst. Prof. Ekin Pınar
Architecture, METU

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kıvanç Kılınç
Architecture, IZTECH

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Umut Şumnu
Interior Architecture, Başkent Uni.

Date: 02.12.2022

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name Last name : Begüm Sarı

Signature :

ABSTRACT

GENDER, DOMESTICITY AND HOUSE IN TURKEY: CONTEXT AND STATE OF RESEARCH

Sarı, Begüm
Master of Architecture, Architecture
Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Aydan Balamir
Co-Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Lale Özgenel

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The relationship between space and gender has been commonly elaborated in feminist and architectural discourse and history, particularly starting from the late 1960s and early 1970s. This relationship is a topic that has been extensively studied with increasing awareness of the otherness issue and inequalities in relation to such themes as public-private and gendered contradictions of everyday life with the discussions on the formation and organization of public and domestic space according to gender stereotypes. This thesis aims to present respectively, the scholarly state and context of studies that has taken gender, domesticity, and house in Turkey into their focus during the Republican period and to discuss the emerging themes and insights. To do this, a bibliographic and thematic analysis of 20 studies in the related literature is carried out in the Turkish context to address the following questions: What are the emerging themes in the studies concerning gender, domesticity and house in Turkey?, In which ways the construction of gendered space through architectural design is theorized, contextualised and discussed in the scholarship?, How the relationship between women, house and gender in Turkey underwent spatial and discursive changes? Selected house samples reflecting the

characteristics of each examined period (from 1920s to 1950, from 1950 to 1980 and from 1980 to present) are analysed on the emerging discussion topics in academic studies. Through these research questions the study aims to draw a framework to illustrate the themes and debates related to the spatial organization of house and domesticity as shaped by gender, in other words, the context and state of research on house, gender and space in Turkey. Through the investigation of six houses' plans, the study aims to reflect changes in spatial organization and discourse of domestic space throughout the course of a century.

Keywords: Gender, Domesticity, House, Turkey

ÖZ

TÜRKİYEDE TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET, EVSELLİK VE KONUT: BAĞLAM VE ARAŞTIRMALAR

Sarı, Begüm
Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık
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Mekân ve toplumsal cinsiyet arasındaki ilişki feminizm ve mimarlık söyleminde ve tarihinde, özellikle 1960'ların sonları ve 1970'lerin başlarından itibaren, çalışılmaya başlanmıştır. Bu ilişki, ötekilik meselesinin ve eşitsizliklerin gündelik hayattaki kamusal-özel ayrımı ve cinsiyetçi çelişkileri gibi temalarla ilişkili şekilde kamusal ve evsel mekânın toplumsal cinsiyet kalıp yargılarına bağlı olarak oluşumu ve organizasyonu üzerine artan farkındalıkla yaygın olarak işlenmiş bir konudur. Bu tez, sırasıyla, Türkiye'de toplumsal cinsiyet, evsellik ve evi odak noktasına alan çalışmaların bilimsel durumunu ve bağlamını sunarken ortaya çıkan temaları ve konunun içyüzünü anlamayı ve tartışmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bunu yapmak için, Türkiye bağlamında ilgili literatürdeki 20 çalışmanın bibliyografik ve tematik analizini yaparak şu soruları ele alır: Türkiye'de toplumsal cinsiyet, evsellik ve ev ile ilgili çalışmalarda ortaya çıkan temalar nelerdir? Mimari tasarım yoluyla toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı mekânın inşası akademik çalışmalarda hangi yollarla kuramsallaştırılır, bağlamsallaştırılır ve tartışılır? Türkiye'de kadın, ev ve toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkisi mekânsal ve söylemsel olarak nasıl değişmiştir? Bu çalışmada, 1920'lerden 1950'ye, 1950-1980 arası ve 1980'den günümüze olarak belirlenen üç

dönemin özelliklerini yansıtacak şekilde seçilmiş ev örnekleri, akademik çalışmalarda ortaya çıkan tartışma konuları üzerinden analiz edilmektedir. Bu araştırma soruları aracılığıyla çalışma, toplumsal cinsiyete göre şekillenen evin ve evselliğin mekânsal organizasyonuna, diğer bir deyişle 20. yüzyılın başlarından günümüze Türkiye’de ev, toplumsal cinsiyet ve mekân araştırmalarının bağlamı ve durumuna ilişkin temaları ve tartışmaları ortaya koyacak bir çerçeve çizmeyi ve seçilen altı konutun plan analizi yoluyla mekânsal organizasyondaki ve evsel mekânın söylemindeki değişimi yansıtmak amaçlanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Toplumsal Cinsiyet, Evsellik, Konut, Türkiye

To the memory of the great leader Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and to humanity

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis aims to discuss the scholarly state and context of studies that take gender, domesticity, and house in Turkey into their focus. The bibliographic and thematic analysis of the related literature and dissertations are utilised to address the following questions: “What are the emerging themes in the studies concerning gender, domesticity and house in Turkey and in which ways the construction of gendered space through architectural design is theorized, contextualised and discussed in the scholarship?, How the relationship between women, house and gender in Turkey underwent spatial and discursive changes?”

The scientific and technological progression, the forceful changes in the political systems and economic balances caused by the Cold War, and the post-war modernization and future planning in the West and America in the 1960s changed social comprehension in a worldwide scale. This atmosphere brought to light issues that were rarely or never discussed before in a public sense and provided a milieu of free expression to discuss and criticise social issues, such as the “other”. In this period emerged the movements concerning minority groups, student rights, anti-war groups, and women’s rights. The scholarly atmosphere of the late 1960s and early 1970s, in line with this spirit of social sensitivity and concern, allowed to question and debate social inequality, education system, political environment, and public authority intensively, leading to the establishment of departments in universities to study issues concerning minority and otherness. The recognition of gender stratifications paved the way for the early studies on gender and space in this era of profound social challenging as well.

The issue of otherness mostly started to discuss through feminist perspective and studies. Feminist theory develops discussions and researches based on such issues as race, ethnicity, and class to pave the way for the social integration of minorities and others and is mainly concerned about the relationship and distinction between sexes. Biological determinism, as such, is a key debate in the feminist theory. Until the 1970s the word sex was used commonly to denote the opposing pair of biological existence and social character. The feminist movement, on the other hand, promoted the word gender to designate the culturally identified and socially coded relations. The theory defines gender as constructed identities and roles with social and cultural learnings. Thus, gender has become one of the tools and core subjects of feminist theory used to understand the social construction of inequality while dichotomization of sexes, the conceptualization of masculinity and femininity and modes of performing identity emerged as the major themes scrutinized by gender theory.

While gender is foremost studied and addressed in feminist geography, it is a subject of interdisciplinary research. Among other disciplines, it has become an extensively scrutinized concept in architecture. According to Dolores Hayden, there are two major questions that feminist geographers and feminist architecture have in common:

How are social and economic patterns of gender inequality expressed in the organization of the cultural landscape, whether at the scale of rooms, buildings, landscapes, cities, regions? And how do spatial patterns, once embedded in the cultural landscape, reinforce gender relationships over time?¹

As both a theoretical and practical concern, both fields dwell on space and question those instances where space intersects with gender. The social structure shaped by political and economic conditions changes the cultural values of a society

¹ Hayden, 1997, 456.

and hence the cultural formations in the long term. Space is the area of existence of the social structure, so a change in cultural principles over time also affects the definition of space, its form, its relationship with the individuals in the society, that is, the politics of space. In this continuous and reciprocal relationship, there are changes that affect space, as well as a social structure that is affected by space. These discursivities, which constantly interact with each other over time, are frequently examined in the feminist literature in which the main focus that establishes the connection between gender and space is the separation of space into private and public.²

Ways of spatial division are central concerns for geographers, and gender relations became a central focus for the scholars of the field, since spatial divisions between public and private or between inside and outside plays a critical role in the social construction of gender divisions.³ Linda McDowell, accordingly, describes the aim of the feminist geography as:

The specific aim of a feminist geography is to investigate, make visible and challenge the relationships between gender divisions and spatial divisions, to uncover their mutual constitution and problematize their apparent naturalness.⁴

Feminist geography, indeed, looks at the spatial organization of public and private spheres and gendered contradictions of everyday life that creates paradoxical

² Perregaux, 2005, 179.

³ Feminist geography emerged with the change that occurred in the culture of this department as a result of the exclusion and suppression of women as knowledge producers in geography studies, and thus the discipline's inclusion of more women geographers in the knowledge production and research process. Feminist geography encouraged geographers to develop a scholarship that was mindful of gender and that included studies of women and women's concerns. (Mott, 2016, para. 1, From <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199874002/obo-9780199874002-0123.xml>, (Last accessed on 09.07.2022)).

⁴ McDowell, 1999, 12.

spaces^{5,6} According to this approach, architecture creates a paradoxical space that includes the public-private binary and gendered contradictions of everyday life.

In architecture, debates of feminist critiques on gender started at the end of the 1960s, and became more visible in the 1990s. Feminist research in architecture has advanced in several directions. One of the tracks was concerned with female practitioners who do not reach the level of recognition they deserve.⁷ Another track is female patronage to show women's influence and collaboration in the design and

⁵ Gillian Rose defines paradoxical space as “The phenomenon in which someone is liminally positioned within a clash of two or more cultures or belief systems to consider the ways women in particular enter these liminal spaces.” (Bardzell & Bardzell, 2010). Paradoxical spaces are kind of spaces that consist of contradictory movements, positions, situations. The concept of paradoxical spaces expresses how subjects position themselves at both the centre and margin of otherness. Rose says, “we position ourselves in relation to others, in relation to human beings encounter one another and also spatial encounter humans have.” (1993, 5; Rose’s framework on paradoxical spaces is transferred through summary of a part of the text *Paradoxical spaces of feminist resistance: Mapping the margin to the masculinist innovation discourse* written by Katarina Pettersson and Malin Lindberg, (2013, 325-326.). Pettersson and Lindberg elaborate four dimensions of paradoxical space through Rose's expressions. The first one is the characterisation of paradoxical spaces as the spaces at the margin because these spaces arise from the contradictory movement between two opposite positions in a simultaneous occupation of centre and margin. In other words, the individual is both there and absent, namely, there is a contradiction between the social map of self (centre) and the others (margin) in space. The second dimension of paradoxical space is that it is a space beyond representation and definition; but according to Rose, paradoxically, this can be meaningful if there are absences of discourses of gender, race, class, or sexuality. The third aspect of paradoxical space according to Rose is separatism, which can create a positive field for woman; it can give “a breathing space to reflect, mediate, gain strength and recover a sense of identity for woman” (1993, 153). Therefore, woman can go beyond the ascribed role of the patriarchal society. The last dimension of paradoxical spaces is about “recognizing difference between women based on sexuality, class or race but at the same time continuing to struggle for change as woman.” Rose’s paradoxical space metaphor aims to explain the confinement women experienced in space, their insider/outsider position that takes places in several social spaces simultaneously, in other words the duality in space and social life.

⁶ Scott, 1986.

⁷ Mies van der Rohe and Lilly Reich, Le Corbusier and Charlotte Perriand, Edwin Lutyens and Gertrude Jekyll, Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Margaret Macdonald, Walter Burley Griffin and Marion Mahony Griffin, Louis Kahn and Anne Tyng, Alvar Aalto and Aino Marsio-Aalto, Alison and Peter Smithson, and Ray and Charles Eames, Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, Margaret McCurry and Stanley Tigerman, Tod Williams and Billie Tsien, Frances Halsband and Robert Kliment, Elizabeth Diller and Ricardo Scofidio, and Laurinda Spear and Bernardo Fort-Brescia are some important pairs who received attention from feminist historians and critics to discuss unacknowledged contributions of women architects/designers.

the development of space.⁸ Architectural historians defined a spatial research area to establish and define the relationship between house design, urban growth, cultural and economic factors, and in this context, they also explored the relationship between domestic architecture and feminist theories. Studies focusing on the built environment have also diversified within themselves as well.⁹ Some of these studies contribute to the feminist debate by focusing on regional and local urban planning with macro-level research, while others focus on objects and interior design by exploring such topics as material culture, vernacular architecture, and roles of female interior designers in shaping the built environment.¹⁰ Thus spaces of all scales have become a part of feminist research in architecture and hence the gender debate.

Space and the human are at the centre of architecture; space, plays a central role in the conceptualisation and use of dualities public and private spheres as it can control and limit physical movement and thus the power of sight as part of the physical experience. In this sense, space problematizes gender issues in terms of spatial production and connection as well. Architecture creates an arena and a frame for those who inhabit its space. Architecture and its materiality (contrasts of scale, lighting, perception, material, other spatial articulation like usage of walls, doors, windows etc.) stage a value system, they bring forward what is wanted to be shown and also to be obscured; as such space has the power to display certain activities and

⁸ Alice Friedman's *Women and the Making of the Modern House: A Social and Architectural History* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1998) is among the most significant scholarly works on this topic.

⁹ Dolores Hayden's *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1981) is the seminal work which focuses on history of feminist ideas and theories of nineteenth century in the development of housing.

¹⁰ While Isabelle Anscombe's *A Woman's Touch* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1984) is considered as pioneering work in this research area, Pat Kirkham and Penny Sparke's, "*A Women's Place...? Part I*" in Pat Kirkham, ed., *Women Designers in the USA 1900–2000* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000) is a research example examining the paradigm of female designers.

This part was summarized from Gürel and Kathryn, 2006, 67-68.

people and to obscure others. As Taylor and Levine state, referring to Le Corbusier, creating, influencing, defining, or even determining the functions of architectural shapes and spaces makes the architect a social engineer because the architect and the product itself are able to control the uses of designed space, how occupants move in space, and how they live in.¹¹ Pelin Dursun says “man-space relationship and their social implications are the key elements forming architectural space and its identity.”¹²

Space became a significant discussion topic in interdisciplinary framework in the 1960s-70s, that searched for different meanings of space. The most prominent discourse of the time came from to Henri Lefebvre, who stated that (social) space is a (social) product.¹³ Geographers Edward Soja and David Harvey, on the other hand, stated that space is socially produced but it is also a condition of social production.¹⁴ Architect Amos Rapoport focused on the relationship of physical and social space through the organization of space and temporality of space, as the decisions and behaviours of individuals are also temporal in time due to the temporality of cultural, economic and/or political productions.¹⁵ As Diana Agrest claims:¹⁶

Ideology is no more than the social production of meaning. Thus, all cultural production, such as architecture, when articulated at the economic and political levels, manifests the ways in which ideology is produced as part of a given social structure.

¹¹ <https://iep.utm.edu/philosophy-of-architecture/#H1> (Last accessed on 11.07.2022)

¹² 2009, 2.

¹³ Lefebvre, 1991, 26.

¹⁴ See, Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies* (London: Verso, 1989) and David Harvey, *The Condition of Post-modernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008)

¹⁵ 1990, 179.

¹⁶ *Architecture from without: Theoretical framings for a critical practice*, 1991, 32.

(Accordingly, architecture itself must be approached as a particular form of cultural production as a specific kind of overdetermined practice.)

These approaches defined the relationship between space and gender as a social issue that could not be avoided in any way. Thus, an academic focus evolved on the problematic nature of this relationship, which approached gender as a powerful concept in spatial understanding and debate.

The studies that take space as a social product evince the discursive formation between gender and space since they are both “social practices that imply dialectical relationship, both socially constituted; as the social identities and relationships between people and groups of people; and as well as conditioned”¹⁷. In this regard, at about the same time, the feminist geographer Doreen Massey described space as the reflection of “social geometry of power and significance” and the spatial as a dynamic configuration of social relations in her seminal work, *Place and Gender* (1994), while the feminist architect Leslie Weisman in *Discrimination by Design: A Feminist Critique of the Man-Made Environment* (1992) stated that social oppression created by space is an expression of social power and status, and therefore the uses of space contribute to power and the maintenance of inequality. Space and gender, in this respect have a dialectical relation since, just as the objective and subjective experiences of social agents (re)define the meaning of space, spatial forms also generate impacts on the behaviour patterns of agents in time.

Dichotomies created by societies based on sexual differences and power struggles in space bring spatial separations. With the segregation between sexes and acceptance and expression of traditional cultural roles and attitudes caused by social segregation, that is, with the spatial association of masculine and feminine codes, space begins to divide into private and public according to characteristics attributed to male and female stereotypes supported by gender roles. The domestic space,

¹⁷ According to definition of discourse as social product by Ruth Wodak, 1996, 15.

which is at the centre of this spatial separation, has become the basic structural unit when the differences in daily life, the struggle for status and power, that is, the hierarchical order, and thus the separation between men and women are questioned. On the other hand, the dichotomies created between the city and the house in the form of public and private has manifested itself in the domestic sphere in terms of location, accessibility, and comfort level of the spaces. In this context, while the most public spaces in the domestic context are the living rooms where guests are hosted and the workrooms for men, other spaces such as the kitchen and bedrooms are described as private spaces and are paired with women.¹⁸

Social, political, economic, and cultural changes transform the lifestyles, family structures, value judgments and roles of individuals. Therefore, newly formed conditions can shape the physical environment, that is, the living space, according to itself. In this framework, the domestic space, which is defined as the space of women, can also evolve depending on the change in the social status of women.

In this regard, the earliest reference concerning the social status of women in Turkish culture goes back to the pre-Islamic Turkish society, when there was equality between sexes in family relations, property, and political rights. The social and spatial distinction between sexes came after the adoption of Islam and establishment of the *harem*. The modernization movements that started in the Tanzimat period and continued with the Second Constitutional Monarch prioritised women's social status and education.

The most radical and effective changes in the social status of Turkish women were made with the proclamation of the Republic. Women was seen as the main figure in a secular state structure based on the axis of the nation-state. In the early Republican period, state included women into public domain through reforms in the

¹⁸ İnce Güney, 2009, 106.

field of education and law. While women were expected to be involved in political and business life, popular magazines of the period portrayed women as a modern homemaker and a capable wife who performed domestic duties. The multi-party period was conservative, family-oriented modernization period focused on the urban middle class. This period associated women with the house, marriage, family, and modern housewife who brings comfort and beauty to home. The republic in the mid-1950s could not question the gender roles defined by the patriarchal society, but only modernized them. The important turning point is military coup in 1980. There were global economic crisis and the high inflation and increased poverty in Turkey gave an opportunity to woman to take an active role in the work life. State supported female status through economic actions and plans with no reference to gender equalities and stated that the family was the main element in the protection and development of national and moral values. The feminist movement became increasingly popular in this period, after which the feminist movement in Turkey started to reflect mainly on domestic-public, urban-rural, secularism-Islamism dichotomies that progress through discourses on women, family, politics, and economy.

In Turkey indeed, women are symbolized politically. In the process of modernization and its cultural construction in the early years of Republic, the Turkish state saw the liberalization of women in their public appearance and used modern architecture as an instrument for the formation of a westernized nation-state. The state and its political discourses created a social and spatial establishment by basically changing the life style of the Turkish family and took modern Turkish woman as the initiators of change. Yet it done this by identifying women with domestic space.

The military, political, economic and social changes that started with the proclamation of the Republic and continued well into today, were influential on women's becoming visible in the public sphere, their economic empowerment, the fact that men began to go beyond traditional masculine codes and the women's

movements that gained strength with it, the status of women, that emerged as the main tracks of research and debate in academia. The house as the spatial environment where all changes were experienced, and as a cultural institution, was also affected by these changes. In the context of Turkey, the relationship between the social and the space, that is, the status of women and the domestic space, its discursiveness, and the changes this relationship has undergone is an important academic study area.

1.1 Aim of the Study

This thesis, takes “house” as a cultural medium and hence the essence of society that reflects the social and economic structure of the society in terms of its conceptualisation, design, and use. In this regard, the research takes domestic space as its context to:

- present the scholarly state and context of studies in Turkey that took gender, domesticity, house in Turkey into their focus,
- present the impact of gender perception on house, which emerged with the social and spatial implementation of the Republican reforms in the early 20th century,
- explore how spatial organization of houses responded to the social structure of the society and gendered space formation from early Republic to present

While house is an absolute part of the public space, it is also a unique physical environment where individuals can meet such basic needs as shelter, privacy, and protection. House is at the centre of individuals’ life who make up society. Therefore, house is affected by all social, cultural, economic, and political changes in the society. Yet, there is a controversial relationship between house and gender. Pointing to the sexist presentation of house through the relation between “home” (*ev*) and “marriage”(*evlenmek*), Erkarslan states that aside from the discussion of the dominance of masculine or feminine codes, the house represents a civil union based

on reproduction in the traditional sense.¹⁹ Baydar introduces an alternative perspective to the association of “home” and women.²⁰ According to her, the concept of the ideal home itself corresponds to singularity, dominance, control, and visibility, in short, to features that are theoretically described as masculine. Theoretically, domination, hierarchy, control, justification, and objectivity depend on singularity; such skills as sharing, communication, questioning and listening indicate plurality. Although the extent to which these qualities are assimilated by male and female subjects differ, it is generally accepted that the first set of features are identified with masculinity while the second with femininity. Erkarlsan in this sense defines home space, like Leslie Weisman, as a place where dominant masculine thought-forms are embodied, and where it is meaningful to question gender-based power relations.

1.2 Scope of the Study

The thesis consists of six chapters. The first part draws an introductory frame with the aim to outline the conceptualization of the study and presents purpose, scope, and method of the study

The second chapter defines the theoretical framework of the study. In this regard, pioneering studies of feminist geography and architecture in the western context are sampled and examined. It presents a concise literature review on gender, domesticity and house and the emerging themes to outline the references used to define the theoretical context of the study.

The third chapter is about the conceptual definitions of sex and gender. As this is the key chapter for the background of the study, it also presents a brief

¹⁹ 2004, 59.

²⁰ 2009, 13.

discussion on how women played a leading role in gender studies, how and why gender equality began, and the general discourses of the theories that examined and debated these phenomena. The chapter concludes with a framework on the status of women and men as gendered identities in the Turkish case; the historical socio-economic, socio-cultural, and political dynamics that influenced the development of gender identities in the case of house and domestic space are investigated. This chapter provides a reference framework for the main tracks in feminist theory as a basis to introduce and elaborate on gender, gender theories, and the historical development of gender perception in Turkey.

The fourth chapter describes the theoretical framework on gender discourse in association to space. The first part focuses on non-gender-based space theories to understand space as a social product. The second part looks at discursiveness of the space to discuss that; space is a statement, and it basically has the motive to convey a particular meaning to the user and, the architectural object is a communication tool for society or specifically the user of the space, even with its functional features and indications in the space. Thus, highlighting the fact that each indicator in the architectural object is based on the valuable resource it is associated with. This section, moreover, focuses on gender-space relationship to understand the discourse of architectural products and their construction as gendered space. The third part of the chapter focuses on public and private dichotomy, one of the most highlighted themes in feminist geography, to reflect on the mechanisms that creates this dichotomy, namely the process, events, and formations. The final part where the argument posed by the study becomes more specific through elaborating such questions as why house is associated with gender and how the physical form of house mediates and structures gender relations are examined. To do this, the conceptual framework of the house is determined, the relationship between the house and gender is presented, and the relationship between domestic space and gender is argued via the theme of “private space-public space” (private and public space in the house).

The fifth chapter discusses the scholarly state and context of studies in Turkey that take gender, domesticity, and house, between the proclamation of Republic and today. The relationship between house and gender is examined under three periods defined with political turning points. The chapter reveals how the relationship between women, house and gender in 20th century Turkey underwent spatial and discursive changes in the three periods, as emerged in the scholarship. For each period, the domestic space formation of the period is demonstrated by sampling selected houses in parallel with the themes focused in academic studies. Thus, the physical and discursive changes or the stabilization experienced in the use and meaning of spaces are revealed.

In the concluding chapter, a brief summary of the research, general evaluation of the discussion and the concluding remarks that may open up new avenues for future research on issues concerning gender and space relationship are given.

1.3 Method of the Study

The study takes into account three periods;

- Early Republican Period, that corresponds to the period between 1920s-1940s, when the Republic was newly established and reforms were made in all areas,
- the period between 1950s-1980s, when Turkey underwent changes due to the transition to the multi-party period and also the emergence of capitalism which gave way to a major change in social structure through rapid urbanization and industrialization of modern society in this period,
- post 1980s, when globalization and digitalization led to individualization, and radical changes were experienced in daily life, from politics and socio-economic conditions, to art, fashion, and architecture, which reshaped

family forms and hence the domestic realm and when the Islamist politics began to be active.

The discourse of gender studies is foremost based on concepts of gender, sex, and sexual identity that take female/feminine and male/masculine as the starting reference identities. This makes men and women as the primary actors of the private space. Therefore, gender does not exclude male identity and marginalize individuals due to their sexual orientation; thus, every individual who feels himself or herself a woman or a man is an actor in this study. On the other hand, the concept and perception gender have been handled and shaped mainly through women throughout history. In this respect the study, while embracing an egalitarian perspective, takes women as the main actors who use the physical environment, and structures a discussion based on women's role.

The study relies on literature survey, which includes academic research. In this sense, the academic studies used in the thesis are reached through YÖK National Thesis Centre.²¹ The thesis centre offers its users the opportunity to search with different methods and different options within these methods. Accordingly, the research conducted on this platform is initiated by using the selected keyword couples as search items. (Figure 1.1)

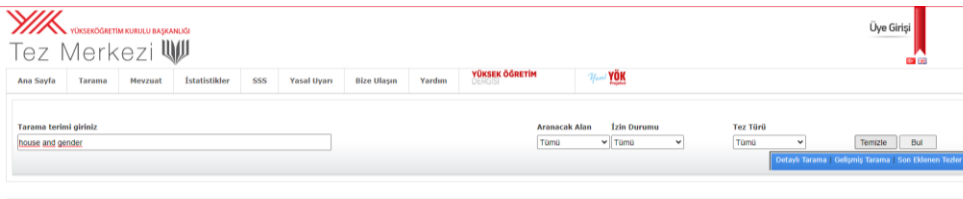


Figure 1.1. YÖK National Thesis Centre Scanning Screen

²¹ The data found and listed in the table are given according to the research carried out on 12.07.2022.

Accordingly, the “*house and gender*” keyword pair search found 485 theses. The theses are listed alphabetically according to the subject, and it is seen that only 3 master’s theses are classified under the topic of “interior architecture and decoration”, 2 of them are related to the subject, and 9 doctorate and 19 master’s theses under the topic of “architecture”. An examination of the masthead and abstract of the theses under the title of “architecture”, showed that only 8 (master’s theses) of them are directly related to the “gender, domesticity and house” trilogy.

In the search made with the keyword couple “*toplumsal cinsiyet ve konut*”, only 1 record is found; a master's thesis classified under the topic of "architecture".

When “*woman and house*” keyword couple is searched, 528 theses are found in the system. These theses are listed alphabetically according to the subject, which illustrated that there are 3 master’s theses classified under the topic of "interior architecture and decoration”. An examination of the masthead and abstract of the theses showed that, 2 of them are related to the subject and one of them was listed under the keyword “house and gender. 1 doctorate and 14 master’s theses under the topic of “architecture” are determined and, unlike the other keyword researches, 6 of them are found to be related to the subject. 1 of them is not open to public access.

“*Kadın ve konut*” keyword couple search listed 5 theses, 4 of them are related with subjects of the interior design and architecture. 4 of these theses also appeared in the search done with the keyword “women and house”.

The research conducted with the keyword couple “*gender and domestic environment*”, gave 6 records; the keyword “*women and domestic environment*” gave 1; the keyword “*gendered architecture*” gave 1 and “*gendered space*” gave 13 records. Only one of these records is found related to the subject of the study, and this study is already listed under the keyword “house and gender”. All the years in the system were scanned and the year range of the studies between 1998-2021 are listed (Table 1.1).

Table 1.1 Thesis studies on gender, domesticity, and house in Turkey²²

	AUTHOR	YEAR	THESIS TITLE	TYPE	FIELD
1	YEŞİM YAĞCI	1998	Kadın-konut etkileşiminde rol oynayan tasarım parametrelerinin belirlenmesi	Master	Architecture
2	NİLAY ÜNSAL	2000	Mimarlık, konut ve kadın	Master	Architecture
3	EBRU AKYOL	2007	Cumhuriyet dönemi Türkiye'sinde kadının değişen rolünün konut kullanımına yansması	Master	Architecture
4	SEMİN ERKENEZ	2009	Gecekonudada kadının konutu kullanımı ve değerlendirmesi	Master	Architecture
5	YONCA YILDIRIM	2010	Private and public use of the living room: An upper income case in Ankara	Master	Interior Design and Decoration
6	SEVİNÇ ALKAN KORKMAZ	2011	Medya, cinsiyet ve mimarlık: Televizyon reklamlarında mutfak temsil biçimlerinin cinsiyet bağlamında okunması	Master	Architecture
7	FATMA ZEYNEP ÖZKOÇAK	2015	Konutlarda mutfak tasarımı, geçirdiği değişim ve Frankfurt mutfağı üzerinden değerlendirilmesi	Master	Architecture
8	HANDE CEYLAN	2015	The impacts of post-disaster spatial structure on low income women: The case of Düzce	Master	Architecture
9	GÜLÇİN ERDAŞ	2018	Toplumsal cinsiyet kavramının konut mekan organizasyonu üzerine etkileri	Master	Architecture
10	BURÇE KARADAĞ	2020	Özel ve kamusal eşliğindeki ara durumların yeniden üretimi	Master	Architecture
11	ÇİSEM SOYLU	2021	Modern house as the representation and mediator of gender binarism	Master	Architecture
12	BURAK ENGİNÖZ	1998	Türk konutunda mahramiyet olgusuyla ilgili tasarım parametrelerinin incelenmesi	Master	Architecture
13	ESMA BURÇİN DENGİZ	2001	Boundaries of gendered space: Traditional Turkish house	Master	Interior Design and Decoration
14	FATMA KALEMCI	2017	Geleneksel konutlarda kadının konutu kendileme davranışı: Giresun Zeytinlik Mahallesi örneği	Master	Interior Design and Decoration
15	SEVİM GÜLEN ÖZAKTAN	2018	Normatif bir mekan modeli olarak geleneksel Türk evi üzerinden cinsiyet kodlarının analizi	Master	Architecture
16	MUSTAFA ŞAHİN	2019	Geleneksel Gaziantep evlerindeki avluların rolünün yerel veriler bağlamında değerlendirilmesi	Master	Architecture
17	ÇAĞLA SU AĞCA	2021	Tarihte kadının rolü ve konut mekanına yansması	Master	Architecture

Since the centres and programs created within the universities have high importance for the development of feminist research in Turkey, publication research is also conducted in the database of these centres. It is found that fifty universities have research centres on women and gender. The websites of these universities, as well as the website of *DergiPark*²³ are examined and the publications related to the

²² The theses with grey background (12-17) in the table will not be used in this thesis as they discuss space, gender, and house in the pre-Republican era traditional Turkish house.

²³ *DergiPark* is the website of TÜBİTAK ULAKBİM that has been providing free hosting and publishing services for academic and peer-reviewed journals in Turkey since 2013. This platform can be accessed via <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/>.

study are determined. (Table 1.2) It is seen that these centres are established between 1989 and 2016 and that 8 centres publish periodicals.²⁴

Table 1.2 Publications of Women and Gender Studies Centres established in the universities in Turkey

	UNIVERSITY	PROGRAM	FOUNDATION YEAR	PUBLICATION	PERIOD
1	Istanbul Üniversitesi	Kadın Çalışmaları Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi	1989	Istanbul Üniversitesi Kadın Araştırmaları Dergisi	Bianually
2	Ankara Üniversitesi	Kadın Sorunları Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi	1996	Fe Dergisi	Bianually
3	Istanbul Teknik Üniversitesi	Bilim Mühendislik ve Teknolojide Kadın Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi	2009	Mimoz Dergisi	Bianually
4	Atatürk Üniversitesi	Kadın Sorunları Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi	2012	Kadın Araştırmaları Dergisi	Bianually
5	Sabancı Üniversitesi	Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Kadın Çalışmaları Mükemmeliyet Merkezi	2015	SU GENDER Bülteni	Monthly and Annually
6	Marmara Üniversitesi	Kadın Çalışmaları Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi	2016	Kadın ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet Araştırma Dergisi	Bianually
7	Akdeniz Üniversitesi	Kadın Çalışmaları ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi		Akdeniz Kadın Çalışmaları ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet Dergisi	Bianually
8	Trakya Üniversitesi	Kadın Sorunları Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi		TÜKSAM Bülteni	2010 (Three Issue)

A useful study frequently referred in the thesis is done by Tolga Cürgül (2016) who made a research on the academic studies that took architecture and gender as subject between 1983-2016. He demonstrated that there are three emerging themes in these studies: *Mimar(lığ)ın Cinsiyeti* (Sex of Architect(ure)), *Mekân ve Cinsiyet* (Space and Gender) and *Kent ve Cinsiyet* (City and Gender). He reached 55 studies under the title of Space and Gender. Three of them are theses and 18 are articles; 7 of the articles are about gender and domesticity (Table 1.3) and 34 of them are book chapters published in three books: *Mimarlık ve Kadın Kimliği* (2002), *Cins Cins Mekan* (2009) and *Kadın ve Mekan, Tutsaklık mı? Sultanlık mı?* (2010).²⁵ Another, more recent publication is *Spaces / Times / Peoples: Gender, Sexuality and Architectural History* (2016).²⁶

²⁴ The establishment year of *Akdeniz Üniversitesi Kadın Çalışmaları ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi* and *Trakya Üniversitesi Kadın Sorunları Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi* could not be found.

²⁵ Kolektif. *Mimarlık ve Kadın Kimliği*. İstanbul: Boyut Yayınları, 2002; Alkan, Ayten (ed.). *Cins Cins Mekan*, İstanbul: Varlık Yayınları, 2009; Bakay, Gönül, Akpınar, Ayşen and Dedehayır, Handan (eds.). *Kadın ve Mekan, Tutsaklık mı? Sultanlık mı?*, İstanbul: Turkuvaz Kitap, 2010.

²⁶ Özgenel, Lale (ed.). "*Spaces / Times / Peoples: Gender, Sexuality and Architectural History*", Ankara: ODTÜ, 2016. This book is a conference proceeding prepared by the Middle East Technical University, Department of Architectural History. The articles to be associated with the thesis from

Table 1.3 Articles about gender and domesticity published between 1983-2015 in Turkey

	AUTHOR	YEAR	TITLE	JOURNAL
1	ERHAN ACAR	1983	Kadın, Konut, Kent: Kadın Açısından Konut Sorunu	Mimarlık Dergisi
2	ÖZLEM ERDOĞDU ERKARSLAN	2004	XX-XY Tasarımda Baskın Gen: Cinsiyetlerarası Mücadele Alanı olarak Modern Konut Tasarımı	Mimarist
3	DİDEM KILIÇKIRAN	2010	Gitmeli Mi, Kalmalı Mı?: Feminizmde Ev Üzerine Çeşitlemeler	Dosya
4	ÇİĞDEM AKGÜL	2011	Eskiye Zaman'ın Kadın Belleğinde Eskitemediği Mekanlar: Ayla Kutlu ve Mekan İlişkisi Analizi	Fe Dergisi
5	LEYLA USLU	2012	Bir Odaya Sıkışmak: Büyümeyle Çocukluk Arasında Kalmak	Fe Dergisi
6	ŞENGÜL ÖYMEN GÜR ŞENGÜL YALÇINKAYA EROL	2013	Ev: Kadın Büyürken	ICONARP
7	ŞENGÜL ÖYMEN GÜR ŞENGÜL YALÇINKAYA EROL	2015	Toplumsal Cinsiyet Roller ve Ev	Mimarist

An analysis of these studies demonstrate that some common themes are utilised to define and discuss the relationship between gender, domesticity and house in Turkish scholarship which are similar to those pursued in the international context. In the international literature, the primary gender-space discussions are centred on the living room/space, the kitchen and laundry room, and in reference to domestic labour. In addition to the analysis on office space and bedroom, furniture, interior decorations, and installation of electronic entertainment media (radio, tv etc.) to the space also emerge as topics. In the Turkish context, however, the most remarkable of these themes is the “kitchen”; the location of the kitchen in space organization, its spatial and physical change in terms of its size, integration of technology, and style -for example, American kitchen. The relationship between the kitchen and the living room, and its impact on gender roles are also discussed in different perspectives. The addition of, first a balcony and then a winter garden to the kitchen and living room are also highlighted and are seen as an adaptation of the public to the private. Two other elaborated themes are furniture and media; in particular, the objects and

this book are as follows: *Salonun Çelişkili Niteliğine Dair Güncel Bir Kesit* (Esra Bici Nasır), *Türkiye’de Modern Konut İmgesi ve Sivil Algusal Boyutu ‘Küçük Ev’* (Deniz Dokgöz), *Florya Atatürk Deniz Köşkü’nde Mahremiyet ve Kamusal Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme* (Münevver Aygün Aşık).

furniture in gendered spaces and their gender-based usage and the impact of media, magazines and advertisements on space use and decoration.

The thesis, in this context presents an examination on domesticity, gender and house as studied in the Turkish scholarship and dwells upon the emerging themes that discuss the nature and status of the relationship between gender and house; the impact of gender perception on house in the context of Turkey. The argument, firstly, is developed in reference to the international literature and hence to a comparison between this literature and that in the Turkish scholarship. Selected case studies will be used to illustrate the domestic space formation in each period in reference to the themes that emerge in the academic studies.

CHAPTER 2

GENDER IN SOCIO-SPATIAL CONTEXT: AN OVERVIEW OF PIONEER STUDIES

The early studies on gender and space in the late 1960s and early 1970s had an interdisciplinary character and promoted feminist research as a new track of scholarship in architecture, especially from the late 1970s onwards. The studies focusing on gender and space became more visible in 1990s. This chapter presents the prominent international pioneer works that looked at gender, domesticity and/or house in various fields such as philosophy, geography, architecture and interior design to draw a frame of the themes elaborated in international scholarship.

In her seminal work *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies*, feminist geographer Linda McDowell explored some key questions: How is gender linked to geography? Do men and women live different lives in different parts of the world? And if gendered attributes are socially constructed, then How do femininity and masculinity vary over time and space? McDowell dwelled on bodies and questioned the sexed bodies, that is on understanding the construction of both female and male bodies, the difference in their construction, regulation and representation to understand genderrelations at every spatial scale. According to her, in ideas about open spaces such as the street and the city and as well as in the meaning of home which is a key factor in the relationship between material culture and sociability, body is a concrete marker of social position and status, as it is an extension of the person. She described home as the most strongly gendered spatial location, while the meanings created by home are not permanent and may be rewritten over time as the challenge between men and women contests between

public and private, and inside and outside.²⁷ McDowell also explored *the spatial division between public and private*, which is the development of a spatial division between the private arena of the home and the public arena of the worlds of waged work, politics and power in industrial societies. According to her, this division created the accepted attributes of femininity and masculinity in the social construction.²⁸ She looked at *gender divisions of labour, spatial separation of home and work* that caused the development of the ideal of feminized domesticity and its role in confining women to the home;²⁹ *public or open spaces* affecting the associations of the public/private divide with gender divisions;³⁰ *representations of nation-state* which is linked to gendered meanings and ideologies; rules about the inclusion or exclusion of certain groups of women and men and the ways in which men and women are treated differently as individuals and as members of social collectivities, as well as the ways in which gender ideologies and symbols are part of the social construction of nationality and nationalism.³¹ McDowell concluded by looking at different places, locations, spaces, and contemporary industrial societies to state that capitalist social relations structured different power relations and divided people. The gender-power relations defined by McDowell prevailed, but its nature changed over time.³² In other words, our actions still depend on our intentions and beliefs which are shaped culturally and positioned spatially.³³

²⁷ 1999, 92-93.

²⁸ 1999, 96.

²⁹ 1999, 123.

³⁰ 1999, 148.

³¹ 1999, 170, 200.

³² 1999, 247-248.

³³ 1999, 7.

Doreen Massey, another prominent feminist geographer, introduced an interdisciplinary framework and took geography as the central theme to discuss gender in her seminal work *Space, Place and Gender*, she focused on class relation in the industrialized geography, linked spatial division of labour and economic spatial organization with socio-economic relations. She elaborated *social construction of space, dynamism of social relations* in time; space as a social geometry of power and signification; *multiplicity of social relations* across all spatial scales from global finance through national and political power to social relations within towns, settlements, households and workplaces. She used the concept of gender (feminist discussions on notion of spatiality as the product of intersecting social relations) to deconstruct the problematic dichotomy between space (seen as static) and time (seen as dynamic), and thus analysed and emphasized the effectivity of social space (defined as dynamic, which changes through history, different political or economic approaches).³⁴

Beatriz Colomina's "Sexuality and Space" (1992) represents a seminal study on the discussion of gender in architectural discourse. The book brings together various discussions and scholarly positions on gender from other fields and associates them with architecture, and hence examines the relationship between architecture, gender and space in an interdisciplinary context and demonstrate how sexuality acts itself out in space. In the introduction Colomina states that architecture is a system of representation, therefore, the politics of space are always sexual. Architecture as a manifestation of patriarchy in domestic interior and house, and a filmic representation of house and the similarities between architecture and cinema, since both are forms of cultural production and involve masculine methods of control and domination are discussed. Besides the relationship between bodies and cities because of the idea about the city as one of the crucial factors in the social production

³⁴ 1994, 3-13.

of (sexed corporeal bodies, the impact of technological innovations (TV for instance) and the role of them in constructing a new kind of safe and sanitized space in suburban home are the highlights of the book.

Leslie Weisman in *Discrimination by Design: A Feminist Critique of the Man-Made Environment* (1992), unravelled the complex social problems and identifying power struggles involved in the building and controlling of space. With this book, Weisman proposed a new structure for understanding the spatial dimensions of not only gender, but also race and class. She discussed woman's place in the context of man-made urban environment, sexual symbolism of urban space and dichotomization of space into public (male) and private (female), city (male) and nature (female), urban (male) and suburban (female). The author emphasized the object of architecture and their patriarchal values of hierarchy, class, segregation, control, consumption etc. and traced and documented the social and architectural histories of the skyscraper, maternity hospital, department store, shopping mall, nuclear family dream house, and high-rise public housing and discussed how each setting, along with public parks and streets, embodied and transmitted the privileges and penalties of social caste. Contrary to general opinion, Weisman stated that woman do not control the domestic space but rather control the social values that define and legitimize men's ownership; in other words, woman just maintain patriarchal hierarchy and social acceptances. She also suggested that the inequalities and social stratifications produced by the design and cultural ideal of house can be minimized by adapting housing to life-cycle changes and concluded that a spatial pattern is the reflection of social integration, and that the sexual segregation of space is only a negative effect of the patriarchal society and culture.

Architecture and Feminism edited by Debra Coleman, Elizabeth Danze, and Carol Henderson and published in 1996 brings together interdisciplinary essays and projects on both feminism and architecture, elaborated in literature, social history, home economics, and art history. The aim of the book is to procure togetherness of architecture and feminism. The social and political limitations of architecture, how

boundaries of masculine and feminine spaces, the social and familial roles of woman, the conventional order of the rooms can be changed and re-gendered to allow for expanded female power, the role of women in architectural practice and the ways architecture has served to contain women and provided more progressive designs to support different women's lives (by explaining the new kitchen design, Frankfurt Kitchens) feature as the main discussions and themes in the book.

Published in the same year and edited by Diana Agrest, Patricia Conway and Leslie Kanés Weisman *The Sex of Architecture*, focused on architecture and urbanism. The book brought together twenty-four provocative texts that collectively expressed the power and diversity of women's views on architecture today. This volume represents a dialogue among women historians, practitioners, theorists, and others concerned with critical issues. It employs a series of displacements related to urban/domestic binary that cause gender inequality. Like *Discrimination by Design: A Feminist Critique of the Man-Made Environment*, the book also focused on such dichotomies as city/home, sex/gender, public / private, inside / outside, active / passive, culture / nature, production / consumption.

In the context of architecture and space, the concept of gender is pursued in relation to private space and through "house". In *The Sex of Architecture*, Sylvia Lavin tells that the first architecture was domestic and the first element that used to establish this domestic space was a fabric.³⁵ Lavin establishes a relationship between domestic space and woman through textile, since textile weaving is often seen as an archetype of women's work in the traditional understanding. Accordingly, she emphasizes that women are the main characters in the production and construction of domestic space. Linda McDowell, likewise, states that theorists attribute power to the house and dwelling, with such connotations as shelter, security, pleasure, and a storehouse of memories. She defines domestic space, by citing from Bahloul, as "the

³⁵ 1996, 183.

material representation of the social order and social reproduction is achieved through the symbolic perpetuation of the social order represented in the habitat”³⁶

In *The Sex of Architecture*, Friedman as well defines domestic architecture and its meaning in relation to the notion of home as:

Home is not only the locus of heterosexual reproduction and socialization but also a stage for ordering social and economic relations. “Home” and “family” have thus been traditionally defined by the patriarchal gender relations that structure them and connect them to the larger society.³⁷

Penny Sparke’s *The Modern Interior* published in 2008, on the other hand, focuses on two contradictory spaces, non-domestic/domestic, but discusses this dichotomy in relation to interior. The important contribution of this study is its focus on the separate, complex but always mutually transforming relationship between domestic and non-domestic spaces. Sparke discusses the relationship between domestic and non-domestic in terms of such dimensions as new form of production, mass consumption and mass media. One of the important issues regarding the mutual relation of separate spaces is the utilization of technological innovations in the industrialized public interior, which are effective in the modernization of domestic space. Due to this, modern domestic interiors are produced through ideas like transparency, permeability, flexibility in use of space, and standardization, which means that the modern domestic space is shaped in a way that contrasts the features that are considered feminine in the traditional understanding. In general, Sparke based her narrative on dualities like inside / outside, public / private, mass-consumed / mass-produced, and decorative / designed as well.

To summarize, the discussion of space became associated more with social attitude, especially with the increasing feminist perspective in the academic studies in the late 1970s. In this context, the user, politics and economy also became central

³⁶ 2003, 72.

³⁷ 1996, 218.

themes, introducing the cause-effect relationships that occur in spatial transformation, which led to an articulation of gender and space in a multidimensional way. The works briefly mentioned as the pioneering studies of feminist geography and feminist architecture in this regard, among many, problematized the concept of gender in a socio-spatial context and created an interdisciplinary basis to scrutinize intersecting context of architecture, space, and gender. Each of these studies, indeed includes discussions and conclusions that parallel each other. The themes that emerge from this sampled literature are; social representation of architecture, social construction of space, dichotomization of space (city/domestic, public/private, inside/outside), spatial separation, gendered contradiction in dichotomized spaces, body and space relation, manifestation of patriarchy in domestic interiors and re-gendered spaces.

CHAPTER 3

FEMINIST THEORY, GENDER, SPACE

This chapter provides a concise reference framework for the main tracks in feminist theory as a basis to introduce and elaborate on gender, gender theories, and the historical development of gender perception in Turkey.

3.1 Feminist Theory

In the *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* feminist theory is described as:³⁸

Feminist theory includes attempts to describe and explain how gender systems work, as well as a consideration of normative or ethical issues, such as whether a society's gender arrangements are fair.

Jo Ann Arinder explains that feminist theory has an emphasis on oppression and considers the lived experiences in oppressive environment of any individual, and not just woman.³⁹ Bell Hooks states that before feminist literature matured, women began to produce feminist theory that dwelled upon the analysis of sexism, strategies for the challenging patriarchy, new models of social interaction; the aim of these works was to elucidate how sexist thinking worked and how the society could

³⁸ 2001, 5910.

³⁹ Arinder, para. 1,
<https://opentext.wsu.edu/theoreticalmodelsforteachingandresearch/chapter/feminist-theory/> (Last accessed on 13.07.2022)

challenge and change it.⁴⁰ Hooks defines feminism as a movement that developed to end sexism, sexist exploitation and oppression,⁴¹ and because it was pursued as a struggle to end gender discrimination and create equality, it is fundamentally a radical movement.⁴² Accordingly, Arinder explains the theory's relationship with feminism and the purpose of the feminist perspective as follows:⁴³

The purpose of using a feminist lens is to enable the discovery of how people interact within systems and possibly offer solutions to confront and eradicate oppressive systems and structures.

The origins of the feminist theory go back to the 18th century and is attributed to Mary Wollstonecraft, the author of *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, who is considered as the first feminist writer in the liberal tradition. However, the theory grew significantly only in the mid-20th century and with the rise of the equality movements.

Feminist theory varies in terms of goals and strategies which often overlaps. Although different approaches emerged in the new and current debates, there are four distinct tracks of feminist theory: liberal, Marxist, radical and socialist feminism. They are defined and discussed by Alison Jaggar in *Feminist Politics and Human Nature*, published in 1983, which became a reference, particularly for the English-speaking philosophers and theorists. They are briefly outlined, in terms of basic principles, ideas and aims in what follows.

⁴⁰ Hooks, 2000, 19.

⁴¹ Hooks, 2000, 1.

⁴² Hooks, 2000, 113.

⁴³ Arinder, para. 1,
<https://opentext.wsu.edu/theoreticalmodelsforteachingandresearch/chapter/feminist-theory/> (Last accessed on 13.07.2022)

Liberal feminism is the earliest form of the feminism and Mary Wollstonecraft was one of its pioneers. According to Jaggar, liberal feminism sought for human dignity, autonomy, equality and individual self-fulfillment, equal rights for women under the law, social reforms to ensure equal opportunity for woman, as liberal feminists believe in the basic justice of liberal state.⁴⁴ As such liberal feminism supports goals like paid maternity leave, equal opportunity in education and employment, reproductive choice and (at least private) day-care centres. Liberal feminists, like everybody else, are forced to recognize the indisputable physical differences between women and men but view the human being as essential. Thus, they argue that because gender constitutes an arbitrary and oppressive restriction on the freedom of both women and men, and hence unjust, it needs to be abolished within the scope of general human interest.⁴⁵ Liberal feminism was criticized for focusing on state actions that links women's interests with those of the powerful, for its lack of class or racial analysis, and for evaluating women and their achievements by male standards. Hooks argues that, contrary to the understanding and purpose of liberal feminism, many liberal feminist reforms, reinforced capitalism and materialism rather than actually liberating women economically, particularly in terms of work.⁴⁶

As Karl Thompson states, on the other hand, Marxist feminism sees capitalism as the main cause of women's oppression.⁴⁷ Jaggar explains the emergence and purpose of Marxist theory as follows:⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Jaggar, 1983, 27.

⁴⁵ Jaggar, 1983, 39.

⁴⁶ Hooks, 2000, 22.

⁴⁷ Thompson, 2016, para. 9, <https://revisesociology.com/2016/07/11/liberal-radical-marxist-feminist-perspectives-society-sociology/> (Last accessed on 13.07.2022)

⁴⁸ Jaggar, 1983, 53.

Marxist theory was formulated in the mid-19th century, at a time when the worst results of the Industrial Revolution were becoming manifest and when most of the liberal democratic or “bourgeois” revolutions had already occurred or were just occurring in Europe. Contrary to liberal theory, which is associated historically with capitalism and indeed often provides a rationale for it, Marxism offers a devastating critique of the capitalist system.

Industrial capitalism that flourished in the beginning of the 19th century has created two major social classes: the bourgeoisie, who owned the means of production, and the workers, who only had labour force to sell for a wage. Elisabeth Armstrong says that workers who went back to home from the factories and the field, found themselves in an unpaid reproductive labour environment at home, and that women did all the reproductive labour under the control of men because of the inherited gender roles.⁴⁹ This was challenged by Marxism which dealt with social reproduction of labour and the inequalities that arose because of capitalism. Marxist feminism, in this sense, aimed to demonstrate how gender ideologies of femininity and masculinity structured production in capitalism. Marxist theory developed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the 1840s elaborated the social and historical formation of reproduction. *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* written by Engels in 1884 represents the first seminal work in this context. The book is about the origins of the family structure, social hierarchy and elaboration of social relation of production and reproduction. What is notable in the book is Engels’ emphasis on women’s higher status and equal consideration of labour. Marxist feminism, which became activated following Engels in the early 19th century through notable scholars known as Marxist feminists, adapted principles of Marxism within a feminist perspective. Among the advocates were Simone de Beauvoir, Clara Zetkin, Alexandra Kollontai, Chizuko Ueno, Anuradha Ghandy, Silvia Federici, Claudia Jones, and Angela Davis.⁵⁰ Marxist feminism explored how gender was

⁴⁹ 2020, 2.

⁵⁰ Alexandra Kollontai was the key figure of Marxist feminism. Her works, *Red Love*, Seven Arts Publishing Co., New York, 1927, *Communism and the Family*, New York: Contemporary Pub. Association, 1920 and her autobiography *The Autobiography of a Sexual Emancipated Communist Woman*, edited, with an afterword, by Iring Fetscher, translated by Salvator Attanasio, foreword by

produced and structured in capitalism, how women were oppressed in the family, and what were the consequences of this life. It aspired to make women's reproductive labour visible. Marxist feminists, along with Engels, believed that the oppression of women resulted from the institution of private property, and that women's oppression would end only when private property was abolished.⁵¹

While the liberal feminism and Marxist feminism were both rooted in the philosophical traditions of the last three centuries, radical feminism emerged in the late 1960s' and is more contemporary.⁵² Radical feminism approached women as a form of oppressed sex class and was concerned with social inequality, sexual differences, and domination of women by men.⁵³ Imelda Whelehan states that,

Germaine Greer, New York: Herder and Herder, 1971 made important contribution to Marxist theory and feminism. Anuradha Ghandy and her book *Philosophical Trends in the Feminist Movement*, Christophe Kistler, Utrecht, 2016 are significant contributions of the Indian Marxist feminist movement. Silvia Federici's *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation*, USA: Autonomedia, 2004; *Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction, and Feminist Struggle, Wages Against Housework*, Oakland: PM Press, 2012; *Beyond the Periphery of the Skin: Rethinking, Remaking, and Reclaiming the Body in Contemporary Capitalism*, Oakland: PM Press, 2020; Simone de-Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*, London: Lowe & Brydone, 1949; Lise Vogel's *Marxism and the Oppression of Women: Toward a Unitary Theory*, New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1983; Dorothy Edith Smith's *Feminism and Marxism: A Place to Begin: A Way to Go*, Vancouver: New Star Books, 1977; Angela Yvonne Davis's *Women, Race, and Class, Women; Culture, and Politics*, Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, first edition, 1983; *The Meaning of Freedom: And Other Difficult Dialogues*, San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2012 represent the pioneering works. Sandra Bartky's *Femininity and Domination*, New York: Routledge, 1990, is also worth to mention as she combines feminism and Marxism to develop a background to discuss the social construction of femininity and women's domination.

⁵¹ Wendling, 2008,9

⁵² From the Latin *radix* "root", <https://www.etymonline.com/word/radical>, accessed in 2020, June 15.

⁵³ Andrea Dworkin, Catharine MacKinnon, Valerie Solanas, and Alice Walker are among the well-known radical feminists. Shulamith Firestone's *The Dialectic of Sex*, New York: Bantam Books, 1970 is one of the first systematic research done by a contemporary radical feminist. MacKinnon's *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State*, Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 1989; *Only Words*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993; *Women's Lives, Men's Laws*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007; Dworkin's *Pornography: Men Possessing Women*, New York: Plume by Penguin Group, 1979; *Woman Hating*, Plume by Penguin Group, 1974; *Right Wing Women*, Perigee Books, 1983; *Intercourse*, New York: Free Press, 1987; *Our Blood: Prophecies and Discourses on Sexual Politics*, New York: Harper & Row, 1976; Solanas's *the SCUM Manifesto*, London: Olympia Press, 1971; Mary Daly's *Beyond God the Father: Toward a Philosophy of Women's Liberation*,

“Radical feminism attempts to create a discursive arena freed from male-oriented political discourse.”⁵⁴ Deborah Madsen, similarly, defines the essence of Radical feminism as:⁵⁵

Radical feminism is able to treat gender as a system. The systemic nature of gender ensures continued male domination through the masculine control of feminine sexuality. In radical feminist terms, gender oppression is the most fundamental form of oppression and precedes the economic structure of patriarchal societies.

Radical feminist, Alison Jaggar believes that women’s oppression is “causally and conceptually irreducible to the oppression of any other group.”⁵⁶ The radical feminists’ slogan “the personal is political” – the claim that personal life is politically structured – expresses their belief that “men systematically dominate women in every area of life,” and that radical changes need to be addressed in the relationship between male and female for women’s liberation.⁵⁷ Although both radical feminism and Marxist feminism are about the oppression of women, they diverge at some points. In Marxist feminism, the emphasis is on the capitalist class system that causes the oppression of women while radical feminism emphasizes the patriarchal ideology and visible distinction between sexes⁵⁸ and its universality, according to the radical feminists, gender is an elaborate system of male domination.⁵⁹ The theoretical task of the radical feminism is to understand that system.

Boston: Beacon Press, 1974; *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1978 are some other important names and works of the Radical feminism.

⁵⁴ 1995, 68.

⁵⁵ 2000, 153.

⁵⁶ 1983, as cited in Wendling, 2008, 9.

⁵⁷ Wendling, 2008, 9.

⁵⁸ Radical feminists link women’s oppression to biological features, to sexuality, reproduction and motherhood, in reference to Sigmund Freud’s belief that “anatomy is destiny”.

⁵⁹ Jaggar, 1983, 85.

Socialist feminists are described as combining the best of the radical and Marxist feminist debates.⁶⁰ Socialist feminists connect the oppression of women to Marxist ideas in terms of exploitation, oppression, labour and the role of capitalism. The role of patriarchy and gender in the oppression of women is their connection to the radical feminists. They see prostitution, domestic work, childcare and marriage as ways in which women are exploited by a patriarchal system that devalues women and the substantial work they do. They advocate implementing broad changes that will affect society as a whole, rather than taking the individual as a basis, and argue the need to work alongside not just men, but also all other groups, as they see the oppression of women as part of a larger pattern that affects every individual involved in the capitalist system.⁶¹

Socialist feminists sought to synthesize feminist analyses of gender inequality, social reproduction and economic reproduction. They developed a broader view of women's economic, social reproductive role and gender oppression as interactive contributions towards women's oppression.

Basing its arguments on political, cultural and economic grounds, the feminist theory is concerned with equal rights, gender equality, legal protection and social and economic emancipation for women. Both gender theory and feminist theory, in this sense, forward a critical analysis of the relationship between difference and inequality through a theorization of gender roles.⁶²

Feminist movements are based on the equality and liberalization of women, and the feminist theory translates them into goals and strategies and explores how

⁶⁰ Clara Zetkin, Barbara Ehrenreich, Zillah Eisenstein and Hal Draper are some of the important socialist activists and feminists. Zillah Eisenstein's *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism*, New York, London: Monthly Review Press, 1979; *Abolitionist Socialist Feminism: Radicalizing the Next Revolution*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 2019; Hal Draper's and Clara Zetkin's *Women and Class: Toward a Socialist Feminism*, California: Center for Socialist History, 2011 are reference works for the Socialist Feminism.

⁶¹ Armstrong, 2020.

⁶² Gilligan, 1982; Kimmel and Aronson, 2010.

the oppressive patriarchal society/system works. While the feminist theory also deals with such issues as race, ethnicity, class, it is mainly concerned with the relationship between women and men, in other words, the distinction between sexes. Biological determinism, thus, represents one of the key discussions, that is centred on behavioural and psychological differences that have social causes. The pioneer feminist philosopher Simone de Beauvoir expressed the inadequacy of sexes in defining the social existence in her book *The Second Sex* as such:⁶³

(...) the body of woman is one of the essential elements in her situation in the world. But that body is not enough to define her as woman; there is no true living reality except as manifested by the conscious individual through activities and in the bosom of a society. Biology is not enough to give an answer to the question that is before us: why is woman the Other?⁶⁴

Beauvoir's statement not only points out the fact that the domination of one gender over the other is socially produced, but it also provides an initial insight into the development of the concept of "gender", which will be elaborated in the next section. The social formation that Simone de Beauvoir underlined in reference to sexes is also considered a pioneering statement in other disciplines. American psychiatrist and psychoanalyst Robert Stoller used the concept of gender for the first time in his 1968 book, *Sex and Gender*, to distinguish between the states of femininity and masculinity. British feminist sociologist Ann Oakley also discussed the relationships between gender and personality, and gender and intelligence in her book *Sex, Gender and Society* in 1972 in which she argued how gender roles were learned.⁶⁵

⁶³ Originally published in 1949 in France by Librairie Gallimard under the title *Le Deuxième Sexe*, it was first published in Great Britain in 1953.

⁶⁴ 1956, 63-64.

⁶⁵ Ecevit, 2011, 6, *Toplumsal Cinsiyet Sosyolojisi* edited by Yıldız Ecevit, Nadide Karkıner.

3.2 Sex and Gender

The phenomenon of sex, which determines the most fundamental physical distinction between people, divides the entire world population into two groups as men and women. Sex is an innate condition and refers to the biological difference between men and women for which the reproductive systems are the distinguishing features.

Turkish Language Association describes sex as a creation trait that gives the individual a separate role in the reproductive work and distinguishes between male and female sexuality.⁶⁶ Zehra Dökmen states that the term sex expresses the biological aspect of being a woman or a man, which means that, sex is a demographic category that is determined according to the biological sex of the individual, and that the sex written on people's identity cards fits the meaning of this term.⁶⁷ It is seen from these definitions that sex is a binary classification that concerns two social classes, male and female.⁶⁸ Societies have developed different cultural attitudes and attributed different characteristics and roles to men and women, based on this physical separation.

Evren Kocabiçak criticizes the current social perception and argues that since femininity is an innate and unchangeable feature, the natural and unchangeable expressions of the word sex legalizes the social oppression and exploitation that women are subjected to.⁶⁹ As Korkmaz and Allmer put forward, it is possible to say that individuals acquire social XX - XY codes that differ from one culture to the

⁶⁶ From <https://sozluk.gov.tr/> (Last accessed on 26.06.2022)

⁶⁷ 2010, 19-20.

⁶⁸ As Akın and Demirel (2003, 73) stated, it is the reproductive systems that separate the two sexes, and the individual belongs to one of the sexes according to anatomical and hormonal changes.

⁶⁹ 2005, 23.

other, along with the XX - XY codes that determine the biological sex, and they build their lives within the framework of these sociocultural codes.⁷⁰

The reasons, sources and consequences of distinguishing sex and gender became topics of research, particularly in the second half of the 20th century, and various opinions have been put forward since then. The word sex was used commonly to denote the opposing pair of biological existence and social character until the 1970s, after which, the feminist movement advocated the word gender to designate the taught social and cultural identity. The word sex, in its widespread use, is actually based on the biological distinction between men and women, while the concept of gender deals with the problem of how the relations between the two identities are socially coded by considering them as social entities.⁷¹ Another difference between the two stems from the fact that homosexuals, who emerged as a social group in the 80s, became the identities classified under gender studies in the social sciences of the 1990s. Özlem Erdoğan Erkarşlan, for example, defines sex and gender in a comparative way:⁷²

While the concept of family based on reproduction, as a concept defined by social norms for this reason with patriarchal, heterosexual relations, distinguishes men and women biologically with the word sex, the word gender represents an understanding that is egalitarian and that views different sexual preferences with tolerance and bases the concept of family on sharing rather than reproduction.

Gender is defined as a culturally, socially and historically constructed set of differences between men and women. Gender, gender identity and gender inequality, therefore, are shaped not by biological features but by the cultural, social, and sociological formation and behaviours. Daphne Spain defines gender by referring to the socially and culturally constructed distinctions that accompany biological

⁷⁰ 2013, 110.

⁷¹ Soja, 1996, as cited in Erkarşlan, 2002, 29, *Mimarlık ve Kadın Kimliği*, published by Boyut Yayın Grubu.

⁷² Erkarşlan, 2002, 29.

differences associated with a person's sex.⁷³ While biological differences are constant over time and across cultures (i.e., there are only two sexes),⁷⁴ the social implications of gender differences vary historically and socially. Though there is a strictly established formation in the constitution of social identity and behaviours due to biological returns, the emphasis should not be on biology but on the factors that create the formation, namely geography and culture. Doreen Massey argues in the introduction of *Space, Place, and Gender*, that geography is one of the important factors in the construction of gender, and geographic diversity directly affects gender relations; the production and reproduction of uneven developments like spatial division among men and women and having different patterns of spatial activity, as well as different experiences that affect their entities and identities.⁷⁵

Everything, thus, is socially defined and discursively determined in daily life. Gender is imposed on the body through acts and gestures. Therefore, the body is also a discursive entity since gender is socially and culturally defined. The limits and boundaries of the body are determined in relation to the social taboos that support social formations and discourage other behaviours. The limits and boundaries of the body are the limits and boundaries of acceptable social actions. Judith Butler defines gender in *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* as “the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame

⁷³ 1992.

⁷⁴ In general, two biological sexes are recognized. However, there are intersex individuals that lie outside the sphere of female/male binary. The term intersex is a socially constructed category but it reflects biological variation. Intersex Society of North America defines it as: “Intersex is a general term used for a variety of conditions in which a person is born with a reproductive or sexual anatomy that doesn't seem to fit the typical definitions of female or male.” Either of the commonly accepted sexes, female or male is ‘assigned’ to intersex persons at birth, but in future, they may require professional health supervision and medical procedures because of the physiological determination. (https://isna.org/faq/what_is_intersex/ (Last accessed 20.06.2021).

⁷⁵ 1994.

that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being”, and comments on the established formations: ⁷⁶

On some accounts, the notion that gender is constructed suggests a certain determinism of gender meanings inscribed on anatomically differentiated bodies, where those bodies are understood as passive recipients of an inexorable cultural law. When the relevant “culture” that “constructs” gender is understood in terms of such a law or set of laws, then it seems that gender is as determined and fixed as it was under the biology-is-destiny formulation. In such a case, not biology, but culture, becomes destiny.

Kocabıçak defines gender as teaching and learning social and cultural roles, and emphasizes that it will be more appropriate to conduct a gender-oriented study on space, based not on the biological and natural sex, but on the gender that allows change.⁷⁷ Kocabıçak establishes the connection here as follows: space, which is not only an architectural but also a sociological phenomenon, should be examined through gender, which is also a sociological and cultural phenomenon, so that space can allow change and progress because the phrases “natural” and “immutable” that the word sex contains create a perceptual stability; while on the other hand sex has been seen as the reasons for the oppression and exploitation of women. Gender, on the other hand is open to change and progress as each society and culture impose different social roles on women and men.

Gerard Lico argues that the patriarchal ideologies created by society affect the production of space. Because the space produced by architecture is not only

⁷⁶ 1999, 43. Butler argues that gender is something we designate as how best to be, how best to enact. The categorization that occurs with it is not natural but political and discursive. By saying that gender is performative, Butler emphasizes the self-awareness of our actions in displacing gendered norms. As mentioned by Lori Brown (2016, 27), Jacques Derrida who developed the philosophy of deconstruction has led us think about how the hierarchical relationship assigned to two terms in a pair is not natural and pre-given but a social construction that can change according to how we are positioned, see in particular, *Of Grammatology*, translated by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore; Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976, pp. 6-26). When the focus is on binaries, it is far from togetherness, so this causes domination and hierarchy. Lori Brown Also see, Jacques Derrida, *Dissemination*, translated by Barbara Johnson (London: Athlone Press, 1981) for an attempt to perform rather than describe deconstruction.

⁷⁷ 2005, 23.

geometrically determined and physically defined, but it is also a living place where cultural processes, gender relations and sexual desire are constantly enacted. He explains the discursive power of space on gender as: ⁷⁸

Space is an instrument of thought and action, which enacts the struggle over power between genders. Yet, it should be recognized that space in itself is not inherently powerful. It is the politics of spatial usage that determines its power. A patriarchal framing of architectural spaces undeniably privileges masculinist power, in its representation of social order, hierarchical progression, polarities, and stereotypical gender roles.

Deniz Kandiyoti, who has studies on culture, women and Turkish modernity, illustrates gender as “a contested and polyvalent maker of class, social extraction and cultural preferences”.⁷⁹ She emphasizes that “different expressions of gender and gender identity became both the products and signifiers of modernity.”⁸⁰ According to her, gender norms are reshaped in changing and developing societies, and this dynamism creates new images of masculinity and femininity which are adopted by different segments of the society. She also argues that gender is a crucial context to understand a society. Kandiyoti’s ideas support what Kocabiçak stands for. The changing society and the changing environment begin to transform ideas, which led to an emergence of new definitions and ideologies, resulting in the formation of a new society, social life and culture in the broadest sense. Thus, the discourse and products of architecture, which are social products, are indirectly differentiated.

The construction of gender is influenced by environment, socio-economic factors and space. Gender and environment mutually interact with each other. This interaction and coexistence are affected and evolved by physical and discursive changes and transformations in time and space. Socio-economic changes

⁷⁸ Lico, 2001, 30.

⁷⁹ 1998, 284.

⁸⁰ 1997, 114.

significantly affect the phenomenon of gender and its content.⁸¹ As space is an integral element of dynamism regarding socio-economic relations, time-space interaction determines identity formation that refers to differences as well as social life.⁸² The restructuring of the industry after the ongoing global economic recession since the mid-1970s and the qualitative and quantitative changes in labour force participation are the main sources of change in gender formation and its relation with space. Women's labour force participation in Western Europe and North America in the 1980s, which is incomparable to previous times,⁸³ caused significant changes in terms of gender. While the change in regional production and workforce patterns, that is, the changes in the gender composition of the work force transformed the socio-spatial environment, women's participation in the workforce changed the time-space interaction in the use of urban space.⁸⁴ The increasing differentiation of people's times and places for work and life has led to the differentiation of workplace and home spaces, the change in the use of urban area and residential area, and thus also the differentiation of gender roles. Of course, this process of change requires a re-examination of private space/house, which was previously attributed directly to women and public space/urban space, which was attributed to men. Gender in this respect is a fundamental concept to understand culture, and thus a main determinant in architectural thought and construction of space.

The division of gender roles, defined by society and culture, operates along binary oppositions between male and female, and therefore between public and private, and hence in a spatial environment. According to Frosh "The binary oppositions, stemming from the polarity of masculine versus feminine, can be

⁸¹ Kayasü, 2002, 102.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Wekerle and Rutherford, 1989, as cited in Kayasü, 2002, 102.

⁸⁴ McDowell, 1989, 139.

various such as hard-soft, tight-loose, rigid-pliable, dry-fluid, objective-subjective, reason-emotion, science-art, culture-nature, intellectuality-sensuality, symbolic-body etc. Frosh argues that such oppositions are constructed, and therefore not naturally given oppositions”.⁸⁵ According to feminist writer Kamla Bhasin, women are associated with body, emotion, nature, subject and private in current gender roles, while men are characterized by reason, culture, logic, object and public.⁸⁶ Kocabiçak comments on such definitions attributed to women and men as, “These features not only express oppositions, but also describe the hierarchy because the mind is superior to the body, the logical and objective over the emotional and subjective. However, these features attributed to women are not innate, as is thought, but are a social and cultural process. In other words, the basis of these generalizations and dichotomies is gender, not sex.”⁸⁷ While such cultural dichotomizations devalue feminine attributes and qualities, the pressures of patriarchal roles negatively affect women’s freedom and create those generalised key assumptions, as mentioned by Linda McDowell:⁸⁸

Thus, women and their associated characteristics of femininity are denned as irrational, emotional, dependent and private, closer to nature than to culture, in comparison with men and masculine attributes that are portrayed as rational, scientific, independent, public and cultured.

Leslie Weisman exemplifies the dichotomization in both urban and suburban contexts by stating that: “Urban life is defined through cultural and intellectual activities, power, aggression, danger, meaningful and with men and suburban life is defined as safe, domestic, tranquil, close to nature, and mindless and devoted to

⁸⁵ 1994, 11, 55, 72.

⁸⁶ 2003, 12-13.

⁸⁷ 2005, 23.

⁸⁸ 1999.

women”.⁸⁹ She also asserts that masculinity is defined as separation, individuality and self-expression and femininity is defined as an attachment, relationship, cooperation and consideration of others, in other words dependence.

In *The Second Sex*, Simone de Beauvoir portrays, an oppressor and oppressed, an absolute subject who is a man and the “other” a woman.⁹⁰ Beauvoir argues why the female sex was subordinate to men and women have been forced to accept a secondary place in society, despite the fact that women constitute half of the human race. Accordingly, the patriarchal power, practiced in the pre-modern history kept women in a state of dependence which established the view that woman is the other. Conceptualising an “other” is the logic behind approaching man and woman as separate social categories. Classifying genders as socially opposing groups also created spatial dichotomies; as oppose to male superiority, territorial dominance and its control is female inferiority that create the symbolic universe of patriarchal norms, as defined by Weisman in *Discrimination by Design*.⁹¹ The values and attitudes of the two opposing groups in experiencing and perceiving the environment in the societies with sharp divisions are also very different. Weisman says that differences in perceiving and experiencing the physical environment depend on the social space where one is in.⁹² Therefore there is a dialectic and reciprocal relationship between social space and physical space because both are manufactured by the society and its belief system, as a moral and religious, and in some case a political matter. Weisman deduces that the symbolic universe constructs human experiences and defines human reality by saying that the things that define the use, power and dominance of space

⁸⁹ 1976, as cited in Weisman, 1992, p. 13

⁹⁰ 1949.

⁹¹ 1992.

⁹² 1992, 9.

are social status and power.⁹³ What is deduced from this is that the created symbolic universe has no certainty because it can vary according to societies and the culture, that is, this universe is subjective. However, as Weisman said, dichotomies construct and defend patriarchal symbolic universe and that inequalities between sexes are symbolized in the organization and the use of space at all scale from the house to village and city.⁹⁴ Therefore, it is important to understand the basis of gendered dichotomy to understand and interpret the society and the spaces it produces because as Weisman said “Neither is understandable without the other.”⁹⁵.

The society, which defines the purpose and roles of human beings, and their manner of existence in space, and thus determines, constructs and shapes human experiences in life, makes these definitions by generalizing the society according to the biologically defined sex and dichotomizing the society accordingly. This situation, which constitutes the social identity and characters of individuals, is defined as gender, and feminist theorists argue that it is more correct to evaluate the situation of one (male) over/dominate the other (female) in the society, not over biology, but over social existence, that is, gender rather than sex. Also, they say that society has been actively and continuously changed culturally, socially and religiously over time due to historical, political and economic situations. As a result of this, gender, which is a definition produced by society, can also change or be affected, so gender is a subject that needs to be constantly examined in order to understand women and men as social beings.

⁹³ 1992, 10, 24.

⁹⁴ 1992, 10, 11.

⁹⁵ 1992, 9.

3.3 Gender Theory

Gender theory⁹⁶ is the study of what is understood as masculine and/or feminine and/or queer behaviour in any given context, community, society, or field of study.⁹⁷ Bonnie Smith defines the theory as, “proposed looking at masculinity and femininity as sets of mutually created characteristics shaping the lives of men and women. It replaced or challenged ideas of masculinity and femininity and of men and women as operating in history according to fixed biological determinants”.⁹⁸

Simone de Beauvoir’s statement that “one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman,”⁹⁹, as mentioned above, is the key phrase to discuss of gender. According to this view, while men create their own subjectivity by creating the identity of those who are not like themselves, women accept what is shown to them instead of constructing their own identities. Therefore, the phenomenon of femininity, which was seen as inevitable and natural for women, was actually the result of a misguided and inauthentic choice. Bonnie Smith also describes gender by saying that “This analysis drew on phenomenological and existential philosophy that portrayed the development of the individual subject or self in relationship to an object or “other.””¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Gender theory is closely related to, but not the same as, feminist theory. Difference and inequality are crucial and critical concerns of both theories. Gender is one of the tools and subjects for feminist theory to understand the social construction of inequality, however, dichotomization of sexes, the conceptualization of masculinity and femininity and modes of performing identity are the subjects of research for gender theory.

⁹⁷ Jule, Allyson, “Gender Theory”, *Encyclopedia of Quality of Life and Well-Being Research*, edited by Alex C. Michalos, 2014, 2464.

⁹⁸ 2020.

⁹⁹ 1946, 267.

¹⁰⁰ 2020.

Claude Lévi-Strauss, a contemporary of Beauvoir, developed the theory of structuralism in his book *The Elementary Structures of Kinship* published in 1949:¹⁰¹

People in societies lived within frameworks of thought that constituted grids for everyday behaviour. These frameworks were generally binary, consisting of oppositions such as pure and impure, raw and cooked, or masculine and feminine.

According to Lévi-Strauss, these dualities are fixed, and part of culture and even biology. Taking the idea of Lévi-Strauss forward in her article *The Traffic in Women* (1975), Gayle Rubin described gender as the “socially imposed division of the sexes.”¹⁰² Gayle Rubin argued that while biological differences are stable, gender differences are the oppressive consequences of social interventions that determine how men and women should behave.¹⁰³

Gender theory is concerned with the construction or the development of the self and implies a theory wherein individual speaking, thinking, acting, and perceiving is viewed as formed with culturally specific patterns of behaviour that develop over time.¹⁰⁴ This emerges from an understanding of gender as constructed and formed in social interactions, known as constructivism¹⁰⁵ and the mechanism of construction is social learning.¹⁰⁶ Kate Millett explains gender in this context as “the

¹⁰¹ Smith, 2020.

¹⁰² 1975, 179.

¹⁰³ Mikkola, Mari, “Feminist Perspectives on Sex and Gender”, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2022 Edition), edited by Edward N. Zalta, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2022/entries/feminism-gender/> (Last accessed on 16.07.2022).

¹⁰⁴ Disch, 2008.

¹⁰⁵ Butler, 1990; Bourdieu, 2001.

¹⁰⁶ Mikkola, Mari, “Feminist Perspectives on Sex and Gender”, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2022 Edition), edited by Edward N. Zalta, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2022/entries/feminism-gender/> (Last accessed on 17.07.2022).

sum total of the parents', the peers', and the culture's notions of what is appropriate to each gender by way of temperament, character, interests, status, worth, gesture, and expression".¹⁰⁷ This approach defines, namely the fact that gender is learnable and performative, creates a positive space for the discursiveness of gender. Political theorist Anne Phillips, in her book *Multiculturalism Without Culture*, says that "cultures are not bounded, cultural meanings are internally contested, and cultures are not static but involved in a continuous process of change"¹⁰⁸, therefore, the gender roles, constructed with social and cultural learnings and the social identities of individuals that are formed accordingly are open to transformation and development with the change of political power balances over time, with the change of culture, and thus with the change of social life and social thought system.

3.4 History and Context of Gender Perception in Turkey

Understanding the history of gender perception in Turkey undoubtedly requires an engagement with the contexts in which it occurred and with the ways that shaped this perception. The main questions to be addressed in this respect are, whether there was a social, political and social balance between the sexes at any point of existence, and if there was, why and how this balance was disturbed; whether the reason for this deterioration is really associated to an "innate" and thus "unchangeable" biological existence or it was because of the environment created by the social mentality.

In the early theoretical discussions, the secondary status of women is related to the biological characteristics of women, namely to fertility and the process of instinctively to baby care. Socialist-feminist writer Gülnur Acar Savran says that

¹⁰⁷ 1971, 31.

¹⁰⁸ 2007, 27.

“the division of labour based on gender is determined by the “social one”, but biology is the precondition and basis of this determination.”¹⁰⁹ By saying that “Nature, which includes human sex in this respect, is always more social, but never purely social... The natural or pre-social qualities of objects are certainly important to the practices associated with these objects.”¹¹⁰ Savran accepts biology as “natural” and argues that this situation is the main determinant of the difference between male and female for the whole life after birth. Such studies have concluded that the space used by woman¹¹¹ is limited due to the biological feature that ensures the continuity of her species. Akın Atauz, on the other hand argues that human being is a social being, constantly changing the natural and adapting to it, and states that the “natural” explanation used in the researches has lost its former power and that the main factor limiting women’s space and imprisoning women in a closed space is sociological rather than biological.¹¹²

Funda Şenel, by quoting Walby and Lerner, states that, contrary to what is claimed in traditional thinking, patriarchy is not universal, natural or divinely inevitable, it is a historical system and it takes different forms by being articulated with the economic, cultural, demographic and historical conditions of the society in which it is located.¹¹³ In this sense, the change and the deterioration of the balance of status in the process of sustaining life in history also reveals that although gender

¹⁰⁹ 2009, 294.

¹¹⁰ 2009, 296.

¹¹¹ Rooms, indoor spaces of some buildings, courtyards, inner gardens, and some urban public spaces of world fall to women. All other spaces belong primarily and predominantly to men (Atauz, 2004, 55). Until modern times, women were associated with small-scale spaces, namely the house, part/room of the house (*harem*) and spaces such as inner courtyard, atrium and backyard. (Atauz, 2004, 54) In other words, the more closed and sheltered spaces are attributed to women.

¹¹² 2004, 55.

¹¹³ 2012, 247, from Lerner, G. (1986) *The Creation of Patriarchy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press and Walby, S. (1990) *Theorizing Patriarchy*. Cambridge: Basil Blackwell.

studies are approached from an egalitarian perspective, it is inevitable that the focus in these studies mostly shifts to women.

Gülçin Erdaş argues that, in primitive societies whose livelihood is based only on gathering and hunting and the society consisted of members of a homogeneous nature, the position of women and men was not different from each other, as there was no need for labour division. There was no difference in the division of labour except that the male protected the community and the female protected and nurtured children.¹¹⁴ However, as Şenel stated, although the social division of labour in hunter-gatherer societies was not as sharp as it is today, the hunter was male and the gatherer was female.¹¹⁵ Because of the unregulated food supply return on hunting in these societies, men actually depended on the foraging food of women to sustain their hunting expeditions. Therefore, in these societies, women had a great value in society because of their ability to give birth and provide most of the basic food.¹¹⁶

With the transition from a hunter-gatherer society to an agricultural one, human societies have actually started a settled life, never to leave again. Since this process, they have started to constantly and actively change or transform the environment in which they lived in, in order to meet their needs. As Şenel stated, the transition to an agricultural society had several related consequences, such as settling on the land, acquiring private property, ensuring population growth, stratification and even war.¹¹⁷ With transition to a settled life, it became necessary foremost, to protect the property and store food. The mobility of earlier women, who were

¹¹⁴ 2018, 19.

¹¹⁵ The females were not as effective as the males in hunting due to their pregnancy status and their duty to feed children. While the child's dependency on the mother made the mother dependent on the settled camp, it also limited the women's foraging efforts to the surroundings of the camp. This is interpreted as the first division of labour based on a biological basis (Erdaş, 2018, 20).

¹¹⁶ 2012, 248.

¹¹⁷ 2012, 248-249.

biologically productive to ensure family continuity and took care of children as a primary duty within the confines of a camp area and its immediate surroundings, had decreased and became practiced in a more limited environment due to the protection and security requirements. Atauz evaluates this situation as: ¹¹⁸

With the evolution of the family institution, whose history is older than human/even humanoid history, in human societies, men started to support the members of the family with poor mobility opportunities with food. Thus, while the man expands his territory (relative to the woman), on the other hand, he develops a social hierarchy that makes women dependent on him and therefore of secondary importance. Thus, the family becomes the strongest of the factors that establish male dominance and limit women's space to the home and its immediate surroundings.

Changes in the survival, living and settlement patterns were not the only developments in the historical process of approaching women as a gender of secondary status. Historical and political events, changes or revolutions had social reflections on the perception of gender as well. For example, important turning points in world history, such as the birth of religions, the Renaissance, the industrial revolution, and the world wars, have constantly affected, changed or transformed the positions of women and men in society. Besides, cultural belief systems and stereotypes were also influential on the perception of gender inequality and its perception around the world. It is observed that the cultural opinions about women's secondary social status are manifested in the same way today. The earliest reference concerning the social position of women in Turkish history comes from the pre-Islamic Turkish society, where there was a relative equality between women and men in family relations, property and use of political rights. In the administration of the state, "*hatun*" and "*hakan*" had an equal say.¹¹⁹ Kaymaz states that the situation has changed to the detriment of women in the 11th century. In the transition period to a

¹¹⁸ 2004, 55.

¹¹⁹ Kaymaz, 2010, 335.

settled agricultural life, with the adoption of Islam¹²⁰, the understanding arising from the old beliefs of the nomadic Turks, who accepted women as equal to men became replaced by a belief that subordinated women to men and sanctified this understanding by basing it on the god as creator.¹²¹ According to Güler and Ulutak, the adoption of Islam had consequences on the Turkish family system, especially on the place of women in the society and family, and the first distinction began with the establishment of the harem in the 15th century.¹²² The social and spatial distinction between men and women, became more sharply defined especially in the Tulip Era. The discrimination of spaces in the form of *Harem* and *Selamlık*, eventually gave rise to the problem of defining the place of women in terms of the life outside the home, and caused women to be dropped out from social life.¹²³

There were periods in which important steps were taken regarding the visibility and position of women, which is generally studied in three phases: ¹²⁴

The first phase began in 1839 with the wide-spectrum of laws in the Tanzimat period. The Ottoman Empire started a reform policy, which also influenced women. Considering that the European women's movement started with the French Revolution in 1789, this was a delay of about half a century. The second phase began with the Republican era, with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk granting women certain rights. The third phase dates from the end of the military intervention in 1980 and was initiated by Turkish women themselves.

Tanzimat, introduced a modernization process based on European (the West) influence. Many reformist policies were implemented in this period, and the issue of women's social status was also seen as an aspect of the modernization process. Although no right was given to women directly, the place of women in the family

¹²⁰*Ibid.*

¹²¹ Yılmaz, 2010, 193.

¹²² 1992, 59.

¹²³ Yılmaz, 2010, 195.

¹²⁴ Yeşilyurt Gündüz, 2004, 115.

and society, their rights, their relations with their spouses, and education were subject to intense discussion.¹²⁵ Women's education was especially prioritized, and schools were opened for women. It was believed that, an educated woman would be a good wife and mother¹²⁶, and thus would contribute greatly to the formation of a civilized and western society.¹²⁷ The Turkish family structure and the position of woman has changed with the social and political developments made through the declaration of the Second Constitutional Monarchy in 1908. Celal Nuri, one of the important women's rights defenders of the period, stated that the main reason for the weakening of the Ottoman Empire was the social situation of women living in captivity, while Ziya Gökalp said that the negative attitudes towards women was due to the misinterpretation of Islam religion.¹²⁸ Celal Nuri and Ziya Gökalp were the advocates who aimed to portray a new understanding of social life, and they argued that the roots of the new family life and therefore the position of women should be sought in the family structure of the first Turks before Islam.¹²⁹

Aslı Yapar Gönenç, argues that World Wars were the periods in which women could take part in social life as wars opened up an area of freedom and responsibility for women, and that women could find a place in work areas which could be considered respectable because men were on the battlefield.¹³⁰ In this respect, the

¹²⁵ Some improvements in women's social position following the *Tanzimat* Period are; opening midwifery courses (1842-1843), abolition of slavery and concubine (1847), prohibition of buying and selling of slaves and concubines (1856), equalization of girls and boys in inheritance rights (1857), opening of girls' high schools (1858), the publication of the *Maarif-i Umumiye* Regulation in 1869, which brought legal obligation to the education of girls for the first time, and the opening of Girls' Teachers' Schools in 1870 (Erdaş, 2018, 25).

¹²⁶ Yağcı, 1998, 15.

¹²⁷ Yeşilyurt Gündüz, 2004, 115.

¹²⁸ Kaymaz, 2010, 339.

¹²⁹ Yağcı, 1998, 16.

¹³⁰ In reference to Thébaud, 2006, 67.

First World War represent an important period in the Ottoman culture in terms of the prominence of women in the society and economic sphere. The fact that male population had to serve as soldiers and army members led women involve in business life. Thus, women showed presence and efficiency in industry, commerce and service sectors. Agricultural enterprises producing cotton in Adana, tobacco in the Black Sea, grapes and figs in İzmir as well as public institutions such as the PTT and the Ministry of Finance opened their doors to female employees.¹³¹

The most radical and effective changes in the social status of Turkish women were made in the Republican Period. With the proclamation of the Republic, a new state was established which defined a new national identity; the goal was to implement modernization to transform the society within a secular state structure on the axis of the nation-state. New social and cultural values began to be implemented with the constitutional changes and reforms. Serpil Sancar states that the basic apparatus of the nation-state, namely its army, modern bureaucracy, legislators, and alike were male-dominated institutions and were shaped by masculine values, and argues that the Western nation-states formed in the early modernization period identified nation with the masculine, while the biological construction of the nation was accepted as a duty of women. She states that the care and education of children, therefore, was also expected from women as a national duty.¹³² With the proclamation of Republic, Turkish women become the main figures of societal modernization and cultural westernization. In this period, modern architecture and the vision to include women into the public domain were utilised as important instruments of this process.¹³³

¹³¹ Kaymaz, 2010, 340.

¹³² Sancar, 2012, 56-57.

¹³³ Erdoğan Erkarlan, 2012, 241.

In order to enhance the social status of women, reforms were made foremost in the fields of education and law. With the Law of Unification of Education, which became effective in 1924, equality of opportunity regardless of gender was introduced. The Turkish Civil Code of 1926, an adoption of the Swiss Civil Code, ensured, exalted and secured women's position in social life by providing equality among women and men in matters like family issues, legal marriage obligation, monogamy, women's right to work in any profession, equal pay for women and men for equal work, property ownership and divorce. In 1934, women received the right to vote and be elected and thus began to have a say in the political world. Although it was criticized that the right was granted much later than the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, Turkey became the first European country to have granted this right to women.¹³⁴

The modern Turkish woman was characterised as a central figure sitting on a sofa, reading a book and consulting with her children, while modern Turkish man as a figure who shared his home life with his children and spouse, and stayed away from sexually discriminatory societies in which only men could participate.¹³⁵ The perception of men and women in this manner is taken to represent the new Turkish family structure, as also stated by Ziya Gökalp.

The discourse about the place of women in modern Turkey, however, maintained contradictions and opposing views on gender equality, despite all the positive legal changes in favour of social rights. In the reconstruction of Ankara as the capital of the Republic, modern architecture and women's status were used as instruments of modernization. The modernisation ideology, however, placed the female figure into the domestic space. Gülsüm Baydar states that; "Alongside

¹³⁴ Erdaş, 2018, 26.

¹³⁵ As cited in Kaya, Proto, 2016, 62.

modernizing reforms that emphasized the professional and political roles of women, many intellectuals voiced the priority of women's domestic duties."¹³⁶ While women were expected to be involved in political life and business life, which were seen as male roles in the past, they were also asked to perform domestic duties such as child care and housework. Popular magazines of the period associated woman with the ideal modern home and created an image which portrayed woman supporting her husband as a good wife and mother.¹³⁷ Women's trade schools established for the education of women in the early Republican period had curricular activities on home management, childcare and sewing to raise the future capable wives.¹³⁸ Baydar defines these endeavours as "over defining and determining the social boundaries of the modern Turkish woman"¹³⁹. That's why reforms on women's social status in this period were seen as an "illusionary construction of nation-state."¹⁴⁰

While the Kemalist modernization model aimed to create an understanding of a nation-state shaped around the family, it emphasized socially and culturally exaggerated and dichotomised gender roles.¹⁴¹ Because women in public sphere was utilised as the secular image of the state. However, bringing women into public existence, and assigning the domestic sphere and related duties happened simultaneously. The decisions taken on behalf of women were done independent of women's contributions, and hence "objectified her instead of liberating her."¹⁴² The

¹³⁶ Baydar, 2007, 5.

¹³⁷ Erdoğan Erkarlan, 2012, 241.

¹³⁸ Baydar, 2007, 6.

¹³⁹ 2007, 6.

¹⁴⁰ Erdoğan Erkarlan, 2012, 242.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

female identity and family model which created within a nationalist discourse in the early Republican period and represented the political ideology of the state changed with the transition to multi-party period in 1945. “With the transition to multi-party period in Turkey, the populist understanding of politics, which began to be implemented in a society that has not yet adequately assimilated the values of contemporary civilization, started a reverse process, which is a comeback from Atatürk's revolutions in women's rights, as in all other issues.”¹⁴³

Serpil Sancar defines the period of 1945-65 as the period of conservative modernization, and states that family-oriented modern society consciousness was tried to be instilled into the lives of the urban middle class. In addition, she emphasizes that women’s rights were not included as an issue in the social agendas of the period and the modern woman identity was transformed into a housewife identity.¹⁴⁴ In the early Republican period, articles that aimed to provide guidance for social matters featured in the daily newspapers. These articles mostly addressed the urban family, which was seen as organizing social unit of modern life, and the strategies related to its living space, the house. Themes that increased the social discursiveness of the relationship between men and women, such as “sexuality, women’s loyalty, raising children according to modern values, whether the relationship between men and women should give priority to love, love, solidarity and sharing”¹⁴⁵ were widely discussed. Unlike the images and definitions of women in the early Republican period, “women in this period are more associated with the house, marriage and family, and are adopted by the society with the image of a modern housewife who brings comfort and beauty to the home.”¹⁴⁶ Countrywoman

¹⁴³ Korkmaz, 2010, 350.

¹⁴⁴ Sancar, 2014, 20, 21.

¹⁴⁵ Sancar, 2014, 243.

¹⁴⁶ [Translated by the author], Sancar, 2014, 244.

who voted in elections, women audience in political party rallies, women who became pilots or officers, and women who stood by strong men/politicians as leaders' spouses could not go beyond being an image displayed publicly; women could not present an individual identity with their names, actions, words and lifestyles.¹⁴⁷

The symbolic meaning attributed to women for the purpose of nationalization, modernization and westernization had left behind the political and social steps and reforms taken for the liberalization of women in the early Republic. Therefore, it can be said that the modern Turkish society and the republic in mid 1950s could not question the gender roles defined by the patriarchal society, but only modernized them. In this respect, the reforms that ensured equal rights indirectly prevented the questioning of gender roles in the society and the emergence of women movements.¹⁴⁸ However, with the national and international developments in the new feminist movement of the 1980s, there happened a break with the existing ideology.¹⁴⁹

Yeşim Arat says that until the 1980s, there was a consensus that Kemalist reforms liberated women, and this reception was broken by the feminist movements initiated by the educated women of the younger generation.¹⁵⁰ Gülçin Erdaş defines 1980s as a period in which the ongoing political problems of the 1970s continued and intensified with the economic crisis, the right-left conflicts that started in the 70s and the military coup of the September 12, 1980 that changed the government policy. The military intervention aimed to revive the intervention of religion into state and

¹⁴⁷ Sancar, 2014, 274-276.

¹⁴⁸ Yeşilyurt Gündüz, 2004, 117.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ 1997, 103.

society. The 1980s was thus an oppressive period in which many unions, parties and associations were closed and many academics were expelled from universities. The policies of the state aimed to raise the new generations with national and religious values.¹⁵¹ The period also witnessed globalization, the increasing influence and social emulation of American lifestyle, implementation of liberal policies to open the country's economic borders to capital¹⁵², increase in consumption habits and hence radical changes in the social structure.¹⁵³ As with every oppression period, the pressure applied to the street, workplace, and political organization inevitably turned people into "inwardness"; forced them to withdraw into home, the personal, and the solitude.¹⁵⁴ Surprisingly, the first women's movements in Turkey also started in this period, when an economic and political turmoil were experienced, and when women were both included in the industrial and public labour force and embraced the domestic workforce. Şirin Tekeli, a leading feminist, argues that the Turkish women's movement emerged only after the 1980s, because Kemalism and leftist ideology had stood as ideological barriers for the women's movement.¹⁵⁵ As cited in Adam Leake when the military regime harshly suppressed left-wing movements, women found a niche to express the feminist concerns.¹⁵⁶ Yeşim Arat says that in

¹⁵¹ 2018, 31.

¹⁵² Öztürk and Özyakışır, 2005, 2.

¹⁵³ 2018, 31.

¹⁵⁴ Gürbilek, 2001, 55.

¹⁵⁵ 1994, 13; During this period, it was realized that the discourses and social orientation made by placing hope in the rising neoliberalism and political Islam created barriers that devalue women and divide the society by ideologically suppressing the society by religious discourses.

¹⁵⁶ 2012, 2.

the 1980s “feminists sought autonomy for themselves through an autonomous civil society.”¹⁵⁷

Women understood that they had problems, just because they were women, regardless of their place in society, their level of education or origin. They developed a consciousness of women’s solidarity. A group of well educated, urban women questioned the status of women, built up discussion groups and met in women’s associations and raised issues in women’s magazines.¹⁵⁸

The feminist movement generated in the 1980s, aimed to create a stance against gender stereotypes, such as femininity and masculinity. By emphasizing the individuality and autonomy of women, a stance has begun to be taken against the identities and roles determined by the dominant culture.

The period after the 1980s, was not without economic problems as well. Both the high inflation and the inadequate job opportunities for the immigrants in the urban centres increased poverty, which necessitated to develop strategies.¹⁵⁹ A policy that was put into action was the establishment of labour markets which would make women leave their traditional roles and take an active role in the work life, and to implement credit systems to finance these initiatives.¹⁶⁰ The general purpose of these strategies was to create new employment areas and to utilize the idle female workforce in these areas. Under the micro-credit practices implemented in many countries, small amounts of loans were given to low-income women to develop their own businesses and establish new businesses.¹⁶¹ While the increase in value created by women in the economy through their participation in employment cannot be

¹⁵⁷ 1997, 109.

¹⁵⁸ Yeşilyurt Gündüz, 2004, 118.

¹⁵⁹ Yağcı, 1998, 28.

¹⁶⁰ Şahin and Bayhan, 2020, 70.

¹⁶¹ Demir, 2016, 58.

denied, the public policies followed by the state did not take into account the effectiveness of women in work life and improving their economic situation.

Five-year development plans were prepared, with the aim to develop the dominant economy within a well-defined plan, and then to realize economic, social and cultural development through democratic means. Although there are suggestions for solutions to the problems of social justice and income inequality in the content of these development plans, no direct policy has been developed regarding gender and the current position of women in economic life. In the sixth Five-Year Development Plan (1990-1994) gender equality was not among the targets in the restructuring of the public administration. Only under the title of “social goals, principles and policies”, some targets that supported positively the female status in public domain, such as increasing the education level of women, expanding women's employment in non-agricultural sectors by making more use of vocational training opportunities, reemployment, social security and encouraging the increase of child care opportunities were included. The plan, also stated that “the family was the main element in the protection and development of national and moral values”, and it aimed “strengthening the family institution”.¹⁶²

Deniz Kandiyoti's research that was conducted in the 1980s shows that women of low socio-economic status living in the city saw working due to economic necessity a shame, while university-educated women mostly defined successful women as a good mother and spouse pursuing a career in addition to fulfilling the domestic responsibilities.¹⁶³

Gender equality policies in Turkey have gained importance during the process of harmonization with the European Union in the 2000s. In order to eliminate all

¹⁶²*Ibid.*

¹⁶³ 1988.

kinds of discrimination based on gender, regulations in favour of women were made in this period.¹⁶⁴ One of the important and first steps is the changes made in the civil code:

The 2000s brought a series of legal changes in the field of women's rights in Turkey. The new Civil Code was adopted on 22 November 2001 and entered into force on 1 January 2002, following the struggle of women's organizations since the 1980s for gender equality changes.¹⁶⁵

The changes can be followed in the reports prepared by the European Union. Issues like gender, domestic violence, equality between women and men were used to assess the progression of Turkey in the Annual Progress Reports published by The European Commission between 1998-2004. The reports which aimed to monitor the progress of candidate countries towards fulfilment of the Copenhagen Criteria for EU membership mention gender equality a significant target to be achieved:¹⁶⁶

EU Primary Law concerning gender equality aims at total equality between men and women. It considers equality a task of the Union (Article 2); gives the obligation to mainstream gender equality (Article 3); bans discrimination based on nationality (Article 12), sex, race or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability or sexual orientation (Article 13).¹⁶⁷

The commission examines the countries in terms of gender equality and reports on the progress towards gender equality. These reports, thus, are a useful source to investigate the changes in the social existence and status of Turkish women from the end of the 20th century to the present, and the political attitude of the state on gender equality and women.

The first Regular Report by the EU Commission on the development of Turkey was published in 1998. The Report stated that; “The status of women in Turkey is

¹⁶⁴ Şahin and Bayhan, 2020, 70.

¹⁶⁵ Ecevit *et al.*, 2011, 195.

¹⁶⁶ Summarized from Yeşilyurt Gündüz, 2004, 130-134.

¹⁶⁷ Yeşilyurt Gündüz, 2004, 125.

increasingly in line with that prevailing in most EU countries but still has some “discriminatory provisions concerning marital rights and obligations.”” In the regular reports of 1999, there is an assessment on the positive development about discrimination against women in Turkey. The 2000’s report, on the other hand, mentions that gender inequality is still high and more action should be taken to develop women’s educational position and promotion of urban employment. The reports of 2001 and 2002 appreciate the changes in the Civil Code and increasing concern for equal treatment; the 2000s report stated that the new Civil Code “represents an important landmark in establishing women’s rights.” The 2001 Report mentioned that these changes strengthened gender equality because they included the preparatory work undertaken on maternity leave and on the elimination of discrimination within the framework of the new Civil Code, and they stressed the aim of abolishing the concept of “head of the family”. 2002’s report, however, criticized governmental barriers that prevented women from pursuing particular sorts of occupations, as well as the fact that, men and women did not actually receive equal pay. It also criticized women's minimal active participation in politics, as only 23 out of the 550 members of the Parliament of the period were female. The 2003 Report criticized the violence against women, domestic violence, scarcity of representation of women in elected bodies and in government and low employment rates, particularly of women. The 2004 Report underlined that while the principles of equality were strengthened, violence against women had remained a serious problem; changes in the Article 10 of the Constitution on Penal Code and Labour Law were seen as generally progressive in terms of women’s rights. According to the report, gender equality in economic and social life still needed to be improved.

At present, as the 2021 report clearly mentions, Turkey regressed a lot in terms of achieving gender equality and enhancing the status of women. The 2021 Turkey

Report¹⁶⁸ shows that gender-based violence is still a matter of serious concern. Representation of women in the parliament remains low and the parliament do not prioritise advancing gender equality across the country. The human rights action plan does not refer to gender equality either. The Human Rights and Equality Institution of Turkey demonstrated that at present there is a negative attitude towards basic human rights, including gender equality, women's rights, LGBTIQ rights, and expressed support for the withdrawal from the Istanbul Convention, all of which contradict the stated objectives of the institution. Therefore, there is certainly an important backsliding on women's rights in Turkey. Turkey's withdrawal from the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combatting violence against women and domestic violence (the Istanbul Convention), after a presidential decision in March 2021, represents a clear regression on the rights of women and girls. This decision compromises the women and girls' rights and combatting gender-based violence in Turkey, and sets a dangerous precedent.

Other key issues of gender inequality in Turkey mentioned in the same report are increased female unemployment and extreme poverty and hunger, especially in the east and south-east regions of the country. In addition, discriminatory stereotypes concerning roles and responsibilities of women and men still remain as a concern; the promotion of stereotyped gender roles, described and illustrated as such in the school textbooks and in the media, need to be addressed without delay. Equality between women and men in employment and social policy is far from being achieved, and the gender gap in the labour market remains very high. The situation is very different from the Republican era, which developed national agendas based on improving the social status of women, that shaped the policies implemented and the socio-cultural changes initiated, albeit the reforms also associated women to domestic sphere. It is understood from these reports that the social position of Turkish

¹⁶⁸ For the report: https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/turkey-report-2021_en.

women started to decline day by day because of the negligent state policies and discourses. And of course, since the 1980s, the Turkish feminist movement has been discussing the state of sociability and the status of women which were affected by the applied policies.

In the modern Turkish context, feminism is primarily an ideology that articulates the position of women in the society as a central political issue.¹⁶⁹ Since women and gender issues are political in Turkey, the Turkish feminist movement is also defined by some political turning points and can be divided into three periods: early Republican period, which began in the 1920s, multi-party era between the 1950s to 1980's military coup and post 1980 period, when women could increase the impact of their actions. Although there is a differentiation between the left-wing ideologies and the Islamic discourse in this entire political field, the basis common to all is liberation of women from capitalist oppression.¹⁷⁰ Although feminism covers such a long period in Turkey, "feminist scholarship emerged in academia in the 1980's, around the same time as feminist activism did in the political field in Turkey."¹⁷¹ There have been criticisms in the feminist literature about the Kemalist reforms made in the early Republican period. Şirin Tekeli¹⁷², Ferhunde Özbay¹⁷³ and Yeşim Arat¹⁷⁴ discussed that the main target of the Kemalist reforms was not the emancipation of women because these reforms neither completely raised the status of women nor they really challenged the norms of patriarchal society. The reforms made in the early Republican period, improved the visibility of women in terms of

¹⁶⁹ Sirman, 1989, 2.

¹⁷⁰ Sirman, 1989, 3.

¹⁷¹ Çağatay, 2017, 8.

¹⁷² 1982, *Kadınlar ve Siyasal-Toplumsal Hayat* and *Kadın-erkek Eşitliği Politikaları ve Devlet*.

¹⁷³ 1990, *The Development of Studies on Women in Turkey*.

¹⁷⁴ 1994, *Women's Movement of the 1980's in Turkey: Radical Outcome of Liberal Kemalism*.

attire, education, family and enfranchising, but, “the notion of modern Turkish family identified woman with mothering, maintained gendered division of household duties, and patriarchal norms like obey or respect the husband.”¹⁷⁵. Fatmagül Berktaş states that the religious structuring of the domestic sphere actually replaced itself with the secular moral norms, and the level of dedication expected of women did not change, but what is expected from women was a similar kind of self-sacrifice and responsibility in the public sphere.¹⁷⁶ Çağatay’s analyses of the early scholars on gender demonstrate two common features: class and ethnicity in the formation of Kemalist womanhood and the national/ethnic and cultural/religious dynamics of Turkish modernization at the expense of the influence of class and transnational processes.¹⁷⁷ Sancar mentions that the period of multi-party system was a period in which the debates on women and gender were less studied in academia. In these studies, it is mentioned that the social and political understanding of the period was more conservative and that women were imagined as the actors constructing modern daily life in this environment. While the understanding of secularism lost its influence due to the populist concerns of the multi-party system, there was a refocus and a return to religion. Çağatay says that the conservative turn in the Turkish politics was accompanied by a sharp decline in women’s political representation and a strengthening of their role as mothers and wives in the political discourse.¹⁷⁸ Sancar states that the presence of women in the public sphere was not seen as a sign of modernization; with this new conservative modernization, women were expected to

¹⁷⁵ Çağatay, 2017, 10.

¹⁷⁶ 2003, 108.

¹⁷⁷ 2017, 10-11.

¹⁷⁸ Çağatay, 2017, 112.

adapt to domestic life again.¹⁷⁹ In the 1970s, the works of Nermin Abadan-Unat¹⁸⁰ were at the forefront of women and gender studies in Turkey. Abadan-Unat focused on cultural and traditional values that were responsible for women's oppression, the consumption-oriented bourgeois ideology based on the practice of sex-segregation and political organizations which mobilized women to devote themselves to religious practices¹⁸¹, unpaid household labour force of women, class consciousness, and social and economic rights.¹⁸² In the 1970's Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı¹⁸³ and Deniz Kandiyoti¹⁸⁴ questioned sex roles and personal identity in the context of societal division of labour. Mübeccel Kıray studied the structural change in the social relationships and discussed that the institution of family (woman who assumed the mother/wife role) mediated social change. In general, however, in the period between the transition to a multi-party system and 1980 more political and religious-oriented analyses and criticisms were made in terms of gender inequality, gender politics, domestication of women, women's rights and also class division between urban-professional and rural-traditional women. After the 1980 military coup, the feminist movement became increasingly popular, supported by a largely secular trend in

¹⁷⁹ Sancar, 2012.

¹⁸⁰ Nermin Abadan-Unat is one of the first scholars who conducted research on women in Turkey.

¹⁸¹ 1981, 28.

¹⁸² 1981, 27-28.

¹⁸³ Kağıtçıbaşı Çiğdem. *Sosyal Değişmenin Psikolojik Boyutları: İzmir Lise Öğrencileri Üzerine Bir İnceleme*. Ankara: Sosyal Bilimler Derneği, 1972.

Kağıtçıbaşı, Çiğdem and Kansu, Aykut. "Cinsiyet Rollerinin Sosyalleşmesi ve Aile Dinamiği: Kuşaklararası bir Karşılaştırma", *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi*, 4-5(1976): 35-48.

¹⁸⁴ Kandiyoti, Deniz. "Sex Roles and Social Change: A Comparative Appraisal of Turkey's Women", *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 3.1(Autumn 1977): 57-73.

Kandiyoti, Deniz. "Kadınlarda Psiko-Sosyal Değişim: Kuşaklar Arasında Bir Karşılaştırma", in *Türk Toplumunda Kadın*, Nermin Abadan-Unat (Ed.), Ankara: Sosyal Bilimler Derneği, 1979.

public opinion.¹⁸⁵ The emerging feminist movement in this period had a critical stance toward masculine domination within a modern family and state system.¹⁸⁶ Early studies made before 1980 employed an analytical category of gender in the context of modernization and social transformation, however feminist scholars' studies in the 1980s that focused on women, addressed the problems they faced as women and analysed the ways in which women empowered themselves.¹⁸⁷ Feminist scholars focused on transformation of gender relations in urban and rural areas¹⁸⁸, women's labour and employment¹⁸⁹, position of women in the family and the economic role of rural women in agriculture¹⁹⁰, gender policies of the state and women's participation in politics¹⁹¹.

When we look at the overall feminist movement in Turkey, the emerging main issues mostly include domestic-public, urban-rural, secularism-Islamism dichotomies that progress through discourses on women, family, politics and economy. It can be said that, although such topics as domestic-public dilemma, labour force and gender inequality in workspace emerge as themes central to both international and Turkish studies on feminism the concept of "gender" did not seem

¹⁸⁵ İnce Yenilmez, 2016, 197.

¹⁸⁶ Sancar and Akşit, 2011, 189.

¹⁸⁷ Arat, 1993, 126-128.

¹⁸⁸ Abadan-Unat, 1979, "Türk Toplumunda Kadın"; Kandiyoti, 1987, "Emancipated But Not Liberated? Reflections on the Turkish Case"; Sirman, 1990, "State, Village and Gender in Western Turkey"; Ecevit, 1990, "Kentsel Üretim Sürecinde Kadın Emeğinin Konumu ve Değişen Biçimleri"; Arat, 1993; "Women's Studies in Turkey: From Kemalism to Feminism".

¹⁸⁹ Berik, 1989, "Born Factories: Women's Labor in Carpet Workshops in Rural Turkey"; Koray, 1993, "Çalışma Yaşamında Kadın Gerçekleri".

¹⁹⁰ Kağıtçıbaşı, 1981, "Çocuğun Değeri"; Sirman, 1990, "Köy Kadınının Aile ve Evlilikte Güçlenme Mücadelesi".

¹⁹¹ Arat, 1989, "The Patriarchal Paradox: Women Politicians in Turkey"; Tekeli, 1982, "Kadınlar ve Siyasal-Toplumsal Hayat"; Tekeli, 1990, "Kadın-erkek Eşitliği Politikaları ve Devlet".

to have acquired a strong voice in the Turkish literature, as it did abroad, and that the studies focused on a single sex, woman, and the symbolization of women and women in the domestic and public sphere.

In Turkey indeed, women are symbolized politically. For this reason, women are assigned the task of protecting, creating or transforming social, cultural and societal borders. The Turkish woman remained between the image of a woman who was expected to play a pivotal role in the foundation of the Republican regime, and that of a one defined by the Islam, starting from the Ottoman Empire. Over the years, but especially since the 1980s, the status of both men and women and the socially relevant male and female roles in Turkey had changed. Men have taken steps to get rid of the traditional, tough, family man image, while women proceeded forward from being a housewife and mother. The increasing level of education made more women gain economic freedom, especially in the cities. Such steps were also supported by the state with laws at certain periods. Today, although women are highly visible in the public sphere, they can still face gender inequality.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIAL DISCOURSE OF ARCHITECTURE AND SPATIAL CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER

The relationship between architecture and gender became a research field in the twentieth century, when the concept of space began to be questioned and redefined. Among the early studies are those of philosophers, sociologists and urbanists, such as Heidegger, Lefebvre and Soja, addressed the relationship between space and society and argued that the transformation of space into an entity does not exist alone and was shaped through society. This approach paved the way for incorporating gender studies into those of architecture. As İnci Basa mentioned in *Environmental Discourse of Architecture* (2009), architecture does not have a proverbial and specific object, but rather multiple objects like design, building, practice, theory, style, space, form and function and has an interdisciplinary nature. It is affected both by the society and culture, while it also has an influence on them. Architecture has the power to contribute to the creation of identities of each individual and object. In *The Production of Space*, Henri Lefebvre introduces a socio-spatial theory that claims a dialectical connection between space and social relations. A spatialized version of Marxism, Lefebvre's revolutionary conceptualization prioritized looking not at the production in space, but at the production of space. Lefebvre defines space as a "social product", and introduces the concept of "representational spaces" (lived space), defined as the spaces directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence through the space of inhabitants and users. The recognition of space as produced rather than a given indicates that social relations are both producing spaces and are shaped by them. In

this context, Jane Rendell describes the architectural discourse in *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction* as such: ¹⁹²

It has traditionally represented buildings as art objects or technical objects. Yet buildings are also social objects in that they are invested with social meaning and shape social relations.

Dörte Kuhlmann, relates gender to architecture and defines the architectural construction of gender as “social standards sometimes manifest themselves in architecture and that architecture may also contribute to strengthening social conceptions and behaviour pattern.” ¹⁹³ This means that social values come into prominence in the physical and spatial form of buildings, decoration elements and alike. Therefore, while architecture is creating a product, a physical or an ideological one, it also produces an environmentally, politically, philosophically, sociologically and culturally powerful discourse.

This chapter addresses gender discourse in the context of space. The first part, focuses on non-gender-based space theories to understand space as a social product. The second part looks at the discursiveness of space as a statement, whose motive is to convey a particular meaning to the user. This section moreover, focuses also on gender-space relationship to understand the discourse of architectural products and their construction as gendered space. The third part of the chapter dwells on the public and private dichotomy to reflect on the mechanisms that create this dichotomy, namely the processes, events, and formations. The final part, in which the argument posed by the study becomes more specific, elaborates such questions as why house is associated with gender and how the physical form of house mediates and structures gender relations. To do this, the conceptual framework of house is determined, the relationship between house and gender is presented, and the

¹⁹² 2000, 3

¹⁹³ 2013, 4.

relationship between domestic space and gender is argued via the theme of “private space-public space”.

4.1 Space

The English word space comes from the French word *espace* which means period of time, distance, interval, and from the Latin word *spatium* that means room, area, distance, and stretch of time.¹⁹⁴ Thus across the centuries the very word "space" itself has intertwined with the temporal and spatial.¹⁹⁵ The dictionary meanings of space are:

“The amount of area, room, container, etc. that is empty or available to be used”¹⁹⁶,

“A continuous area or expanse which is free, available, or unoccupied.”,

“The dimensions of height, depth, and width within which all things exist and move.”,

“An interval of time”,

“The freedom to live, think, and develop in a way that suits one.”¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴ Online Etymology Dictionary, <https://www.etymonline.com/word/space>, (Last accessed on 26.06.2022).

¹⁹⁵ Guest, 2012, 219.

¹⁹⁶ Longman Dictionary of American English, 4th Edition, 2008, 974.

¹⁹⁷ Definition of Space – Oxford English Dictionary (The definitive record of the English Language). Oxford English Dictionary Online. From <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/space>., (Last Accessed on 26.06.2022)

These definitions show that space is an area where human activity/existence takes place, and it is also the objective tangible environment of the individual and/or group. It is clear from these definitions that the meaning and existence of space include both physical and abstract elements, so it is both scientific and social.

In 1991, Lefebvre stated that the word “space” has no more than a geometrical meaning, the idea it evoked was simply that of an empty area.¹⁹⁸ Following him, space began to be perceived as an idea with discursiveness rather than as a tectonic object defined by geometrical features. In other words, in an intangible sense, Lefebvre said that (social) space is a (social) product.¹⁹⁹ According to Lefebvre, space is neither a subject nor an object, space is not a thing but an establishment of the relationship between things.²⁰⁰ In this sense Yilmaz defines space as “Space is not just architectural elements, it is much more complex than that, it is a whole; it covers deep topics such as philosophical, sociological, historical, psychological, geographical, socio-economic and even metaphysical; it embodies the abstract and the tangible together, it can be nowhere as much as anywhere.”²⁰¹ The social function and meaning of space, therefore, space has begun to be discussed in various fields, like geography, philosophy, in addition to physical existence and meaning, particularly after Lefebvre. Architecture became one of the major fields, because space taken as an object is the essence of architecture.

According to Frank Lloyd Right, space has replaced matter in the new reality. The reality of a building is not the physical elements that make it up, but the lived

¹⁹⁸ Lefebvre, 1991, 1.

¹⁹⁹ Lefebvre, 1991, 26.

²⁰⁰ 1991, 92.

²⁰¹ 2016, 10.

spaces created by them.²⁰² According to him the lived space should be considered as a whole, and therefore this space will be considered architecture itself.²⁰³ According to Lefebvre too, space gains its real existence through the relationships it establishes. The relationship that space establishes with another space is an indication of its pluralism. He argues that space is never empty, it embodies meaning. “Nature and divinity in the first place, then social life and relationships, and finally individual and private life - all these aspects of human reality have their assigned places, all implicatively linked in a concrete fashion.” And every group of places, hence their inhabitants, have a centre and meaning in the space.²⁰⁴ Therefore, a meaning is created with space and what exists in space. Amos Rapoport defines space, as a combination of what Lloyd Right and Lefebvre said, “space is the three-dimensional extension of the world around us, the intervals, distances and relationships between people and people, people and things, things and things. Space organization is, then, the way in which these separations (and linkages) occur and is central in understanding, analysing, and comparing built environments.”²⁰⁵ What he focused here is the space organization, reflection of ideal images and relation between physical space and social space through its organization. However, according to Rapoport, different groups and cultures organize and define space differently, which makes the environment temporal because people’s decisions and behaviours are also temporal. In other words, both future and existence orientate the space.

Space is in a constant relationship with the subject, its actions in space, and the changes that the subject undergoes in time. Therefore, because the subject is an existence within the society and is a socially produced object, it is inevitable for the

²⁰² Benedict, 1991.

²⁰³ Bozkurt, 1962, 7.

²⁰⁴ 1991, 154.

²⁰⁵ 1990, 179.

space to be a social product produced by the society. As a result of this, as Gündoğdu stated, architectural discourses make the space that people live in definable, but at the same time, it is possible for people to define and shape the space, while it is also possible for the space to shape human life.²⁰⁶ The space produced by architecture is discursive and there is a reciprocal relationship between space and subject, that is, human. Lived spaces, according to Lefebvre's definition the representational spaces, exist with the images and symbols produced by the space, users and inhabitants. Therefore, the concept of space, which is a social product and also a social producer, and the concept of gender, which is a social construction make a good pair to understand a living environment.

4.2 Space and Gender

Space is socially produced; the product of the dialectic between where events take place and what social agents and behavioural units aim at. Space is (re)structured, (re)produced and transformed by the activities of social agents. Therefore, just as the objective and subjective experiences of social agents (re)define the meaning of space, spatial forms also produce impacts on the behaviour patterns of agents; all these processes take place under certain structural and historical conditions.²⁰⁷ According to Amos Rapoport, the design of the environment includes the organization of four variables, which are space, time, meaning and communication. The environments, in addition, consist of the relationships between people and people, people and things and things and things but the variables and relationships are invisible.²⁰⁸ Rapoport shows cognitive domains as the basis of

²⁰⁶ 2002, 9.

²⁰⁷ Alkan, 2009, 9.

²⁰⁸ 1969, 68.

invisibility that affects people's interactions with the built environment and explains this relation as:²⁰⁹

One way of thinking about the creation of built environments is that hardware is being put around cognitive domains of various sorts. These can be domains such as private/public, male/female, front/back, sacred/profane or such as living room, bedroom, office, men's house, depending on culture. These then enclose behaviour.

Behaviours are essential to the built environment. Behaviours are created by culture and society. According to Sevinç Alkan Korkmaz, the body is shaped by the influence of cultural and social elements, and the perception of architectural space emerges with the effect of bodies on each other and on all other social and cultural elements.²¹⁰ It is indeed evident that space has a mutual and continuous relationship with the body as its user and shaper, the body with innate sex, and sex with socially created facts and roles which is gender. As such space is solidly related with gender.

Doreen Massey who argues that the physical formation of space, which she formulated in reference to social relations order, is related to gender states that this is due to the distinction created by the determined social roles. The concepts of space and gender, which are both social phenomena, then, are similar in the same intellectual system and there is an absolute relationship between them.²¹¹ According to Massey social relations are never still but dynamic, and they are embodied with power, meaning and symbolism; thus, space is the reflection of "social geometry of power and significance" and the spatial is a dynamic configuration that is naturally synchronized with social relations.²¹²

²⁰⁹ 1969, 69.

²¹⁰ 2011, 54.

²¹¹ 1994, 2.

²¹² 1994, 2-3.

According to Leslie Kanés Weisman, space forms the essential framework that shapes our thinking system and our perception of the world, including people. The strong distinctions created by the society and the points where individuals position themselves as a reflection of this affect both the shaping and the perception of the physical environment.²¹³ In other words, as Rapoport also says, the cognitive map of the physical environment depends on the social space we occupy.²¹⁴ Therefore, the social (gender) is directly related to the formation and perception of the physical and social (space).

The gendered space phenomenon emerges sometimes in line with usage practices and sometimes by positioning it in social perception and matching objects and spaces with masculine or feminine codes.²¹⁵ As mentioned in the first and second chapters, the socially created dichotomies are associated with masculine and feminine codes. The elements that are generally associated with nature are characterized by feminine codes, and those associated with culture that bring order to it are characterized by masculine codes.²¹⁶ Serap Kayasü states that the separation realized through the dichotomy of nature and culture includes a power relationship that aims to control nature at its core.²¹⁷ Indeed, space is fundamentally related to social status and power and social oppression created by space is an expression of social power. Therefore, the uses of space contribute to the power of some groups over the others and the maintenance of inequalities.²¹⁸ Hence, the dichotomies in the society and power struggles in space bring spatial separations. With the acceptance and expression

²¹³ 1992, 9-10.

²¹⁴ 1992, 9.

²¹⁵ Alkan Korkmaz, 2011, 55-56.

²¹⁶ Alkan Korkmaz, 2011, 56.

²¹⁷ 2002, 101.

²¹⁸ Weisman, 1992, 1-3.

of traditional cultural roles and attitudes, that is, with the spatial association of masculine and feminine codes, space begins to divide into private and public according to the characteristics attributed to male and female stereotypes supported by gender roles.²¹⁹

4.3 Public-Male / Private-Female Distinction in Architecture: A Historical Background

Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps (1981), compiled by Shirley Ardener, examines the social structure of space and its relationship with daily practices. Ardener talks about social maps and states that physical space is shaped in line with social perception that determines the relations system of societies. According to her, social maps that determine mutual relations not only affect the relations between individuals and groups, but also draw the boundaries of physical space. Considering the body-space relationship Kıvanç Kılınç states that “architectural or urban space is not only an arena where production relations, cultural or social conditions are formed, but also the scene of a dynamic experience where these social relations can be read, as well as the mechanisms that produce these relations in the cultural, social, economic and symbolic contexts”.²²⁰ So, that the body and space are interrelated in a corporeal-spatial context that constantly define the conditions that prime the production of the other. In this frame, a gender group may remain restricted from accessing public space, such as confining women to private spaces. Thus, social space is divided especially on the basis of gender, among other hierarchical distinctions, and space separation is created with the social

²¹⁹ Weisman, 2000, 2, “*Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*” edited by Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner and Iain Borden.

²²⁰ 2006, 20.

foresight that men's spaces are the outside and women's spaces are those inside.²²¹ An oppositional and hierarchical system which grounds a patriarchal and capitalist ideology creates a paradigm of separate spheres and this system consists of a dominant public male realm of production (the city) and subordinate private female one of reproduction (the home).²²² Separate spheres, that is, the "public-private" division of gendered space was thus, practised in different cultures in various historical periods.²²³ While spatial differentiation based on gender gained visibility with the needs and approaches that emerged in the post-industrial revolution period, it started to be discussed as a problem by feminist researchers towards the end of the 1970s.²²⁴

²²¹ 1981, 11-15.

²²² Rendell, 2000, 103.

²²³ As Aysel Günindi Ersöz mentioned in *Private Space / Public Space Dichotomy: Nature of Femininity and Women's Exclusion from Public Space* (2015) the distinction between public and private space lies in the ancient Greek thought; *polis* was defined as the place of man, and *oikos* as that of woman and children. Accordingly, men mostly and predominantly participated to the administration and defence of the *polis*, while women stayed under the patriarchal atmosphere and authority in the domestic context, and were assigned to manage the *oikos*. This view, on the other hand is challenged in terms of being based on ancient literary evidence, which is produced by male authors and mostly for referring to Athens, and hence representing only one perspective, and often perhaps a social ideal rather than a reality.

²²⁴ Rendell, Penner and Borden, 2000, 6; Anthropological theory, social theory and feminist theory focused on the concept of "family". According to anthropological theory the relation between men and women in a society is defined through kinship and this social relation defines marriage rules, organization of gender, residence arrangement and alike. Feminist theorists, including Engels and Charlotte Perkins Gilman, also recognized the family as a central agent of women's oppression as well as the major institution in women's lives (Chodorow, Nancy, 1978, 57-58). The house, which constitutes the identity symbol of the family, is the key space of social discourse. Therefore, in order to understand the social production process, it is necessary to focus on the production of space, just as examining the family institution in questioning the social structure and the problems in the social order. Because, house is both a part of the public and also an independent entity as the private space of the individual and family. Therefore, as cited in Madanipour, feminist writers discuss "public-private distinction, family and the restriction of women" in private spheres because private spheres regulate their labour through roles of housewife, mother and wife; it gives men more power over women's sexuality and fertility; it structures and reinforces gender identities that are separate and inequitable (2003, 86).

Throughout history, and in all cultures, women have been associated mostly with the private sphere and men with the public but the solid division between public and private space took place in the period of Industrial Revolution and its aftermath. While home and work had been complementary to each other prior to the nineteenth century, comprising a unity of social existence for women and men and master and servant, they had become two distinct and isolated spheres by the mid-nineteenth century. Thus, the gender-based differentiation of spheres began to occur in time and space as a product of the nineteenth century. According to Kılınç, there is generally a social attitude that equates men with culture and women with nature.²²⁵ Therefore, in line with this attitude, it has been seen that the house, which is the place of production of the natural (maternity/fertility), is associated with the woman, and the public, which is the place of cultural interaction and production, is associated with the man. In other words, the private space has been turned into a feminine space by representing the family, the home, which are all private. While the public space is described as a space that mostly belongs to men and hosts the activities of men. According to Sancar, “the distinction between masculine public, feminine family-household-private space is the spirit of modern industrial capitalist socialism”.²²⁶ Accordingly, the factory system created by the industrial capitalism eliminated the home-workshop association, which was the characteristic of pre-modern society, and brought the transition to today’s home-workplace differentiation by separating production from house.²²⁷ The distinction between masculine public and feminine private space, in other words, domestication of women has formed the spirit of modern industrial capitalist sociality.

²²⁵ 2006, 17.

²²⁶ 2009,53.

²²⁷ Kayasü, 2002, 103; Sancar, 2009, 51.

Serap Kayasü also argued that the differentiation in space and the identification of gender with certain spaces are parallel to each other, and that the participation of women in the labour force has been an important factor in influencing and transforming both concepts in terms of the interaction between women and space since the Industrial Era:²²⁸

This transformation, which includes the transition from home-workshop, which is a feature of pre-industrial society, to the differentiation of home-workplace today, is closely related to both the differentiation of gender roles and the identification of different gender groups with different places.²²⁹

The division of social world as public and private spheres became a powerful ideological tool and created inequality between social groups; in this regard, Madanipour states that “feminist criticism stand out as attempts to show how this distinction is socially constructed and how the private sphere is a bourgeois invention to oppress the working class and to limit women”.²³⁰ Specifically fuelled with the industrial revolution, work and home became separated domains but the segregation started in particular, with the idea of idealized spheres inherent in the conditions of western middle-class everyday life. Women of this class were expected to play several roles at home: ²³¹

It is not a common situation for a woman identified with the private space to define her own space even in the house, which is traditionally regarded as her natural space.²³² Johnson points out that, for example, living rooms and dream kitchens, which are seen as women’s spaces, can never be personal spaces, while men traditionally have a custom of private spaces within the dwelling, such as a study room or a garden room.

²²⁸ 2002, 102.

²²⁹ 2002, 103.

²³⁰ 2003, 83.

²³¹ As cited in Kayasü, 2002, 104.

²³² Kayasü, 2002, 103.

Thus, the spaces assigned to service functions became generally associated with women while those related to authority, privacy, and leisure to the “man of the house/breadwinner”.

The urban development of cities as suburbs and the city centre, on the other hand, reinforced this segregation; the working space became associated with men and the suburban home with women. Dolores Hayden remarks that the physical separation of the household space from the public space and the economic separation of domestic economy was two challenging phenomena of the industrial capitalism:²³³

Industrial capitalism depends on the home/work, reproduction/production, and women/men divisions for the large-scale consumption of goods generated by the needs of separate households in suburban locations and for the biological and psychological renewal of the wage labour force in the home setting. Industrial capitalism helped to create and continues to enforce the spatial separations.²³⁴

This segregation had a powerful effect on the emergence of gender binaries, on how women experienced the city and how the city had erected barriers on women’s daily activities. “Women are almost forced to walk, move and stay in certain territories in the city.”²³⁵ Arevik Martirosyan, in this regard, stated that:²³⁶

A full, equal and active participation of women in urban life is often blocked by the argument that public spaces are, in principle, not safe. Within this discourse public space is constructed as a field of interaction between strong independent subjects - men. (...) Therefore, women are considered to be supporters of the legitimate social order and practices and are assumed to be incapable of independent existence in the public space.

²³³ 1982, 1.

²³⁴ As cited in Franck, 2000, 297.

²³⁵ Vanlıoğlu, 2019, 60.

²³⁶ 2015, 1.

Gender-based division of labour and its spatial reflections, which have existed since primitive societies, maintain their basic characteristics despite undergoing major changes in relation to socio-economic changes and cultural transformations in the historical processes.²³⁷ The inability of women to have ease of access to the urban fabric, which makes them feel unsafe due to the urban order that separates public spaces and the behavioural approach stemming from instinctive or social imposition, restricted spatial mobility for women.²³⁸ This has affected women's participation in the public workforce and their power to achieve economic independence, making women dependent on private/house, and hence, creating spatial inequality between the sexes. As such, women's domestic roles defined by patriarchal society and domestic work descriptions became reinforced. Accordingly, patterns of urban space isolated women, as well as, the domestic space and also made their domestic labour invisible.

On the other hand, as production has moved out of the home, reproduction has become even more the immediately defining and circumscribing factor in women's life activities and of women themselves.²³⁹ Because, women's maternal roles create sexual division of labour, woman became powerful on social reproduction by assuming the responsibility of raising children and supervising their education. As a natural consequence of this assigned role, the private space/house attributed to women gained power as the central space of social (re)production.

²³⁷ Alkan Korkmaz, 2011, 57.

²³⁸ Kayasü, 2002, 104-105.

²³⁹ Chodorow, 1978, 57, "*Gender Space Architecture an Interdisciplinary Introduction*", 2000, edited by Iain Borden, Barbara Penner, Jane Rendell.

4.4 House, Domesticity and Gender

House is seen as a shelter, protecting and worthy of protection, the self-space of the person, the identity symbol and expression tool of the individual and the family, the landmark we use when arranging the world in our minds, the place and value that gathers events, the past and the future, the cognitive and emotional integrity of the individual.²⁴⁰ The house is a phenomenon of daily life, so it contains continuity and order. Because house is a place that includes needs, behaviours and phenomena, such as sheltering, eating, sleeping, being born, living and dying, which have become routines in the short and long term. Therefore, it is the first area where the differences and hierarchy in daily life are defined.²⁴¹ According to İlhan Tekeli, house is cultural and social, because it is not only a place where the problem of protection and shelter is resolved, but also the smallest social unit in which basic social relations are carried out. Therefore, house has also undertaken the function of maintaining social relations, and therefore it is a cultural unit with social meanings.²⁴² The spatial structure of buildings embodies social relations or the relations of individuals with each other and with communities. Houses, therefore, reflect ideals and realities in the relationships between women and men, between family and society. The space outside the house and the space inside it becomes the spaces where social relations are reproduced.²⁴³ Consequently, house is the type of building that best reflects social changes, which makes it the most potential context to elaborate spatial and social discourse. In this context, it becomes possible to

²⁴⁰ İmamoğlu and İmamoğlu, 1996, 2-4.

²⁴¹ Alkan Korkmaz, 2011, 59, Verschaffel, 2002: 287-288.

²⁴² 1996, 249-254.

²⁴³ Kan Ülkü, 2018, 68.

discuss how gender, which is a social discourse, is related to spaces at the micro level and how gender roles and identities are reproduced at this level.

As the modernization of production that came with the industrial revolution began to re-shape daily life and related areas, the construction and shaping of domestic life emerged as areas that needed to be reorganized.²⁴⁴ According to Hilde Heynen there was a direct connection between the emergence of domestic ideal, meaning of domesticity and the rise of industrial capitalism.²⁴⁵ Separation between living space and working space, thus, gave birth to the concept of domesticity in the 19th century:²⁴⁶

The term refers to a whole set of ideas that developed in reaction to the division between work and home. These ideas stressed the growing separation between male and female spheres, which was justified by assumptions regarding the differences in “nature” between the genders.

In this period house became opposed to workplace and the division occurred between breadwinner and caretaker, therefore female became opposed to male. Because house became sphere of wife, children and so motherhood, domesticity began to be seen as an opposition to masculinity.²⁴⁷ Legal arrangements, spatial settings, behavioural patterns, social effect and power constellations influenced the meaning of domesticity,²⁴⁸ and the social processes attributed domesticity to women.

On the other hand, although house and domesticity are space and phenomena attributed to and associated with women, there are opinions that see house and the meaning of domesticity in relation to masculine power. According to Gülsüm

²⁴⁴ Alkan, Korkmaz, 2011, 59.

²⁴⁵ 2005, 6.

²⁴⁶ Heynen, 2005, 7.

²⁴⁷ Heynen, 2005, 8.

²⁴⁸ Heynen, 2005, 7.

Baydar, the concept of the ideal house itself corresponds to singularity, dominance, control and visibility, that is, characteristics that are theoretically described as masculine. Therefore, the concept of the ideal house consists of a fiction created by masculine ways of thinking.²⁴⁹ “The house is a site of order and purification which is maintained by the woman who does not need to move outside. In other words, the order of domesticity is based on the active agency of men and the passivity of women.”²⁵⁰ In a similar approach, Gerard Lico states that, with the conventional social and hierarchical arrangement of cities men began to dominate spaces and hence house became women’s “assigned” place. Because, although the house is one of the small spaces that have the feature of being a women’s space, it is mostly shaped with the idea of being suitable for the social division of labour of men.²⁵¹ This idea sits within a certain logical framework when it is considered in terms of domestic order, division of labour, lifestyle and the experience of men and women in domestic spaces. According to Lico, spatial organization and female surveillance system that makes the house a real female domestication area are exercises of masculine authority.²⁵² The normative structure of domesticity has been largely governed by the relationships with man as the head of the household and woman as the caretaker.²⁵³ According to Leslie Kanés Weisman, the woman-home pairing begins with the early childhood years when the woman assumes herself to be the caretaker, the organizer, the housekeeper or the mistress of the house. While the house provides the man, the bread winner, the power to be the authority of his space, his management, his private

²⁴⁹ 2009, 13.

²⁵⁰ Baydar, 2005, 32. According to Atilla Barutçu, (2015, 132), although women are identified with home, patriarchy can also be effective at home; men can act as being the dominant and decision-making party at home, just as they do in the public sphere.

²⁵¹ Atauz, 2004, 56.

²⁵² Lico, 2001, 37.

²⁵³ Baydar, 2005, 34.

space to work or his space to spend his spare time, the woman who is the employee of the house does not have a space of her own.²⁵⁴ As a result of this masculine distinction between private and public, the woman transforms the house into a comfortable place for man with the labour she spends at home, and turns it into a resting place for man in his spare time.²⁵⁵ Therefore, dichotomies of city/public and the house/private reveal in the house as well, “in terms of location, accessibility and comfort levels of spaces.”²⁵⁶

The segregation in the domestic sphere has achieved a gender-based certainty and spatial equivalent of the division of labour, that existed in almost every historical period, with modern thought.²⁵⁷ Because, with the modernization the multifunctional spaces in the traditional house are redefined with fixed functions, and the gender-based “public” and “private” distinction in the domestic space became clear. The most public spaces within the domestic space are identified as men’s work/study rooms and living rooms, where guests are hosted, while the remaining spaces as private spaces. Thus, the kitchen and bedrooms are recognized as private spaces in the house and are paired with woman.²⁵⁸ In other words, women continued to be actively involved with service spaces; to serve as the servant in the living area, the cook in the kitchen, and the mother in the child room. Thus, the house continued to exist as a spatial and temporal metaphor that supported and regenerated the traditionally ascribed social roles.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁴ 2000, 2.

²⁵⁵ Kılıçkiran, 2010, 46.

²⁵⁶ Lico, 2001, 37.

²⁵⁷ Alkan Korkmaz, 2011, 62; Alkan Korkmaz and Allmer, 2013, 115.

²⁵⁸ İnce Güney, 2009, 106.

²⁵⁹ Weisman, 2000, 2.

The spatial separation in the interior of the house and the formation of the spatial organization affected by this separation also relates to the cultural norms on privacy and comfort.²⁶⁰ In this context, Gülsüm Baydar defines the house as a series of spaces, where the bedrooms and the bathroom, which are the areas of privacy, are located at the furthest point from the entrance, and where the recognition of other spaces dedicated to less private functions, such as the entrance hall, the living room, and the kitchen, is not questioned.²⁶¹ Dichotomies emerged between spaces and genders, such as the positioning of the spatial units of the house in the front or at the back, as being private or public, according to Şengül Öymen Gür's narrative, also diversifies the domestic spaces as introverted or extroverted areas, male dominated or female dominated areas, and/or dirty or clean areas.²⁶² Generally, spaces paired with introverted, confidential, private and dirty situations are associated with women and are defined as spaces that serve as a backstage, so to speak, since they are the background places where preparations are made for the opposite.²⁶³ Gür explains these definitions and spatial association as follows:²⁶⁴

Dirty is the backstage of the clean, that is, the place of preparation. The kitchen is dirty, it is the backstage space of the living room. The inner sofa is private, is the backstage space of the public one which is the outer sofa. Bedrooms and the corridors/halls where bedrooms are located are interior, back, private. The bathroom is used from this corridor, it requires privacy. On the other hand, the living room is a foreground, open to the outside that guests can use comfortably.

Since the perception and desire of privacy and comfort are related to culture in general and house culture in specific, the relationship and perception of house and gender may differ in societies. In Turkish culture, spatial segregation in the house,

²⁶⁰ Tanyeli, Uğur, 2004.

²⁶¹ 2012.

²⁶² 2000, 79.

²⁶³ Öymen Gür, 2000, 79.

²⁶⁴ 2000, 79-80.

public and private spaces and their relationship with gender are mostly carried out through a segregation between the living room and others.²⁶⁵ Accordingly, the living room is the most flamboyant place, stage or showcase of the traditional house; serving as the conceptual heart of the house. The modern living room is represented by “Selamlık” in the traditional house, which is only open to men and is not used by women other than for service and cleaning purposes.²⁶⁶ The living rooms, like a *Selamlık*, are the places where guests are hosted and thus, are closed for daily use at other times²⁶⁷ The living room, therefore is the space of the social self, which has public qualities, and is related and connected to the outside.²⁶⁸

The multi-functional rooms in the traditional houses were replaced with rooms designated to specific functions in the houses of the modernist era. Eating, sitting,

²⁶⁵ Ayata, 1988, 8; Ultav, 2010, 101; Bozdoğan and Kasaba, 2005, as cited in Bici Nasır, 2016, 11. Starting from the late 19th century, the multifunctional spaces in the traditional houses, mostly in Istanbul, began to be reserved for a fixed function, with furniture brought from abroad (İnce Güney, 2009, 106). Became designated with furniture according to function, these spaces are still used with the same names and definitions today and spatial organization of following the proclamation of the Republic, the traditional houses were gradually replaced by apartments, especially in the large cities like Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir. In the process of transformation to apartments, both the spaces that made up the house and the life style and daily practices have changed (İnce Güney, 2009, 102). In this sense, the spaces that were previously called “room”, later appeared as specialised rooms, for example, they were described as a “living room” or a “bedroom” (Köseoğlu and Aydın, 2009, 111).

²⁶⁶ *Selamlık*, which is defined as the place of men, is a multifunctional space, no different from other rooms. Yıldırım and Hidayetoğlu (2009,4) take the *selamlık* as the symbol of the house with its closet, stove, sofas, and decoration, where the head of the family welcomes his male guests and holds meetings. While this room served as a bedroom at night, as in the *harem*, it was used as a reception hall during the day in which male visitors were hosted and entertained (Yağcı, 1998, 18). Since the room is designed specifically for sleeping and welcoming guests, its variability is very low compared to the *harem*. On the other hand, although it is smaller than the *harem*, it is more ostentatious and well arranged, which in a way shows the superiority of the man in the house. The woman was not expected to be present in the room, even if they are young, except for domestic services, when men were actively using the room. On the other hand, as Ferhunde Özbay (1999, 558) mentions that, boys under the age of twelve live with women in the *harem*, and those above in *selamlık*, a sign of manhood. Özbay interprets this as the symbolization of gender segregation, a solid material marker of men’s dominant position in the house through spatial demarcation, based on unequal rights. (Erdaş, 2018, 51)

²⁶⁷ Erdaş, 2018, 51.

²⁶⁸ Bici Nasır, 2016, 11.

hosting and sleeping received separate spaces with the understanding of modernization after industrialization.²⁶⁹ While the living room, which includes the sitting function, is extraverted, front and public, “other spaces are defined as the space of the inner self, which has private qualities, is related and connected with it”.²⁷⁰ According to this statement, other/private spaces include eating, sleeping and cleaning functions, namely the kitchen, if any, the dining room, bedroom and bathrooms. As privacy is associated to woman, these spaces also are associated to her.

The kitchen, “is the most visible of domestic information, therefore the most valuable and important, because the food that activates many senses of the person and the possibilities of the kitchen as a place cause this place to be evaluated as a strategic place”.²⁷¹ Just as the heart of the city is the house, the heart of the house is the kitchen, which is the production area of the house.²⁷²

The kitchen is a space that allows its users to become individualized by both consuming and producing while consuming, offering them a space of freedom despite the many restrictions they face and encounter in their lives, and allowing others to show the difference obtained through individualization.²⁷³

The kitchen, in which cooking, a reproduction activity, takes place is indeed a significant space in the construction and perception of female identity, which is the subject of reproduction in the house.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁹ Akyol, Ebru, 2007, 50.

²⁷⁰ Bici Nasır, 2016, 11.

²⁷¹ İnce, 2015, 140.

²⁷² Öymen Gür, 2006; Erdaş, 2018, 53.

²⁷³ İnce, 2015, 140.

²⁷⁴ İnce, 2015, 138-139.

The modernization of the Republic in Turkey has held women responsible for the regulation of the domestic space. In this direction, the kitchen, which is the centre of the housework, maintains its priority in the discussion of house, space, domesticity and gender. The kitchen, which modernization describes as a housewife's laboratory, has lost its quality only as a workspace over time, has also defined the living space of women.²⁷⁵

Sevinç Alkan Korkmaz says that from the first half of the 19th century, several male writers and engineers saw the kitchen as a machine and developed designs to reduce the workforce of women for gaining more efficiency in kitchen works. First, came the concept of larger kitchens, followed the open-plan designs and spatially integrated kitchen and the dining room schemes, which became widespread in Europe, between the 1960s-80.²⁷⁶ The dining area/room in this sense, could be arranged in the kitchen, in the living room, or designed as a room on its own. The dining room is another important space, as the family can come together not only to eat but also to socialize and discuss matters; it is therefore a place where family relations are developed and strengthened, beyond serving just as a dining spot.²⁷⁷ Although it is generally described as one of the spaces that is mostly associated with women due to its close affiliation with the kitchen, the only relationship it has with women occurs in the act of serving. Cenk Özbay and İlkey Baliç describe gender association of this space as such: ²⁷⁸

The meal is prepared in the kitchen and served in the hall, at the already arranged table. Who can sit at the table, who will start the meal, who will get up first, what topics will be discussed if they are to be discussed, and if guests are to be accepted, the format and arrangement of this is like a silent protocol, which is always carried out by keeping an eye on the man of the house.

In *Gender and Housing: The Impact of Design*, Marion Roberts says that the family had to sit in the living room at a dining table and the place of women at that

²⁷⁵ Alkan Korkmaz, 2011, 64.

²⁷⁶ Erdaş, 2018.

²⁷⁷ Erdaş, 2018, 55.

²⁷⁸ 2004, 92.

table must be near the doorway, a place with ease of access and a place easily dispensable.²⁷⁹ The chair of the male, in this instance, becomes physically unreachable at the dining table. Although the space is associated with woman, that is, with the private, due to the physical relationship of this space with other spaces and other functions related to the function, it can also be related to men and public as the space/area is not only used also by other household members and sometimes by guests, and also to the hegemony, caused through the patriarchal social roles, of the man in the space/area.

Another space associated with women and the private is the bedroom. Bedrooms (both children and master) are the most private areas of the house, as they are rarely open to anyone but the household.²⁸⁰ The parent rooms are event limited for the use of children. Funda Şenol Cantek and Elif Ekin Akşit also state that “the bedroom is perceived as a space identical to the privacy itself, as a private space in the house anyway.”²⁸¹ Due to the privacy expectations, bedrooms are separated from the living areas, often by a corridor and are positioned far from them.²⁸² According to a research conducted by Madigan and Munro in 1999, women describe the parental bedroom as an escape place where they can lie down, relax, listen to music, read a book and watch television.²⁸³ Due to its location and the functional relationship that women have with this space, bedrooms are described as women’s spaces. Nevertheless, in fact, this space, like other spaces associated with women and private, does not directly and solely belong to woman because of sharing its use with man.

²⁷⁹ 1990, 264-265.

²⁸⁰ Erdaş, 2018, 55.

²⁸¹ 2011, 560.

²⁸² Akyol, 2007, 56; Toprak, 2013, 39.

²⁸³ Akyol, 2007, 56.

To summarize in Baydar's words:

The architecture of the house is a mechanism that engineers domesticity and this mechanism orders distinguishing features and relations like gender, generation and race through allocating suitable places to its inhabitants. The role mapping of spaces is dedicated to spatial hierarchy and order. The spatial hierarchy of living room, study room, bedroom, kitchen etc. fashioned itself on public/private distinction and separate women's and men's spheres.²⁸⁴

The spatial order of house, the domestic sphere, then, brings out the spatiality of gendered power relations. Moreover, the spaces in the house, their functional separation, their relations with each other and their organization change and take shape over time, depending on many factors such as social dynamics, culture, economy and politics. Therefore, the discursiveness of these (re)produced spaces also differs in time. Thus, the next chapter examines how the discursiveness of spatial changes in house in the context of gender has changed after the 20th century due to the social, political and economic changes that started with the proclamation of the Republic in Turkey.

²⁸⁴ Baydar, 2005, 39.

CHAPTER 5

GENDER, DOMESTICITY AND HOUSE IN TWENTIETH CENTURY TURKEY

This chapter discusses the scholarly state and context of studies that take gender, domesticity and house as a research area in the Republican era in Turkey. As listed in Chapter 1.3, the thesis studies and the scholarly literature that looked at architecture and interior architecture in this context, are examined. Since the social and domestic status of women in Turkey is closely related to politics, the relationship between house and gender is examined under three periods defined as the political turning points, as mentioned in Chapter 2.4. The themes elaborated in the academic studies that examined women and domestic architecture in these periods and the spaces highlighted are reviewed to illustrate how the relationship between women, house and gender in 20th century Turkey underwent spatial and discursive changes. Thus, the physical and discursive changes or the stabilities experienced in the use and meaning of domestic spaces are revealed.

The review showed that such created and crafted generalizations and conjectures of the pre and post 20th century, as “man builds and woman inhabits; that man is outside and woman is inside; that man is public and woman is private”²⁸⁵, became ambiguous over time and led to re-evaluate the gender codes associated to space.²⁸⁶ Based on this inference, this study also benefitted from an examination and interpretation of selected case-studies. In this context, “*Microloft-Bulut*”, “*Microloft-Yarasa*”, a newly emerging housing typology in Turkey, is used to articulate how architectural design and spatial organization responded to the contemporary social

²⁸⁵ Agrest *et al.*, 1996, 11.

²⁸⁶ Alkan-Korkmaz and Allmer, 2013, 116.

structure and gendered space formation at present. The cases are examined according to the themes that emerged from the analysis of the academic studies.

In this context, 20 academic studies that discuss gender, domesticity and house in a spatial context have been identified. 7 of them are thesis studies done in the field of architecture and interior architecture between 1998-2018. 8 of them are articles published in various journals between 1983-2019. 3 of them are book chapters published between 2002-2009, 2 of which are edited books, *Cins Cins Mekan* and *Prof. Dr. Gürhan Tümer'e Armağan: Mimarlığın Çevresinde, Mekanın İçinde Kuram, Eylem ve Söylem*, and the other is a chapter in Sibel Bozdoğan's book, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası: Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sinde Mimari Kültür*. The last 2 works are papers presented in METU History of Architecture 2016 Graduate Research conference, "Spaces / Times / Peoples: Domesticity, Dwelling and Architectural History", and 2020 conference, "Spaces / Times / Peoples: Gender, Sexuality and Architectural History", and published in the proceedings.

Table 5.1 Selected thesis studies on gender, domesticity and house in Turkey

	AUTHOR	YEAR	THESIS TITLE	TYPE	FIELD
1	YEŞİM YAĞCI	1998	Kadın-konut etkileşiminde rol oynayan tasarım parametrelerinin belirlenmesi	Master	Architecture
2	PINAR ARTIKOĞLU	2006	1950-1970 Arası Süreçte Sosyal Yaşam ve İç Mekanın Değişenleri	Art Proficiency	Interior Design and Decoration
3	EBRU AKYOL	2007	Cumhuriyet dönemi Türkiye'sinde kadının değişen rolünün konut kullanımına yansımaları	Master	Architecture
4	YONCA YILDIRIM	2010	Private and public use of the living room: An upper income case in Ankara	Master	Interior Design and Decoration
5	SEVİNÇ ALKAN KORKMAZ	2011	Medya, cinsiyet ve mimarlık: Televizyon reklamlarında mutfak temsil biçimlerinin cinsiyet bağlamında okunması	Master	Architecture
6	ORKUN AZİZ AKSOY	2015	Sosyal ve Siyasal Bağlamda Kamusalın Özel Alan ve Konutlar Üzerindeki Etkisine Avrupa-Türkiye Ekseninde Bakış	Master	Interior Design and Decoration
7	GÜLÇİN ERDAŞ	2018	Toplumsal cinsiyet kavramının konut mekan organizasyonu üzerine etkileri	Master	Architecture

Table 5.2 Selected articles on gender, domesticity and house in Turkey

	AUTHOR	YEAR	TITLE	JOURNAL
1	FERHUNDE ÖZBAY	1999	Gendered Space: A New Look at Turkish Modernisation	Gender and History
2	MELTEM GÜREL	2009	Defining and Living out the Interior: The "Modern" Apartment and the "Urban" Housewife in Turkey during 1950s and 1960s	Gender, Place and Culture
3	SEVİNÇ ALKAN KORKMAZ AÇALYA ALLMER	2013	Mekanın DNA'sı: Toplumsal Cinsiyetin Mekansal Kalıplarının Sorgulanması	Kadın/Woman 2000 - Kadın Araştırmaları Dergisi
4	ESRA BİCİ NASIR ŞEBNEM TİMUR ÖĞÜT MELTEM GÜREL	2015	Changing Uses of the Middle-Class Living Room in Turkey: The Transformation of the Closed-Salon Phenomenon	Intercultural Understanding
5	EGE KAYA MELTEM ETİ PROTO	2016	Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Süreli Yayınlarda Mobilya (Asri Evin Modern Mobilyaları)	Aydın Sanat
6	GÖZDE KAN ÜLKÜ	2018	Konutun Cinsiyeti	SDÜ Mimarlık Bilimleri ve Uygulamaları Dergisi
7	EBRU OKUYUCU	2019	Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Mekansal Değişimlerin Popüler Yayınlar Üzerinden Okunması: Konutta İç Mekan Deneyimlenmesi	Journal of Art and Design
8	GÜLÇİN ERDAŞ EMİNE FULYA ÖZMEN	2019	Toplumsal Cinsiyet Kavramının Konut Mekan Organizasyonu ve Konut Reklamları Üzerine Etkisi	MEGARON

Table 5.3 Selected book chapters on gender, domesticity and house in Turkey

	AUTHOR	YEAR	TITLE	BOOK
1	SİBEL BOZDOĞAN	2002	Modern Yaşam: Kübist Evler ve Apartmanlar	Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası: Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sinde Mimari Kültür
2	YASEMİN İNCE GÜNEY	2009	Konutta Mekansal Organizasyon ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet: Yirminci Yüzyıl Ankara Apartmanları	Cins Cins Mekan
3	ÖZLEM ERDOĞDU ERKARSLAN	2011	Fürüzan'ın "Bir Evin Dıştan Görünüşü" Öyküsünde Mekan ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet	Prof. Dr. Gürhan Tümer'e Armağan: Mimarlığın Çevresinde, Mekanın İçinde Kuram, Eylem ve Söylem

Table 5.4 Selected symposium papers on gender, domesticity and house in Turkey

	AUTHOR	YEAR	TITLE	SYMPOSIUM PAPERS BOOK
1	ESRA BİCİ NASIR	2016	Salonun Çelişkili Niteliğine Dair Güncel Bir Kesit	Spaces/Times/Peoples: Domesticity, Dwelling and Architectural History
2	YASEMİN İNCE GÜNEY	2020	Changes in Turkish Domestic Culture: Women's Perspective	Spaces/Times/Peoples: Gender, Sexuality and Architectural History

The following sections, examine these studies to track how and in which capacity the defined three periods are considered, what types of methods were used and which prominent topics of discussion and themes emerge. Two examples selected for each time period are also discussed in relation to the emerging themes to present a comparative perspective between theory and application.

5.1 Domestic Space Organization between the Republican Period and 1950s

Ten selected sources studied the relationship between house and gender in the early Republican period, in which the discussion was conveyed through women who were taken as the main representatives of the Republican ideology.

Table 5.5 Theses, articles, book chapters and symposium papers on early Republican period

	AUTHOR	YEAR	TITLE	THESIS/ JOURNAL/ BOOK/ SYMPOSIUM PAPER BOOK
1	YEŞİM YAĞCI	1998	Kadın-konut etkileşiminde rol oynayan tasarım parametrelerinin belirlenmesi	Master/ Architecture
2	EBRU AKYOL	2007	Cumhuriyet dönemi Türkiye'sinde kadının değişen rolünün konut kullanımına yansımaları	Master/ Architecture
3	ORKUN AZİZ AKSOY	2015	Sosyal ve Siyasal Bağlamda Kamusalığın Özel Alan ve Konutlar Üzerindeki Etkisine Avrupa-Türkiye Ekseninde Bakış	Master/ Interior Design and Decoration
4	EGE KAYA MELTEM ETİ PROTO	2016	Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Süreli Yayınlar da Mobilya (Asri Evin Modern Mobilyaları)	Aydın Sanat
5	GÖZDE KAN ÜLKÜ	2018	Konutun Cinsiyeti	SDÜ Mimarlık Bilimleri ve Uygulamaları Dergisi
6	EBRU OKUYUCU	2019	Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Mekansal Değişimlerin Popüler Yayınlar Üzerinden Okunması: Konutta İç Mekan Deneyimlenmesi	Journal of Art and Design
7	SİBEL BOZDOĞAN	2002	Modern Yaşam: Kübist Evler ve Apartmanlar	Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası: Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sinde Mimari Kültür
8	YASEMİN İNCE GÜNEY	2009	Konutta Mekansal Organizasyon ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet: Yirminci Yüzyıl Ankara Apartmanları	Cins Cins Mekan
9	ÖZLEM ERDOĞDU ERKARSLAN	2011	Fürüzan'ın "Bir Evin Dıştan Görünüşü" Öyküsünde Mekan ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet	Prof. Dr. Gürhan Tümer'e Armağan: Mimarlığın Çevresinde, Mekanın İçinde Kuram, Eylem ve Söylem
10	YASEMİN İNCE GÜNEY	2020	Changes in Turkish Domestic Culture: Women's Perspective	Spaces/Times/Peoples: Gender, Sexuality and Architectural History

In her thesis, Yeşim Yağcı used images and plans published in the period magazine to portray the period. The main narratives highlight “nuclear family life”, “the “apartment building”, and “the private room”, that is a room belonging to an individual”, while functionally specialized spaces, such as a living room, dining hall, bathroom, servant and service rooms, kitchen and bedroom in the houses of the period are also mentioned. The association of a living room with a terrace is interpreted as a change in the traditional perception of privacy in this period, as the living room is taken to represent the space that opens to the outside. The study also mentions the “*kübik ev*” model that emerged in this period. The type is described as

a sanitary house with such spaces as a garden, outdoor spaces, simple and plain rooms furnished with Bauhaus type of industrial designs, receiving plenty of sun. It is stated that, the functionally specialized rooms in the houses of the period, were rationalized with the interiors adorned with plain, simple and comfortable fixed furniture.

KULLANIŞLI, UCUZ ve SAHHATLİ

Küçük Bir Ev

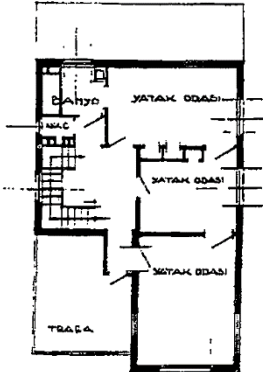
(10 m 17 m-17 m 7) bir sabaşı legal eden bu binon Almanyada, 28.000 marka mal olucuktur.

*Ono Haezel, tarahından Frankfurt,ta yapılan bu ev binon parasında *12.000, Liraya matalabilir

EVER SERİSİ:

Muharriri: MİHYAR SAMİH

Okuyucularımız bu nusbanında şimdiye kadar gözlerimin hemen hiç alışmadığı ve memleketimizde daha eşine hiç te-




BİRİNCİ KAT

iktifa ettiğimizden «Küçük» miyamarın evsa: ve karakterleri hakkındaki mütalâaları başka bir yazıya bırakmak mecburiyetindeyiz; ve bilhassa cihanın miyamarlık hareketlerinde hakim bir vaziyet alan bu şalubun iyisakına bir çok misalleri ihtiva eden bir yazı tahsis etmek çok lâzumlu ve isideil bir iş olacaktır. Bu stilin bir misali olarak neşrettiğimiz bu projeyi şim-di bir seyirci gibi temasa edelim:

sadı etmedikleri bir ev tipi ile karşılaşacaklardır. Beynelmilel miyamarlık sahasında bu tarzda vucuda getirilen eviere «Küçük» diyorlar. Bina aslında sade ve basit görünümle beraber asrın bütün bedii ve fenil tekâmüllerini bün-vesinde taşıyan kâmil bir eserdir.

Bugün miyamarlık, «Küçük» kelimesinin manasında ideali bulmuş addedilebilir. Bu yazılarımızda ev yapıcılığı hususunda cihanda mevcut muhtelif telakkilerden birer misal vermekle



Dışının haric yüzünde küçük ve ufak motiflerden eser yoktur. Büyük hacimlerin ileri, geri, aşağı, yukarı doğru sıralanması ile bir

Figure 5.1. The article “Küçük Bir Ev”, published in *Muhit-10* in 1929, the popular publication of the period and the illustrated family magazine used by Yeşim Yağcı (1998, 69) and Sibel Bozdoğan (2002, 224)

Accordingly, although change and modernization were at the forefront, the traditional roles of women were redefined and the main places of housework, such as the kitchen, were still defined as women’s spaces. One of the important topics Yağcı touched upon is the integration of technology into house. In this period, the

technological developments shaped the kitchen and bathroom spatially as houses became equipped with hot water, heating systems, ventilation and lighting systems, and household appliances. The introduction of the technological innovations as products to provide comfort for domestic tasks in the period magazines through images of modern housewife, however, reinforced the understanding that confined the status of women to the house.

Yeni Adam
No. 38, 20 Eylül 1934
PERŞENBELEHİ ÇIKAR
İstanbul, Ankara Caddesi
No. 71, Telefon 20832.
Telegraf adresi:
YENİ ADAM

YENİ ADAM
GAZETESİ
MODÜRLOGU

Sahip ve Bağımuharripi: İSMAIL HAKKI
ÖLKÜMÜZ DEMOKRASİ VE CUMHURİYET İÇİN ÇALIŞMAKTIR

A s r i m u t f a k
LEVAZIMATI

Elektrik Fırını
1200 vat 3 aylık
50 lira

Elektrik Fırını Iskarnası
1000 vat 3 aylık
75 lira

Elektrik Mutfak sobası
4 lüva ve fırın
6600 vat 3 aylık
150 lira

Elektrik Mutfak sobası
3 lüva ve fırın
4400 vat 3 aylık
132 lira

Elektrik üşenği
2 lüva-3000 vat 3 aylık
66 lira

Elektrik üşenği
2 lüva-3000 vat 3 aylık
51 lira

12 ila 24 ay vade ile
S A T I E

Tenvirat reçetesi No. 2

Bol bir aydınlık elde etme için Osram ampullerini kullanınız. Çiğne isprallı olanlar yüzde yirmiye kadar daha çok aydınlık neşrederler. Eski ampulleri atınız ve Osram D kullanınız. Mesela: Mutfağınızda yemek pişirirken 65 (DLm) li bir ampul kullanabilirsiniz.

OSRAM-D
ampulleri ucuz aydınlık temin ederler.

Figure 5.2. Advertisement of new electrical appliances that help women in the kitchen (*Yeni Adam*-3, 1934) and advertisement of light bulbs which is the need of the woman who cooks in kitchen (*Yedigün*, 1930s) used by Yeşim Yağcı (1988, 74-75)

Ebru Akyol elaborated similar issues but she used exterior views, plans and diagrams to show the relationship between the interior of the house and its exterior, and to describe the architectural characteristics of the houses of the period. She defined the general features of the apartments of the period as buildings with plain, banded windows, terraces and horizontal elements that distinguished the floors on the exterior, and the spaces as designed with large glass surfaces opening to the street. She took the presence of the living room and guest rooms which were used without gender discrimination, unlike *harem* and *selamlık*, as evidence of the change in the

perception of privacy. It is reported that the domestic spaces of the houses of this period, which were customized according to function, were also static as they were arranged with fixed furniture. According to Akyol, the kitchen is associated with the entrance of the house and had a storage area called “*kiler*”, a situation that eased the movement of woman between the kitchen and the functionally paired spaces.

Unlike both works, Orkun Aziz Aksoy emphasized that there was a distinction between public and private spaces in the houses of the period. Aksoy, who defined the corridor as the determinant of the privacy limit in the houses, stated that the *salon*, living room and dining room established a visual relationship with the exterior and were defined as public spaces which could be directly accessed from the hall associated with the entrance, while the rooms considered as private, as well as the kitchen and servants’ room, which are defined as service areas, were considered private spaces that could be accessed through corridors.

Ege Kaya and Meltem Eti Proto used the visuals of the magazines of the period to describe the Republican period domestic sphere. They showed that the house, which had comfortable, simple, modern, practical, bright and airy spaces, was associated with women in the narratives of the magazines. They also stated that, the visibility of women in the public parts of the house, the nearby relation of the living room and kitchen, ensuring the beauty of kitchen and household goods, creation of the study and writing corners with new furniture, and the decoration suggestions of the magazines were those indications demonstrated women becoming more visible as an active role player and an important agent in the changing concept of the house.

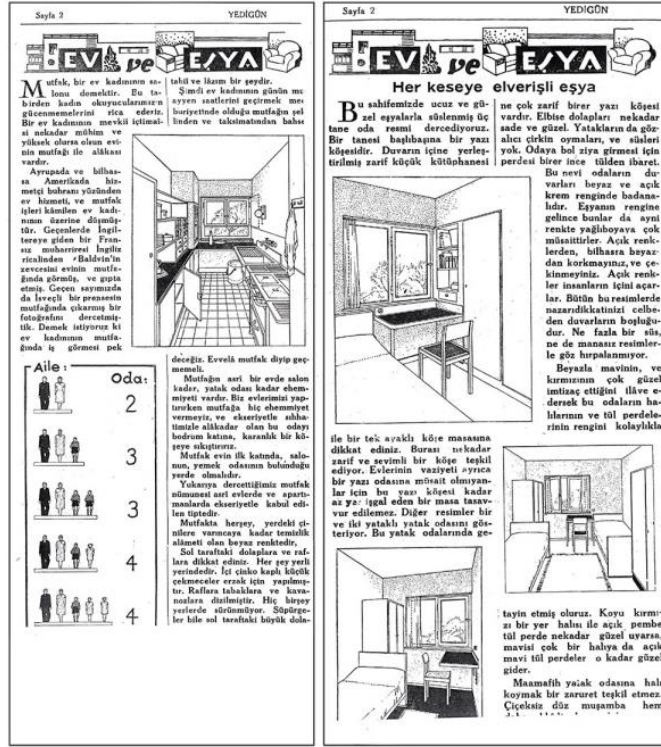


Figure 5.3. A magazine that associates women with the kitchen, gives suggestions about the location of the kitchen in the spatial organization of the house and its decoration (Kaya and Proto, 2016, 67)



Figure 5.4. Furniture and decoration suggestions for the living room and bedroom and the image of the woman spending time in the bedroom in the magazine of the period (Kaya and Proto, 2016, 69).

Gözde Kan Ülkü, who also studied the images found in the magazines of the period, says that the houses of the period were defined as modern, simple, comfortable and clean. At the same time, as Yeşim Yağcı and Ebru Akyol also stated, Ülkü associated the fact that the houses had spaces that opened to the outside with large surfaces and plenty of windows, to the change in the understanding of privacy of the period. It is stated that the interiors of the “küçük” houses were designed according to the westernization fashion, especially in the cases of the living room and bedroom, which is associated with the image of modern Turkish woman in the magazines.

Ebru Okuyucu, while constructing her narrative through the magazine visuals of the period, stated that the dominant house typology of the period was the apartment that appealed to the nuclear family, and that simplicity and functionality came to the

fore in the buildings, and that rooms with specific functions as well as halls and corridors were designed in the houses. According to her, the woman was defined as the person who created the ideal house depicted as beautiful, simple, comfortable and useful in the magazines of the period. The layout, orderliness, and elegance of the house, the “owner’s” room furnished with functional and economical furniture, the furnishing of the living room arranged to serve as a showcase for the guests, the furniture and layout of the bedroom, that is, the general decoration of the house were all identified with women.

Sibel Bozdoğan argued that in the popular magazines of the period, the idealized Turkish woman was depicted as a modern, hygienic, and educated wife and mother focusing on the rational home. There were high expectations that the house, furnished according to the taste/pleasure of women, should be economical, beautiful, comfortable, simple and practical.



(a)



(b)

Figure 5.5. (a) The cover of the first issue of the “Illustrated family magazine” *Muhit-1*, 1928 (Bozdoğan, 2002, 222; Kaya and Proto, 2016, 64). (b) The cover page of *Yedigün* (Kaya and Proto, 2016, 64).

Bozdoğan stated that there were magazine descriptions and opinions which emphasized that the rational planning of the geometrically planned, plain and airy cubic houses with wide windows and terraces increased the efficiency of the house and thus saved women from the trouble of doing some of the traditional domestic works.

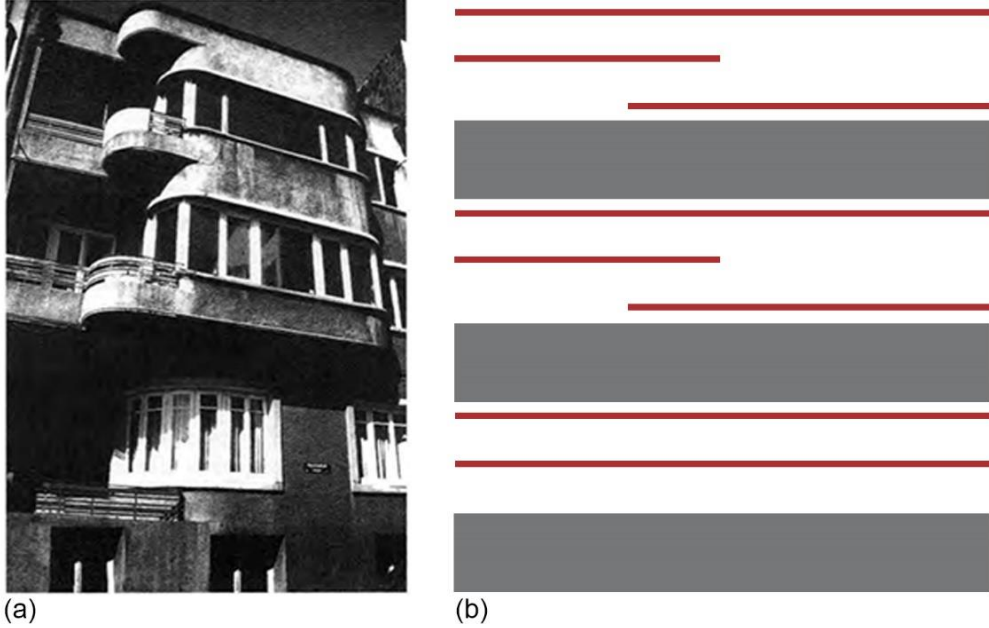


Figure 5.6. (a) An apartment built with a modernist aesthetic in the 1930s in Istanbul photographed by Ömer Kanıpak (Bozdoğan, 2002, 253).

(b) The linearity created by continuous windowsill and large windows on the façade (drawn by the author)

Özlem Erdoğan Erkarıslan, unlike the general orientation, described the early Republican period houses by making a discourse analysis through Füzûzan’s story “*Bir Evin Dıştan Görünüşü*”. The resulting structure is a light, airy “*küçük*” apartment with large windows and rounded exterior corners in which the kitchen opens to a rear balcony. Erkarıslan says that while the perception of male-public and female-private was still present, the existence of separated spaces and the fact that women could also use the guest room to accommodate and host visitors are symbols of women’s

transition to the public space. She also conveyed that the order of the house, its beauty and the modernity of the furniture were status indicators for women.

Yasemin İnce Güney, in her two studies with a similar content, argued that the spatial order of gender roles and relations in the house was related to how the domestic spaces were related to each other and to the outside of the house in terms of accessibility and visual angle. In other words, with the creation of different privacy situations in the domestic spaces, the space became discursively expressive of how gender relations should be established and how roles should be played. Güney's study that investigated the plans of 108 apartments that date to the period between 1920-1990 is the most comprehensive work on the relationship between gender, domesticity and house in a spatial context. She stated that in the early houses of the Republican period built in the 1920s, there were no in-between spaces, and therefore a visual control was not provided between the interior and exterior of the house, which undermined the sense of privacy. She also stated that, the fact that the door of the kitchen, which was located close to the entrance and dining area of the house, was physically and visually placed in a relatively distant position from the entrance of the house addressed women who spent most of their time in the kitchen. Thus, it was desired to protect the privacy of women in the kitchen by keeping the kitchen visually distanced from the entrance. However, in especially the 1930s and 1940s, with the creation of in-between spaces such as halls and *antres*, the domestic spaces became divided into three, as public spaces where guests were hosted, private areas where bedrooms and bathrooms were located, and service areas where the kitchen and toilet were placed. Güney interpreted the fact that there were either transitions between the rooms in the houses of this period or that there were multiple transition alternatives between spaces, as the understanding of individual privacy has not yet developed and a rather collective living order was practiced. In addition, the fact that there were wide door openings especially in the spaces defined as public shows that possibilities for spatial extensions and flexible usage were considered for these spaces.

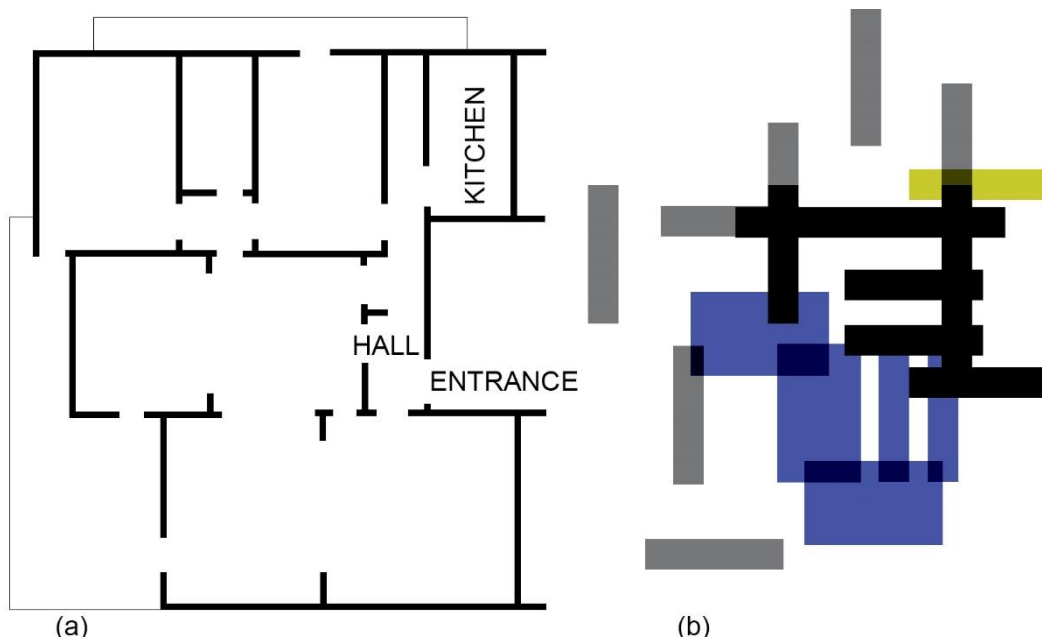


Figure 5.7. (a) Sample Apartment examined by Yasemin İnce Güney, *Kınacı Apartment, 1930s, Ankara* (2009, 116; 2020, 72) (redrawn by the author), (b) Transition between spaces and wideness of door openings (drawn by the author)

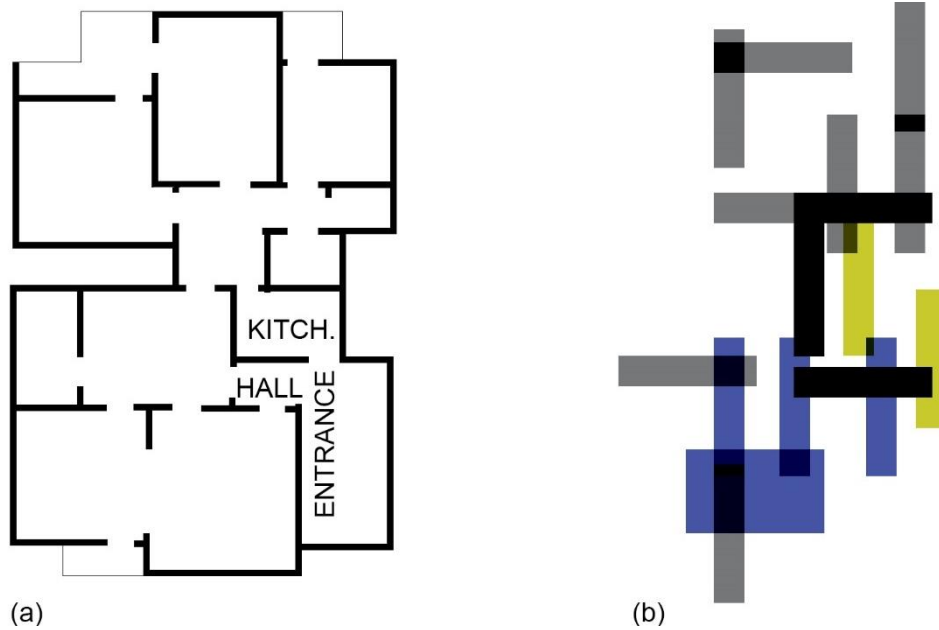


Figure 5.8. (a) Sample Apartment examined by Yasemin İnce Güney, Berkman Apartment, 1940s, Ankara (2009, 117; 2020, 72) (redrawn by the author), (b) Transition between spaces and wideness of door openings (drawn by the author)

The examination of the academic studies that looked at space, gender and architecture in the early Republican period, showed that the discussions and inferences are made mostly in reference to the magazines of the period and the images in such magazines were used to discuss and illustrate the relationships between house and gender in this period. Among the studies examined, those by Ebru Akyol, Orkun Aziz Aksoy and Yasemin İnce Güney made use of house plans to narrate the spatial relationship. Özlem Erdoğan's work, on the other hand, provided statements based on the discursive analysis of a literary story.

Accordingly, the house of the period is defined as bright, airy, sanitary, simple, plain, comfortable, clean, hygienic, functional, economical, rational, practical, modern, orderly, stylish and elegant with wide window strips and wide balconies or terraces. The main contextual topics that emerge in relation to the houses of the period was the apartment (*apartmanlaşma*), *küçük ev*, spaces customized according to functions, and use of fixed furniture to distinguish functions. The most emphasized

spaces in the discussions are the living room/guest room, which is mostly associated with a large balcony or terrace; the kitchen and its relationship to the entrance and living room/guest room in terms of location and visibility and, if any, the dining room. It is also mentioned that the halls, *antre* and corridors that emerged as in-between spaces in the designs of this period became the determinants of the privacy level between the domestic spaces.

In summary, the topics of discussion that emerge from these studies are: level and operation of privacy, separation between public, private and service areas, furnishing and decoration, domestic technology and comfort and efficiency in the performance of domestic works. The issues of privacy and separation of domestic spaces are evaluated on the basis of plans and by looking at the location and distance of the spaces from the entrance area that separated the inside from the outside, and the visual relationship provided upon the first entrance to the house. In a wider perspective, on the other hand, the houses are compared with the traditional house in terms of being extraverted and communicating with the street with wide window openings and therefore exhibiting the change in the perception of privacy as a reflection of the social changes of the period.

All in all, in the modernization of Turkey that started with the establishment of the republic and the implementation of the nation-state idea at the beginning of the twentieth century, modern architecture and the presence of women in the public domain were utilised and consumed as supporting subjects. Female role models were created by granting social, legal and political rights to women and hence improving the status of Turkish woman. As Erkarşlan suggests, in the early Republican period, the construction of modern buildings and creation of the modern female figure resulted in the “feminization of the modern house” and the popular magazines of the period supported the new image of the Turkish woman as a perfect wife, mother and housewife who decorated her home and dedicated herself to make it look stylish,

simple, elegant and modern.²⁸⁷ Women as such, were still associated with house and domestic duties in this period. While the houses were designed in a more extrovert way and there was no spatialization based on gender discrimination, like *haremselamlık*, there was still a classification and spatial association based on privacy expectations within the domestic spaces, that manifested in positioning spaces as front or back with respect to the entrance.

5.2 House and Domesticity between 1950s-1980s

Turkey, experienced a political change in the 1950s, which brought radical social and economic changes between the 1950s and 1980. The increase in job and education opportunities in the cities as a result of the transition to capitalist system has made the urban centres attractive migration destinations. The economic opportunities, in this regard, caused social mobility. As mentioned in detail in Chapter 3.4, the family oriented conservative modernization policy followed during the transition to the multi-party system in the 1950s, lessened the operation of the gender equality policy of the Kemalist ideology, which was used as a model to hold women responsible from the functioning of the family, encouraged women to have many children, and hence guided them to stay well-groomed and healthy.

Umut Şumnu states that detached, two-storey garden house model of early Republican period was replaced by multi-storey apartments as a result of rapid urbanization process of the late 1940s and early 1950s.²⁸⁸ Şumnu traces this change in the interior spaces of the apartments as well, where minimal functional and economical interiors replaced former larger spaces.²⁸⁹ The houses of the period

²⁸⁷ 2012, 241.

²⁸⁸ 2014, 70.

²⁸⁹ 2014, 55.

between the 1950s and 1980s were, inevitably, also influenced spatially from the technological developments, economic changes, urban migrations and the changing social status of women in the political agendas. The dynamics of the period have naturally, become subjects of research in academia. Nine of the sample studies, in this sense, examined the relationship between society and house-space in this period, as listed in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6 Theses, articles, book chapters and symposium papers that studied the period of 1950s-1980s

	AUTHOR	YEAR	TITLE	THESIS/ JOURNAL/ BOOK/ SYMPOSIUM PAPER BOOK
1	PINAR ARTIKOĞLU	2006	1950-1970 Arası Süreçte Sosyal Yaşam ve İç Mekanın Değişenleri	Art Proficiency/ Interior Design and Decoration
2	EBRU AKYOL	2007	Cumhuriyet dönemi Türkiye'sinde kadının değişen rolünün konut kullanımına yansımaları	Master/ Architecture
3	ORKUN AZİZ AKSOY	2015	Sosyal ve Siyasal Bağlamda Kamusal Alanın Özel Alan ve Konutlar Üzerindeki Etkisine Avrupa-Türkiye Ekseninde Bakış	Master/ Interior Design and Decoration
4	FERHUNDE ÖZBAY	1999	Gendered Space: A New Look at Turkish Modernisation	Gender and History
5	MELTEM GÜREL	2009	Defining and Living out the Interior: The "Modern" Apartment and the "Urban" Housewife in Turkey during 1950s and 1960s	Gender, Place and Culture
6	ESRA BİCİ NASIR ŞEBNEM TİMUR ÖĞÜT MELTEM GÜREL	2015	Changing Uses of the Middle-Class Living Room in Turkey: The Transformation of the Closed-Salon Phenomenon	Intercultural Understanding
7	GÖZDE KAN ÜLKÜ	2018	Konutun Cinsiyeti	SDÜ Mimarlık Bilimleri ve Uygulamaları Dergisi
8	YASEMİN İNCE GÜNEY	2009	Konutta Mekansal Organizasyon ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet: Yirminci Yüzyıl Ankara Apartmanları	Cins Cins Mekan
9	YASEMİN İNCE GÜNEY	2020	Changes in Turkish Domestic Culture: Women's Perspective	Spaces/Times/Peoples: Gender, Sexuality and Architectural History

Pınar Artıkoğlu, looked at the domestic interiors between 1950s and 1970s by using the images and advertisements published in the period magazines and by doing a field study. She described the house typology of the period by using the apartment flats that did not display the dominant characteristics of the flats seen in high-rise apartments and stated that the houses began to be defined with such terms as *3 oda 1 salon* (3 rooms and 1 living room). Stating that the social fabric of the house was shaped according to the understanding of comfort and privacy, Artıkoğlu stated that there was a dual spatial separation in the houses of the 1950s. The first segregated area consisted of the rooms located in the front, which opened to each other with wide glass doors, while the second segregated section included the rooms that did

not open to each other and were located at the back. The buffer zone between the two sections was formed by the service areas, opening to the light shaft. According to her, the main function of the living room (*salon*) in this period was not only to provide a setting for family socialization, visitor hospitality, and display woman's ingenuity but also to ensure that visitors did not enter the private area of the house.



Figure 5.9. Cleaning and decoration suggestions given to women in magazines, *Hayat-7*, 1957 (Artıkoğlu, 2006, 22)

Stating that the kitchen space shrank with the increase in the working female population of the 1950s, Artıkoğlu argued that the internal organization of the kitchen was re-arranged considering the time constraints of working women at home; to facilitate such kitchen tasks as bringing food, storing, cooking, serving and cleaning. The close relationship of the kitchen to the living room is associated to the woman's ability to control the kitchen from the living room and to facilitate the circulation between the most frequently used room and the kitchen. In the popular magazines of the 1960s, it was promised that the house would make life easier with the innovations it contained. It has been advocated that the technological innovations, such as refrigerators, washing machines, heating systems and vacuum cleaners made women's lives easier, fun, colourful and comfortable. Apparently, the domestic technology in the 1960s had an influence on the physical structuring of the house, and on the expansion of the kitchen size.



Figure 5.10. Advertisement of technological products that assist women in domestic works, *Yedigün-21*, 1948; *Hayat*, 1961 (Artıkoğlu, 2006, 24)

Ebru Akyol, who examined the houses of the period through plans and diagrams, presented that the common house typology in the 1950-1980 period was the multi-storey block, and stated that too many apartments with small rooms were produced in order to meet the housing needs of the period. Referring to the social debates of the period that praised not working and managing domestic works as a status indicator, Akyol stated that the primary duty assigned to women was to be a mother and housewife. According to her investigations, while the apartment flats built between 1950s and 1980s had 2 or 3 rooms, the most important part of the house was considered to be the living room (*salon*). In these houses, the light and ventilation of the bathroom, toilet and kitchen were generally provided from a light shaft. Akyol interpreted this spatial situation a negative condition, especially in terms of lighting and ventilation, in a period that sympathized with women being at home and burdened with the responsibility of domestic works. She also stated that the kitchens were not large enough to accommodate a sitting and eating area and that the location of the kitchen in the house was close to the area where the family members spend time together. Akyol interpreted this as a means to facilitate commuting

between spaces for women who were serving the family members. On the other hand, she argued that the domestic technology changed the physical structure of the house, and that there was a spatial growth especially in the kitchens and bathrooms, which welcomed washing machines and refrigerators. In the case of space shortage, the balcony associated with the kitchen would be closed and included into the house to gain extra space for large domestic equipment and for storage.

Like Ebru Akyol, Orkun Aziz Aksoy also stated that the political transformations in the 1950s altered the society socially which affected the housing structure. Unlike the discussion he narrated for the early Republican period, Aksoy did not support his discussion on the period of 1950-1980 with house plans and visuals, and limited it to descriptions and citations. The transition to multi-party period witnessed an intense migration from the village to the city. Among the developments that triggered urban migration, were the establishment of industrial enterprises in the cities, the mechanization of agriculture with the American Marshall Aid, the entry into a new modernization process under the support and influence of America, and the subsequent formation of a settled capitalism in the industry. Migration caused housing shortage, which led to practice multi-storey apartment typology as a remedy. The apartments rapidly changed the urban texture and silhouette, as well as the concept of house. Aksoy states that houses with 2 or 3 rooms, consisting of a living room, a bathroom and a kitchen became the standard of the period, and that privacy was ensured by separating the spaces of guests and the other rooms. This separation was achieved as follows: The rooms were lined along a corridor, which was generally planned to form an “L” shaped passage from the entrance hall, thus preventing the rooms to be seen from the *salon* and the entrance. However, since the corridor itself was not separated by a different hall, direct access to the rooms could be achieved through the corridor. Aksoy interprets the linear positioning of domestic spaces as such in the apartments of 1950s-1980s period as a decrease in domestic privacy and the abandonment of the system based on the segregation of indoor public-private spaces.

As cited by Orkun Aziz Aksoy, the reciprocal relation between the emergence of housing shortage in the city and the mass migration from rural to urban areas in the 1950s was mentioned by other scholars like Ferhunde Özbay as well. Özbay described the house typology of the period as a prototypical middle-class house, and stated that the distinguishing feature of this house type was the *salon* which was seen as a showcase; the house was complemented usually with 2 or 3 rooms, a bathroom and a kitchen. She said that the domestic labour helpers gradually disappeared and the mistress of the house began to undertake most of the household tasks. The dark, small kitchens and bathrooms became the spaces where housewives spend most of their housework time. Özbay interpreted this situation as the loss of domestic labours' visibility. Only after in the late 1960s the washing machines and refrigerators changed the lifestyle and architecture of the houses which led to designing larger kitchens and bathrooms. The TV unit that was introduced to Turkey in the 1970s found a primary place in the *salons*, which were started to be used not just for visitors but by the family members as well. Yet, as Özbay stated, with this came a masculinist spatial indicator: the dad's chair in the *salon*. Özbay clearly stated that although there were social and physical changes and shifts in terms of the separation between public and private, the emerging situations did not support women to develop their own identities, and that the society affixed the modern women the label of domestic server.

To examine the 10-year period between the 1950s and 1960s, Meltem Gürel benefited from a number of sources including the images and advertisements published in period magazines, architectural journals, existing buildings, movies and informal interviews. She defined the house typology of the period as multi-storey apartment buildings with a rectangular mass, large glazed windows, unadorned façades, balconies and flat-roof terraces, and where living and dining areas were combined, while also mentioning that there were repetitive outputs in the house designs. Gürel argued that through decoration magazines, women's magazines, films and advertisements, femininity and domestic space became associated in a

contemporary way, and the perception of the house as the most comfortable place for the powerful woman, who was portrayed as a stylish homemaker, was created.



Figure 5.11. The advertisement used by Meltem Gürel to show that the gendered and modern identities and social status of women who are associated with the decoration of the domestic space, *Resimli Hayat*, 1954 (Gürel, 2009, 709)

Gürel further argued that there was an American-like modernization in this period. Advertisements for American technological products, such as refrigerators, vacuum cleaners and washing machines idealized women as happy, healthy and homemaker family members who provided their families a clean and modern domestic environment. Accordingly, the modern bathroom was designed with western style apparatus and the washing machine, while the modern kitchen appliances and the refrigerator equipped the kitchen, which became a space larger than its predecessors. In this period, woman was portrayed as a powerful housewife who was in charge of the decoration and appearance of the house, and hence redefining the apartment interiors. In other words, house decoration became seen as an identity search for housewives.



Figure 5.12. Advertisement for a Hoover washing machine used by Meltem Gürel to show the idealized housewife and her relationship with modern domestic space, *Resimli Hayat*, 1952 (Gürel, 2009, 707)

Esra Bici Nasır, Şebnem Timur Öğüt and Meltem Gürel discussed the spatial division of domestic interiors as public and private and examined the transformation of the most public domestic space, the living room. In the early Republican Period, this space embraced both the living and dining areas in the traditional sense and served as a social interaction place for the inhabitants and guests. Therefore, it mediated between the personal and the public. In this regard, the authors argued that the early living rooms reflected the identity of the family to the outsider through the material culture of the space. During the 1950s, the living rooms turned into showcases, represented as such by the eclectic furniture and accessories that adorned them. As the public space of the house, it became isolated from the daily routines and inhabitants of the house. The authors suggest that this isolation was done by the objects and furniture which resulted in the distinction of domestic practices as public and private. On the other hand, women's reception day became a marked ritual that opened the door of publicity to women who had become domesticised in this period.

The domestic technology of the period changed the discursiveness and use of space, especially in the 70's and with the emergence of TV sets which were integrated into the living rooms and re-opened this space to daily family use. The TV boom, thus, re-merged the public and the private realms in the domestic space in this period.

Although Gözde Kan Ülkü dwelled on points similar to those touched by Ebru Akyol, such as the increase in apartment typology, technological developments, and the association of the house with women, she did not examine the spatial organization of the house as affected by these situations, as much as Akyol and Aksoy did. Instead, like Gürel, she used the advertisement posters of the post-1950 period. She highlighted the spatial relationship between women and house by stating that although women's individual rights were increased and they became modernized, the social opinion of the period saw them the family member responsible from the regulation of the domestic sphere. Her analysis showed that the kitchen was especially seen as a women's space and that with the disappearance of the support of kitchen assistants in the apartment phase, the woman began to dominate the house and created her personal order in the kitchen. As can be seen from the images used in the study, the new furniture styles and technological products changed the interior of the house, while the products promoted in advertisements were mostly associated with women. In the refrigerator advertisement examined by Ülkü for example, the product was promoted by pairing the happiness of the woman (the mother of the house) and the girl who used it, thus representing the ideas of "the modern woman and the refrigerator as symbols of modernity". The social inclination of this period was towards defining the domestic space and domestic works as the living space of women.



Figure 5.13. Modern women image in advertisement of refrigerator (Kan Ülkü, 2018, 78)

Between the 1950s-1980, specialised spaces became a norm, and flexible, multi-functional space use disappeared; the flexibility of individual space usage however had increased. According to Yasemin İnce Güney, the disappearance of the interconnections between the rooms was related to the increasing demand of personal privacy. According to İnce, while the elimination of direct passage between spaces provided privacy in the houses of the period, visual privacy gained more importance. As Orkun Aziz Aksoy stated, visual privacy was achieved through positioning walls and arranging the orientation of corridors, instead of making physical definitions. Like Pınar Artıkoğlu interpreted, İnce also stated that in this spatial organization, the kitchen and living room (*salon*) became the primary spaces accessed from the entrance hall, and the rooms and the bathroom were separated from the private part of the house by a secondary corridor. İnce interpreted the close location of the living room to the entrance as a matter of easy accessibility to the former and the incorporation of other public spaces, such as the business room and the sofa, to the living room as indicators of the change in the gender roles and relations.

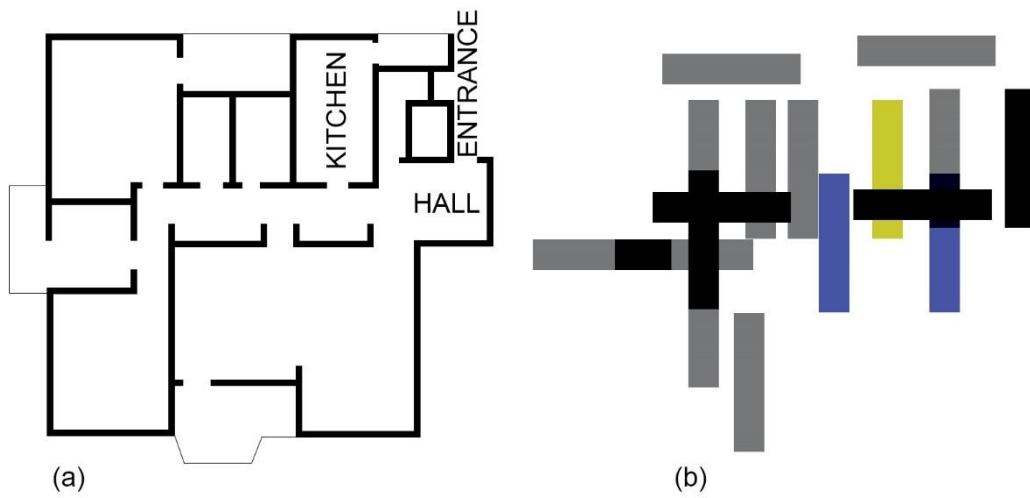


Figure 5.14. (a) Sample Apartment examined by Yasemin İnce Güney, Hayat Apartment, 1950s, Ankara (2009, 120; 2020, 72) (redrawn by the author), (b) Transition between spaces and wideness of door openings (drawn by the author)

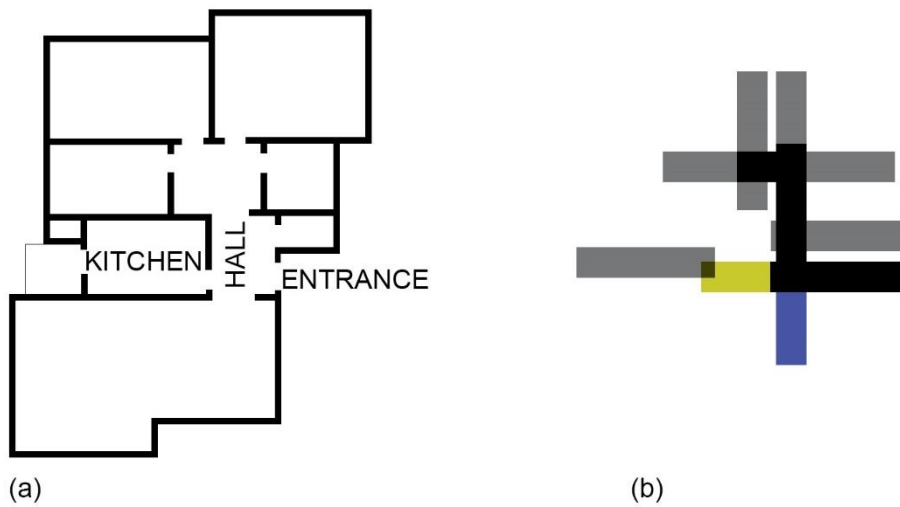


Figure 5.15. (a) Sample Apartment examined by Yasemin İnce Güney, MESA Çankaya Apartment, 1970s, Ankara (2009, 122; 2020, 75) (redrawn by the author), (b) Transition between spaces and wideness of door openings (drawn by the author)

It is seen in the sampled studies which looked at the period of 1950s-1980 that, the authors employed positions that are different than the approaches used to study the early Republican period, and that both the social and cultural dynamics and their influence on private space and gender were discussed by using the advertisement posters of the period. Using the popular decoration and women's magazines of the period as evidence and the diagrammatic representations based on house plans, however, were used to construct the narratives for both periods.

The common house typology of the 1950s-1980s period was multi-storey apartment designed in the form of prismatic, rectangular masses. It is seen that there was an increase in the standardization of house designs, that left no room for user participation. The house plans had generally offered 2 to 3 rooms, together with the living room, kitchen and bathroom. The living room and the kitchen were the two prominent spaces analysed in all the sampled studies. The enlargement of the living room to accommodate multiple functions (sitting, dining, working) and the modest kitchen which lacked adequate natural lighting and ventilation were among the other highlighted themes.

In summary from all the academic studies examined above, it is determined that the general discussion topics in the studies are: domestication of women through political and social ideology, the change in the physical dimensions of the space with the integration of technological developments into the house, the decrease in the physical separation of domestic spaces and in the level of privacy in the house. Compared to the early Republican period, the public-private distinction established by sequential hall relations disappeared in the houses of this period. While the interior spatial separation was seen as the living room and kitchen, which was associated with the entrance, and the rooms located on the corridor, these two spatial separations are provided by the service areas, the kitchen and bathroom. In the Early Republican period, the privacy level was managed by distancing the rooms from the entrance, the halls and doors was replaced by the house-space relationship, which was achieved by creating a visual privacy limit only with the corridor movements.

The state policy of the Democratic Party which was the first elected party of the multi-party period, supported capitalism with the backing of America, a political stance that changed the economic, social and cultural structure of the society radically. Although women became increasingly involved in work life, mostly due to economic needs, the conservative political discourse of the period described the modern Turkish woman as a homemaker. Especially starting from the 1970s, the domestic technologies were propagated as facilitators of woman's domestic tasks which led to spatial changes, especially in kitchens and bathrooms. Women and house were more strongly associated, urban middle-class housewives became active participants in defining and adorning the modern house as users, consumers and amateur decorators. The elegance, order and quality in the interiors of the houses were perceived as a reflection of the identity and social status of women. On the other hand, it is also clear that there were differences in terms of flexibility in the spatial organization of the house, as a reflection of social change. After the 1970s, the fact that the domestic spaces were lined up one after another along long corridors and the absence of halls and alternative paths in the transitions between spaces was accepted as an indicator of the increase in personal privacy demands and the autonomy "inside" the house.

5.3 House, Gender and Space between 1980s and Present

The economic policies of the 1950s showed their social impact in the 1980s and resulted in a radical change in the consumption habits globally. The urban life, which was made attractive as a result of the neoliberal politics and globalization, had caused population density in the urban centres. In the late 20th century, global cities were challenged in terms of urban growth predictions and plans. Unpredictable urban growth caused a rapid and random spatial transformation, in which housing became a problem. After the mid-80s there happened an unprecedented urbanization and unequal distribution of wealth in Turkey. Globalization forced the legalization of slum areas, proliferation of anonymous apartments, emergence of gated

communities, and implementation of new administrative and design policies for mass-housing.²⁹⁰

The section of the population with a better income chose to live outside the city for a comfortable and quiet life, causing the development of satellite cities. Large-scale real-estate investments and housing projects (gated communities) that targeted the upper income groups, began to rise in the empty areas of the city centres that formed neighbourhoods close to the centres. Thompson suggests that such settlements offered healthy, moral and quality environments for women and children, as they were isolated from the city's crowd and all kinds of distortions.²⁹¹ McDowell argued that the houses located at the periphery of the city created distinctions, such as "home-workplace", "private-public space", and "female-male".²⁹²

Twelve of the sampled studies scrutinized the relationship between house and space in the post-1980 period and compared it to the previous periods, as well as argued about the association of spatial organization with social role and gender assumptions and the discursiveness of space on this issue.

²⁹⁰ Bozdoğan and Akcan, 2012.

²⁹¹ 1999, as cited in Akyol, 2007.

²⁹² 1999.

Table 5.7 Theses, articles, book chapters and symposium papers examining post-1980 period

	AUTHOR	YEAR	TITLE	THESIS/ JOURNAL/ BOOK/ SYMPOSIUM PAPER BOOK
1	EBRU AKYOL	2007	Cumhuriyet dönemi Türkiye'sinde kadının değişen rolünün konut kullanımına yansımaları	Master/ Architecture
2	YONCA YILDIRIM	2010	Private and public use of the living room: An upper income case in Ankara	Master/ Interior Design and Decoration
3	SEVİNÇ ALKAN KORKMAZ	2011	Medya, cinsiyet ve mimarlık: Televizyon reklamlarında mutfak temsil biçimlerinin cinsiyet bağlamında okunması	Master/ Architecture
4	ORKUN AZİZ AKSOY	2015	Sosyal ve Siyasal Bağlamda Kamusalın Özel Alan ve Konutlar Üzerindeki Etkisine Avrupa-Türkiye Ekseninde Bakış	Master/ Interior Design and Decoration
5	GÜLÇİN ERDAŞ	2018	Toplumsal cinsiyet kavramının konut mekan organizasyonu üzerine etkileri	Master/ Architecture
6	FERHUNDE ÖZBAY	1999	Gendered Space: A New Look at Turkish Modernisation	Gender and History
7	SEVİNÇ ALKAN KORKMAZ AÇALYA ALLMER	2013	Mekânın DNA'sı: Toplumsal Cinsiyetin Mekansal Kalıplarının Sorgulanması	Kadın/Woman 2000 - Kadın Araştırmaları Dergisi
8	ESRA BİCİ NASIR ŞEBNEM TİMUR ÖĞÜT MELTEM GÜREL	2015	Changing Uses of the Middle-Class Living Room in Turkey: The Transformation of the Closed-Salon Phenomenon	Intercultural Understanding
9	GÜLÇİN ERDAŞ EMİNE FULYA ÖZMEN	2019	Toplumsal Cinsiyet Kavramının Konut Mekan Organizasyonu ve Konut Reklamları Üzerine Etkisi	MEGARON
10	YASEMİN İNCE GÜNEY	2009	Konutta Mekansal Organizasyon ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet: Yirminci Yüzyıl Ankara Apartmanları	Cins Cins Mekan
11	ESRA BİCİ NASIR	2016	Salonun Çelişkili Niteliğine Dair Güncel Bir Kesit	Spaces/Times/Peoples: Domesticity, Dwelling and Architectural History
12	YASEMİN İNCE GÜNEY	2020	Changes in Turkish Domestic Culture: Women's Perspective	Spaces/Times/Peoples: Gender, Sexuality and Architectural History

Ebru Akyol, states that the improvements concerning women's issues were carried out by the state in the 1980s. The increase in the duration of compulsory education, for example, increased the education level of women and made the number of women who did not work in the cities gradually decrease. She further stated that projects of a high standard, offering complex residence designs and closed to the world of mass housing outside the project sites, that were supported by the law and the private sector, and with the participation of cooperative unions and municipalities, became widespread. Such projects which were implemented in isolation from the city centres in order to provide quality environments, strengthened the distinction between house-workplace, public-private and male-female. The relationship of those who did not have cars, mostly the women, with the city became interrupted. Akyol, in this context, puts forward that the space of significance shifted from the living room to the kitchen and bathroom; it was now the kitchen and not the living room which became the showcase of the house. Kitchens became equipped

with big household appliances, such as refrigerators, ovens, dishwashers, and microwaves and turned into family socializing spaces with the placement of dining tables and televisions. The “American kitchen” has re-emerged, as in the 1950s. According to Akyol, the combination of the living room and the kitchen increased the participation of family members into the division of labour and prevented the spatial separation of women who spend most of their time in the kitchen; in a way reminiscent of the early periods as cooking, eating and sitting took place in the same space. The definitions of public and private in the domestic spaces of such houses also started to change, because the living room, kitchen, bathroom and children’s rooms became open to guests.

Yonca Yıldırım, examined the living room, based on the idea that a “Living room is a stage where dwellers reflect their identities.”²⁹³ The fieldwork and interviews she did showed that, the living room was used both by men and women, while the activities they did differed. In general, a special male corner was designated for men to sit, watch TV and read newspaper while women made the decisions about the interior design of the living room by referring to decoration magazines and related stores. As such, women assumed a dominant role in the personalization of the house and the management of domestic consumption.

Sevinç Alkan Korkmaz focused on the relationship between kitchen and women as structured by the strong influence of socially constructed gendered assumptions and evaluated this matter by exemplifying 3 television commercials broadcasted between 2007-2008. She portrayed the kitchen as transformed into a living space by the addition of a seating unit and a television, many electronic devices and a dining table. She stated that the role of the “user woman” in transforming this space has not changed. According to her analysis, the number of

²⁹³ 2020, 8.

messages emphasizing the benefits of household appliances for women's comfort conveyed through the advertisements in the written and visual media increased in the post-1980 period, so that the role models and supported behaviour patterns set the boundaries as feminine and masculine in terms of socio-cultural and spatial organization. This happened more strongly especially in the 2000s, with the definition of the user woman image with new kitchenware. In the 3 commercials of the Bosch company, it is argued that, the shaper and user of the space became differentiated and the feminine codes were gradually lost, making the gender of space questionable. The kitchens shown in the commercials were designed with clear, straight lines, white and metallic gray in colour and large and spacious. They were not just meant to serve as a working area but were functional and hygienic living space.

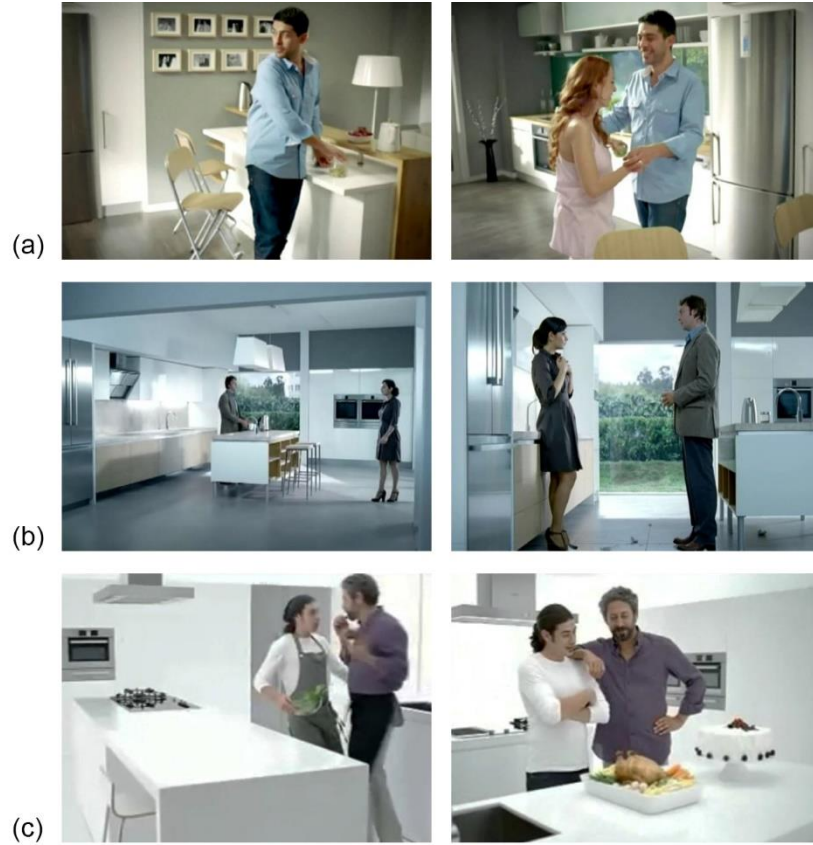


Figure 5.16. Bosch commercial films examined by Sevinç Alkan Korkmaz (2011, 94) (a) “*Hamile*”, commercial film prepared in 2008, (b) “*Eksik Siz’siniz Hanfendi*”, commercial film prepared in 2007, (c) “*Baba-oğul*”, commercial film

Korkmaz had come to the conclusions that; the elements, colours and other design elements used in the space were created with masculine codes so women were depicted as figures, rather than a shaper, organizer and decision-maker in the design and use of the spaces and that despite the advertisements defined new masculine kitchen spaces, kitchens remained to be the women’s working and living areas, as a result of the strong influence of gender stereotypes.

Orkun Aziz Aksoy’s work, who examines the post-1980 period through the images and plans of housing promotions stated that production was replaced by consumption and house became the commodity of this shift. He argued that with the enactment of the Mass Housing Law and the establishment of TOKİ in this period,

the state control of mass-housing and thus the number of mass housing projects had increased. Both the number of gated communities built outside the city and the luxurious housing, called *rezidans*, built in the city increased in this period. The gated communities, where the workplace of the inhabitants was outside the complex, formed a completely private and closed order. The inner-city residences prioritized introversion, individuality and personal needs, in many cases to such an extent that even the guests, as subjects of publicity, were made to feel alien because of the security measures that offered a more subjective and non-public life. The publicity of the house was lost and the distinction between private and public became unclear, especially with the shrinking or disappearing of the hall. The presence of a single circulation axis in the houses of this period, meant that the degree of proximity of the space to the entrance door determined the distinction between public and private. Akyol and Aksoy underlined that the kitchen assumed a high significance, as the kitchen space was close to the living room or open in one corner of the living room which made it turn into a public space, and hence a socializing space. Aksoy also referred to the “Loft” typology, which has become more widespread, in the 21st century. While the integrity of the house was ensured with a flexible plan, multi-functionality and few spatial divisions, the privacy inside the house was reduced. The privacy of the house in general, increased due to its non-urban location, its closure and safety, but the privacy in reference to the interior spatial organization decreased. In other words, the definition of both the private and public space has become ambiguous in this period.

Gülçin Erdaş, examined the post-1980 period through house plans, interviews and magazine images, to present the political developments of the period and how they affected economy, socio-cultural structure and architecture. The destruction of the public space with the 1980 military coup directed individuals to the interior, and the concept and focus of home decoration increased even more in this period. Erdaş mentions that although there was a return to the interior space, the concept of privacy in the house had changed; the opening of the living room (*salon*) for daily use, blended the public and private spheres in the house. The kitchen, which was

considered as a private and women's space, became part of the public space and also a space of man with the inclusion of the dining table. Erdaş, while acknowledging that open kitchens were also practiced in the houses of the period, suggests that the design of kitchen as a living space was as an effort to include women into domestic social life. The change in the design and use of bedrooms, which are seen primarily as women's spaces, manifested in the inclusion of additional spaces, such as parent bathrooms and dressing rooms in the 1990s.

Starting from the 2000s onwards, on the other hand, the number of small and easy-to-manage houses, planned as 2+1 or 1+1, increased dramatically. Such small to medium sized houses responded to many contemporary social situations; an increase in the level of education, change in the perspective of marriage, career-oriented life plan, and an increase in the population of divorced individuals. Thus, it became difficult to relate today's houses only with woman or man. The relationship between gender and house has become ambiguous as well.

In the post-1980 period, it is seen that the domestic space organization and the understanding of privacy have changed one more time. The astonishing progress in household technology affected the design of the kitchens, which was enlarged and become elegant and large enough to accommodate a dining table. This enabled to add new functions to the kitchens. Özbay discussed that the American-style kitchens integrated this space with the living room, and this typology increased the sharing of domestic duties among the family members, visibility of women's domestic labour and strengthened women's relation with other family members while working in the kitchen. On the other hand, she also stated that the guests could be allowed to various spaces of the house, which meant that the living space and the family's life style opened to the outside, a development that made a positive contribution to the status of women in the family and society. According to her "the relationship of women with living space in house has changed with the shifts in social structure and culture

so the characteristics of house have positive or negative impacts on women's identity.”²⁹⁴

Sevinç Alkan Korkmaz and Açılya Allmer stated that the association of housework and domestic space with women in a gender-based division of labour coded and defined modern life, a situation which has begun to change today as the gender of domestic space has become an ambiguous state. Based on this idea, they investigated the relationship between gender and space through the 2010, 2011 and 2012 advertisement catalogues of Turkish Ikea products. They concluded that the Ikea firm questioned the gender codes of domestic space, and in the domestic interior setups that were on display, the firm utilised male characters to construct an image of an egalitarian family devoid of coded gender distinctions. The visibility of the male figure in such female coded spaces as the kitchen, aimed to portray man as the user and shaper of the domestic space together with woman. The fictional daily life narratives published in the Ikea advertisement catalogues are identified as new houses into which masculine codes were installed and hence where the ambiguous gender codes gained a masculine quality.

²⁹⁴ 1999, 566.

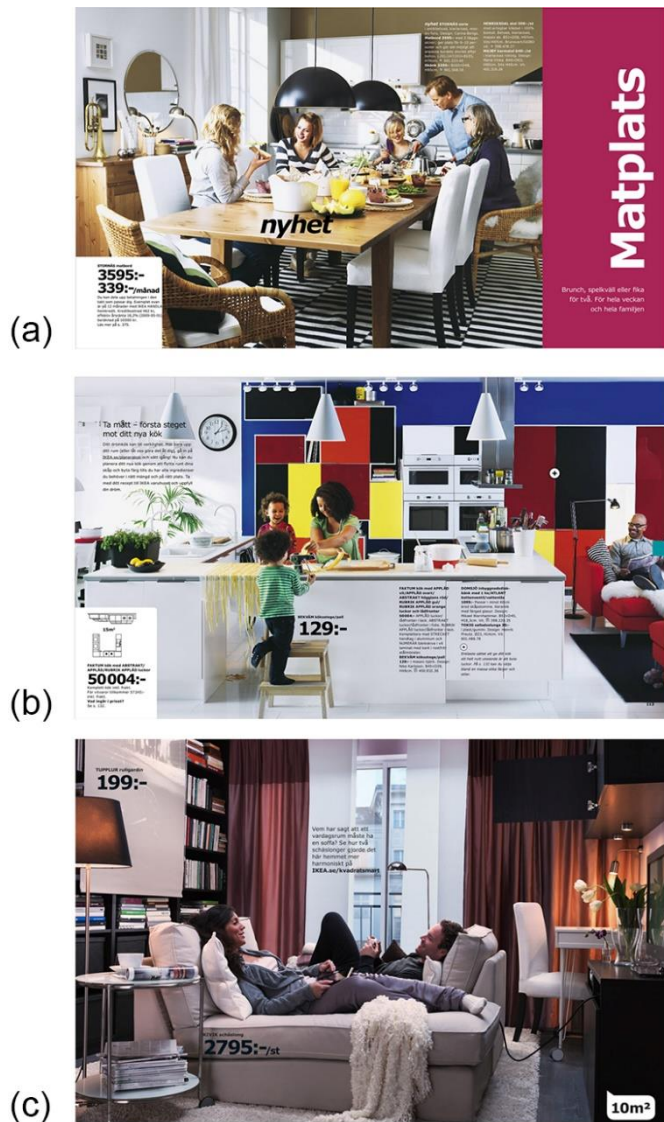


Figure 5.17. Ikea advertisement catalogue examined by Sevinç Alkan Korkmaz and Açılya Allmer ²⁹⁵

(a), (b) 2010 Ikea Catalogue,

(c) 2011 Ikea Catalogue

²⁹⁵ Alkan Korkmaz and Allmer used the Turkish versions of the catalogues, and the relevant catalogues were accessed via “<https://ikeamuseum.com/en/digital/ikea-catalogues-through-the-ages/>” in order to obtain images with high visual quality.

The collaborative work of Esra Bici Nasır, Şebnem Timur Öğüt and Meltem Gürel dwelled upon the spatial separation of the house from the perspective of the living room. Their research revealed that the lifestyles that were changed with the neoliberal policy put into action after the 1980, affected the house culture and domestic space to an extent that the boundaries of completely public and completely private spaces became softened. In her individual study Bici, also argued that the living room, which was fully public in the previous periods, has now become private, while the private rooms have now acquired a public quality. She depicted the living room as a useful and comfortable place with practical furniture, as a space to relax, meet, eat, watch television, work/study, and do sports, which opened it for all types of daily use. The contemporary living room, thus, is shaped more by individual preferences rather than guest-oriented motives in terms of spatial organization and material qualities, and consequently has begun to gain private qualities.

Gülçin Erdaş and Emine Fulya Özmen's collaborative research looked at the relationship between gender and space by using housing advertisements as well. The authors, stated that the traditional gender stereotypes continued to be reflected in the advertisements, and the domestic space was demarcated as a sheltered place for women, where they could engage with children and housework, as oppose to men for whom the same shelter represented a space to come back from outside and rest. The field study pursued by the authors showed that, although the housing advertisements imposed the traditional gender roles, the perception of "male material, female aesthetic" has begun to change.

Yasemin İnce Güney's study that addressed mass-housing, presented the fact that, the mass housing phenomenon of the 1980s produced various apartment typologies that were capable of meeting the needs of different households. As in the previous periods, the kitchen was planned as the first place that could be reached from the entrance hall, generally starting from the end of the 1980s, but its dimensions were increased. A dining table almost became a standard in the kitchens of the houses of this period, while there were also sitting corners and televisions

placed in one corner of the kitchens in many houses. Güney interpreted this spatial change as an opportunity for working women who could spend time with their children or guests while working in the kitchen. She also observed that private bathrooms were placed in the master bedrooms and became widespread in the 1990s. This increased the privacy and independence of the master bedroom. According to her the spatial organizations in the private sphere of 1980s changed from a flexible structure in which spaces could flow to each other, to a more demarcated structure, which can be taken as an indication of the increasing privatization and individualisation of family and its members.

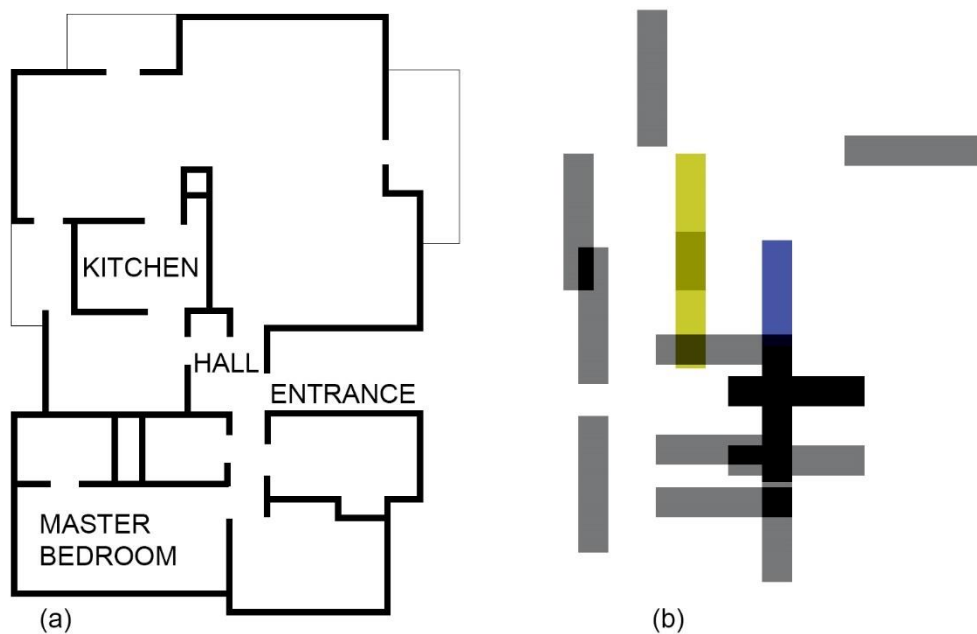


Figure 5.18. (a) Sample Apartment examined by Yasemin İnce Güney, Şahin Apartment, 1980s, Ankara (2009, 123; 2020, 75) (redrawn by the author), (b) Transition between spaces and wideness of door openings (drawn by the author)

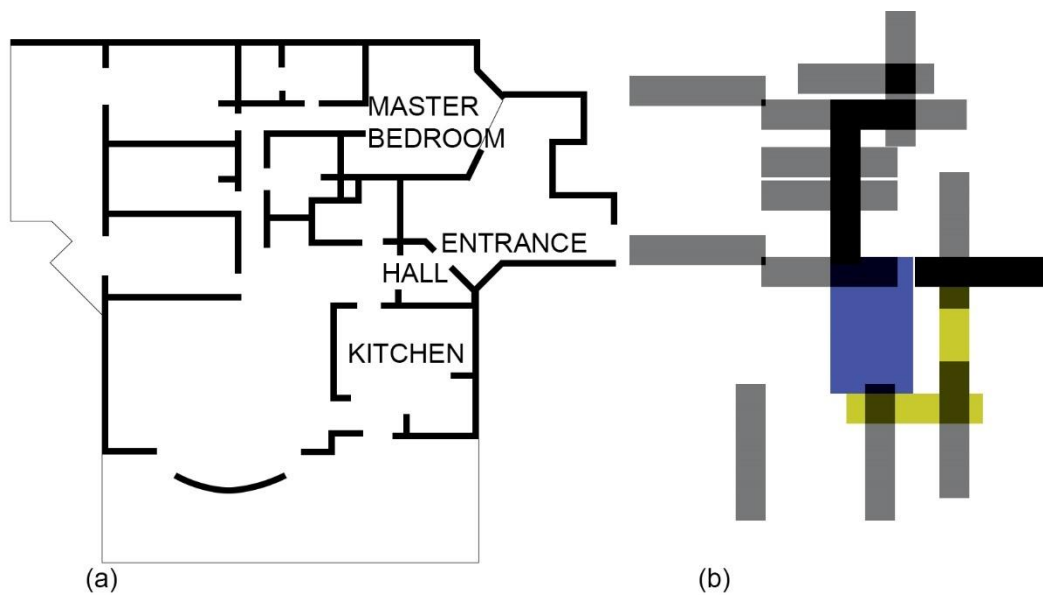


Figure 5.19. (a) Sample Apartment examined by Yasemin İnce Güney, *Teras Evler*, 1990s, Ankara (2009, 124; 2020, 75) (redrawn by the author), (b) Transition between spaces and wideness of door openings (drawn by the author)

The scholarly works that studied the relationship between house-space-gender in the post-1980 period, used extensively the medium of advertisements, interviews and field work to analyse and discuss the social and spatial discourse of private sphere. The production of state-supported mass housing projects increased in this period, in order to respond to the growing housing shortage in the cities by the 1980s. In the mass-house typology, all the basic and social needs were generally met within the confines of a secure area demarcated by boundaries. In the interiors the hall space almost completely disappeared, kitchens and master bedrooms were modified. Although the living room does not undergo much physical change, it has been the subject of research in studies as evidencing the changing domestic life style and use of space and, hence its discursive quality.

In summary, according to the sampled studies the prominent topics of discussion for the period corresponding to the end of the 20th century were: the kitchen space gaining a public character, kitchen works associated to the responsibility of women; increased visibility of women due to the physical change

of kitchens; a decrease in level of the privacy of the house as oppose to an increase in the individual privacy. Among the prominent issues highlighted for the 21st century, are the ambiguity of the public-private distinction in house; the spaces whose discursiveness has changed in line with the changing lifestyles of individuals and the multifunctional use of the space, and the creation of masculine characters and codes as the user and shaper in the house.

5.4 Social Developments and Domestic Interiors between the Republic and Today

As explained in Chapter 4, over time, space has become defined as a semantic and discursive unity beyond physical boundaries. Architecture, on the other hand, is about physically configuring the geometric form and ordering “undefined space by providing boundaries to give meanings and definitions”.²⁹⁶ The nature of boundaries provides visual information to observers about what to see (visibility) and where to go (accessibility and permeability), therefore they distinguish what are inside and/or outside, public and/or private. The physical boundaries establish territories for users and/or visitors of space that achieve privacy through spatial organization. Consequently, the geometry of space and defined physical boundaries are essential agencies to understand the visual information, control and interaction between inhabitants and inhabitants and visitors.²⁹⁷ Therefore, floor plans are used to investigate the social discourse of spatial organization, to understand the role of static and opaque boundaries like walls, or dynamic boundaries like doors in the public and private operation of daily life, and the gender aspects of spatial mechanism.

Analysed house plans reflect the characteristics of the domestic layouts of the periods examined in reference to two main themes that emerged in scholarly studies:

²⁹⁶ İnce Güney, 2007, 38-01.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

privacy level and spatial separation. The assessment of privacy level in a spatial sense in the selected examples is translated into accessibility diagrams and plan layout diagrams that show the visual relationships between the street entrance and the distance and location of each space from this entrance. The diagram idea is inspired by the permeability analysis introduced by Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson in their seminal book, *The Social Logic of Space*, published in 1984. The diagrams are created by looking at physical and visual accessibility and stratification diagrams prepared for the flats, and by evaluating the space definitions and relationships. They also show the relationship of the domestic spaces with each other, and the assessment of spatial separation that represent the zoning of spaces.

The houses are selected by taking into consideration the studies introduced in sections 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3, where each period was concisely analysed with an emphasis on change in housing culture, organization and use of domestic spaces reflecting the socio-cultural and economic changes experienced, and the change on the social structure, that is, the relations of the family members and the change in gender roles. (Table 5.8)

Table 5.8 Selected houses

Building Name	Architect	Approval Date of the Project	City	Address
Rıfat Akar Evi	Bekir İhsan	1936	Ankara	Gündoğdu Mahallesi, Fidan Sokak, 29, Altındağ
Mithat Yenen Apartmanı	Mithat Yenen	1948	Ankara	Atatürk Bulvarı, Kavaklıdere
İlbank Blokları	Fatih Uran	1957	Ankara	Çankaya Mahallesi, Atatürk Bulvarı, 243, Çankaya
Botanik Apartmanı	Vedat Özsan	1974-1975	Ankara	Çankaya Mahallesi, Üsküp Caddesi, Çevre Sokak, 54-56, Çankaya
Microloft Yarasa	Can Çinici	2011	İstanbul	Cihangir
Microloft Bulut	Can Çinici	2012	İstanbul	Sağıröğlü Sokak, Cihangir

Ankara is thought to be an appropriate context for the 1923-1980 period, as it played an active role in the nation-state building process and, responded quickly to the periodic changes as the centre of politics. The “*Sivil Mimari Bellek Ankara: 1930-1980*” project carried out by Başkent University and supported by TÜBİTAK and VEKAM is taken as a reference for the selection of the case studies. The building

inventory of this project is accessed via “Koç University Digital Collections”²⁹⁸. The selected four examples to be examined for the years 1923-1980 follows the “representation of the period” criterion defined in the “*Sivil Mimari Bellek Ankara: 1930-1980*” project.

“Micro-housing”, a relatively contemporary concept in Turkey, is also selected as a case study in order to demonstrate the most semantic, spatially changed and extreme point of house design, which fits well into the topics elaborated in section 5.3: domestic space usage becoming more flexible and functional, change in the feminine codes and association of domestic space with women, reflections of the changes in the social structure, lifestyles and individual preferences witnessed in the post-1980 period. Micro-housing is nothing different than an open plan/kitchen organization that became common starting from the 1980s; it represents a reduced version of this plan type. With the 21st century, it became more common to live in studio or 1+1 type houses which are examples of open plan that combines kitchen and living room, and micro-housing is the smallest version and thus the extreme case of this type, in which all domestic situations are arranged in one space.

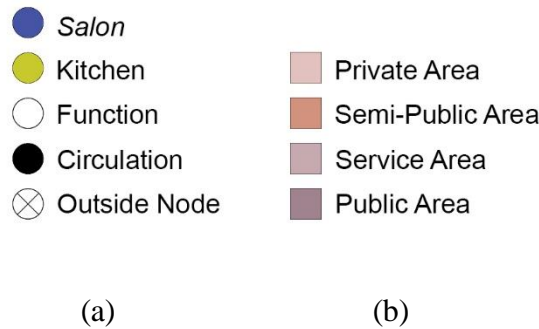


Figure 5.20. (a) Key for spatial relationship, accessibility and stratification diagram; (b) Key for spatial separation diagram

²⁹⁸ <https://libdigitalcollections.ku.edu.tr/digital/search/searchterm/sivil%20mimari%20bellek>.

Circulation spaces, introduced as an alternative to the hall planned at the entrance of the houses examined for the Early Republic period (1923- 1950), enabled to control the privacy level and accessibility of the spaces in the houses of this period. The successive halls designed as in-between spaces between the entrance and the rooms in the *Rifat Akar Evi* (Figure 5.21) form a dual circulation organization. The first hall is small and provided transition to the common spaces, such as the kitchen, bathroom and toilet while the larger one to the *salon* and the remaining rooms. The large hall can be defined as a semi-public space, while the small one can be considered as an anterior space, a vestibule, to the service spaces. It is also noteworthy that the door opening of one of the rooms in the main hall is larger than the others which shows that this space is the main public space open to the visitors, and that both the hall and this room can function as a single space when necessary. When viewed from the entrance point of the house, it is seen that visual control and privacy limits are not fully achieved. When viewed from the entrance area and if the doors are open, all spaces except the bathroom and toilet can be seen. The proximity of the public room and the kitchen to the entrance is same, and a person entering the house establishes a similar visual relationship with both spaces if the doors are open. It is observed that the public area and the kitchen are separated via the circulation organization, and hence, the woman as associated with the kitchen and the service functions according to the understanding of the gender roles of the period, is separated from the public setting.

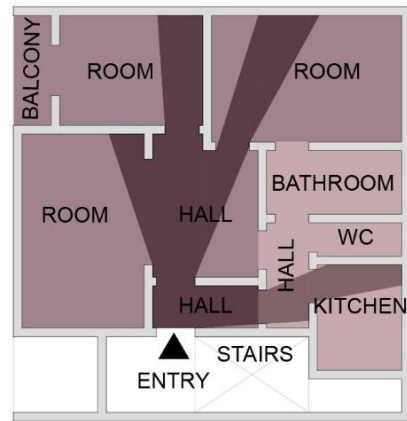
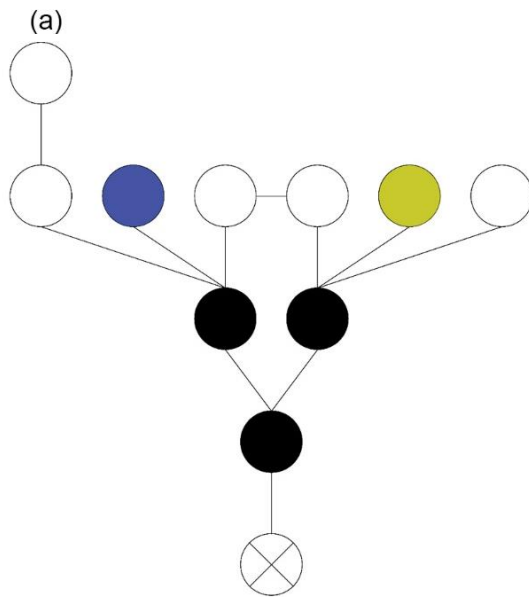
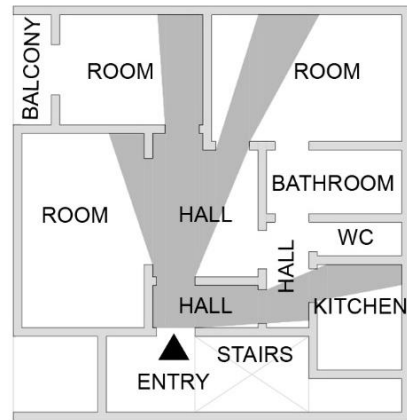


Figure 5.21. (a) Plan of *Rifat Akar Evi*, Ankara, 1936 (redrawn by the author)²⁹⁹,
 (b) Visual accessibility from the entrance diagram;
 (c) Spatial relationship, accessibility and stratification diagram;
 (d) Spatial separation diagram

²⁹⁹ Original floor plans are provided from <https://libdigitalcollections.ku.edu.tr/digital/search/searchterm/sivil%20mimari%20bellek>.

Compared to the *Rifat Akar Evi*, there are more rooms in *Mithat Yenen Apartmanı*, dating from the same period (Figure 5.22 - Figure 5.23). Accordingly, it is seen that the spatial stratification created by means of the in-between spaces is also more complex. The first spaces accessed from the main hall in this house are the *salon*, study room and toilet. The kitchen is accessed through a second hall associated with the main hall and a third hall leads to the dining room while another hall to the bedrooms and bathroom. Because of the multiple in-between spaces and the general spatial organization, the visual control in this house is higher than that in the *Rifat Akar Evi*. When looking towards the entrance hall, the *salon*, the study room and the halls that are consecutively related to the entrance hall are seen at first sight. The *salon* in this scheme, can be described as the place with the highest degree of publicity. In the *salon* and dining room, there are openings as wide as almost four doors, indicating that the two spaces can be used together, if necessary, like in the *Rifat Akar Evi*. Although both spaces can be spatially associated, the dining room has a semi-public character rather than a public one, considering its visual capture at the entrance and distance from the entrance. The control of physical and visual accessibility between the two public spaces with doors allowed flexible space usage in both houses. On the other hand, it is also apparent from the maid's room located next to the kitchen that the housework was assigned to the domestic laborers. So, the area where the kitchen is located is mostly used as a service space. The part where the fourth hall is located is the area farthest from the entrance and for which a visual relationship cannot be achieved from the entrance part. Therefore, the bedrooms and bathroom associated with this hall constitute the most private part of the house.

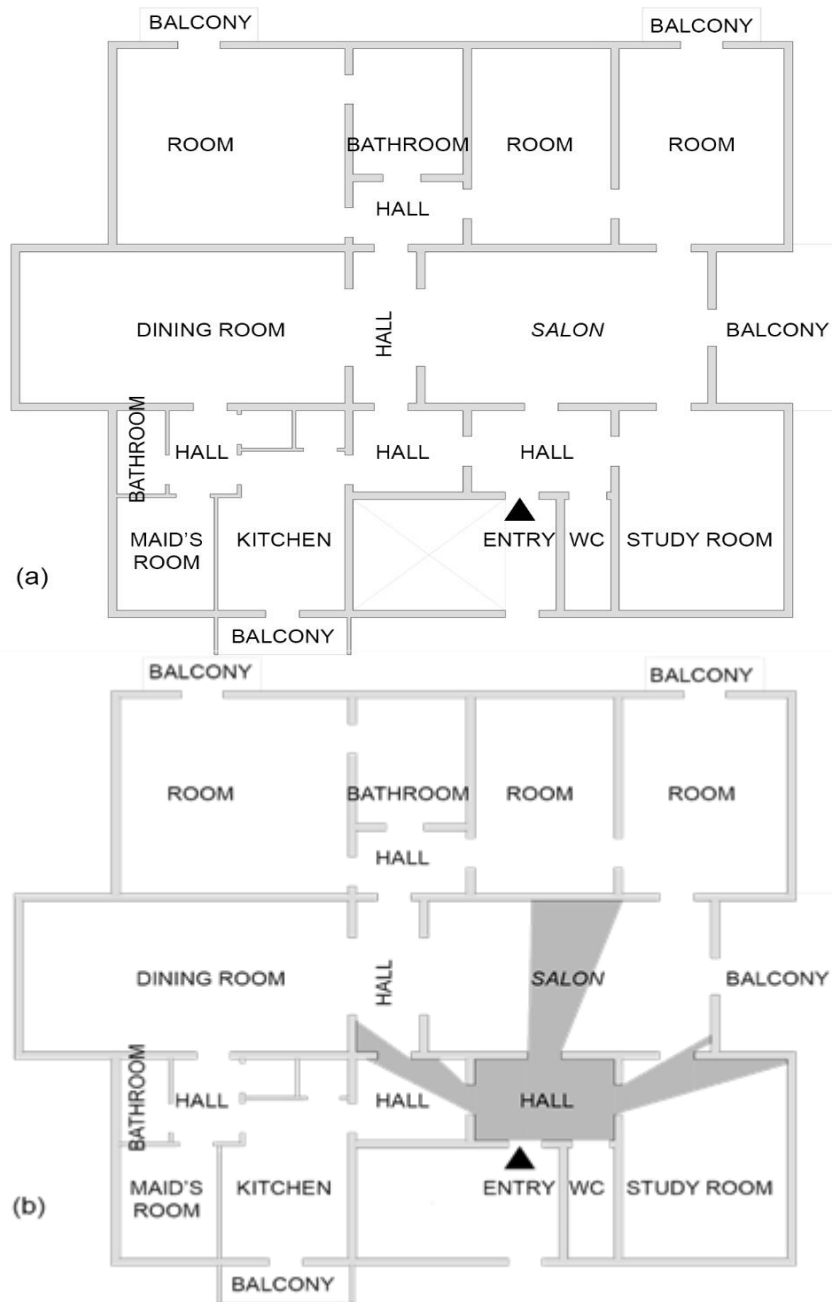


Figure 5.22. (a) Plan of *Mithat Yenen Apartmanı*, Ankara, 1948 (redrawn by the author)³⁰⁰

(b) Visual accessibility from the entrance diagram

³⁰⁰ Original floor plans are provided from Yenen, Mithat. "Kavaklıdere'de Bir Apartman", *Mimarlık*, 2(1949): 9-11.

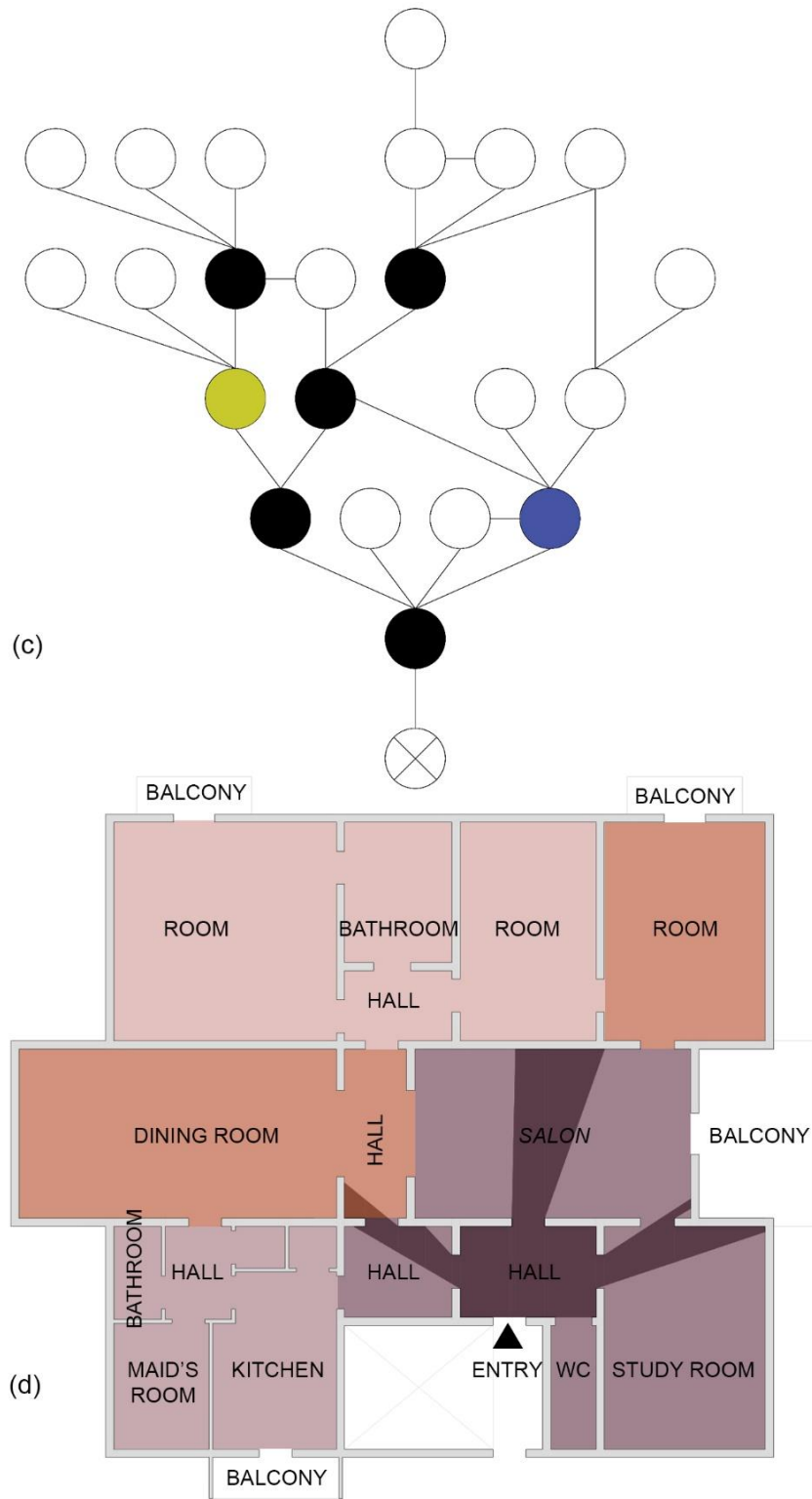


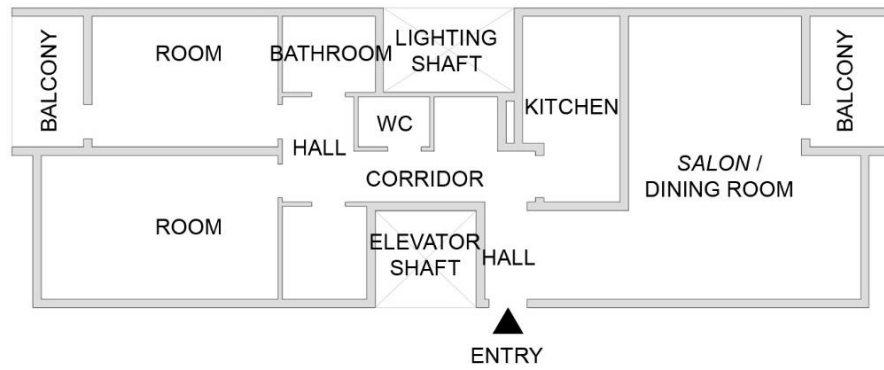
Figure 5.23. (c) Spatial relationship, accessibility and stratification diagram, (d) Spatial separation diagram

The presence of more than one door opening to the rooms in the houses of the early Republican period provided multiple accessibility alternatives between spaces in the house. This situation gave these spaces an in-between character and reduced the privacy level of the rooms. The order and level of privacy created by the transitions between spaces show that living in the house is more of a collective structure than an individual one, that is, the boundaries of individual privacy have not yet been created. However, when a comparison is made in terms of the relationship between the outside and the inside, it is seen that different levels of privacy are created within the house through such criteria as the proximity to the entrance, the visual relationship to the entrance, and the number of sequential in-between spaces to reach the targeted space. In this scheme thus, the *salon* is the most public area of the house, while the bathroom is the most private. The kitchen, has a secondary status as a service space, and is accessible through a separate circulation. Hence the primary main spaces used to meet such needs as cleaning and cooking have a more secondary and private status.

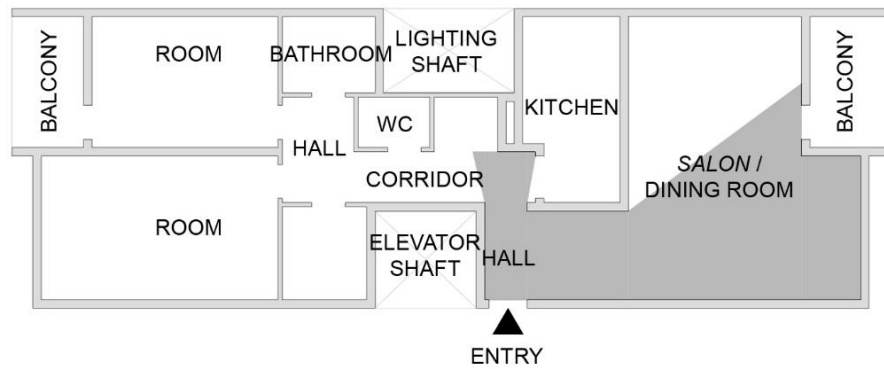
When the flats in the multi-storey apartment buildings dating to the 1950s-1980s period are examined, it is noteworthy that although the practice of planning interiors in reference to a succession of in-between spaces that stratified the domestic setting continued, the halls began to be replaced with corridors and the size of the entrance halls began to decrease.

In the *İlbank Blokları* built in 1957, a very limited area can be captured from the house entrance (Figure 5.24 - Figure 5.25). When viewed from the entrance hall, the main space with which a visual relationship is established is the *salon*, while a limited area of the entrance part of the kitchen can also be seen. The rooms, the toilet and the part where the bathroom is located do not have a visual relationship with the entrance due to the L shaped circulation order. The rooms and bathroom, located at the farthest point from the entrance, are defined as the most private part of the house, as in the early Republican period. Therefore, the only public space in the house seems to be the *salon*. Plans show that the *salon* became a larger space with the inclusion

of dining place when compared to the living rooms of the early Republican period. In addition, the kitchen is located physically close the entrance and the *salon*. Yet while the kitchen, like the *salon*, is the primary space that can be accessed from the entrance, the position of its door made it invisible from the main entrance which provided a semi-public status to the kitchen space. Compared to the early Republican period, there is not much difference in the dimensions of the kitchen, so it is understood that it is still a place where only food is stored, prepared and served. However, the fact that the kitchen is not located on the façade of the building and that the need for ventilation and light are met through light shafts has reduced the physical quality of the space.



(a)



(b)

Figure 5.24. (a) Plan of *İlbank Blokları*, Ankara, 1957 (redrawn by the author)³⁰¹, (b) Visual accessibility from the entrance diagram

³⁰¹ Original floor plans are provided from <https://libdigitalcollections.ku.edu.tr/digital/search/searchterm/sivil%20mimari%20bellek>.

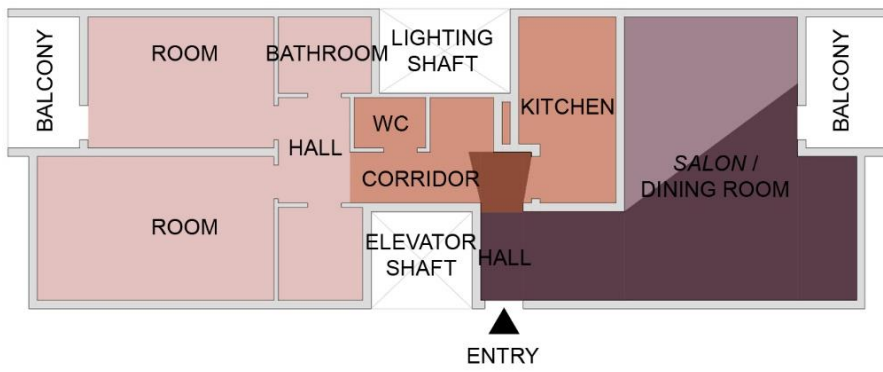
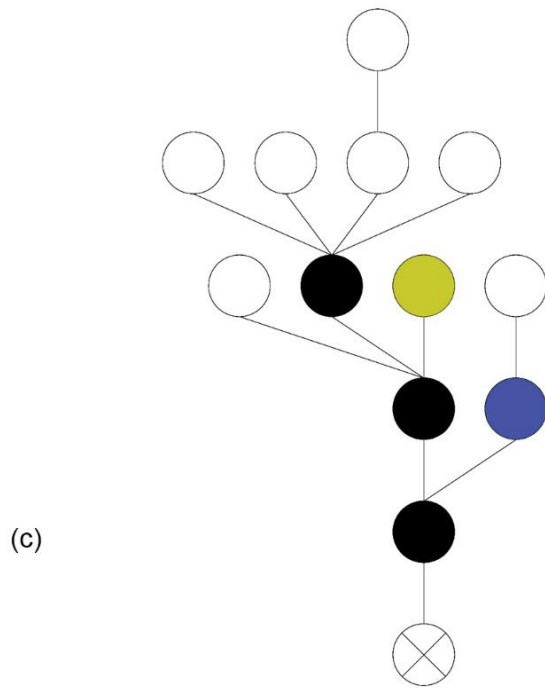


Figure 5.25. (c) Spatial relationship, accessibility and stratification diagram, (d) Spatial separation diagram

Botanik Apartmanı, built in 1975, has a very similar spatial organization with the *İlbank Blokları* (Figure 5.26 - Figure 5.27). The primary spaces that can be reached visually and physically at the first entrance to the house are the *salon* and the kitchen. The size of the salon in this house however, is notable, which is an indication that it accommodated multiple functions. Although the size of the kitchen is close to that one in the *İlbank Blokları*, it is in a visible position from the entrance and received light from the façade. There is no visual relationship with the other parts of the house from the entrance, due to the form of the corridor that served as the backbone of the house. In addition, the level difference and the steps in the transition between the rooms and the bathrooms, and the orientation and form of the corridor increased the spatial separation and the privacy levels of these spaces. The presence of a separate bathroom in one of the rooms is another indication of the increasing privacy level at a spatial basis; the bathroom added to the parent's room shows that this room has not only begun to increase in size but has also become more privatized.

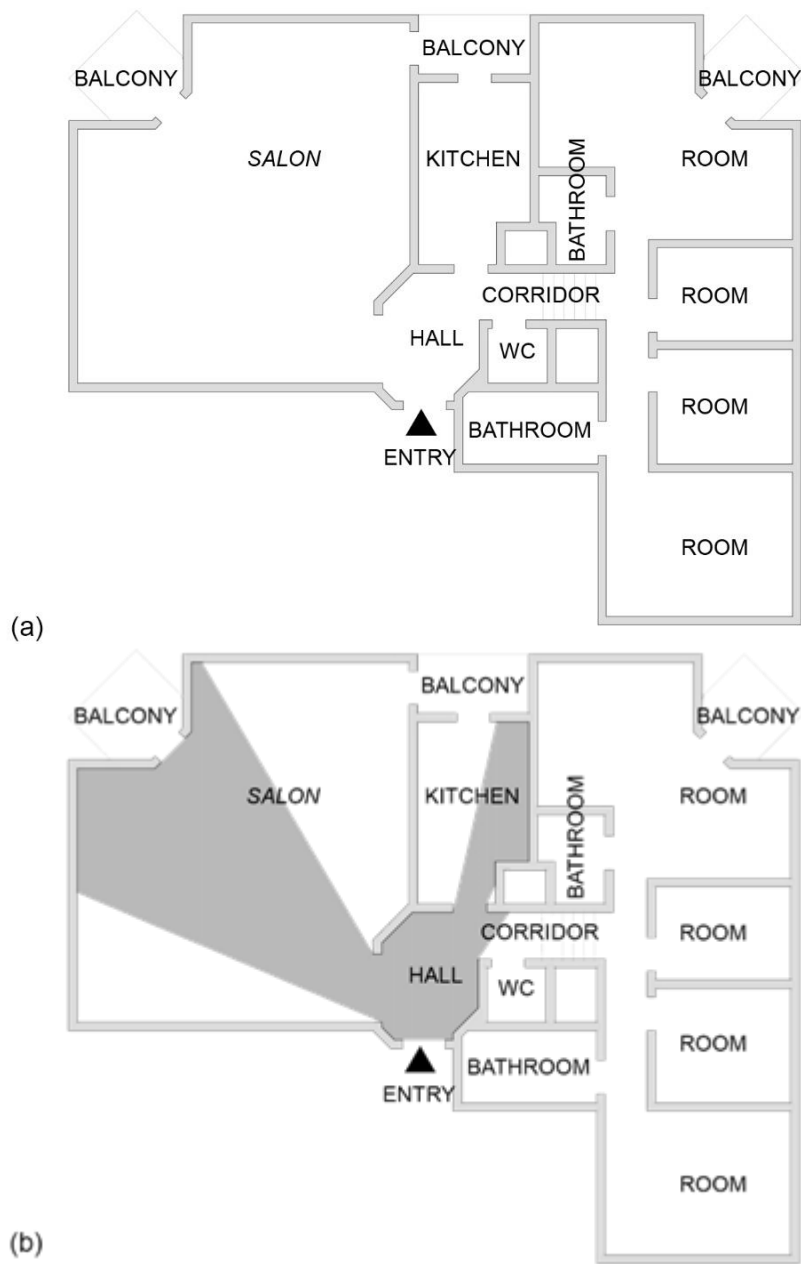


Figure 5.26. (a) Plan of *Botanik Apartmanı*, Ankara, 1975 (redrawn by the author)³⁰²,
 (b) Visual accessibility from the entrance diagram

³⁰² Original floor plans are provided from <https://libdigitalcollections.ku.edu.tr/digital/search/searchterm/sivil%20mimari%20bellek>.

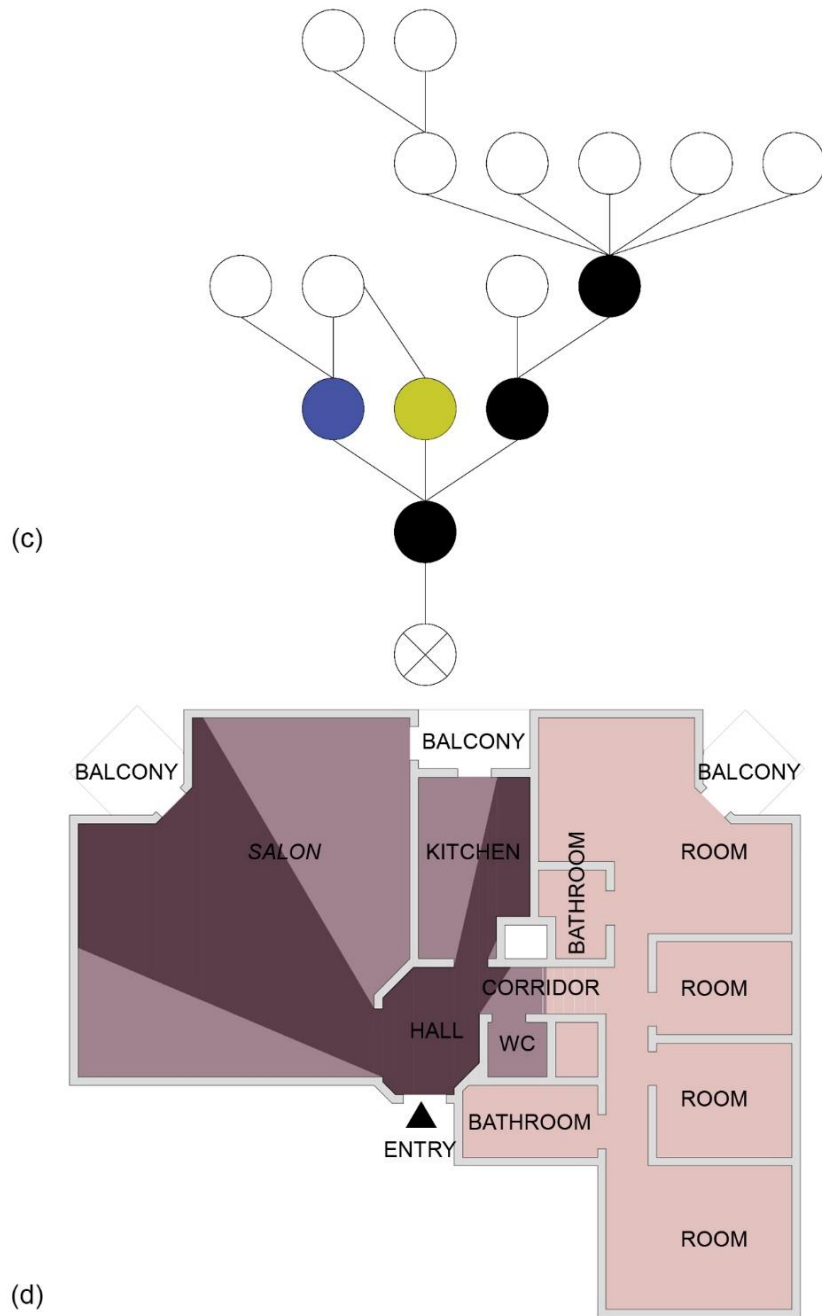


Figure 5.27. (c) Spatial relationship, accessibility and stratification diagram, (d) Spatial separation diagram

As a result, when the house plans in the apartments designed between 1950s-1980s are examined, it is seen that *salon* is the most public space, and became larger to accommodate different functions. There are no interconnected rooms, which is an indication to have individual rooms with more privacy. The changing structure in the spatial organization indeed, shows that the importance given to personal privacy has increased. The house, which was designed as a unified whole in the early Republic period, became fragmented into a set of separate and independent spaces in the following period. Therefore, it can be said that while the flexible use of individual spaces has increased, the flexibility in the use of house as a whole disappeared. The kitchen, experienced the greatest change in terms of location and status, and has become more accessible. They are located close to the *salons* which facilitated the service tasks done by the women. This locational change made the woman and her works more visible. However, there are negativities in the physical conditions of the kitchen space, such as its smallness, and the insufficient lighting and ventilation conditions, demonstrating that the working conditions of women have not yet fully improved.

The post-1980 period saw the emergence of a new lifestyle introduced by globalization.³⁰³ One of the novel typologies of the period is micro-housing, which is conceptualised as a flexible domestic setting. The type elaborated the spatial flexibility observed in the houses of 1950s-1980s period as the dominating principle.

In *Microloft Yarasa*, a visual dominance is provided to all areas of the house at the entrance (Figure 5.28). This makes the house a completely public space, in which all domestic performances from sitting, cooking, eating, working and cleaning to sleeping are made spatially and socially interrelated and visible.

³⁰³ İnce Güney, 2009, 112.



Figure 5.28. (a) Plan of *Microloft Yarasa*, İstanbul, 2011 (redrawn by the author)³⁰⁴,
 (b) Visual accessibility from the entrance diagram;
 (c) Spatial relationship, accessibility and stratification diagram;
 (d) Spatial separation diagram

³⁰⁴ Original floor plans are provided from <https://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/microloft-yarasa/4097>.

Microloft Bulut, distinguishes in terms of making a more restricted area visible upon viewed from the entrance (Figure 5.29). In this example, the area with the bathroom and shower remains more specialised in terms of both visual relationship and accessibility.

Both examples, represent a responsive domestic typology to today's living conditions which manifest in such situations as increasing level and duration of education, career-oriented lifestyle, change towards perception of marriage, more involvement of women in business life, men starting to take part in domestic works, increasing individualism, limited time spent at house. In this respect, the single room house is an alternative to the traditional life style of a nuclear family whose routines and codes were set by the relevant social norms. While the typology creates a multi-layered use of space in terms of space and time³⁰⁵, it also increases temporal and spatial efficiency. Although the virtual functional boundaries inside the space can be drawn from the design and placement of furniture, the spatial differentiation is blurry. The integration of functions such as sitting/living, sleeping or eating, studying, cooking and storage into one space made the relationship between domestic spaces as public-private, the service space and the service provider ambiguous. The objects and furniture in the space, in this sense, have become a multifunctional space descriptor rather than a decorative object to serve different functions at different times of the day.

³⁰⁵ Gür, 2017,36.

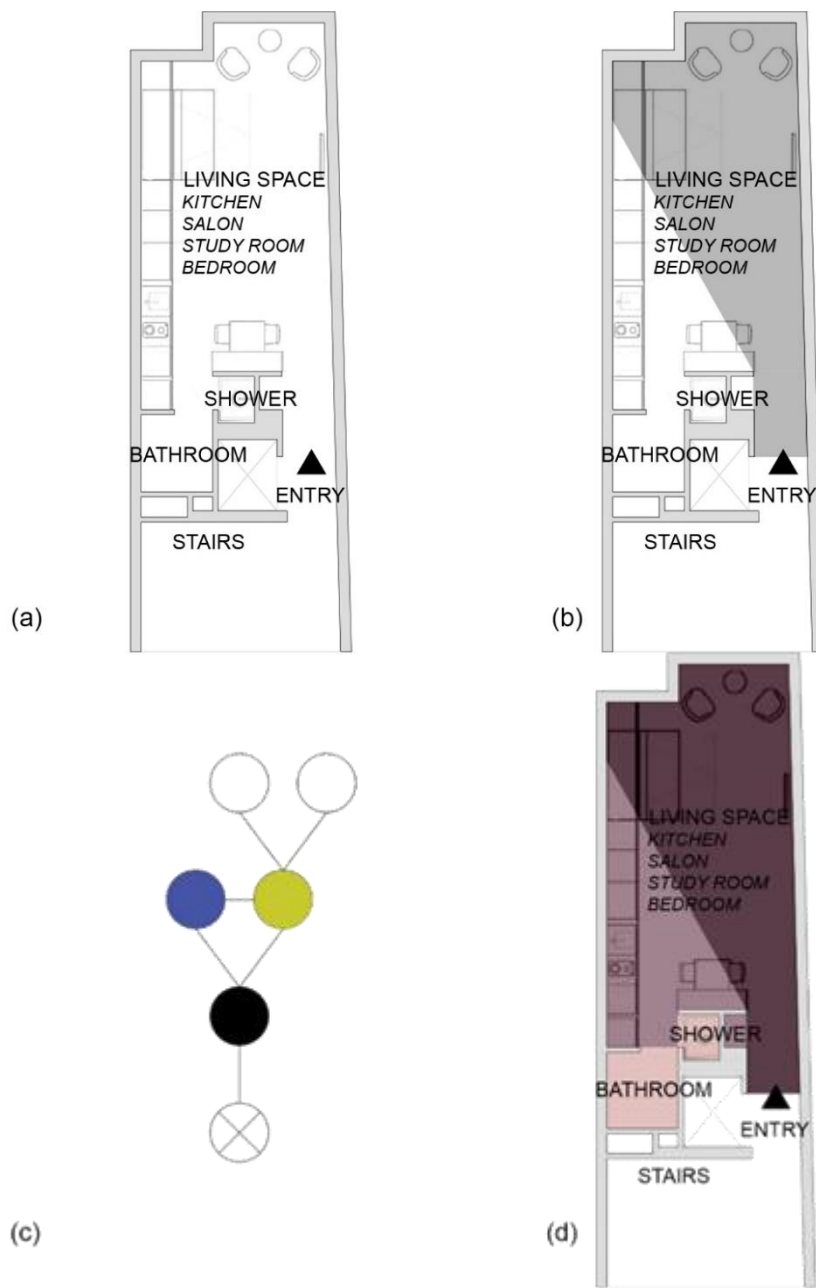


Figure 5.29. (a) Plan of *Microloft Bulut*, İstanbul, 2012 (redrawn by the author)³⁰⁶,
 (b) Visual accessibility from the entrance diagram;
 (c) Spatial relationship, accessibility and stratification diagram;
 (d) Spatial separation diagram

³⁰⁶ Original floor plans are provided from <https://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/microloft-bulut/4100>.

David Falagan relates this flexible and adaptable use to gender equality:

The consideration of household tasks as a premise that must be taken into account at the design stage makes it possible to share and make visible certain functions that are erroneously assigned to women in the cultural context of the nuclear family. Achieving equal relationships without gender role conditioning involves identifying these activities and making them more flexible by involving everyone who lives in the home. In order to incorporate the gender perspective in housing policies, it is more important than ever to ensure the visibility of every area in which housework is carried out and ensure the participation of all users of the home in those tasks and remove the space hierarchy in house.³⁰⁷

The disappearance of the spatial hierarchies and sharp functional separations in domestic life through accumulating the functions/activities with no clear boundaries in a single setting, and making all functions visible, has indeed introduced a positive aspect, though at a scale comparably minor with respect to more conventional contemporary house types with multiple rooms and/or stories, to the gender discourse.

To sum up, in this chapter, first, the scholarly literature that studied gender, domesticity and house between the early Republican period and contemporary era in Turkey are examined. These studies are scrutinized to determine the periods to be examined, the investigation mediums, and the spaces and themes to be elaborated with respect to house-domesticity-gender in the selected periods. In this context, it is observed that the research on the early Republican period was mostly pursued through the popular magazines of the period, and that the living room/guest room and the in-between spaces (hall, *antre*, corridor) that served as spatial separators came to the fore. The discussions covered such topics as privacy level, spatial separation, furnishing and decoration, and comfort and efficiency in domestic works. The studies that looked at the period of 1950s-1980s, showed that, the advertisement posters served as a fruitful research medium. The advertisements are used to develop discourses on the spatial transformation of not only the living room but also the

³⁰⁷ 2019, 15-16.

kitchen as well as the spatial separation and level of privacy. For the post-1980 period, the studies made use of both advertisements and interviews. It is seen that while the most examined spaces are still the kitchen and the living room, the prominent themes became the ambiguity of public-private distinction, change in lifestyle, multifunctional use of space, decrease in privacy level and creation of masculine characters and codes as the user and shaper of the house.

Two house plans selected for each of the three periods are briefly analysed in terms of spatial layout on the basis of this literature survey. The plans are studied to illustrate the ways spatial separation and privacy level are achieved. In the early Republican period, spatial separations manifested in terms of varying levels of privacy, from public, semi-public, and private spaces to service spaces. The privacy level differences between the inside and outside of the house were created by means of in-between spaces, and the degree of visual relationship and distance to the entrance. The *salon* is the most public space of the house, and the bathroom is the most private. The kitchen, which is used most by women, seems to have remained in a secondary status as a service space since it was accessed through a separate circulation organization. It is observed that there were spatial separations as public, semi-public and private in the houses examined between the 1950s-1980s, and the privacy level were controlled by restricting the visual relationship provided at the entrance and increasing the distance of the spaces from the entrance. It is also seen that the house design shifted from creating an integrated spatial whole to creating singular spaces related in various ways. The *salon* is still the most public space in the house and has grown in physical size with the inclusion of the dining room. The kitchen is closer to the entrance and the *salon*, so its visibility has increased; its location has facilitated the work of the woman who is responsible for the service while its physical conditions were insufficient in terms of size, lighting and ventilation. The consequences of the changing lifestyle on the domestic setting in the post-1980 period, as emphasized in the literature survey is illustrated through micro-housing typology. The type offers a new spatial organization and discourse. There is no spatial hierarchy and hence much privacy in this type of houses. Spatial

boundaries are ambiguous as spatial boundary separators like hall and corridor are absent, and there is visual dominancy to all domestic spaces from the entrance. Thus, it is argued that the domestic setting responded to the social changes and has features to challenge and change the traditional social discourses.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Comprehending the discursive relationship between domestic space and gender, that is, the organisation of domestic space as regards gender stereotypes in the Turkish society between the early Republican period and the modern era is the fundamental research purpose of this study. This study positions itself in the relationship between feminist theories, which challenges and scrutinizes the definition and scope of gender, and space theories, and form a theoretical and historical background by benefiting from the scholarly productions of both fields. The thesis, in addition, presents the scholarly state and context of studies that took gender, domesticity and house in Turkey between the Republic period to present into their focus. This framework is used to identify the emerging themes that often addressed space in relation to gender discourse, and the spatial organisation of domestic sphere in each period as well as to see the employed research methods and evidence.

The study unfolded the main aspects and critical interpretations of “gender” and “space” to understand the conceptual origins and insights, and the scope of the relationship by doing a survey on the pioneer works in different fields, such as philosophy, geography, architecture and interior design. The survey showed that there is a shared sensibility in the disciplinary works and that all of them problematised the concept of gender in a socio-spatial context, and were aware of the social construction of space and the social representation of architecture. In this regard, they critically discussed and reasoned: the spatial separation, the dichotomisation of space as city/house, urban/domestic, public/private, inside/outside; the gendered contradiction in dichotomised spaces; body and space

relationship; the manifestation of patriarchy in domestic interiors and re-gendered spaces. The representative studies have stated that the national and political powers and economic changes affect social construction, and the beliefs shaped by culture are linked to gender meanings and ideologies, and therefore power struggles and patriarchy are the reasons for spatial division. The common opinion is that the dynamism in social construction over time changes and will change the space's social construction, meaning and discursiveness.

1960s emerge as the period when gender and space debates began. The period corresponds to post-war modernisation in the West and America which was centred around progression in science and technology. This process brought about changes in political systems and economic balances, which affected the cultural acceptance, social perception and functioning of social issues around the world. The scholarly atmosphere of the late 1960s and early 1970s, in this context, increasingly questioned, among other social matters, the issues of "social inequality" and "otherness". Such discussions on social order and inequality paved the way to the first studies on gender and space. While otherness began to be discussed in the works of the feminist perspective, gender flourished as a more interdisciplinary subject, elaborated intensively in feminist geography and architecture to discuss the social and spatial construction of inequalities and the reciprocal and interactive relationship between gender and space.

In reference to the surveyed studies, to understand the social and spatial change and debates over time, firstly, the scope and context of feminist theory over time and historical context and perception of gender in Turkey were examined. And then, the change in the context and states of space theories over time, the social discursiveness of the space discussed with this change and the spatial construction of gender have been conveyed.

Feminist theory translates the feminist movements, which are based on the equality and liberation of women, into goals and strategies through developing arguments on political, cultural and economic grounds, and equal rights, gender

equality, legal protection and social and economic emancipation of women, and explores how the oppressive patriarchal society/system works. The theory predicates the inequality and social distinction to biological determinism, which is centred on behavioural and psychological differences that have social causes. Until the 1960s, the discussions that progressed over sex, which was actually a physical distinction, gained a more socio-cultural dimension with the introduction of concept of gender by Robert Stoller in his book *Sex and Gender* in 1968.

Gender is described to accompany biological differences associated with an individual's sex, and it is defined as a culturally, socially and historically constructed set of differences, sociological formations and behaviours. It is argued that due to historical, political, and economic circumstances, societies have been actively and continually altered in terms of norms on culture, society, and religion over time. Gender is thus, a topic that needs to be constantly investigated in order to comprehend women and men as social beings because gender is a concept generated by society and may alter or become affected. While the feminist theory uses gender as a tool to explain the presence of inequality in society, gender theory looks for what is seen as masculine and/or feminine and/or queer behaviour and is concerned with the historical development of culturally particular patterns of social identity and roles. Gender roles and expectations are subject to development and change due to shifting political and economic power dynamics, globalisation, and other factors that influence cultural norms, social perceptions and beliefs. This is because culture is not an unambiguous phenomenon but rather a dynamic process of change.

Each society's culture, cultural change and social discourse are shaped by its own internal dynamics. The research, in this respect, is framed with the discourse context and history of studies on gender and domestic space in Turkey. It is observed that the concept of gender did not become a robust research area in its own right in Turkish scholarship. Feminism and the feminist movement in Turkey rather questioned the phenomenon of "women", and the theory progressed in the form of "women's studies". Within the fields of social sciences, women's studies first

appeared in the Turkish academia in the early 1950s. The undergraduate and graduate programs at several institutions began to offer courses that thematised women, particularly in the late 1960s. Turkish feminist scholars began to confront the situation of women by the end of the 1970s, and some seminal books on women's rights were published in this period. The recognition of the women's movements in the Western world in Turkey, and the increase in research on women since the 1980s have made the women identity become more visible in the Turkish society. Academicians from different disciplines, such as Nermin Abadan-Unat (law, political science, sociology); Mübeccel Kıray (sociology, anthropology); Nükhet Sirman (anthropology, sociology); Şirin Tekeli (philosophy, political science); Fatmagül Berktaş (political science); Yeşim Arat (political science); Ferhunde Özbay (sociology); Deniz Kandiyoti (political science, psychology); Serpil Sancar (political science); Gülsüm Baydar (architectural history) became the leading names. Considering their work, it is seen that the feminist scholarship that emerged in academia relates the woman issue to politics. In the contemporary Turkish context, feminism, above all, is presented as an ideology that articulates the position of women in society as a central political issue. Since women and gender issues are political issues in Turkey, the development of feminist studies in the country is also associated to political turning points and can be divided into three periods: The early Republican era beginning in the 1920s, the multi-party era spanning between the 1950s and the 1980s military coup, and the post-1980s period when women were able to expand the influence of their actions. In the 1920s, one of the pivotal agents of the revolutions of the newly established state was women, and the reforms and social constructions articulated women's participation in public life, education and work. Although the conservative political perspective in the 1950s associated women with home and family, the social status of women continued to increase in the mid-century as well. After 1980s, came an increase in the activist movements which augmented the visibility of women in society and their right to speak.

As there has been a change in social life over time, the meaning, structure and, therefore, theories of space have also changed. New theories in the 20th century

explored further meanings in the concept of space. While Antony Vidler said that space is a phenomenon that changes over time, just like the body or sexuality itself, on a historical and cultural axis in 1988, Lefebvre stated that space is a social product and that it is a concept and discourse that relates things, like social life and relationships, individual and private life, rather than being just an object in 1991. Amos Rapoport, argued that spatial organisation is the reflection of the relationship between physical space and social space, and the changes in the thoughts and behaviours of human beings, who are social beings, over time will also transform the spatial organisation. Thus, the concept of space and the concept of gender, which are both social products, are closely interrelated, and they gain or produce new meanings over time and transform each other.

The gendered space phenomenon is created by relating objects and spaces with masculine or feminine codes, sometimes as a consequence of usage practices and at other times as a result of social perception. These relationships are based on social status and power, so the separation created by the status and power balances in society has also caused space to be separated into public and private. As feminist theory emphasises, the economic and political power determines and changes social status, which affects the cultural approach to spatial segregation in societies/states. Despite witnessing significant changes in connection to socio-economic changes and cultural transformations across historical processes, gender-based division of labour and its geographical reflections, which have existed since prehistoric cultures, nonetheless, retain its fundamental features. The 19th century separation of the workplace and home was brought by the capitalist order and industrialisation in an urban scale, in other words, the differentiation of space and the processes of identification of gender with specific spaces developed parallel to each other. Hilde Heynen, in this respect, asserts that the creation of domestic ideals and the definition of domesticity was a result of the growth of industrial capitalism. In the 19th century, the term “domesticity” originally referred to the separation of the house from the

workplace.³⁰⁸ Later, the breadwinner and caretaker roles were separated, and as a result, women and men started to be perceived as opposites, and domesticity came to be associated with femininity.³⁰⁹ The public-private separation experienced on a macro scale is also reflected in the spaces of the house, which is the smallest social and cultural unit where basic social relations are carried out. Gerard Lico stated that this separation was created by the location, accessibility and comfort levels of the domestic spaces.³¹⁰ The division of space within the house and the construction of the spatial organisation influenced by this division are related to cultural norms and expectations of comfort and privacy.³¹¹

The policies followed in Turkey, which entered the process of modernisation and westernisation with the proclamation of the Republic in the 20th century, aimed to produce new national and social values. And women were put at the centre of this political ideology and discourse, and “women were asked to play important roles in society, primarily by raising a new generation in order to guarantee the continuity of a modern Turkey and its industrialisation.”³¹². This situation indirectly linked the house, which is the basis of social production, and the woman because as mentioned Chapter 2, the formation of nation-state based on gendered ideology and domestic space is the material representation of this social order and meaning. The change in the social status of women with the rights they gained during the Republican period the new social perception of female identity had consequences on the housing culture as well. The social status of women, the house and the spatial organisation of the domestic space, associated to the political discourse and reforms, have begun to

³⁰⁸ 2005, 7.

³⁰⁹ 2005, 8.

³¹⁰ Lico, 2001, 37.

³¹¹ Tanyeli, 2004.

³¹² Erdoğan Erkarşlan, 2011, 12.

differentiate. One of the political breaks experienced after the early Republican period is the transition to a multi-party system in 1945 and the transition of the society from the traditional agricultural structure to a modern industrial society, in a period that spanned between the 1950s to the 1980s, while another ,s the acceptance of liberal market economy and globalisation of society, under the influence of the developing mass media and communication, following the political structure changed with the 1980 military coup.

“The relationships between domesticity and nationhood have been examined by various scholars from different viewpoints and from different ideological standpoints.”³¹³ Therefore, it has been determined that studies on women, domesticity and house in Turkey are made within the scope of these political and economic turning points. In this context, twenty academic studies examining the relationship between gender, domesticity and house in a spatial context are examined. It has been found that ten of these studies refer to the early Republican period, nine to the period between the 1950s-1980s, and twelve to the post-1980 period.

Interest in the study of women in Turkey began with an ideological fervour to defend women’s changing status in the new Republic, because the redefinition of women’s gender roles with political changes opened a new field for feminist theory, which bases its research on politics, culture and economy. Explaining the new social order in this period, Nükhet Sirman says: “As the *mahrem* (secret, unknown to the community) of Ottoman was transformed into the “private” of modern city living, men were slowly being converted from patriarchs into “heads of families””³¹⁴ Numerous newspapers, pamphlets, treatises and novels published in this period

³¹³ *Ibid.*

³¹⁴ 1989, 12.

described woman as being a mother, wife and a cognizant consumer.³¹⁵ It is probably due to this perception that the academic studies which examined the early Republican period dwelled upon the relationship between housing and gender and used the magazines of the period and the images published in these magazines to elaborate their discussions. The level and operation of privacy, the distinction between public, private, and service spaces, furniture and decoration, and comfort and efficiency in the execution of domestic tasks are the common debated themes in these researches. The issues of privacy and separation of domestic spaces are assessed on the basis of floor plans, as well as by considering the location and distance of spaces from the entrance area that separated the inside from the outside, and the visual relationship offered at the first entrance to the house. The most emphasised spaces are the living room/guest room, which is mostly associated with a large balcony or terrace; the kitchen and its relationship to the entrance and living room/guest room in terms of location and visibility and, if existed, the dining room. It is also mentioned that the halls, antres and corridors served as in-between spaces in the house designs of the period and thus became the determinants of privacy level in the domestic spaces. In addition, the accessibility level of the spaces created by the excess of in-between spaces in the case study houses selected as representative of the period showed that different privacy levels were created within the domestic spaces. It is observed that *salons* are the closest and most visible/accessible places to the entrance, and the kitchen is separated from the public with the circulation organisation. It is determined that woman, who was taken as responsible for domestic work and service in the domestic ideology of the period, was thrown into the background. The multiple doors opening in the interior spaces provided alternative for transition between spaces which is interpreted as a sign of less spatial independency and individual privacy and more collective life in the house. Considering the spatial organisation of the traditional houses in the Ottoman Empire, the absence of a sharply separated

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*

gender-based spaces (*harem-selamlık*) in the houses of the early Republican period on the other hand, is taken as a sign of the increased status of women in the domestic space. Yet, the public-private separation in the domestic sphere and the image of modern woman as a domesticated identity, indicated the continuation of the patriarchal culture.

The feminist geographer Doreen Massey stated that, together with national and political power, global finance also shapes social relations and spaces. The period after 1945 in Turkey is an example of this. In this period, the transition to multi-party life, the establishment of the capitalist order with the support of America, the decrease in the traditional agriculture with mechanisation in the countryside, and the increasing industrialisation in the city with modern industry breakthroughs created a new economic order. A distinction was created between the urban and the rural, and the demand for the city increased. The feminist literature, in this regard, mainly focused on women in the rural areas in this period.³¹⁶ Serpil Sancar, in addition, states that there is very limited information on how the understanding of equality between men and women was shaped in the period between 1945 and 1965, and argues that this was a period in which the identity of a modern woman was transformed into a housewife through a gender regime.³¹⁷ Besides, the America-influenced technological innovations such as refrigerator and vacuum cleaner, were introduced to the society by means of mass media such as newspapers, radio and television. Women became associated with the house and the domestic products were related to female identity. By using advertisement posters, popular decoration and women's magazines of the era, the studies that covered the 1950s-1980 illustrated the social and cultural processes that had an impact on gender and private space. Considering the spatial integration of technological products (television and refrigerator), the living room and the kitchen emerge as the two key rooms that are

³¹⁶ Arat, 1993, 130.

³¹⁷ 2012, 10,21.

evaluated all sampled researches. Other common topics are the extension of the living area to support a variety of uses (sitting, dining, and working), as well as kitchen's limited size, insufficient natural lighting and ventilation. The domestication of women through political and social ideology, the alteration in the physical dimensions of the space to incorporate home technology, the reduction in the physical separation of domestic spaces, and the degree of privacy in the domestic spaces are identified as the main discussions in the sampled studies. In the houses examined as representative of the period, it is observed that there was a decrease in the number and size of the halls and an increase in number of corridors. The spatial separation and level of privacy created by the succession of the halls were replaced by the interruption of visual relationships and the level of privacy created by changing the direction of the corridors. On the other hand, the absence of alternatives in the transition between spaces, that is, the presence of a single door in the spaces shows that the once integrated domestic life turned into a more individualistic lifestyle. In terms of the spatial organisation, the dining room and the living room were combined, and made dining area part of daily life. The kitchens were often located right next to the living room, and became more visible and accessible to the public, compared to the early Republican period. This situation made woman who is responsible for domestic work, more visible in the ideology of this period. The proximity of the kitchen as the service area to the living room facilitated the service work and made woman more public in the private sphere. On the other hand, the modest size of the kitchen, its inadequate lighting and ventilation, indicates that the spatial conditions for women's domestic labour were not improved.

Penny Sparke says mass consumption, mass media and utilisation of technology have made modern domestic interiors more transparent, permeable and flexible in terms of use of space. She states that modern domestic interiors are shaped in opposition to what is defined as feminine in the traditional understanding. The economic, social and spatial shaping of Turkey after the 1980s parallels this statement. While the liberal market economy created a consumer society structure, the progressing technology and mass media mobilised the globalisation process.

According to Sirman, these triggered an increase in the search for individuality and questioning identity in this period.³¹⁸ The increasing activism became visible in the media, and the feminist studies and publications increased. Women participated more to political life and work life. It is observed that the studies examining the post-1980 period did research by using the advertisements broadcasted in the mass media which promoted mass consumption of objects and illustrated the discursiveness of the space presented in this media in terms of gender roles. According to the sampled studies, although the kitchen and living room remained as the areas that were most frequently examined, the prominent themes changed: the blurring of the distinction between public and private, changes in lifestyle, the multifunctional use of space, a reduction in the degree of privacy, and the development of masculine characters and codes as users and shapers of the domestic space. The micro-housing typology, which offers a new spatial organisation and discourse, is analysed in the light of the shift in lifestyle as emphasized in academic studies. The type is characterised by the blurred spatial boundaries, the lack of spatial separation apparatuses, and the visible dominance of all domestic spaces, showing that spatial hierarchy and a high level of privacy are not concerns in this type of private setting.

Robert Venturi defends in *Complexity and Contradiction*³¹⁹ that, people have complex behaviours and the growing complexity of society should be expressed in architecture. The 20th century studies on space saw it as a social product. These studies indicated that space is an establishment that creates a relationship between people-people, people-things and things-things and that different groups and cultures define space in different ways. They stated that since the decisions and behaviours of these social groups, or most fundamentally individuals, change over time, that is,

³¹⁸ 1989, 15.

³¹⁹ Venturi criticizes the modern in a post-modernist approach in this article. He argues that over simplification is reductive. There should be an inner complexity in buildings, as well as in architecture.

the relational situation are temporary, the definition, discourse and organisation of space will also be oriented by the future and existence. Feminist theory and gender theory studies also argued that behaviours, identity and gender phenomena and roles are social and cultural and that religious, political and economic changes alter society, that is, the social identity and roles of individuals. The fact that political, socio-cultural and economic changes led to shifts in the housing culture, in terms of setting and manipulating social identities, gender roles and expectations like privacy spatially emerge as the pivotal discussion framework in the survey undertaken in this study.

Although there are many scholarly studies on gender, women and feminism, it has been observed that gender has been studied relatively less in the context of spatial theory in the Turkish literature. It is seen that, the representative studies that the scholarship on gender, domesticity and house in Turkey are pursued in line with the processes that brought changes in society like early Republican period, 1950s and 1980s and after. The works structured discussions in reference to the contents provided by mass media, including popular magazines, women's magazines, decoration magazines, and advertisements, which yield a social discourse, and by relating this content to the spatial analyses of house plans. The discourse on gender and domestic space is thus, examined via a mutual reading of mass media and architecture. In all of these studies, it was observed that the gendered space construction analysis was carried out on the separation of the domestic spaces and the varying privacy levels of the spaces. It has been seen that the studies that analyse the architectural data evaluate the privacy level and spatial separation through the parameters of the visibility, accessibility, permeability and flexibility of the space. On the other hand, what is overlooked in discussing the relationship between space and gender based on the "picturised" space, which is reflected on mass media, and the way individuals experience in this space is the physical formation, organization and discursiveness of spaces in their relations with each other. In other words, these studies evaluated the spatial use created by social discourse.

In the light of the representative scholarly works, this study examined the discursiveness of the space by combining the determinations in social discourse studies with the analysis of the formation of the spaces of the houses reflecting the architectural features of the period in certain periods when political, socio-cultural and economic changes were experienced. As a result, it has been observed that many sectoral segregations in spatial organization, different levels of privacy, and thus gendered space construction have been replaced by a holistic organization in singularity, and thus a more egalitarian space production has begun in terms of social discourse.

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