Surviving Modernism:The Live-in Kitchen Including The Turkish Cypriot Case

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ABSTRACT

The kitchen has evolved drastically through periods of social change in human history, transforming from a gathering spot to a symbol of segregation; from the primitive *hearth* which was the sole space for every activity regarding life, to the Modern rational kitchen where women were isolated within. Today's kitchen, however, has evolved back into its primal status, accommodating every member of the family hence including multiple functions.

Evolution of the kitchen is a multi-faceted, intricate process that was influenced by several diverse however interdependent factors. This study aims to examine and understand the dynamics beneath the evolution of kitchen; referring to cultural, economical and political aspects that shaped the kitchen, with a reference to blurring gender thresholds in the domestic sphere.

Recognizing Turkish Cypriot community's special attachment to the kitchen space, evolution of the Turkish Cypriot kitchen is analysed over a timeline covering the past hundred years. Comparative analysis is carried out between different types of recent dwellings in North Cyprus. User-initiated transformations in kitchen spaces of governmental housing units are examined in an effort to reveal the underlying reasons beneath the modification efforts and to understand the meaning of the 'live-in kitchen' in Turkish Cypriot households.

Keywords: Live-in Kitchen, Frankfurt Kitchen, Turkish Cypriot Dwelling, Gender Roles, Spatial Modification

ÖZET

Mutfak tarihteki toplumsal değişimlerle birlikte önemli ölçüde evrildi; bir toplanma noktasından ayrışma simgesine; yaşama dair tüm etkinlikler için tek mekan olan primitif *ocak*tan, kadının izole edildiği Modern rasyonel mutfağa dönüştü. Günümüz mutfağı ise ailenin tüm bireylerini ve böylece birden çok işlevi barındırarak tarihteki başlangıç noktasına geri dönüyor.

Mutfağın evrimi, farklı olduğu kadar birbirine bağlı olan etmenler tarafından yönlendirilen çok yönlü, karmaşık bir süreçtir. Bu çalışma ile, mutfağın evriminin gerisindeki dinamiklerin, ve mutfağı şekillendirmiş olan kültürel, ekonomik ve politik öğeler ile gittikçe belirsizleşen toplumsal cinsiyet eşiklerinin etkilerini anlamak amaçlanmıştır.

Kıbrıs Türk toplumunun mutfak mekanı ile olan özel bağı dikkate alınarak, Kıbrıs Türk mutfağının evrimi geçtiğimiz yüz yılı kapsayan bir süreç üzerinden ele alınmıştır. Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta son zamanlarda yapılmış konutların mutfak mekanları karşılaştırılmıştır. Sosyal konut mutfaklarında kullanıcı tarafından yapılan değişiklikler ve amaçları araştırılmış, değişikliklerin nedenleri ve Kıbrıs Türk hanehalkı için 'yaşama mutfağı'nın anlamı belirlenmeye çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Yaşama Mutfağı, Frankfurt Mutfağı, Toplumsal Cinsiyet Rolleri, Kıbrıs Türk Konutu, Mekansal Değişim

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To My Mother

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Definition of the Problem

> "*For thousands of years, the kitchen hearth was the centre of the household, it was the place where everyone sat, thought, and planned, and where the woman of the house was more than just a cook. Certainly, we should not wallow in false romanticism and dream of a return of the 'cozy hearth'. But the modern kitchen – with all its technological fittings, its rationally conceived interior design, and all of the advantages of our scientific age – can also be the heart of the dwelling, giving nourishment not just to the body but to the soul and spirit*". [1]

Ignored, avoided and hidden for centuries, the kitchen has made a spectacular comeback. The uninteresting female realm returned as the new *focus* of the contemporary dwelling, quite similar to its original status. Today, the kitchen accommodates a wide range of functions and consequently a diverse set of users, eradicating long existing gender based thresholds. Evolution of the kitchen is a long, intricate and intriguing process worthy of investigation, for it involves a range of parties and ideologies that clash with each other for a supposedly unimportant workshop.

[1] Klaus Spechtenhauser (2006:45) quotes from a 1959 issue of *Wohnen* magazine.

Throughout history, the space with fire has constituted the *focus*[2] of domestic existence; hearth being the kitchen, the bedroom and the living room together. Being the historic gathering space of the household, the kitchen, or the hearth, has been one of the most socially significant spaces in the dwelling in diverse cultures around the world. In addition to the Modern functions like cooking and ironing, kitchen of the past accommodated a variety of vital purposes including social gatherings and religious rituals. However, the word 'kitchen' had different connotations to people of different classes.

In various segments of history, this basic activity was appointed to certain groups such as women, slaves or domestic servants, and was hidden in certain enclosures until the outcome was served at the table, omitting the preparation process which was undesirable. It can be accepted that apart from the wealthy, kitchen was the multi-functional multi-user room of the dwelling. However, even for the middle/low income families, there came a time when this central space lost its significance due to major changes in social order.

Kitchen had been unknown –and unappealing- to scientists until after the First World War as it used to be either the hidden servant quarter of the bourgeois mansion or the main living space of the working class dwelling; which was itself out of sight. When housing problems arose after the War, several governments ran design policies for healthier urban housing systems, which eventually made the house an object of

[2] *focus*: Latin, *hearth*. *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, Fourth Edition*. Houghton Mifflin Company, 2004.

research and the usually ignored kitchen and consequently women's work was subjected to scientific rationalization (Rolshoven 2006:12; Jerram 2006: 538).

However this intensive research process was on the technical aspects of the kitchen, and was handled mostly in mathematical terms, in accord with the trendy scientific efficiency principles. After considerable research and development studies, the 'scientifically designed' kitchen ended up as a working cabinet, epitomized and often called by the most renowned example; the Frankfurt Kitchen.

This new kitchen, which was highly praised by designers and welcomed by governments, was not so cheerfully embraced by most working class users who were used to spacious live-in kitchens. While the rational kitchen remained as the urban norm for decades in many countries, discontented users either tried quietly to squeeze their traditional lives into the minute space, or reacted by knocking down walls and enlarging the *rational* into the *traditional*. The kitchen has been opening and expanding since the 1950s; about the same time it started to become a leading actor in social science research instead of efficiency calculations.

Today, kitchen is the most expensive section of almost every middle-class house – super-fashionable cabinets carrying the year's colours, complemented by high-end brand appliances in matching colours, designer accessories on the worktops, an LCD screen TV and kitchen furniture in the latest style. The unstoppable rise of the kitchen from the smoky hearth to the flashy showroom was triggered by an array of factors that are diverse however often inter-connected. Enlargement of the kitchen is intricately linked to political, social and economic conditions in addition to feminist

discourse and women's movement, and has been experienced in various ways and for different reasons in diverse cultures, social groups and geographies.

While detailed literature is available on kitchens, women and 'professional housewifery' of the previous century in Europe and the States, Turkish Cypriot sources are far from presenting adequate documentation. This condition is however quite expected considering that until late 1974, a major part of Turkish Cypriot rural life passed in anticipation of conflict, when not *in* conflict. Political and governmental status were almost always instable and consequently housing research may not have been the prior issue to deal with. Researchers begun taking up housing as research areas towards the end of the previous century and currently there is considerable research on housing in North Cyprus, however none is concerned specifically with the kitchen space therefore Turkish Cypriot kitchen remains undocumented.

Architectural products in North Cyprus have so far been examined over a rich range of aspects and from several points of view. Almost all kinds of dwellings have been documented for their individual peculiarities; be it colonial British, Ottoman, Modern, post-war, post-republic etc. However the kitchen, constituting the main living space in almost every Turkish Cypriot house, has been overlooked. Although there is a certain number of theses and dissertations on Turkish Cypriot dwelling architecture, the kitchen has not been documented in detail, and while this fact slows down research at the same time it renders this study original.

1.2 Aims and Objectives

The main goal of this thesis is to understand and document the social and architectural aspects of the Turkish Cypriot kitchen, with reference to the immense transformation of the Western kitchen through the 19th and 20th centuries. This study is meant to serve as an analysis of the diverse factors influencing meaning and use of the kitchen space by Turkish Cypriot households and mutually, the effects of traditionally adopted meaning and use patterns on the architecture of evolving kitchens.

1.3 Structure

The thesis is composed of five chapters consecutively describing the problem, reviewing literature, analysing cases and interpreting the results. The first chapter introduces the problem in an effort to draw attention to the often neglected fact regarding the significance of the kitchen space. Basis for the research questions is put forwards together with the objectives and limitations of the study.

Second and third chapters explain concepts that have influenced the evolutionary process of the kitchen over reviewed literature. The second chapter documents non-physical aspects of kitchen spaces and the implicit policies within and behind the kitchen. The third chapter concentrates on gender related aspects of this very gendered domestic space, providing a historical breakdown of the evolution.

Fourth chapter contains the comparative analyses of cases from North Cyprus, with the intention of documenting the special attachment of the Turkish Cypriot community to the kitchen spaces. Different dwelling types are compared to find out meaningful connections. The study is finalized with a conclusion, interpreting the information that was put forward in the previous chapters; stating the reasons for the current status of the Western kitchen, related gender issues, and the anticipated future of the Turkish Cypriot kitchen.

1.4 Methodology

Literature survey is conducted on previous studies that examine social aspects of kitchen spaces around the world and in the local geography. A small-scale field survey is carried out to exemplify spatial modifications carried out for achieving live-in kitchens. Personal observations of the researcher and non-structured interviews are important factors that assisted in achieving results.

1.5 Limitations and Delimitations

In addition to aforementioned lack of academic literature on the Turkish Cypriot kitchen space, scarcity of historical records and archives of architectural drawings regarding housing of the previous couple of centuries have caused considerable setback in the research process. Another obstacle was the fact that despite its public character among friends and relatives, Turkish Cypriot kitchen is not accessible by

outsiders and although the subjects were kind enough to let the researcher in, photographing the kitchen has not been possible for all cases.

This study is delimited to Turkish Cypriot families with children, mothers being the main interviewees. Selected samples are owned properties only, in order to be able to observe user-initiated modifications.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL ISSUES REGARDING THE KITCHEN

Design of dwellings involves a range of non-physical factors in addition to physical aspects such as climate, geography or building materials (Rapoport 1969). Kitchen, being a special domestic space with its own technical infrastructure and binding physical requirements, is also significantly affected by certain intangible factors like culture, politics or gender, which are intricately interrelated with each other. This chapter discusses the non-physical aspects which directly or indirectly forms the physical makeup of the kitchen.

2.1 Culture, Meaning and Use :

Rapoport (1969) considers culture to be one of the most definitive determinants of vernacular dwelling forms. Relatively, Robinson (2006:35) states that "*examination of the messages communicated through a society's buildings can provide critical insight into cultural content*". Although vernacular architecture can no longer be observed in urban contexts, culture does continue to shape living spaces in contemporary dwellings as well, regardless of the imposed architectural styles which may inflict strictly defined ways of life. In such cases where design does not meet cultural requirements, adaptation of space by the user takes on a significant role as

the major design approach, disregarding the imposed design. After all, as Rapoport stresses, *"what finally decides the form of a dwelling ... is the vision that people have of the ideal life"* (Rapoport 1969:47).

The image of the '*ideal life'* is shaped according to a range of factors including cultural structures, religious systems, top-down social reforms like '*Modernization*' or stimulation by industry; like advertisements. These induced meanings are naturally implemented in the dwellings in the form of architectural elements or spatial layout, which consequently influence meaning and patterns of use, which in turn re-shape the built environment.

2.1.1 Culture and *Genre de Vie*

Robinson defines architecture as a *"cultural medium"* and claims that *"the spatial world in which we live tells us who we are, we find ourselves within it, we respond to it and it reacts to us"* (Robinson 2006:3-23). Architecture has indeed been reflecting cultural traits and used as a definer of identity through various symbols. Reflection of culture becomes most obvious in the *architecture* of the home where life itself is surrounded by architectural elements. Houses, Rapoport stresses, "*are the physical expression of the [genre de vie]"* (Rapoport 2005:47).

Kitchen, being traditionally a gathering space, is consequently the materialized existence of the cultural structure of the household and society to which it belongs. Defined as a "cultural battlefield" by Swedish ethnologist Löfgren, the kitchen may

accommodate a range of culture related aspects within a single society or even the same household, which are imprinted in the built form, layout or decoration.[3]

Discussing the role of culture in architecture, Rapoport (2005:40) refers to the *Encyclopaedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World* [4] to give an impressive number of 1,278 for areas or groups with distinctive vernacular environments, and points out that the global diversity of vernacular architecture is exceedingly high compared to the number of climatic zones, building materials and techniques. Functions, on the other hand, are much less in number yet execution patterns make all the difference; that is, domestic activities like cooking or eating are global; however the ways these activities are carried out may vary infinitely. Rapoport (2005) goes on to explain this situation through an analysis of the 'function' and states that activities should be dismantled in order to understand how they affect and change the physical environment. Accordingly, activities are dismantled into four factors:

- *"The activity itself,*
- *How it is carried out,*
- *How it is associated with other activities to form a system of activities, and*
- *The meaning of the activity"*

Rapoport (2005:41)

[3] Rolshoven (2006:11) refers to Orvar Löfgren (1983) "The Sweetness of Home : Trautes Heim".
[4] Oliver, P. (1997) Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World. Cambridge University Press

Cooking, for example, is a universal human activity which most likely has existed since the earliest use of fire (Atalay and Hastorf 2006). However in every segment of culture and time, this activity was charged with a range of meanings which in turn affected the spaces designated for this action. For instance, while kitchen is defined as 'hidden room' in Kenya, it is the large 'family room' in the US dwelling (Rapoport 2005:42). A similar comparison can be made regarding Turkish and Turkish Cypriot kitchens, despite geographical and national proximity: Owing to the apparent influence of Islam on the position of women, Turkish kitchen in usual is a women's quarter which is inaccessible or unappealing to men. Turkish Cypriot kitchen on the other hand which is affected by the Mediterranean cultures, is rather accessible by the household and functions as a dining room as well, in spite of the fact that cooking and cleaning is women's responsibility in this kitchen as well.

Household labour, position of women and privacy matters constitute significant culture related aspects of social organization within the home, which become visible in the form of thresholds, partitions, spaces and so forth. Robinson (2006:20) states that while social roles are created by social prerogatives; they are communicated and reinforced by environments. A similar approach is put forward by Ardener (2000:113) who quotes from Goffman (1999)[5] to argue that '*space reflects social organization*' and that this is achieved through the use of "*small-scale spatial metaphors*'. Lawrence (1987:117) touches upon this issue of metaphors by quoting from Kron (1983:19-20):

> "*The furnishings of a home, the style of a house, and its landscape, are all part of a system – a system of symbols. And every item in the system has*

[5] Goffman, E. (1979). *Gender Advertisements*. London:Macmillan.

meaning. Some objects have personal meanings, some have social meanings which change over time. People understand this instinctively and they desire things, not for some mindless greed, but because things are necessary to communicate with ... And what is truly remarkable is that we are able to comprehend and manipulate all the elements in this rich symbol system".[6]

Rapoport (1969:54) exemplifies symbolic attitudes to spatial layouts with a seating arrangement which he claims is "almost unvarying throughout eastern and central Europe". This layout proposes a distribution of seats where the father sits at the end of a rectangular table, closest to the cult corner with his sons and male servants sitting on a bench fixed to the wall, touching the cult corner (Figure 2.1). Women, on the other hand, sit on a moveable bench away from the cult corner however closer to the stove.

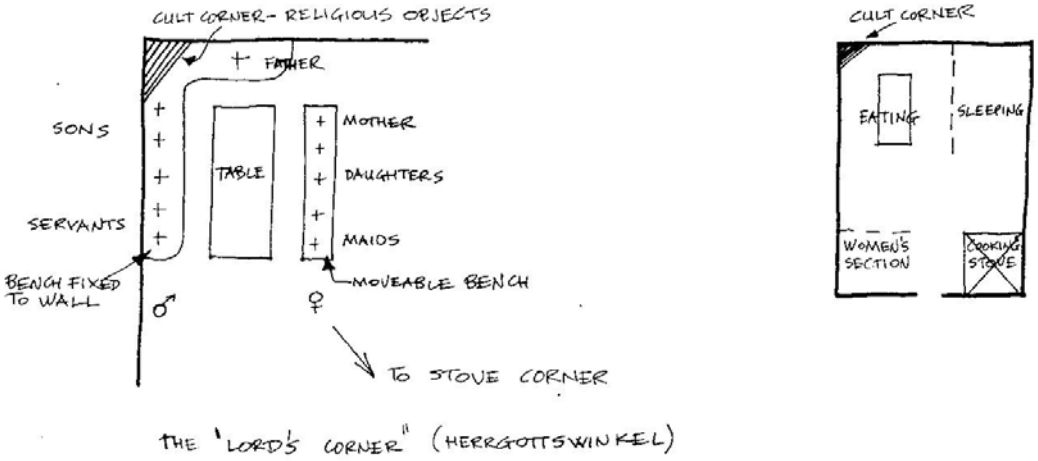


Figure 2.1 The Lord's Corner : Symbolic division of Medieval living space (Rapoport 1969:54)

De Caigny (2005:11) brings up a remarkable symbolic connection from 20th century Europe, where the hearth carried "*great allegorical significance*" due to its chimney extending upwards, insinuating a "*link to the divine heaven*". This fireplace, which

[6] Kron, J. (1983). *Home-Psych: the social psychology of home and decoration*, Clarkson N. Potter : New York.

constituted the focal point of the Belgian living-kitchen during the inter-war period, would be highlighted with a colour contrasting with the rest of the room, emphasizing its symbolic importance.

The mentioned 'spatial metaphors' do not necessarily exist in objects only. Domestic space is established upon certain dichotomies which may change in every culture, however the superior coordinates –up, right and front- are usually associated with men, while the inferior ones –down, left and back- are correlated to women (Needham 1973; Bourdieu 1973; Turuthan (Uraz) 1982; Ardener 2000).

Such invisible partitions used to be present in the traditional Turkish house where men would be seated on the *divan*[7] in the '*head corner'*, while women sat on the floor in the '*foot corner'* by the door (Turuthan [Uraz] 1982) (Figure 2.2). Turuthan [Uraz] (1982) emphasize that the 'foot corner' is used for food preparation and is relatively dirty and is associated with the "*female body in service*". The 'head corner', on the other hand, is associated with the male figure which is catered, sitting on a clean, raised platform.

[7] A seating platform that runs along adjacent walls.

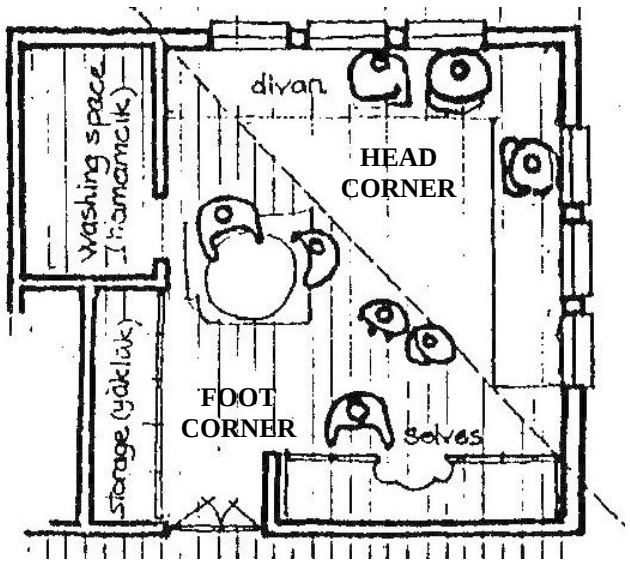


Figure 2.2 Symbolic division of living space in traditional Turkish house : Head corner / Foot corner (Turuthan [Uraz] 1982)

Although symbolic divisions are more often observed in vernacular and traditional architecture compared to institutionalized design approaches (Uraz and Gülmez 2005), Modernist dwellings too emphasized dichotomies such as dirty/clean, caterer/catered, woman/man, especially in the way kitchens were designed and located.

Symbolic arrangements are also observed in the Turkish Cypriot kitchen, although the 'cult corner' is replaced by the modern-day kitchen god; the TV set. The father usually takes the seat on the short end of a rectangular table, or if the table has circular or irregular form, the position most convenient for following the TV broadcast which generally displays news bulletins around dinner time. It should be noted that such dining arrangements are not observed in undersized rational kitchens where the position seizes to have a meaning due to exceeding proximity of seats to one another.

Robinson (2006:21) mentions of "*silent messages*" communicated through spatial structures; exemplifying her point with the analogy of spaciousness of the executive office compared to the cramped secretarial space. Adopting a similar point of view to analyse the minute rational kitchen compared to the adjacent living room, for instance, may yield significant insight to the way occupants of these spaces would identify themselves with respect to the spaces surrounding them.

While the influence of culture and *genre de vie* on architecture is undeniable, architecture has been a definer of social status and an agent of social reform through imposition of certain lifestyles with the effort to create ideal societies or nations. Ardener (2000:113) emphasizes space behaviour relationship by stating that "*the theatre of action to some extent determines the action*."

There have been a particular period in history when cultural traits in architecture were intended to be neutralized through a design movement; Modernism of the 20th century. Throughout the first half of the previous century, Modernism dominated the global design culture and its architectural reflections were most strongly felt at home, where a totally novel lifestyle/domestic culture was being introduced along with the new forms. Rolshoven (2006:11) claims that *"a whole society can be transformed in a kitchen, and the productive forces of a culture can be organized in the kitchen"*. In addition to the economical basis of its creation, the Modern kitchen was a means of instructing bourgeois values to lower classes, teaching them the decency in functional segregation. However there is proof to show that such intentions were most of the time ineffective as a cultural structure is not easily shaken at its '*heart'*.

Relatively, Rapoport (2005:42) refers to a study by Zeisel (1973)[8] on the kitchens of Puerto Rican immigrants in New York, where women have to cook in a rational however culturally inappropriate space. Apparently, Puerto Rican women prepare food in the presence of other women, which enables them to construct a system of hierarchy through cooking activities, and the rational kitchen fails to provide the traditionally needed space for spectators (Figure 2.3). Although such strong rituals regarding the kitchen are not seen in every culture, it is likely that almost all communities have found the rational kitchen against their traditional lifestyles. Forcing a household into a culturally inappropriate dwelling does not necessarily guarantee cultural manipulation; however may more possibly cause dissatisfaction, as will be handled in detail in the following chapters.

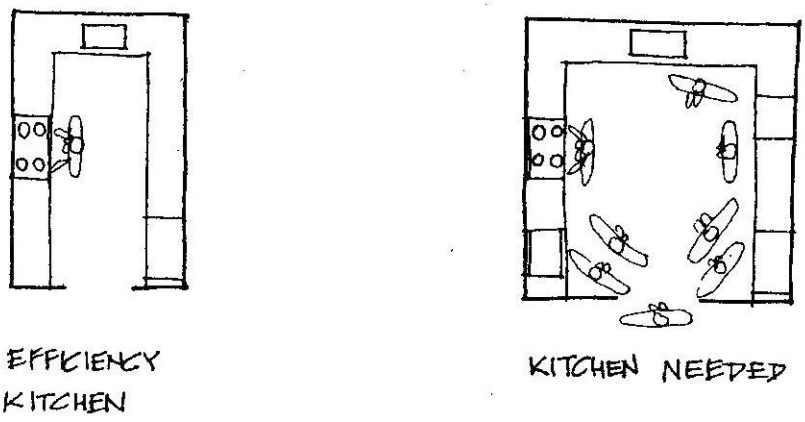


Figure 2.3 Kitchen space in New York apartments of Puerto Rican immigrants (Rapoport 2005:43)

[8] Zeisel, J. (1973). 'Symbolic meaning of space and the physical dimension of social relations.' In J. Walton and DE Carns (Eds.), *Cities in change – Studies on the urban condition.* Allyn and Bacon : Boston.

2.1.2 Meaning and Use

Meaning attached to a space is another important determinant of spatial layout in micro and macro scales, affecting both the location and interior organization of the space. It affects how a particular user or community evaluates and positions the space in their lives, which is then reflected in the layout, decoration and use. While meaning is logically interdependent with the activity and use patterns within a space; all of these concepts are linked directly to culture. Rapoport (2005:39) argues that *"meaning and evaluation are culturally extremely variable."*

Meaning also alters within a certain society between levels of social, financial or educational status, and even at different stages of the individual's life. Francescato (1993:36) suggests that "*different interpreters will find different meanings in the same information, depending on their experiences, intent, interests, goals"*. While meaning induced by culture and traditions may be shared by an entire community, individual evaluation will change with personal aspects such as gender, age or educational background.

Kitchen becomes an important issue in this context as this particular space has been perceived and used in contrasting fashions by different social groups. For instance, emergence of the idea of comfort and the need for privacy paved the way to the current demarcation of spaces; however, this separation did not occur simultaneously in all levels of societies. Comfort and privacy were privileges of the wealthy in the Ancient world as well as in the following millennia. While Romans used architecture

to discriminate between freemen and slaves, for middle class European and American reformers functional separation of domestic spaces was closely linked to decency (Freeman 2006: 37). Lawrence (1987:139) suggests that social roles are imprinted in the spatial design and use of houses. As the symbolic centre of the house, the kitchen has been located and dislocated throughout centuries over dichotomies such as slave/freeman, servant/master, man/woman, front/back, upstairs/downstairs, inside/outside, etc (Lawrence 1987; Foss 1994; Cieraad 2002; Pascali 2006). Segregation of the kitchen not only resulted from these dichotomies, but also reinforced them with a secluded existence.

In the Roman *domus,* the servile section was physically segregated from the rest of the house, sometimes even by storey difference. Kitchen usually was hidden away like the other servile spaces, even if plan-wise it was adjacent to public or private spaces, the access route could be perceived or was totally prevented (Figure 2.4). The reason for this isolation was primarily to keep the slaves out of the 'freeman' zone unless they were needed, and equally importantly to prevent unpleasant smell and smoke reaching the living quarter (Foss 1994).

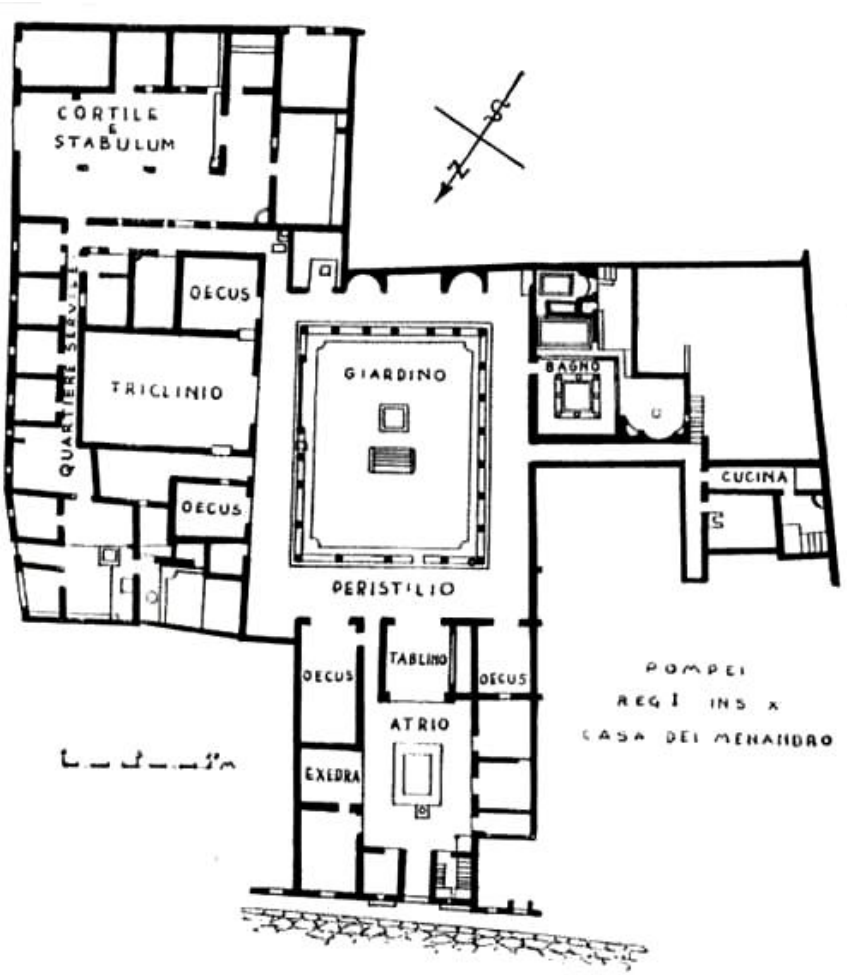


Figure 2.4 Plan of Casa del Menandro, Pompeii (Brödner 1989: 142). The difference in size and accessibility between slave kitchen (*cucina*) and freeman dining room (*triclinio*) is considerable.

The kitchen, *culina,* was the domain of slaves; thus poorly ventilated and as plain as possible. The *triclinium*, which the *culina* served, was to the contrary a luxuriously decorated space of pleasure which was continuously cleaned even when it was in use, and smelled of perfumed oil and exotic food (Foss 1994). In spite of the obvious physical distinctions between these functionally complementary spaces, however, they met at a crucial point; both were designed and used according to socially accepted norms rather than functional requirements.

In addition to segregation due to class issues, physical factors would also force the detachment of the kitchen. In Medieval mansions and castles, the kitchen would exist as a separate building in order to keep away unpleasant odour, smoke or fire risk altogether. Thus, thresholds of social class were still maintained although thresholds of gender disappeared within the kitchen as servants worked together. This constituted the most explicit segregation of the kitchen from the main living space prior to 20th century modernism (Eroğlu, 2000).

A similar multi-faceted situation is noted to exist in the Australian colonial dwelling. The kitchen in the Australian suburban house is recorded as "*detached from the first year of settlement*" by Lawrence (1987:93) who quotes the possible reasons from Freeland (1972) as avoiding fire risk, flies and the heat from the cooking range, and adds the social reason which stands more likely to be the actual determinant: the "*quirk of human nature which demanded that the servants (usually convicts or ex-convicts at the time) be physically separated from the family and their guests.*" However after the 1870s kitchen spaces moved closer to the dwelling, were attached or even internal, and according to Freeland, this significant integration was due to the fact that similar to the status in Europe and the United States, servants in Australia had become expensive "*beyond the resources of the middle-class householder*" towards the end of the 19th century, and housework duties had shifted to the housewife (Lawrence 1987:94). Lawrence (1987:94) on the other hand suggests that provision of building service systems around the same time had forced grouping of wet spaces which eventually caused integration of the kitchen and the dwelling (Figure 2.5).

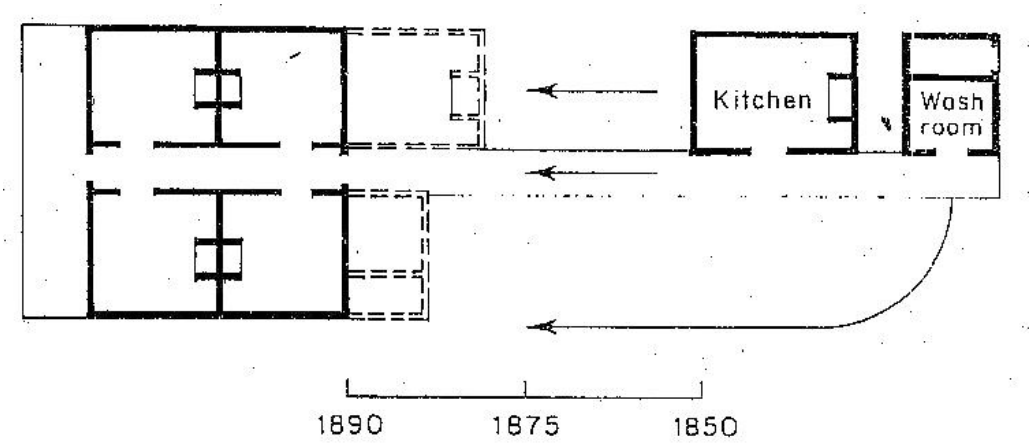


Figure 2.5 Integration of service core with the main unit in Australian colonial dwelling (Lawrence 1987:94)

Spatial demarcation and isolation of the kitchen was most strongly implemented in the dwellings of the wealthy until the 20th century when functional segregation was imposed on all levels of urban societies. As a matter of fact, the concept of a specialized cooking space has been in effect for not more than a century in the homes of lower socio-economic classes; in pre-industrial European peasant homes, cooking, eating and living spaces had not yet specialised. According to Walter Benjamin, the separation of living space from working space first occurred in early 19th century.[9] Before industrialisation which forced economical production out of the domestic environment, the house is not divided into separate areas as working and living.

Provision of sanitary infrastructure after the industrial revolution indeed caused fundamental changes in domestic spatial layouts, which surfaced along with the renewed perception of cleanliness and intolerance to dirt and smell. Meaning attached to the kitchen space was significantly altered with the introduction of the concept of hygiene in the 19th century. After centuries of mass deaths caused by

[9] Walter Benjamin, "Louis-Philippe or the Interior," *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism,* (1973:167). Quoted by Christopher Reed in 'Introduction', *Not At Home* (1996: 7).

infectious diseases, the wet and steamy room which attracted rats was isolated from living spaces. In addition to the considerable modification in the perception of cleanliness, Solan (2004: 2) points out that general understanding of disease also altered significantly through the late 19th and early 20th century. However as Davidoff (1995:79) stresses, personal and domestic cleanliness matters in the 19th century surfaced *"as an important way of marking the middle class off from those below them, well before the germ theory of disease was discovered".*

On *the idea of comfort*, Maldonado and Cullars (1991) explain the impact of advancements in technology and industrialization on our understanding of hygiene and privacy, and how it led to drastic changes in meaning and use of houses. According to Maldonado and Cullars (1991), domestic organization changed greatly with industrial mass production of plumbing components, sanitary equipment and heating possibilities; which resulted in specialization and isolation of wet cores.

> "*Thus there came into being one of the central pivot points for modesty and privacy unknown to earlier social norms ... Beyond any hygienic preoccupations, an increasingly empathic intolerance for unpleasant odors - or those that were deemed unpleasant to the new sensibility - led to the enclosing of spaces that had traditionally been left open*".
>
> (Maldonado and Cullars 1991:40)

Gradually, the Western kitchen evolved from the airless, smelly 'smoke kitchen' into the space with running water and smokeless stove. However, progressive 'cleansing' of the domestic environments owing to technological progress had altered perceptions of cleanliness and the newly establishing notion of hygiene demanded new thresholds of privacy, which in return caused re-definition of the kitchen space.

What is more, network of gas and electricity eliminated the necessity of using a single source for cooking and heating which implied that food preparation could be carried out in a separate room (Lawrence 1987:131).

Functional segregation tendency reached an artistic peak with the dominance of Modernism, which did not propose but imposed the specialization of domestic spaces. The dwelling unit was split up into fundamental necessities like sleeping, cooking, eating and washing, over the formula of '*one room=one function'* (Corrodi 2006:30). As Rolshoven (2006:11) argues, the multifunctionality of pre-modern living spaces was changed into an industrial distribution of tasks *"in keeping with the values of the ascendant bourgeoisie."*

Enclosing and isolating the kitchen was not the only novelty; the furniture, materials and even colour denoted 'hygiene'. Corrodi mentions the kitchen of Villa Kurz in Czech Republic, designed in 1902 by Leopold Bauer which is one of the early examples of the white, hygienic laboratory-like kitchens where "*sober monochromatic colour gives the room a cool, sterile atmosphere*" (Figure 2.6) (Corrodi 2006:24).

Figure 2.6 Kitchen of Villa Kurz (Corrodi 2006:24)

It is argued that modernisation made its entry into the dwelling through the kitchen (Saarikangas 2006:163). The hearth; the focus of the dwelling since prehistoric times, was suddenly confined into a cubicle which could fulfil only food related functions of a traditional kitchen. Modern architecture instructed restricting the dimensions of especially service spaces within the dwelling, of which one was the kitchen. Rationalization attempts of domestic chores materialized as the cramped work-kitchen which eliminated the conventional understanding of kitchen work. Emphasizing the fact that kitchen work is usually shared by several members of the household, Pennartz (1999:103) argues that through the undersized space, working together in the kitchen is rather impeded, if not made impossible. Pennartz (1999:104) goes on to argue that "*being impeded influences the experience and meaning of space*".

The concept of efficiency was another aspect of industrialism that shaped human life in the early 1900s. Time-motion studies constituted an important part of industrial production; hence scientists were intensely involved with efficiency research in pursuit of the maximum outcome within minimum time. Frederick Taylor was perhaps the most known of those scientists, for his book "*Principles of Scientific Management*", published in 1909, made the science of efficiency termed after his name. Although principles of efficiency were primarily proposed for industrial production and would interest engineers and businessmen; architects and sophisticated housewives of the time embraced the idea immediately, which later turned the kitchen into a small production box.

Maldonado and Cullars (1991: 41) argue that the kitchen lost its identity as the main living space in the home due to the continual decrease in size, and goes on to claim that mechanization, standardization and rationalization of the kitchen "*sanctions its functional specialization, the atrophy of its role as the vital and metaphorical center of the house, and, therefore, its definitive isolation within the home*." Thus, the kitchen is downgraded to the space for food preparation only and separated from the space for the consumption of food, Maldonado and Cullars (1991: 41) suggest, was a sign of the inclination towards segregation of work and service areas from "*those of genuine and proper habitation*."

Meaning -or lack thereof- of the kitchen space could be easily read from the user's appropriation. In the bourgeois kitchen, for instance, furniture was arranged according to practical criteria like work routine, while in the working class kitchen shelves were decorated with embroidered runners and the sofa –which never

appeared in the former- was covered with a quilt, which created a cosy atmosphere (Corrodi 2006:25). To the contrary of the bourgeois tradition of having the kitchen 'downstairs' or hidden from the living quarter, kitchens in working class apartments were generally located in the entry area and used as the multifunctional living space (Corrodi 2006:25). This multifunctionality however was condemned by social reformers (Corrodi 2006:25).

Van Caudenberg and Heynen (2004:32) draw attention to a thought-provoking fact that in spite of all the enthusiastic acclaim from Belgian upper-class women for the implementation of the rational kitchen in workers' dwellings, the work-kitchen was not popular among the working class households where 'living kitchen' was the explicit preference for several reasons. Firstly, a working class family could only afford one stove for heating and cooking purposes, therefore separating kitchen and living room was economically not feasible. Moreover, Catholic organizations encouraged living kitchens in workers' homes, considering it a gathering space for the household after a day spent outside:

> *"... considered...motherhood, marriage, and housekeeping to be the natural vocations of a woman, thought that it was of vital importance that the woman managed to make the few occasions the family came together as pleasant as possible, in order to make sure that husband and children would stay attached to their home. A large living-kitchen where the family could, in perfect harmony, eat together, work together, live together, relax together . . . was thus considered essential to secure family stability."*
>
> Van Caudenberg and Heynen (2004:32)

Meaning of the kitchen space has been in constant change in accord with the changing lifestyles. Instead of direct influence by culture, tradition or religion,

meaning is nowadays manipulated by mass media, which is itself manipulated by power holders. Portrayal of the kitchen in the media since the 1950s has been promoting a special fashion of its own and stimulating consumption regarding this space. Over the last decade, domestic kitchen has been represented as a venue of high fashion as never before. What is more, men have been one of the lead actors in this depiction of culinary catwalk, which doubtlessly had a rocketing effect on the design and prices of high-tech kitchen appliances.

Referring to the information by Freeman (2004) on the annual kitchen furniture sales reaching billion pounds in the 1990s in Britain, Hand and Shove (2004:238) suggest that such figures are "*driven by successive re-interpretations of what the kitchen "is" and is 'for' and by the development of new meta-level visions of the kitchen into which previous models, activities, skills, and styles do not 'fit'.*"

The induced meanings regarding the kitchen are matters of implicit policies which exploit this special space that exists in every dwelling and makes it possible for power holders to reach every household in the contemporary world. This very fact alone renders the kitchen as a highly political space which at the same time becomes a significant spot for economics through consumption policies; which will be analysed in depth in the following section.

2.2 Politics, Economics and Consumption

The house is often recorded as an architectural entity interrelated with its social content and context. Hillier and Hanson (1984:159) identify the house as a

"*sociogram of ... a social system*". According to Lawrence (1993:74), home is *"a complex entity that defines and is defined by cultural, socio-demographic, psychological, political and economic factors.* Kitchen receives its share within the context as the space which contains these factors most intensely. Conran (1977: 1) claims that "*the kitchen mirrors more effectively than any other room in the house the great social changes that have taken place in the last hundred years*" (Hand and Shove 2004:238).

Hellman (2004) suggests that although the kitchen can be symbolizing the sacred sustenance of the family, it can also be regarded as the most political space in the house, considering its relation to social function and concepts of production and consumption. Indeed, the kitchen *is* a '*microcosm of the society'* as Hellman (2004) expresses, and it constitutes a structure of hierarchy within itself, distributing roles according to gender, age and social origin and class. This microcosm is so realistic that hierarchy is observed even among same-gender individuals according to precedence or as a result of power struggles within the kitchen.

In addition to the '*micro'* level politics, kitchen has been the object and subject of '*macro'* level international politics, and technological and economical competition. Interestingly, the insignificant female space of the house became an agent of social manipulation and reform, basis for feminist discourse, the engine of economy and a weapon of cold war.

2.2.1 Kitchen as a Political Space

Johnson (2006:124) defines the kitchen as a space of containment but also empowerment. Indeed, despite feminist remarks in favour of kitchenless houses on the basis of the warning that kitchen was the site of women's oppression, oppressed women have interpreted this secluded domain as a microcosm of the outside world, establishing a similar structure of power status within. The responsibility of kitchen duties does give the woman authority to exercise her power in a way quite similar to that of men do in the public sphere.

As an example to this argument, Robson (2006:669-671) identifies the Nigerian Hausa kitchen as "a site of women's power" and claims that the responsibility of meal preparation give women the opportunity to exercise power over what is cooked and when, how it is distributed and to whom. According to Robson, this is a way of communication through which women can express favour or discontent to their husbands, co-wives and the rest of the family. For instance; women may prepare disliked or favoured meals, prepare them well or badly, in a timely or untimely manner, and distribute it equally or unfairly. Considering such high value of food, the kitchen consequently turns into a battlefield where women struggle for status. Robson (2006:671) mentions of jealousy between the co-wives of these households, for which the kitchen stands as a stage of competition. One mentioned co-wife, for instance, tries to spoil the younger wife's cooking by secretly adding kerosene or uncooked rice into the pot, thus securing her humiliation in front of their husband.

The Puerto Rican case where women cook in front of a crowd of female spectators is another example of micro-scale politics within the kitchen. In this context cooking is considered a performance which women are expected to master in the presence of other women, establishing status hierarchies according to cooking skills (Zeisel 1973; Rapoport 2005).

Still, policies regarding the kitchen were not merely cultural and traditional based. 20th century witnessed one of the strongest social reforms of history, in which a significant role was given to architecture, especially housing design. Through dwelling design, masses of populations were imposed a certain vision and lifestyle.

The period following the World War I had brought about significant social adjustments linked with the political changes. Men returning from war needed jobs which were at the time occupied by women, as women's labour was required during the war (Freeman 2004:101). A society of jobless men and working women was alarming. Henderson (1996: 223) points out to the significant demographic shift caused by male students and men being recruited and lost in army service, while female students thrived and women constituted a considerable portion of the workforce. Therefore to achieve the former patriarchal demographics, women were to go back to being unpaid domestic workers now that their service was no longer needed; that is, after a period of working in public, women were being re-domesticated as a '*state policy*' (Henderson 1996: 223). The home had to be made attractive and there came the useful image of women as the manager of her own office: the kitchen. The re-defined women's sphere was presented as the '*ideological equivalent to the male professions*' with its reinforced social meanings, compared to

factory jobs which were downgraded as merely labour (Henderson 1996: 223). Instead of struggling for more access into public domain, even liberal women were satisfied with making women's sphere more like men's. Freeman (2004:99-101) argues that the development of the fitted kitchen was part of a campaign to '*keep women in their place*' and '*as far as kitchens are concerned, innovative design and political conservatism have operated in comfortable partnership*."

End of World War II was another turning point for the kitchen. During the Cold War, kitchens were strategically used by politicians to "*constitute, embody and enact their political goals*" (Oldenziel and Zachmann 2009: 3). Although opposing states were aiming missiles at each other through the Cold War, they had agreed on the grounds that science and technology were measures of a society's progress and national exhibitions were the ideal spots to compare and challenge their achievements, which eventually made modern kitchen "*a complex technological artifact that ranks with computers, cars and nuclear missiles"* (Oldenziel and Zachmann (2009: 2-4).

One of the most known incidents that exemplify kitchen's significance in politics and economics is the "*notorious confrontation"* of U.S. Vice President Richard Nixon and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev at the American Fair in Moscow in July 1959, later called as "*Kitchen Debates*" (Hellman 2004; Reid 2005:290; Carbone, 2009:59). The American exhibition presented model kitchens with the latest technology, where fashion models would act as housewives operating the appliances (Hellman 2004). Here the two strong political figures of exact opposite beliefs "*debated the quality of ... rockets and appliances, treating each with equal gravitas"* (Carbone, 2009:59). The model American kitchen had served as a convenient stage

for Nixon to challenge Soviet socialism where he *"lectured the communist leader on the advantages of living in the United States and, more to the point, of consuming under American-style capitalism"* (Figure 2.7) (Reid 2005:290; Oldenziel and Zachmann 2009:1). Carbone (2009:59) emphasizes this general tendency by quoting from Sadkin (1959): *"Nothing anybody will ever say about free enterprise will have the impact of what the average Russian will see when he walks through this average American's home."* [10]

Figure 2.7 Nixon and Khrushchev at the American Exhibition in Moscow
(Oldenziel and Zachmann 2009:2)

Famously called as the '*kitchen debates*', this encounter showed that kitchen was not in fact just another domestic space. Oldenziel and Zachmann (2009:8) claim that this kitchen debate was a well-planned and calculated intervention by Nixon, and that he was not the first to take kitchen as a "*battleground*". Indeed, the 20th century kitchen had been a convenient stage for social reformers, feminists, religious figures, economists, manufacturers, advertisers and of course, designers and architects.

[10] Herbert Sadkin, "Is This Moscow Exhibit House 2Typical' of U.S. Homebuilding Today?," *House and Home* (July 1959).

The exhibition in Moscow had been the perfect opportunity for Americans to advertise advantages of capitalism to the Soviet hosts; through the unnecessarily many kitchen appliances, stressing the marvel of diversity and the freedom of choice, which apparently lacked in the communist USSR. While this exhibition was supposed to portray the *success of capitalism*, Khrushchev had found American way '*excessive, indicative of vacuous consumerism'* (Hellman 2004). Although this was a communist politician's expected attitude, it was also an appropriate analysis as the American home, and mainly the kitchen, had indeed become the locus of forced and conspicuous consumption in the 1950s. Hellman (2004) claims that '*the planned obsolescence of coordinated kitchen products'* promoted women's spending while at the same time relating the concepts of design and consumption. The 1950s American Kitchen represented shelter from the Cold War; advertising democracy and epitomizing liberal economy of endless choices (Hellman 2004).

2.2.2 Kitchen as a Locus of Consumption

The continuously reiterated and promoted image of the kitchen as a place of choices, fashion and purchasable commodities naturally reminds of American consumption culture encouraged by capitalist policies. The kitchen and related economical identity constructed on consumption have indeed been means of keeping economies alive around the world, although of course the concept had originated from the United States. Especially during the Depression of the 1930s, kitchen acted as a useful agent for the introduction of new marketable products to stimulate the American economy (Oldenziel and Zachmann, 2009:8). Kitchens continued to be the survival pack for the economy after the World Wars as well. Compared to the rest of the countries at

war, USA was quicker to recover from the damages of the World War II and experienced the economic boom during the 1950s, followed by Europe about a decade later (Freeman 2004:26). The kitchen was surely the centre of attention with its economic potential; consequently, significant companies of the industry turned their focus towards the domestic sphere.

Wartime technology and factories had to be operated to generate capital therefore kitchen appliances became the primary objects of technological innovation. Barbara Miller (2004:134) notes that American companies such as General Electric, Westinghouse and Motorola went from being the major producers of defense weapons during the war, to producing domestic appliances. This fact alone shows the degree of economical importance attached to the kitchen and implies how seriously these companies would promote consumption in order to get the worth of their investment. American suburban kitchens of the 1950s had a significant role on both private and public levels (Hellman 2004). In addition to economic potential the kitchen contained a social structure within which would be even more profitable to exploit. Hayden (1981:268) claims that with increasing spatial privacy of the suburban home came demand for conformity in consumption. However consumption was expensive and more and more married women had to join the workforce "*as the suggestible housewife needed to be both a frantic consumer and a paid worker to keep up with the family's bills"* (Hayden., 1981:268).

Since the 1950s the kitchen have kept opening up into living spaces and this created even higher pressure on the household for consumption. The more visible the kitchen became, the more important fashionable items grew and kitchen cabinets and

appliances turned into seasonal products that need to be changed according to style trends. The considerable financial yield of kitchen products stimulated the appetite of the industry which caused increasing opening of the kitchen into a showcase of products. As the kitchen became more public, women's isolation partly ended and the rest of the household could be reintroduced into the returning gathering space.

However with changing lifestyles and obligations of urban life, kitchen became less and less used for cooking as it developed into a status symbol. As Kähler (2006:76) stresses, cooking is becoming a leisure activity rather than a necessity. Indeed, with the worldwide broadcast of star cooks cooking in casual clothes and domestic kitchen decors such as Rachael Ray, Nigella Lawson or Jamie Oliver, cooking in the home kitchen is now perceived as a trendy culinary activity which can be used to entertain friends and family. This new leisure activity, like any other, naturally comes with its designer furniture, appliances and utensils which are as expensive as they are fashionable. Obviously, producers do take advantage of this return to the domestic kitchen, and with the help of advertisers, further encourage the image of the kitchen as a showcase that needs to be filled with designer accessories. For instance, instead of buying a perfectly functioning lemon squeezer of an unknown brand for €5, the consumer is forced by the consumption trend to purchase a citrus squeezer - with controversial practicality however carrying the signature of a star designer - for 10 times the price of the former. This trend applied to the whole kitchen naturally renders the 'hearth' as the most expensive space in the dwelling.

A significant difference of today's consumption trend from that of the 1950s is that now men are in the target group as well. Most kitchen producers are portraying men

in the kitchen; as preparing or cooking food surrounded by high-tech appliances. Celebrity male cooks doubtlessly have an influence on this new image of the kitchen as a less-gendered and more-expensive space. British TV-cook Jamie Oliver, for instance, has a family of which he constantly mentions as he cooks in his daily clothes, thus insinuating that every other father can become a creator of pleasurable food. Producers naturally refer to and exploit this image in their commercials, gladly doubling their target audience (Figures 2.8, 2.9, 2.10 & 2.11). Such portrayals however create a forced image of young professional men as show-cooks only. More and more male urbanites are attending culinary courses, however such attempts are merely for hobby purposes, as cooking as a duty is still seen as woman's responsibility.

Deutsch (2003) carries out a detailed study of the related literature on characteristics of women's and men's cooking, which could be summarized as follows:

Women's Cooking	*Men's Cooking*
Ferial, Obligatory	Special Occasion, Festive, Voluntary
Nurturing and Pleasing Others	Playful
Indoors, Private	Outdoors, Public
Balanced Menus, Vegetables	Incomplete Menus, Signature Items, Meats
Economical Items	High Cost Items

Table 2.1 Comparison of Cooking Characteristics of Women and Men. Adapted from Deutsch (2003: 314-317)

Figure 2.8 Culinary periodical by Jamie Oliver and the Cooking Game produced in his name by Nintendo (*www.jamieoliver.com)*

Figure 2.9 Catalogue image from Siemens Kitchen Appliances 2007 Collection, in Turkish. The couple is dressed up in casual however chic outfit and wear aprons which are designed as a fashion line specially for Siemens kitchens.

Figure 2.10 Catalogue image from Turkish kitchen producer Arçelik, 2008. Here, woman is portrayed as seated comfortably enjoying wine, while her male partner is preparing food in his apron. It should be noticed that this image is the exact opposite of traditional Turkish gender based space use, where man is seated on the *divan* and woman caters to him.

Figure 2.11 Catalogue image from Turkish kitchen producer Arçelik, 2008. Women are again depicted as 'catered' guests and man as the 'caterer' cook.

2.2.3 Basis for Feminist Discourse

Concentrating on the kitchen assisted in securing the conventional gender hierarchy just around the time when traditional women's roles were challenged by the feminist movement, socialist ideology and war emergencies (Oldenziel and Zachmann, 2009). However kitchen had already been the subject of feminist discourse since the 19th century, although with differing attitudes.

Hellman (2004) quotes from Ellen M. Plante (1995) to demonstrate the differences in feminist attitudes between the late 19th century and the 1950s.[11] In her 1898 book *Women and Economics*, Charlotte Perkins Gilman argues that women's reason of existence should not be serving men and enabling their hierarchical authority inside and outside the home.[12] In contrary, Gilman proposes kitchenless suburban houses and apartments supported by commercial kitchens and laundry services dealing with such chores; consequently liberating women from the kitchen and home (Hayden 1978:282).

Gilman's ideas were never realized due to economic and practical reasons. What is more, the Modern kitchen which came a couple of decades after Gilman's book, was verifying women's space as the kitchen by confining her alone in a cabinet. Freeman (2004: 99-101) claims that '*the push for fitted kitchens during the twentieth century has never been a significant part of the campaign for women's equality'* and goes on

[11] Plante, Ellen M. (1995) *The American Kitchen 1700 to the Present*. NY: Facts on File.
[12] Gilman, C. P. (1898) *Women and Economics*. Boston: Small, Maynard, & Co.

to argue that the development of the fitted kitchen was part of a campaign to '*keep women in their place*' and '*as far as kitchens are concerned, innovative design and political conservatism have operated in comfortable partnership*."

In the 1950s, American women's attitudes towards their roles as housewives were diverse. While feminist groups had managed to influence certain women, there were a considerable number of women who regarded 'housewifery' as an important job – though unpaid. The dream kitchens and high technology appliances lured young women back into the domestic sphere where they would be the manager of the house instead of wearing themselves out at a secretarial job outside. Analysing this special period, Hayden (1981:267) mentions of a system in which '*men were to receive family wages and become home owners responsible for mortgage payments, while their wives became home managers taking care of spouse and children*.'

> '*The male worker would return from his day in the factory or office to a private domestic environment, secluded from the tense world of work in an industrial city characterized by environmental pollution, social degradation and personal alienation. He would enter a serene dwelling whose physical and emotional maintenance would be the duty of his wife. Thus the private suburban house was the stage set for the effective sexual division of labour.'*
>
> Hayden (1981:267)

Nevertheless, Hellman (2004) states that by the 1960s, American women had realized that the fully equipped kitchen was not the answer to life's questions, and '*food and its creation'* started to *'have ominous connotations'*.

Looking from the end of the century, Hayden argues that in the 20th century, '*a woman's place is in the home'* had been the prevailing however implicit principle in

architectural design and urban planning in the US (1981:266). According to Hayden; housing, neighbourhoods and cities were planned for homebound women and this situation constrained them physically, socially and economically, reinforcing their dependence (1981:266).

CHAPTER 3

THE GENDERED HISTORY OF THE KITCHEN

Being the heart of the dwelling since prehistoric ages, the hearth has gone through a dramatic evolution of meaning and use within the past couple of millennia. The humble hearth is nowadays enclosed by high-design stoves, surrounded by expensive cabinets and appliances of the latest fashion.

The course that led fire from the smoky hearth to the show kitchen is multi-faceted; and although from a distance technological progress seems to be one of the major factors, transformation of the kitchen space is closely linked to social and political changes and altering definitions of gender roles.

3.1 Gathering *Hearth* / Segregating *Kitchen*

It is important to recognize that kitchen evolved almost concurrently with the development of fire enclosures. As human beings discovered how to contain fire more efficiently and cleanly, they shaped the kitchen accordingly. Evolution of the kitchen is therefore dependent upon the history of cooking, and the history of cooking is directly related to technological progress. Development of the hearth into stove and later introduction of microwave ovens caused the physical evolution of the kitchen together with evolution of culinary activities.

Use of fire for cooking purposes is believed to date back about 100,000 years (Atalay & Hastorf, 2006: 283). Since then, fire has constituted the focus of living spaces, whether indoor or outdoor, carrying two vital functions of heating and cooking. From the primitive hut to Ancient Greek megaron, history presents numerous examples of dwelling units where the hearth *is* the house (Figures 3.1 and 3.2). In the single-room dwelling, whether prehistoric, ancient or medieval, hearth took on a gathering role and this pivotal position survived until the specialisation of domestic spaces.

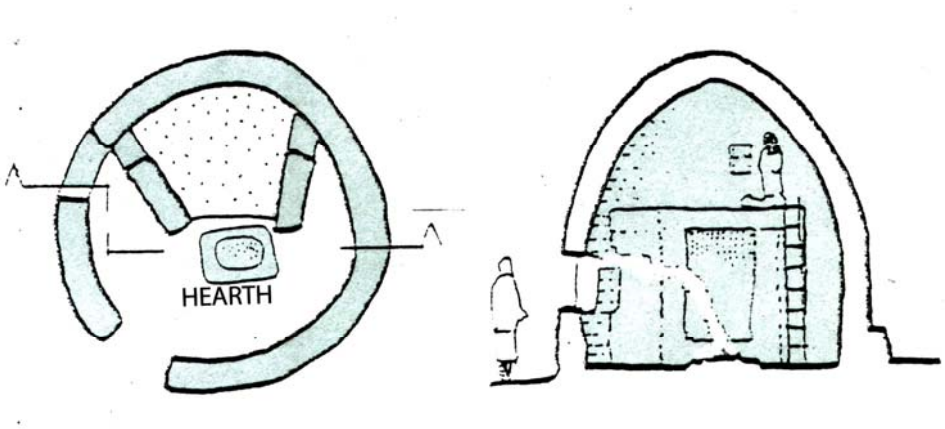


Figure 3.1 Round Houses of Neolithic Settlement in Kalavassos, Cyprus, ca.7000 BC (Wright, 1992).

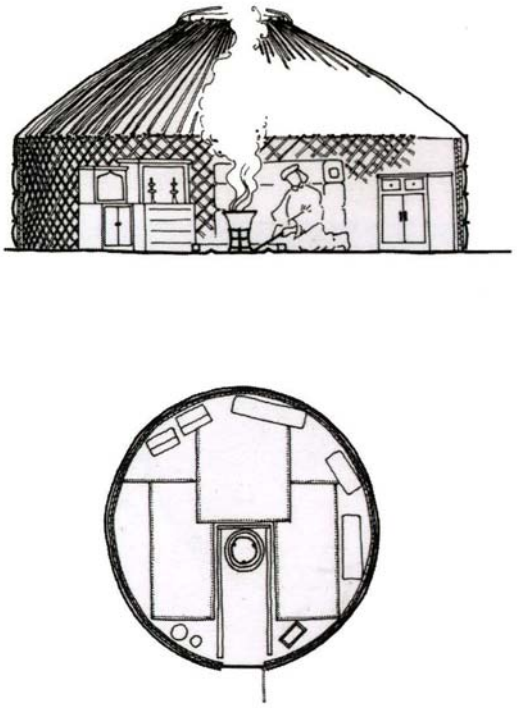


Figure 12 *Yurt.* Central Asian Nomad Tent (Kuban, 1995: 38)

Until the industrial developments in the second half of the 19th century, the kitchen remained as the main living room in rural dwellings. Although the difficulty of enclosing fire and heating separate rooms may seem to be important factors causing single-room dwellings, it is interesting to observe that early Medieval houses of the wealthy landowners were not functionally specialized either (Grey, 1994: 23). Therefore it can be argued that an isolated kitchen is not necessarily a direct result of wealth, technology or urbanity, it is rather linked to the perception of comfort. Correspondingly, in working class dwellings of the newly growing cities of the nineteenth century, kitchens still multi-functioned as the living room, dining room, bathroom and even bedroom when rented to lodgers (Bullock 1988:188; Corrodi 2006: 25; Freeman 2006: 37) (Figure 3.3 and 3.4). However, as industrial technology

progressed, sanitary facilities reached working class apartments and the idea of comfort began to spread together with the concept of hygiene for healthier homes.

Figure 13 Working class live-in kitchen in Dortmund, 1917 (Corrodi, 2006)

Figure 14 Single-room dwelling in a working class neighbourhood in 1930s Berlin. (Bullock, 1988:190)

Prior to considerable progress in building service systems and gas and electricity networks, in many European countries such as Germany, Switzerland and the United

Kingdom life passed within the common room where cooking was one of the functions (Lawrence, 1987:10). However this transition was faster for the well-to-do households, and as noted, in England from 16th century onwards, the hall or large living space was gradually fragmented into separate spaces for singular functions such as cooking, eating, and sleeping (Davidoff, 1995:84). With the efforts of social reformers, specialization of domestic spaces gradually spread into the dwellings of lower socio-economic groups as well, which especially in the case of kitchens, reinforced traditional gender roles.

3.2 Kitchen as a Gendered Space

One of many significant impacts of industrialization was recruitment of young women in factories and offices, which rendered domestic service rare and more expensive (Cieraad, 2002). Loss of cheap domestic labour eventually forced upper class European women into considering the dirty, smoky and inferior space of production which themselves were somehow 'exempted' from. Several authors have linked generation of the rational kitchen to the '*maid question*' that arose towards the end of the 19th century (Hayden, 1978; Lawrence, 1987; Henderson, 1996; Cieraad, 2002; Van Caudenberg and Heynen, 2004; Freeman, 2004; Jerram, 2006; Von Osten, 2006). At this stage, demands of upper class women for a more hygienic, functional and practical kitchen met with efficiency principles, Modern design and technology producing step-saving, mass-produced fitted kitchens including the famous Frankfurt Kitchen equipped with pre-labelled container-drawers and fly-repelling cupboards, which will be mentioned in detail in the following sections.

3.2.1 Women's Interpretations of the Female Domain

19th century saw distinct studies of the kitchen by women of completely different visions. Social reformers such as Beecher sisters, for instance, would try very hard to rationalize the kitchen and kitchen work on the presumption of kitchen being a female domain. Although there was a progressive wing which demanded '*liberation from housework*', most of these attempts were not realized or did not succeed due to practical or economic reasons (Corrodi 2006:28). For instance, writers like Charlotte Perkins Gilman, who could well be accepted as a utopian considering the time and her views of social structure, advocated kitchenless suburban houses and apartments supported by commercial cooked-food delivery (Hayden 1978:282).

Hayden mentions of frequent statements on "*collective domestic work*" in 19th century literature, and points out to two utopian feminists who had actually transferred their ideas into detailed architectural projects; Marie Stevens Howland and Alice Constance Austin (Hayden 1978:274). Communitarian socialists like Howland and Austin produced housing projects to complement centralized housekeeping facilities in an effort to eliminate private domestic work; though either design could never be realized due to financial difficulties (Hayden 1978:274).

Alice Constance Austin, defined as "*a disciple of Charlotte Perkins Gilman"* by Dolores Hayden, designed Llano del Rio as a city of kitchenless houses with the objective of saving women *"of the thankless and unending drudgery of an inconceivably stupid and inefficient system"* (Hayden 1978:283). According to her

plans, hot meals would be sent from the central kitchen to every dining patio and dishes would be sent back to the central kitchen, in railway cars through a complex underground network of tunnels (Hayden 1978:283). (Figure 3.5).

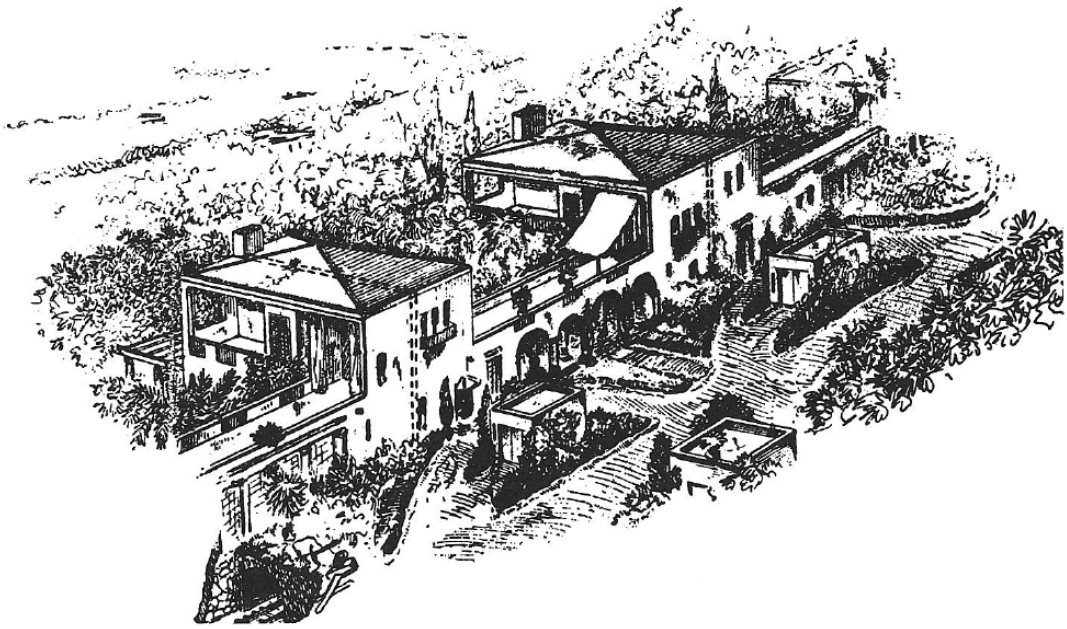


Figure 3.5 Underground tunnels by Austin (Hayden 1978:288)

Contrary to the designs by socialist women, proposals of 'conservative reformers' such as Catherine Beecher and Christine Frederick had found considerable audience and applause. In 1869, as an American housewife and educator, Catharine Beecher authored a book on 'domestic science` with her sister Harriet Beecher-Stowe .'*The American Woman's Home'* contained substantial knowledge about virtually everything ranging from architectural planning to biology. '*American Woman's Home Or Principles of Domestic Science*' was intended to be '*a guide to the formation and maintenance of economical, healthful, beautiful and Christian homes*'. Presented information was very detailed and illustrated, and included diverse topics such as '*The brain and the nerves'*, '*Contrast between the butter of America and of European countries*' or '*Poisons and their antidotes'*.

The 19th century bourgeois ideal of a woman was to be '*the soul of the household'* yet still to '*keep her hands clean'* (Corrodi 2006:21). The lady had to be a devoted homemaker however at the same time the house had to be 'as free of work as possible', a formula which demanded at least one maid to prove to the public that '*the lady of the house had no need to work'* (Corrodi 2006:21). The quest for a rational kitchen became common interest when servants became scarce in upper class houses.

In her pursuit of a step-saving kitchen, Beecher started from the fact that men's working kitchens were rational, smaller and ergonomically equipped, whereas in domestic kitchens women's work was maximized through large and inappropriately organized workspaces (Jerram, 2006:543). Having obtained the clue from steamship galleys (kitchens), Beecher proposed efficient alternatives to domestic kitchen layouts and fitted furniture, which would lead the way to the fitted workshop kitchens (Figures 3.6 and 3.7).

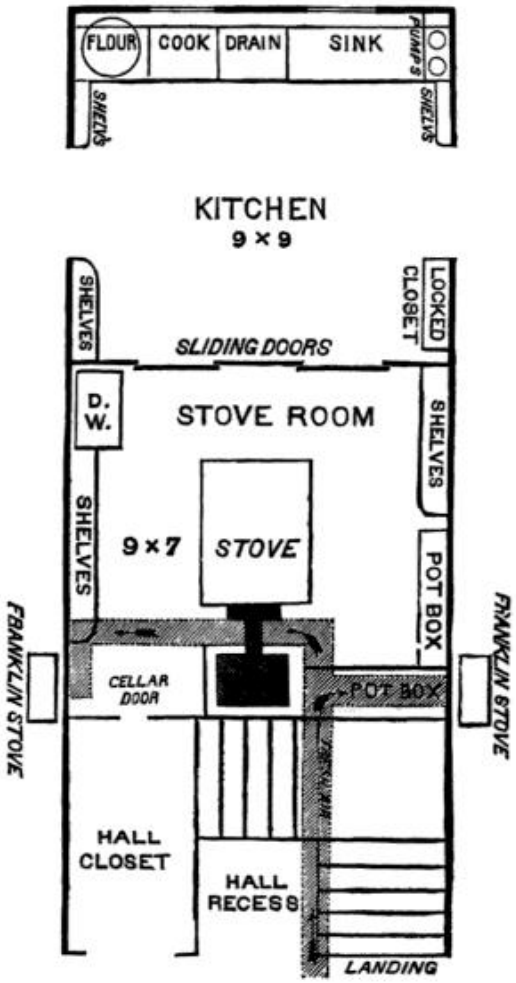


Figure 15 Plan for an efficient kitchen layout, Beecher & Beecher Stowe (1869: 34)

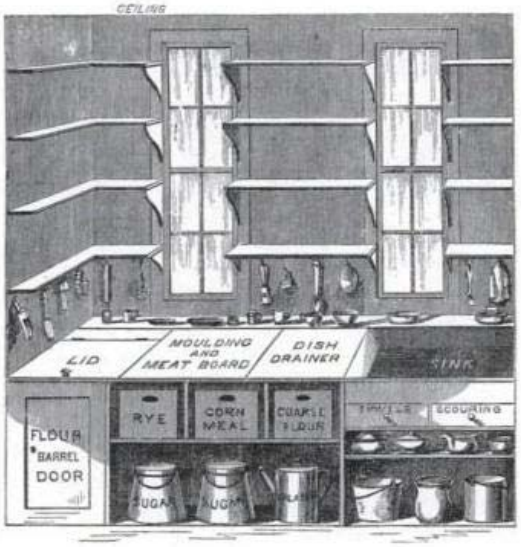
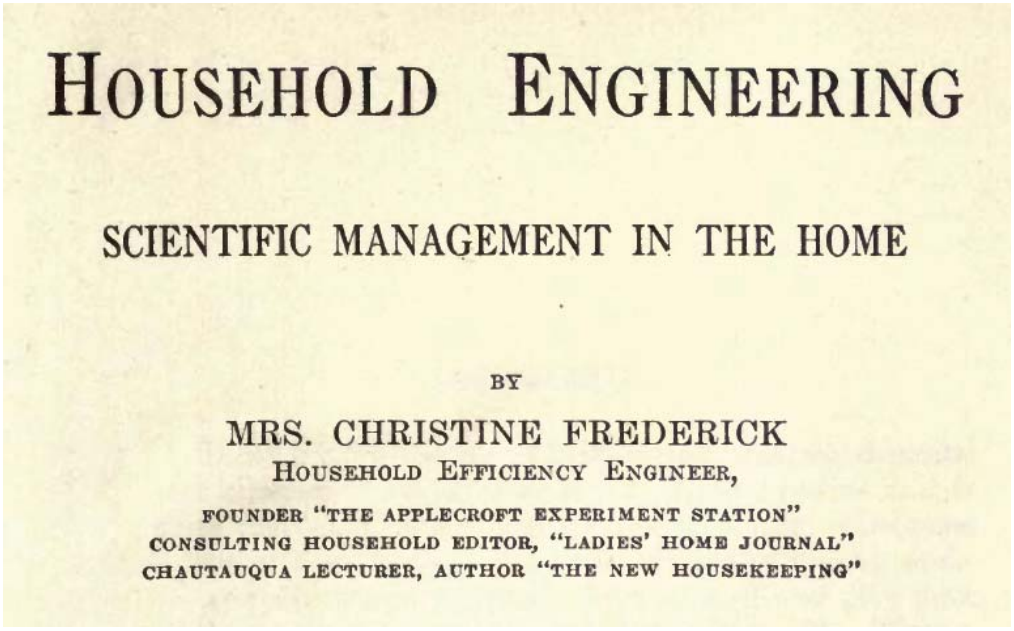


Figure 16 '*The enlarged plan of the sink and cooking form*'
Beecher & Beecher Stowe (1869: 35)

Catharine Beecher, never been married herself, was a conservative Christian and being the daughter of a preacher her image of a decent and productive woman was shaped by the teachings of the Bible. Her book had titles such as 'Woman the chief minister of the family estate', 'Man the outdoor laborer and provider' or 'Labor and self-denial in the mutual relations of home-life, honorable, healthful, economical, enjoyable, and Christian'. This approach is criticised by June Freeman (2004: 28), who states that Beecher's idea of the good kitchen was structured by a moral framework. Indeed, Beecher had accepted that the domestic kitchen was woman's domain and kitchen work was to be carried out by the woman while men would be employed as professional cooks. However she made substantial effort in order to rationalize this female domain and save women from unfairly superfluous steps, which could be accepted as a feminist act in its own right.

Although Miss Beecher evaluated the housewife over a checklist of rigid codes originating from Christian conventions and her painstaking actions had no interest whatsoever in rendering the woman more socially competent, she deserves credit for noticing and stressing certain problems such as drudgery and fatigue and producing very detailed answers to those problems, although in her own special way. What could be perceived as close to today's understanding of feminist approach is that Beecher demanded equal conditions with men, emphasizing the fact that '*kitchens designed by men for women were irrational and maximized work, thereby imprisoning women in a cycle of fatigue, while kitchens designed by men for men were highly rational and did not burden them'* (Jerram 2006:543).

In 1909, Frederick Taylor's book 'Principles of Scientific Management' was published, creating immense impact on the ways by which factories and offices operated. In 1912, Harrington Emerson published '*The Twelve Principles of Efficiency'*. Christine Frederick, another American housewife and former teacher, having heard about these principles from her engineer husband, decided that improving housekeeping according to efficiency principles '*would turn a simple housewife into a respectable professional manager of household affairs*' (Cieraad, 2002; 264). From 1913 on, Frederick published articles on kitchen efficiency under the heading "*New Household Management*", which came to be the title of her book issued in 1919 (Figure 3.8). Mrs. Frederick provided step-saving plan solutions for kitchens of different house types, and introduced hundreds of pages of household appliances (Figures 3.9 and 3.10).


HOUSEHOLD ENGINEERING

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT IN THE HOME

BY

MRS. CHRISTINE FREDERICK

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CONSULTING HOUSEHOLD EDITOR, "LADIES' HOME JOURNAL"
CHAUTAUQUA LECTURER, AUTHOR "THE NEW HOUSEKEEPING"

Figure 17 Detail from the cover of the 1923 edition, where Mrs. Christine Frederick is presented as a '*Household Efficiency Engineer'*.

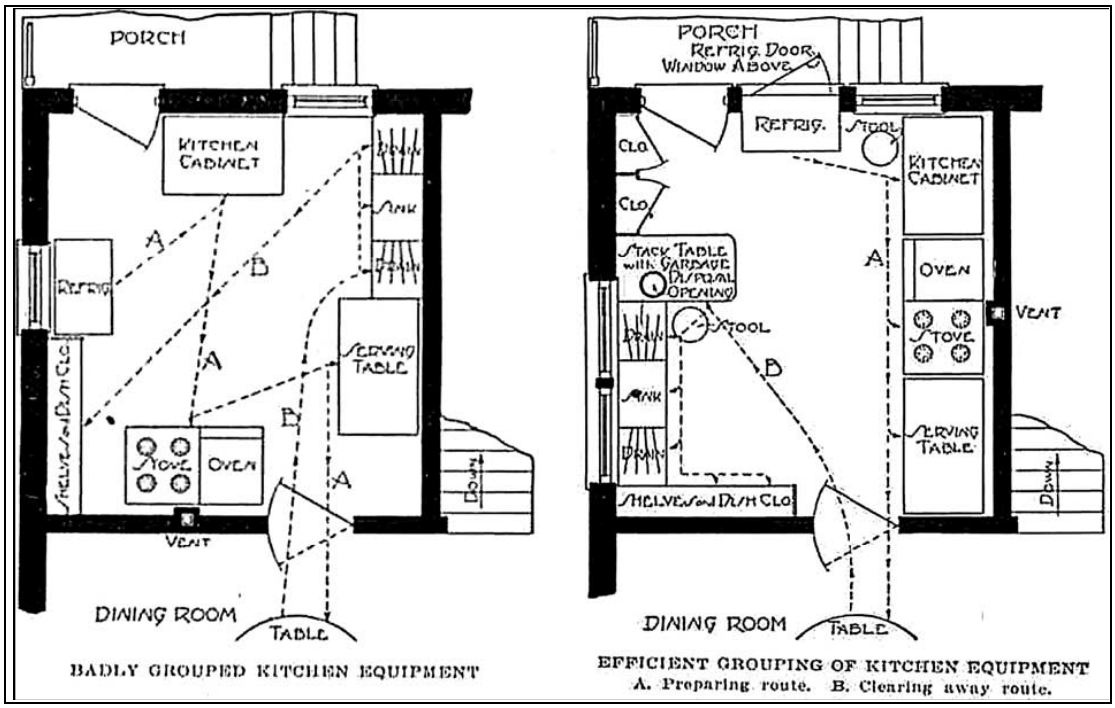

Figure 18 Comparison of inefficient and efficient grouping of kitchen equipment, Christine Frederick (1915: 22-23)

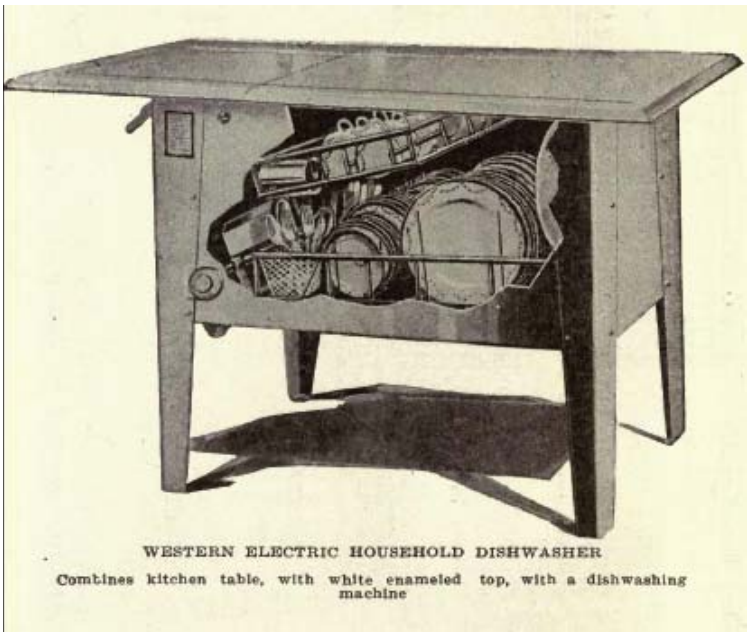

Figure 19 Promotion of a dishwasher by Western Electric, Christine Frederick (1915; 116).

Although Frederick's articles at first carried the intention of presenting women with equal working conditions as male workspaces, the very fact that its basis was on capitalist productivity principles directed Frederick's studies towards an unforeseen

position. The later issues of the book included hundreds of pages of state-of-the-art kitchen and laundry appliances and the book turned into a catalogue of appliance producers. Hayden (1981:268) reminds that Frederick actually advised marketing managers on how to manipulate American women in her 1929 book *Selling Mrs Consumer*.

Freeman (2004:100) classifies both Beecher and Frederick as '*ultimately'* conservative, however stresses that Frederick's attitudes were politically more complex, although still superficial. Freeman goes on to claim that Frederick's political superficiality presented an opportunity for *conservative appropriation*, reinforcing the ideology which supported the fundamental segregation of public and private spheres, and which argued for the significance of women dealing with domestic duties (Freeman 2004:101).

3.2.2 Rationalization of Housework, Frankfurt Kitchen and its Variants

Translations of Frederick's book "*New Household Management*" inspired European architects and housewives, which then led to the creation of fitted kitchens with highly disputed appropriateness. A completely new kitchen concept was being born.

Fascinated and inspired by the War technology, rationalist designers competed to produce the most efficient, the most easily reproducible; the 'most Modern' kitchen. Probably the most famous -or infamous- kitchen of the era has been a woman's creation; the Frankfurt Kitchen developed by Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky in 1927 (Figure 3.11).

Figure 3.11 Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky (1927) (Eroğlu 2000:92)

The kitchen of the 'New Frankfurt' worker's settlement was a scientifically rationalized workspace and measured 1.9m by 3.44 m, as calculated by Lihotzky to be the optimal dimensions for most efficient labour (Henderson 1996: 235) (Figure 3.12). This fully prefabricated kitchen could be installed into the apartment with the help of a crane and included every little *physical* detail that a woman would need in her kitchen. The design was so strict and dictating that even the jug-drawers were labelled, interfering with the user's diet (Figure 3.13). The kitchen had a window at one end for light and air, and was separated from the dining room by an opaque wall. The wall was separating wet from dry, dirty from clean, smelly from fragrant, and female from communal (Figure 3.14). Woman was isolated from her family unless she was clean and neat, and her work was rendered invisible.

Figure 3.12 The Frankfurt Kitchen. Corrodi(2006: 34), photograph by Collischonn, Sammlungen der Universitat für Angewandte Kunst Wien, Schütte-Lihotzky archive.

Figure 3.13 Aluminum container drawers pre-labelled with the designer's choice of foods. Photograph by Christos Vittoratos. Retrieved February 12, 2009 from http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Frankfurt-Kitchen_Drawers.jpg.

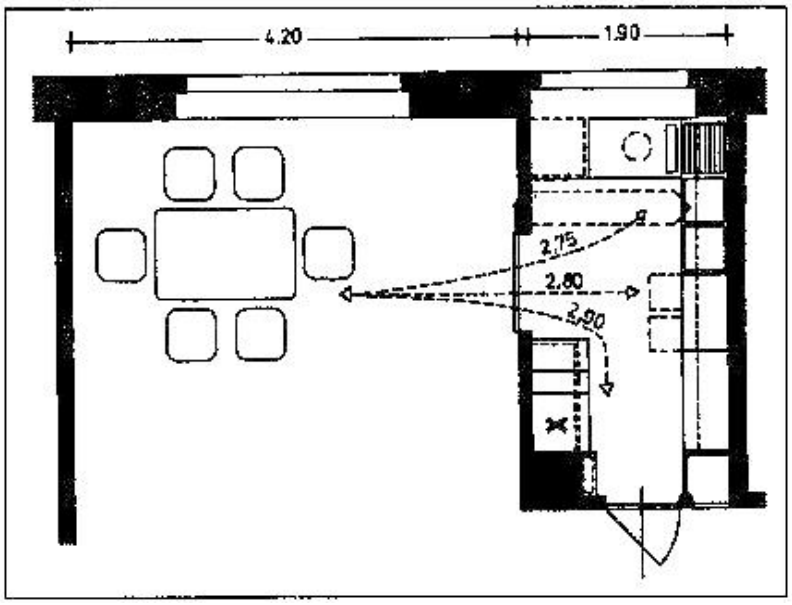

Figure 20.14 The plan of the Frankfurt Kitchen in relation to the dining area, in Henderson (1996: 236).

Figure 3.15 Still images from the Frankfurt Kitchen instructional film. (www.mak.at)

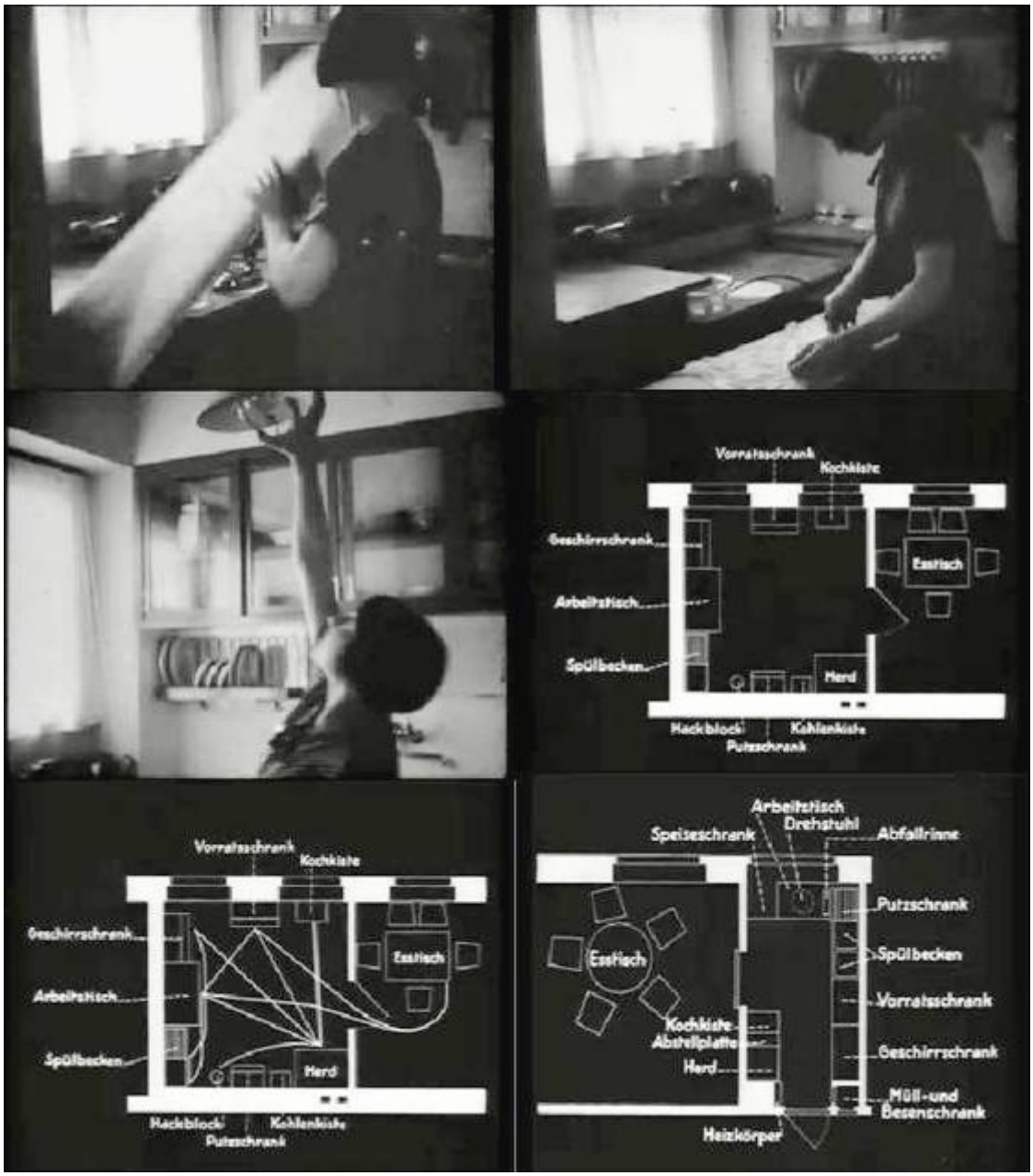

Figure 3.16 Still images from the Frankfurt Kitchen instructional film, continued. (www.mak.at)

Frankfurt kitchen created the illusion of a kitchenless house, where invisible servants peeled, chopped, cooked and cleaned, and then the perfectly cooked food came to the table out of nowhere, as if the smelly, smoky and sweaty process was eliminated.

This illusion used to be the privilege of the wealthy minority until industrialization, efficiency principles and Modern architecture demanded further specialization of domestic spaces in urban working class dwellings as well. Living spaces were to be strictly separated from working spaces in an effort to impose the upper class concept of comfort into working class households.

Although the segregating characteristic of kitchens have a long history dating back to Ancient periods, until the Modern era kitchens had separated freemen from slaves, aristocrats from servants or men from women. Frankfurt kitchen, however, carried segregation to a new level where only one person -a woman- could comfortably work within, leaving no room for another individual to share the process. The step-saving kitchen now made it impossible even for the daughters to help their mothers. Inevitably, traditional social interaction within the kitchen disappeared as rational kitchens became widespread around Europe through implementation of governmental social housing developments hence the woman was officially isolated within her pre-assumed domain.

Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky (1897-2000) was one of the first woman architects of Austria and an active socialist (Henderson 1996: 234). Although her sole ambition was to relieve women of drudgery by designing a step-saving kitchen, the Frankfurt Kitchen in practice confined women into a ‘production box’ with practically no

working space for a second person. Moreover, its design was based on efficiency principles which were intended for optimizing capitalist productivity (Jerram, 2006:543). However Corrodi (2006: 32) brings up a rarely mentioned fact that Schütte-Lihotzky had actually designed alternatives to the Frankfurt Kitchen, but her ideal solution which was an eat-in kitchen next to the living room was not realized due to economic reasons.

Nevertheless, the economical version of the Frankfurt Kitchen as we know it was applied in more than 10,000 dwellings and spread its clones around the globe. In the long and winding road of women's liberation process there had been many obstacles on the way, including conservative men and women separately trying to re-domesticate women, however ironically, it was socialists and feminists who finished what the conservatives had started, by 'scientifically' confiding women in apartments.

Frankfurt Kitchen has undeniably been the most widely known of the rational kitchens as it epitomized the concepts of Modern rationalism, efficiency and hygiene. However within the same timeline, several other interpretations of rational kitchens were applied around Europe, and even in other cities of Germany, though never as frequently cited as the Frankfurt Kitchen.

However in spite of continent-wide interest by governments and designers, German households were not as excited with the scientifically efficient kitchen and "*many tenants showed remarkable resistance*" to the rational arrangement, refusing to end their custom of eating in the kitchen (Corrodi, 2006: 37). Apart from laypeople,

critics had also started pointing out that the layout was inconvenient to mind the children during cooking (Corrodi, 2006: 38). Although the door could be left open to watch the children, this would let the kitchen smell out into the living room, destroying the very essence of functional segregation concept. Therefore in 1928 another woman, Erna Meyer came up with a new rational kitchen plan which separated the kitchen from the living room as usual, but this time the wall was transparent, there was no door but ventilation was sufficient (Figures 3.17 & 3.18). Erna Meyer was an 'efficiency expert' economist and one of the key European women who had introduced American domestic efficiency principles to Schütte-Lihotzky. Her 1926 book 'Der Neue Haushalt' (The New Household) became a bestseller and she worked as an advisor to architects in kitchen design (Corrodi 2006:30-32 ; Henderson 1996:228).

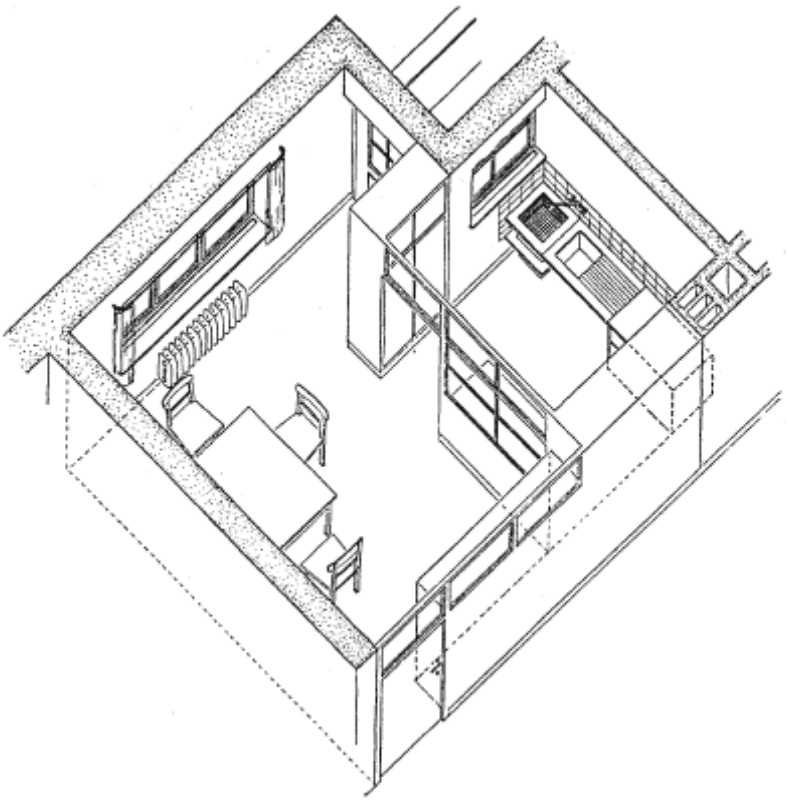

Figure 3.17 The 'Munich Kitchen' in isometric projection (1928, by Erna Meyer, Hanna Löv and Walther Schmidt). Illustration from Corrodi (2006: 40).

Figure 3.1821 The 'Munich Kitchen' view from the living section. Illustration from Corrodi (2006: 40).

Corrodi (2006: 39) underlines the fact that all of the modernist kitchen designs stemmed from the same root, and "*all of them are equally guilty of functionalism*" and goes on to criticize that although Meyer's Munich Kitchen was relatively closer to a live-in kitchen, it was not one in the traditional sense. In spite of the correctness of this remark, the Munich Kitchen was in fact a very important step forward in making woman's work visible, though not in the most dignifying way; as it placed the working woman in a steamy booth while seated spectators -men and children- watched from the clean living space.

While debates on the appropriateness of the Frankfurt Kitchen continued, the Dutch, having produced the earliest bourgeois community, could not wait to import the rational kitchen into the middle class homes which were suffering from shortage of servants. As vocational alternatives for women had increased towards the end of the 19th century, domestic service lost its appeal as an option (Cieraad 2002: 265). Shortage of servants necessitated more efficient workspaces as the same unit of work

now had to be done by much fewer staff. Stimulated by the Dutch translation of Frederick's book, Dutch housewives actively demanded general implementation of a rational kitchen; however this later proved to be economically unfeasible (Cieraad 2002: 272-273).

Finland was another country quick to embrace rationalism in the 1930s, this time in an effort to form a new independent identity through Modern architecture. Modern Finnish kitchen was white and clean as a laboratory, strictly separated from living spaces and was to be used only for cooking and washing purposes, leaving out the traditional eating and living functions (Saarigankas, 2006) (Figure 19). However this brand new separating approach to domestic layout resulted in complaints from women regarding size and functional inadequacy, moreover, most Finns found this new concept of separation against their established eating customs and even insisted so much as to use the minute kitchen to eat by turns (Saarikangas, 2006: 165).

Figure 3.19 The '*lab*' kitchen, in Saarikangas (2006: 167)

Finns were not the only community which refused to change their habits for the sake of efficiency. In '*Bringing Modernity Home'*, Judy Attfield (1999) studies the users' rejection, adjustment and transformation attempts against the modernization of the working class dwellings in post-World War II Britain. Attfield (1999:78) quotes from Alderson (1962) to exemplify the resistance to the modernist kitchen/dining room separation by British residents who insisted on eating in the space where the meal was cooked:

> "*In the last analysis the consumer had asserted his sovereignty. The ministry's [British Ministry of Housing and Construction] research and development group found that, even where an architect had deliberately left no room for eating in the kitchen, people managed to force a table and chairs into it in order to eat some of their meals there"* (Alderson 1962:26).

Attfield (1999:78) also notes the presence of cases where the dividing wall of the kitchen would be demolished by the household as a means of appropriation.

3.2.3 The Reverse Evolution

In recent years, there has been a worldwide trend towards living kitchens. Kitchen is now used –similar to the historic origins of the space- for a variety of functions other than storage, preparation or consumption of food. Defined as "*a traditional hearth for the third millennium*" by Beetschen (2005), today's kitchen constitutes a truly multifunctional space for family gatherings, guest reception, hobby activities or just for watching TV.[13] However this significant progress did not occur overnight. Although implementation of the rational kitchen was rather rapid and revolutionary, the gradual opening and enlargement of the kitchen since the 1950s has been slower and steady.

Although developed and applied at the start of the twentieth century, fitted kitchens did not operate fully until the Second World War ended, when technology and resources were channeled into the domestic realm rather than battlefields. With the high technology obtained from wartime research and the rapid improvement in economy, domestic spaces –especially the kitchen- became major targets for producers. Barbara Miller draws attention to the fact that during the war, several American companies such as General Electric, Westinghouse and Motorola were major producers of defense weapons, while after the war these companies

[13] Johanna Rolshoven quotes from Mirko Beetschen "Kitchen Stories", *Ideales Heim* 2 (Feb 2005) p.103 in her "The Kitchen:Terra Incognita" in Klaus Spechtenhauser (Ed.) (2006).

directed their production towards domestic appliances (Miller 2004: 134). Unnecessarily many electrical appliances were developed and marketed with the promise of easing the housewife's chores beyond imagination. Spechtenhauser (2006) calls this period of appliance shower as 'the transformation of the kitchen into a machinery park' (Spechtenhauser 2006:52). He also adds that the mechanization of household chores did not relieve women's drudgery as promised (ibid.: 56). Relatively, Von Osten (2006:138) refers to time-budget studies stressing that mechanization of housework could not manage to lessen it. Hayden (1981:269) also draws attention to the fact that such appliances were often single-purpose and inefficient machines and needed constant maintenance increasing woman's chores. Furthermore, these appliances required more money to buy and operate, which eventually forced the housewife to find a job outside, doubling her burden (Hayden, 1981).

Barbara L. Miller (2004:134) mentions of '*model brides*' portrayed in advertisements of the 1950s; '*dressed in evening gowns, at times wearing gloves and tiaras – manipulating appliances with multi-button controls'* (Figures 3.20 & 3.21). According to Miller (2004), this was the manufactured fantasy of a carefree and leisure-filled life which was meant to lure women out of their wartime jobs back into the kitchen.

Figure 3.20 Hotpoint Oven advertisement. Grey (1994:47)

Figure 22 Kelvinator Refrigerator Advertisement. Grey (1994:47)

Kitchen naturally needed to expand to accommodate all those state-of-the-art appliances, and after all the expenditure such a costly and fashionable space had to *go public* and show off. The kitchen gradually became more public and less secluded, and towards the end of 1970s the idea of the cramped but well equipped rational kitchen was commonly rejected (Spechtenhauser, 2006: 62). On the other hand, as living functions became more associated with the kitchen, women's work did become more visible, however this put an extra pressure on the woman as the appearance and cleanliness criteria for the kitchen became even harder to fulfil (Saarikangas, 2006: 168).

This extra pressure can be eliminated by having a secondary 'invisible' kitchen and leaving the expensively furnished kitchen clean and 'displayable'. Pascali (2006) mentions secondary kitchens in Italian immigrant houses in the USA. These kitchens are located in the basement, are more spacious and usually furnished with lower-grade materials. The basement kitchen is where the Italian American family *lives*; where they have holiday feasts, or where they prepare tomato sauce without worrying about the mess (Pascali 2006). For women, this kitchen is "*a liberating space, free from the constraints of formality"* as they do not have to keep it spotless at all times (Pascali 2006: 685). By isolating upstairs from downstairs, or 'clean' from 'messy', "*Italian women make their homes conform to their vision of propriety and order"* (Pascali 2006: 685). Pascali (2006) also points out a notable fact that while secondary kitchens are a solution generated by first generation immigrants in the States and gradually disappearing, in Italy separate work kitchens are only newly catching up.

The passion to keep an unused spotless kitchen has grown especially in the past couple of decades. Sonderegger (2006:95) argues that today's kitchen has become "a showpiece and a status symbol" while Kähler 2006:77) defines it as "an object of desire". Rapoport (2005:42) maintains that kitchen activities such as cooking are also becoming a way of establishing identity or a status symbol. These facts consequently shape the physical characteristics of the kitchen; for instance, more appliances require a larger kitchen; which separately and in combination, contribute to the image of a higher social status (Rapoport (2005:42).

Although in the 1920s women's status issues, rationalization of housework and the necessity of low-cost housing were determinants of kitchen design, today trendy cooking practices, equipment technology, modified family structures, different lifestyles and nutritional habits shape the kitchens (Kesselring 2006:116).

CHAPTER 4

THE TURKISH CYPRIOT CASE:

KITCHEN AS A LIVING SPACE

Turkish Cypriot kitchen, shaped by a blend of Turkish, Mediterranean and European factors, has naturally been influenced by some of the global architectural trends, while not at all affected by some others for certain reasons specific to the island. Kitchens in Cyprus as well evolved greatly within the past century, transforming from small service spaces which could extend into considerably large open spaces, to more spacious multifunctional spaces with modest semi-open extensions. Despite gradual changes in layout or furniture, meaning of kitchen and kitchen functions continued to imply sociability through the previous century.

This chapter is an attempt towards the analysis of the Turkish Cypriot kitchen; in terms of architecture shaped by culture and meaning. As a consequence of the scarcity of researched material on Cypriot kitchens, a considerable portion of the following information depends on author's observations as a native architect, and oral history records of interviews with married female and male subjects in addition to formal and informal discussions with researchers in the field.

4.1 Basis for Live-in Kitchens in Cyprus

While nowadays the live-in kitchen is a widely appreciated global trend, for Turkish Cypriots it has been a way of life for a considerably longer time; although spatial characteristics did differ from those of a standardized kitchen. The kitchen as a space and a culture has evolved in Cyprus as well, with peculiarities which may distinguish it from global instances. As any other space carrying social characteristics, the Turkish Cypriot live-in kitchen as well needs to be analysed over concepts regarding social functions of the space.

4.1.1 The Vernacular Courtyard House of Cyprus

In order to carry out an accurate evaluation of the Turkish Cypriot kitchen, a brief analysis of the vernacular house is necessary; as the evolutionary process requires frequent references to traditional dwelling culture and architecture.

In the vernacular Cypriot courtyard house, the main building consisted of multifunctional rooms which were flexibly used as bedroom and living room or kitchen and storage (Dinçyürek et. al. 2003:1465). In this layout, kitchen used to be a modest service space which was usually a detached room close to the main building, and food and eating related functions were carried out in an array of spaces including open and semi-open spaces like *havlı*[14] or *sundurma*[15] (Figures 4.1 & 4.2). This fact

[14] Turkish word for *courtyard;* in Cypriot dialect.
[15] Turkish word for *arcaded porch*; in Cypriot dialect.

made the kitchen an often neglected space in terms of academic documentation compared to comprehensive analyses of main living spaces.

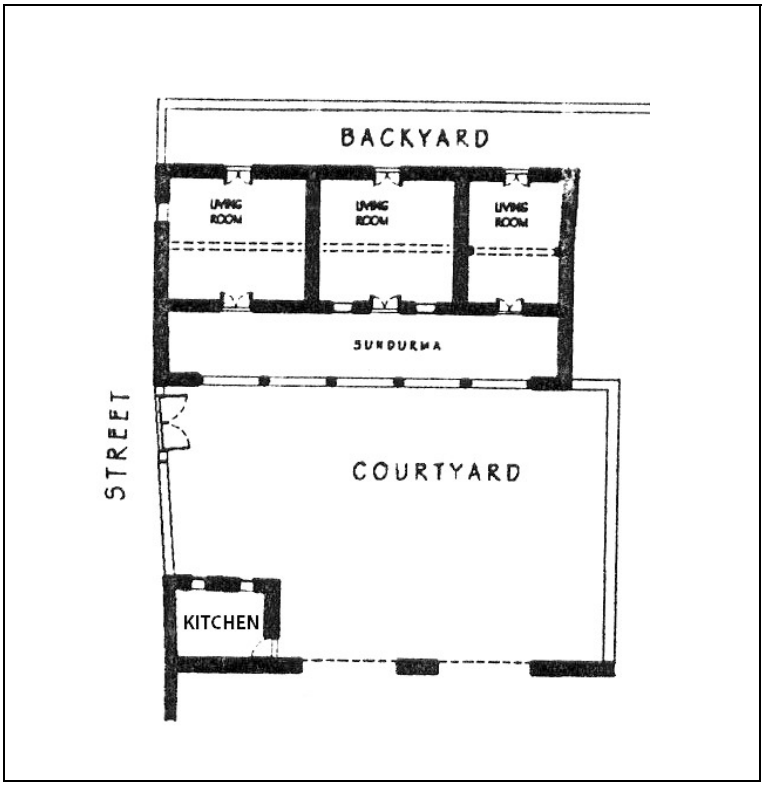

Figure 23 Vernacular courtyard house with detached kitchen, Kaplıca village. (Türker, 2002:205)

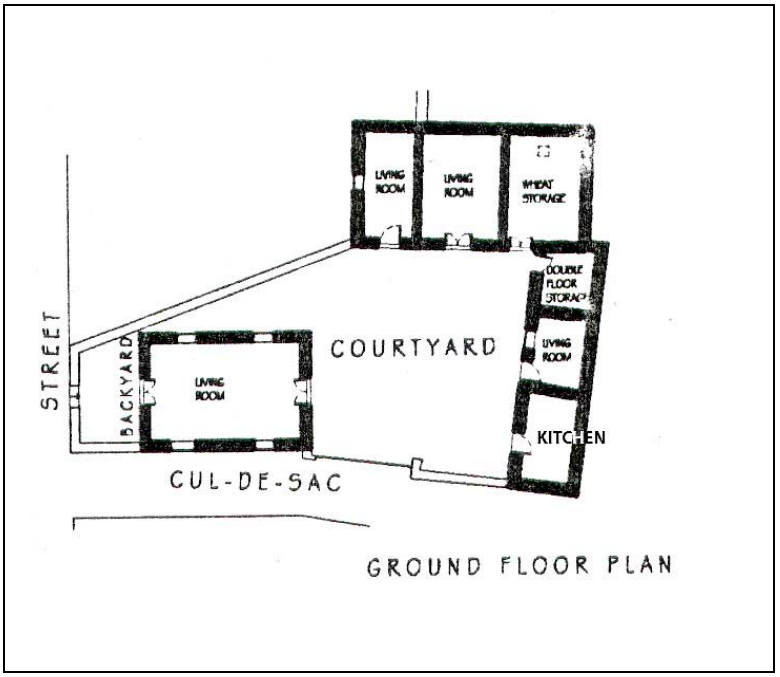

Figure 24 Vernacular courtyard house sample, Kaplıca village. (Türker, 2002:215)

Domestic life in the Cypriot courtyard house was largely dependent on *havlı* and exterior space was several times larger than the interiors (Pulhan 2008: 207). *Havlı*; an open however surrounded space, was in fact the truly multifunctional and sociable space of the Cypriot courtyard house. From picking beans with neighbours to baking bread in the earthen oven, embroidering lace and drinking Turkish coffee, the courtyard was where women would socialize comfortably without being perceived from the street. *Havlı* was also a playground for children and the perfect setting for wedding ceremonies. However, modernisation attempts by the British colonial rule brought the end of the Cypriot courtyard house, with renewed regulations decreasing fence wall height below eye level in the 1930s (Pulhan 2008: 211).

In the vernacular courtyard house kitchen had direct contact with the courtyard, enabling convenient connection with the well, earthen oven and poultry house Figure 4.3). Still, it should be noted that courtyard connections of kitchens in coastal villages and mountain villages would differ due to climatic differences. In colder settlements where winter would pass under snow and rain, the courtyard functions were mostly transferred into the kitchen; even earthen ovens were installed indoors (Figure 4.4). Before proper sanitary services and heating systems were installed, water for bathing was heated on the kitchen hearth, and many times the kitchen would be used as a bathroom taking advantage of the already heated space. The lack of plumbing is in fact one of the reasons why in the courtyard house kitchen was mostly attached to an end of the dwelling or was completely detached.

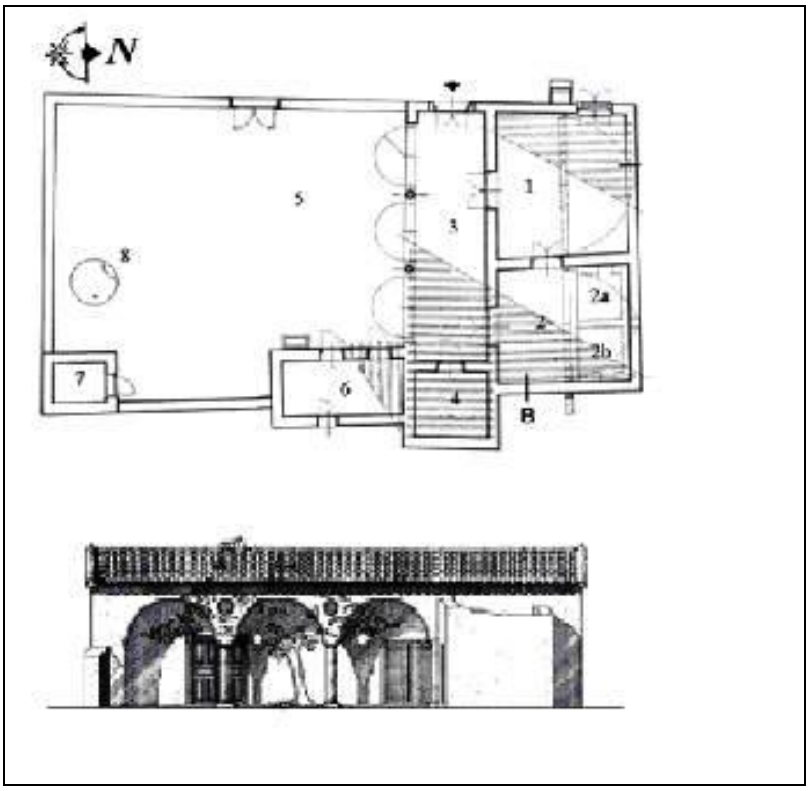

Figure 25 Cypriot courtyard house. Plan and Section through the courtyard, showing South Elevation. 1-Bedroom 2-Storage 3-Porch 4-Kitchen 5-Courtyard 6-Animal Den 7-Toilet 8-Oven (Günçe et al. 2008:826) Original drawings by Eryaşar and Turgay (2005:111) in *Twelve Traditional Cyprus Houses*, Nicosia:Kailas.

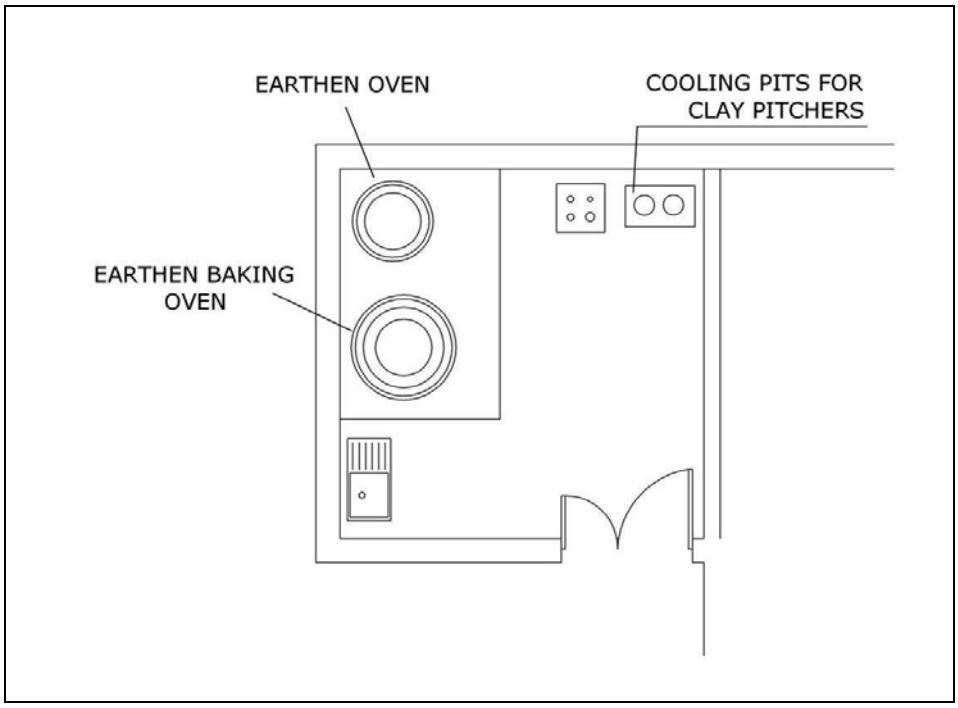

Figure 26 Kitchen space from a courtyard house in Lefkara village, 1960s. Drawn according to verbal description.

4.1.2 Woman's Sociable Domain

Although religion does not play a major role in the daily life of the current-day Turkish Cypriot community, gender definitions and related spatial formations undeniably carry traces of Islamic doctrine which clearly demands that woman is to stay within the domestic sphere, dealing with household issues while men would dominate the public sphere. In this context, parts of the domestic sphere which were exclusively female e.g. the kitchen, would be inaccessible to men of especially Ottoman-reigned Cyprus. Pulhan (2008:209) claims that the traditional courtyard house of Cyprus was not strongly divided into male and female domains. Nevertheless, kitchen is accepted to be woman's domain although accessible by the entire household, and Turkish Cypriot men of the past century have been involved in domestic processes including food preparation to some extent, which implies overlap of gender thresholds.

Slaying the animal, for instance, was mainly a man's job, as most outdoor chores were considered to be. It is plausible that, accustomed by the widespread hunting tradition, Turkish Cypriot men usually take on carving and cleaning the animal which would take place out in the courtyard, however it is not uncommon to observe that women also manage slaying of poultry, stepping into the male domain. However, cooking has always been considered to be a woman's job therefore the stove is woman's domain although accessible by the rest of the household. Cleaning the kitchen on the other hand is certainly a female activity and never one of the 'manly chores'.

Today it is possible to observe Turkish Cypriot men washing dishes or at least loading and unloading the dishwasher. The vision of men sweeping and mopping kitchen floors however do not seem to be a possibility of the immediate future. As married women usually have full time jobs outside the home, the egalitarian solution to the cleaning responsibility is found in paid cleaning service. However hiring another woman to clean the house does not help in breaking the thresholds but actually reinforces housework as woman's work.

Traditionally, preparation of food was a collective process involving women of varying ages. Kneading dough and baking bread in the courtyard was a typical periodical activity undertaken by neighbourhood women (Figure 4.5). In this respect courtyard becomes an important space used for food preparation in addition to the kitchen. Therefore, in order to fulfil the traditional function of collective work, the kitchen needs to be spacious especially in lack of a courtyard in which food preparation may be partly carried out.

Figure 27 Women baking bread in the courtyard, Çayırova village.
Photograph from Ministry of Tourism promotion booklet, 1981.

Another collective food related activity is picking of *molohiya*[16] leaves as a preparation for drying. *Molohiya* leaves are picked in company of friends and relatives preferably sitting outside the entrance, on the veranda or in the courtyard. The tradition continues to this day however with a significant change of space owing to changing urban conditions and global warming. Nowadays this summer activity is largely carried out in air conditioned kitchens which ends its public character. Picking *molohiya* leaves is also special in the sense that it connects family members, often men as well (Figure 4.6).

Figure 28 Men participate in preparing molohiya leaves for the drying process, Tuzla village. Photograph by Ceren Kürüm.

Although Turkish culture, whether Mediterranean or not, imposes concealing the kitchen primarily because it is female domain, and secondarily to hide the untidiness

[16] Molohiya is the name given to a Middle Eastern food and the aromatic plant it is made of; which are very popular among Turkish Cypriots.

and odour; Turkish Cypriot kitchens in the last half of the previous century were open to the whole family and close friends. Recent Western trends promote a similar approach, this time encouraging the whole family to work in the kitchen while at the same time entertaining guests and even inviting them to participate in the process. Therefore, the main function of a 'dinner reception' is no more dining only, the preparation stage is as important. Imposition of such a 'kitchen culture' naturally relieves some of the weight off the woman's shoulders, as working in the kitchen becomes a custom for men in time, although they tend to participate more on reception nights. In addition to certain meat dishes, interviewed male subjects have admitted to 'help' in daily preparation stages by chopping onions or heating water in the electric kettle. The stove however remains as a site of dominance and responsibility which women do not intend to give up.

4.1.3 Evolution of the Turkish Cypriot Kitchen

Although the kitchen in the rural courtyard house was a small service space, it always possessed the opportunity to extend into the courtyard, immediately expanding in size and functionality. Urban dwellings on the other hand naturally suffered spatial restrictions and modernization attempts imposed strict functional segregation of spaces. Still, Turkish Cypriot households never gave in to the strictly-servile rational kitchen and stood by their multifunctional living kitchen throughout periods of change. Proposed work kitchens could not push the traditional household to dine in a separate dining room – cramped or not, kitchen was where nuclear family ate. This custom was sacrificed only in seldom cases of modern houses designed by

Modernist Greek Cypriot or Turkish Cypriot architects for elite clients, who used to *demand* spatial segregation on the grounds of a newly acquired Western vision.

Urban culture is a relatively new concept to the majority of Turkish Cypriots therefore the acquaintance of this community with the Modern urban dwelling is not a long history. In the first half of the twentieth century, Turkish Cypriot urban population consisted of a small circle of wealthy families which had close relations with British colonial officials. Considering that the concept of modernization was introduced to Cypriots by the British colonial administration; starting with public buildings and lodges for colonial officers, it is comprehensible that urban dwellers felt the urge to keep up with this new trend (Figures 4.7 & 4.8). However Modern cases of Turkish Cypriot houses are indeed rare compared to the rural bulk, naturally because an overwhelming majority of Turkish Cypriots lived in villages or small towns until a few decades ago.

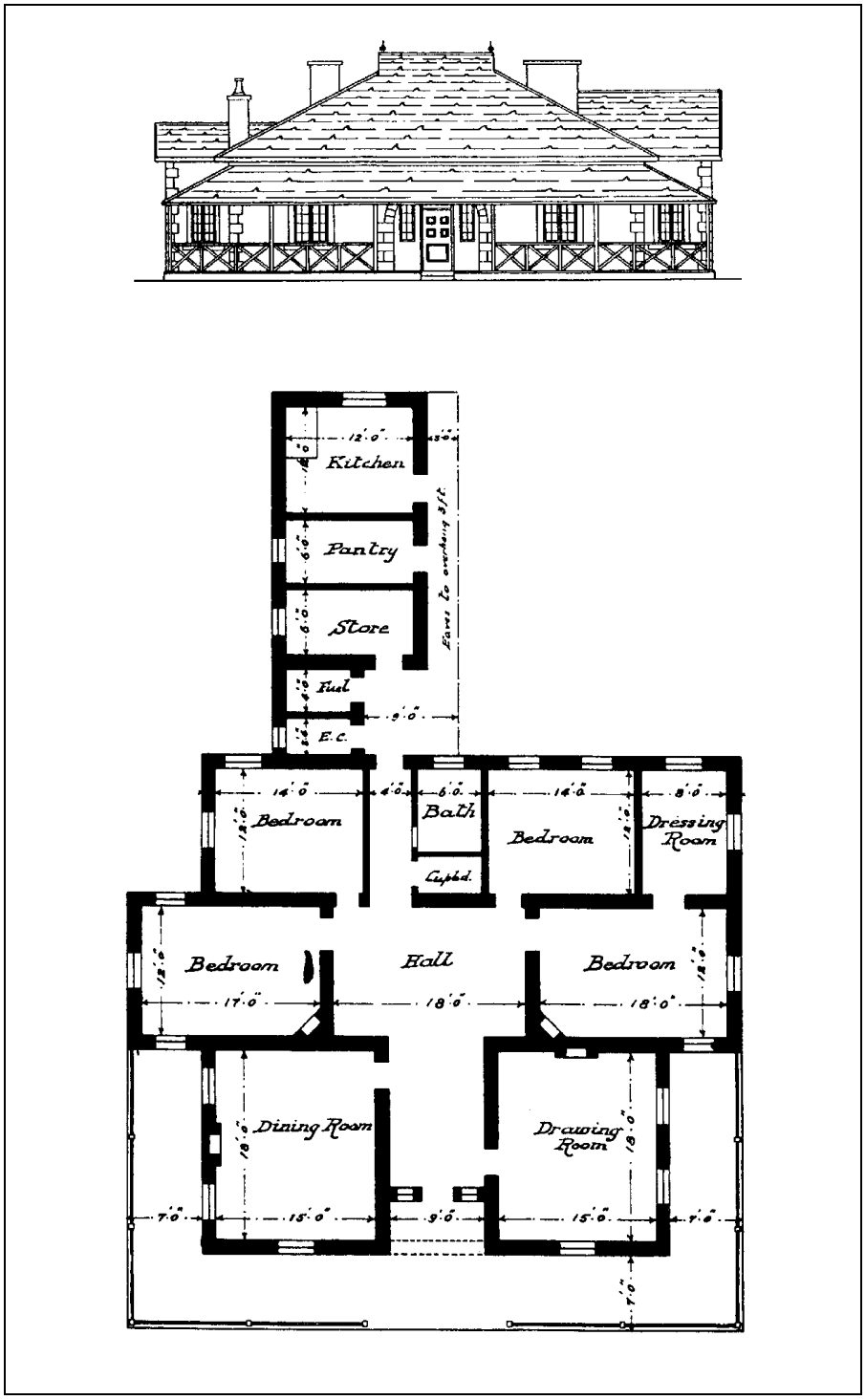

Figure 29 Plan and elevation of lodges for married British Colonial officials by Gimson, 1920. Illustrations from Uluçay (2007; 28). The extreme locations of kitchen and dining room are noticeable.

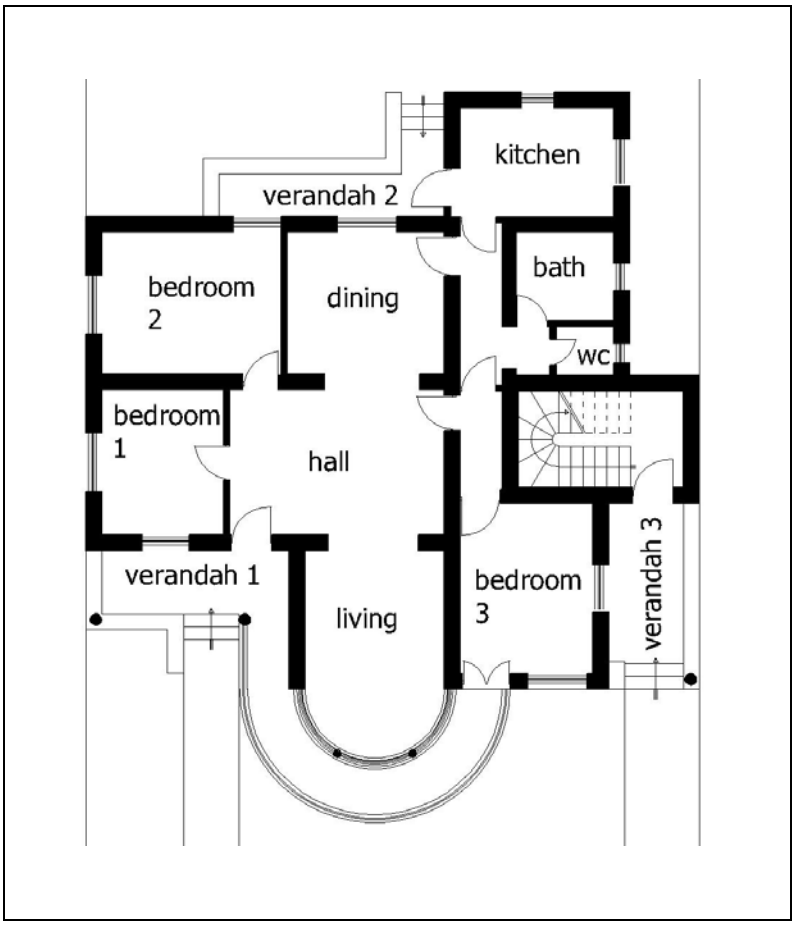

Figure 30 Plan of a 1948 urban house designed by a Greek Cypriot architect for a Turkish Cypriot female client (Uluçay 2007:40). Here the kitchen is treated like any other wet space and placed at the farthermost corner with respect to the entrance.

Although modern approach was first introduced by the British government and then applied by Greek Cypriot architects, Turkish Cypriot urban society encountered strictly modernist design through the first registered Turkish Cypriot architect; Ahmed Vural Behaeddin. Like most modernist architects, Behaeddin too perceived and designed the kitchen as a working cabinet, yet it is obvious that he had to propose eat-in kitchens in certain cases (Figures 4.9, 4.10 & 4.11). Although his clients were in an effort to keep up with Western values, they were still Turkish Cypriot women and his kitchens received frequent complaints.[17]

[17] Depending on interviews with Türkan Ulusu Uraz, about her research carried out with Hifsiye Pulhan and Pinar Uluçay, on the modern dwellings of Ahmed Vural Behaeddin.

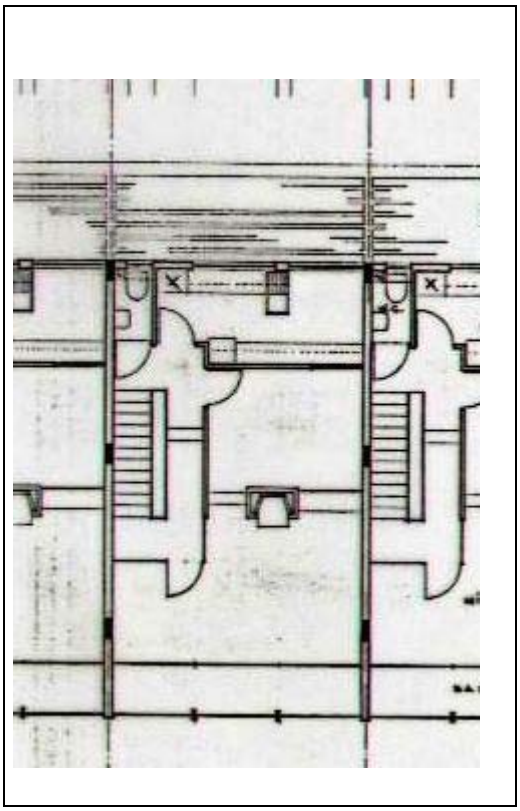

Figure 31 First floor plan, Row Houses. Ahmed Behaeddin.

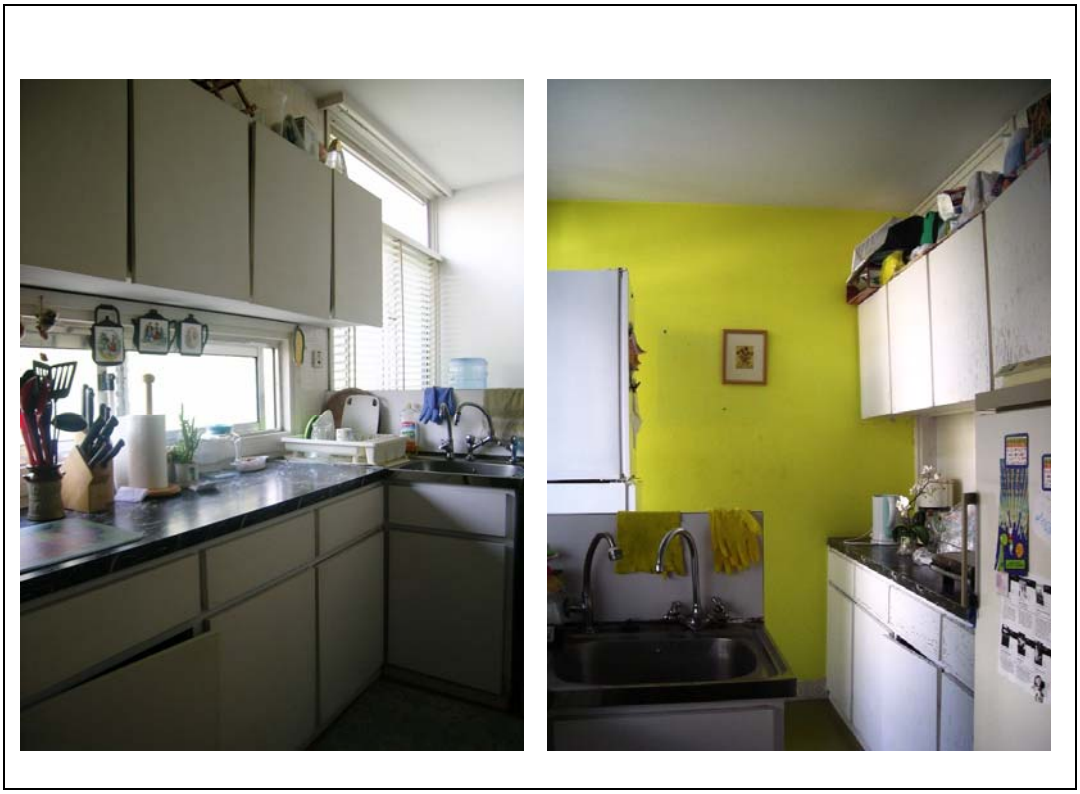

Figure 32 Kitchen, Row Houses. Photographs by Türkan Ulusu Uraz and Pınar Uluçay

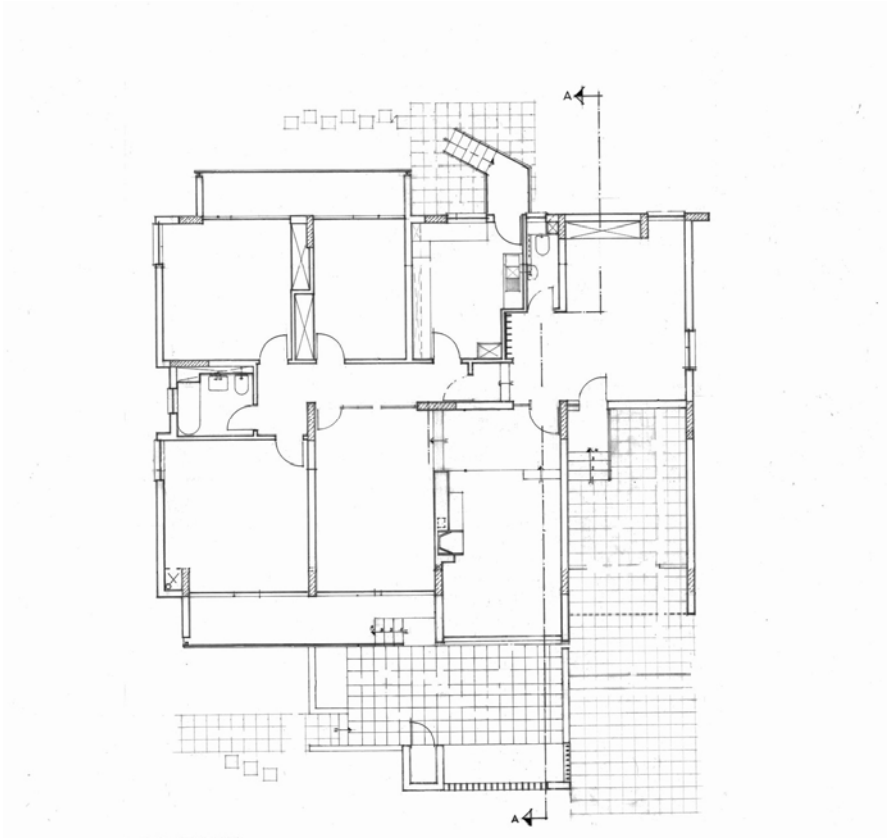

Figure 33 Plan, Adnan Hakkı House, Ahmed Behaeddin.

In time, Turkish Cypriot urban dwellers developed a sense of modern space and an understanding of design; which allowed them to participate in the design process consciously. This particular apartment block was designed as a family estate by a Greek Cypriot architect in 1962 for a Turkish Cypriot client and was completed floor by floor until 1973 (Figure 4.12). As an addendum to the design, the owner's daughter, a newly graduated drafter then, proposed a second entrance door to be opened into the eat-in kitchen (Figure 4.13 & 4.14). The idea was adopted by the family who also felt the need to establish a direct connection between the kitchen and outside. It is worthy of notice that both doors are treated with exactly same importance – none looking like a service door – and that only the one opening into the kitchen has a keyhole on it. This indicates that the family would enter through the kitchen door while the other door was used only for visitors. The interviewed owner

proudly stated that none of the owners felt the need to modify their kitchens since 1973, as a proof of its functionally and culturally correct design, although she added that today's larger stoves and refrigerators have caused dimensional difficulties.

Figure 34 Apartment Building in Baykal, Famagusta. Photograph by Ceren Kürüm.

Figure 35 Two *almost* identical doors opening into one apartment. The only difference is the knob on the 'visitor entrance' door and the keyhole on the 'family entrance' door.

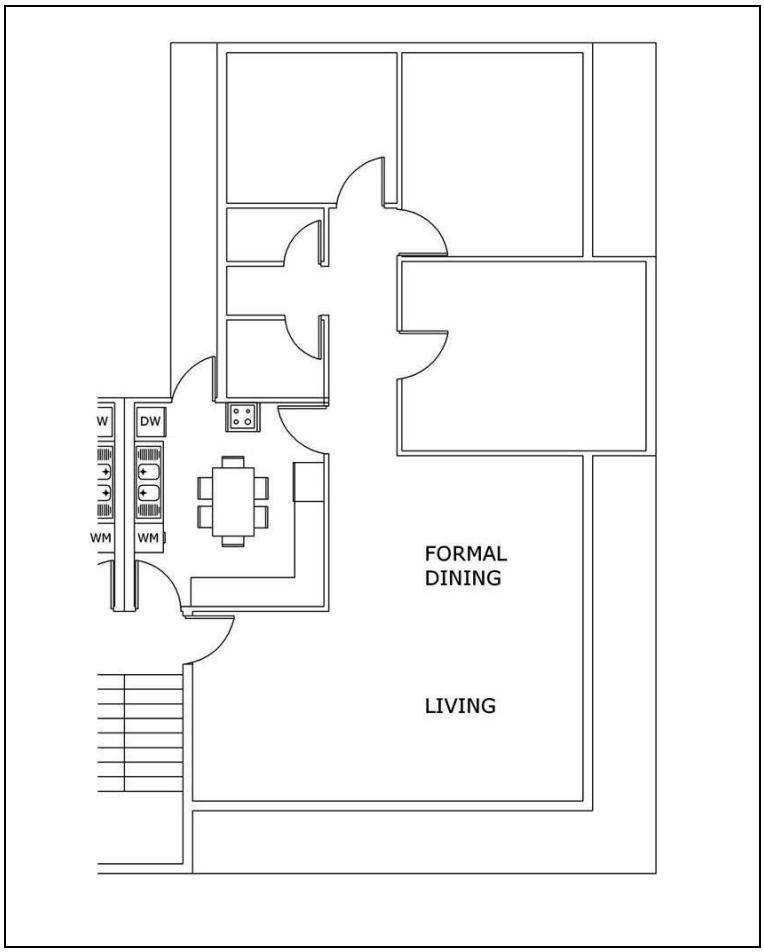

Figure 36 Floor Plan, Apartment with two entrances.

From 1974 onwards, the majorly rural Turkish Cypriot community was drawn to the cities and settled into either former Greek houses or apartment buildings which were being newly constructed.[18] It is quite obvious that most rural Turkish Cypriots could not adapt to urban life and sought ways of building their custom designed private houses in the rural. While the limited number of Turkish Cypriot urban elites who had experienced the modern style was accustomed to the strict demarcation of domestic spaces, introduction of these units to people of rural origin did not prove a

[18] 1974 in Cyprus was a year of social and political fluctuations. After a Greek *coup d'état* and a following Turkish intervention, the island was divided into her present status; Turkish North and Greek South. Consequently, tens of thousands were dislocated and relocated. Urban demographics in the North were formed from scratch when migrant Turkish Cypriots -who were originally of rural lifestyles- were channelled into cities.

smooth transition. A peculiar example to this argument is the governmental housing developments.

Governmental mass housing attempts in Cyprus has a history dating back to Ottoman and British rules, while the most recent projects in North Cyprus started in late 1970s and lasted for about a decade. The developments were composed of two types; row houses followed by apartment blocks and were realized in order to provide accommodation especially for young families which constituted the new urban workforce. Expectedly, when rural families moved into these units with completely foreign layouts, they tried to appropriate the spaces as soon as they had the financial means. The most and earliest remodelled space was, not surprisingly, the kitchen (Özderen, 2003).

Around the same time, commercial construction firms and cooperatives also started mass production of affordable apartment blocks, in addition to governmental efforts to accommodate the boosting urban population. In these units however, the kitchen was kept at reasonable dimensions with respect to the traditional space use, at the expense of bedroom sizes. This design decision can be regarded as a way to *avoid* the rational kitchen even in case of dimensional restrictions (Figure 4.15).

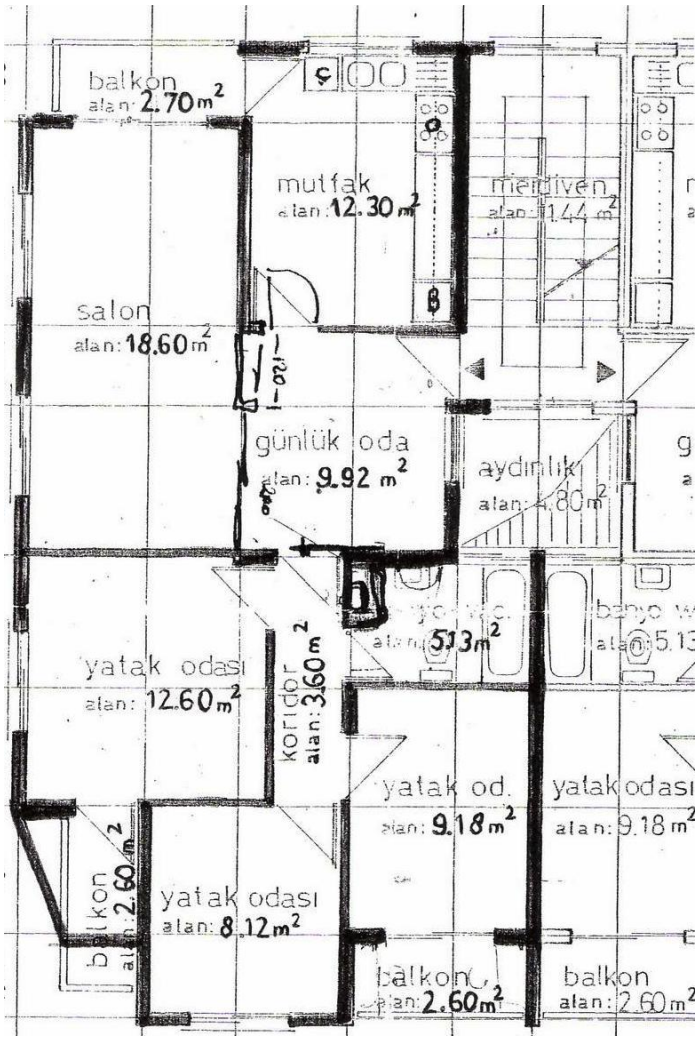

Figure 37 A typical floor plan from one of the first examples of commercial apartment housing, Levent Complex 1985-1987, Ortaköy, Nicosia.

Turkish Cypriot community is in fact only one of many societies which rejected the rational kitchen in defence of their traditional lifestyles. Kitchen, or the sum of indoor and outdoor food related activities it denotes, used to be a significant domestic medium for social encounters of women. As in the past decades working women population rose considerably, the kitchen became an even more crucial spot constituting the space in which the family reunites after a day of work and school. Considering that the working woman needs preparation time before dinner and cleaning time after it, she would spend at least two hours alone in a rational kitchen.

The live-in kitchen is an explicit refusal of segregation of family members, not by the architect or woman directly however by the household as a collective preference.

Remarkably, rural Cypriot dwellings experienced Modernism with large live-in kitchens, celebrating the technology however disregarding efficiency principles. At first glance it could be argued that avoidance of rational design was due to mostly rural lifestyles and lack of a dominant industrial context. However it is easily observed that even after urbanization, the traditionalist Turkish Cypriot society showed reluctance in adapting to the more rational – less traditional space layouts which significantly downsized – and downgraded – the kitchen. Contrary to the common applications of narrow apartment kitchens in Europe which emerged with urbanization, the rational kitchen box has never been popular in Turkish Cypriot dwellings even with the major migration to cities after 1974.

As a global fact; sanitary plumbing facilities pushed wet spaces –which formerly existed separately- towards the main building creating a physical connection, while the simultaneous modernist hygiene and functional segregation policies drew a clear line between service and living spaces. Interestingly, in Cyprus, modern architecture and provision of sanitary systems triggered the generation of large live-in kitchens in the rural. Although in the same period urban dwellers had experienced the –disliked- strictly modern rational kitchens, rural dwellers took advantage of the new technology and architecture to establish the appropriate space for long-existing association of food related functions and social interaction (Figures 4.16 & 4.17).

It is important to notice that this enlargement which enclosed living functions did not disconnect the kitchen from exterior spaces; to the contrary, the courtyard remained

almost the same including the well, earthen oven and poultry den, and the kitchen extended into the courtyard with a terrace or veranda. Turkish Cypriot households are still dwelling in such rural-modern houses without needing any serious change except renewal of cabinets or furniture. Satisfaction of users with the large, sunlit and multifunctional kitchen is an indication of the living culture and kitchen preferences of Turkish Cypriot households. These preferences are evidently reflected in custom designed private dwellings as well where the kitchen is large enough to include living purposes beyond food related functions, and the outdoor connection is always present through an extension as terrace or patio.

Figure 38 Modern rural dwelling, Çayırova village.

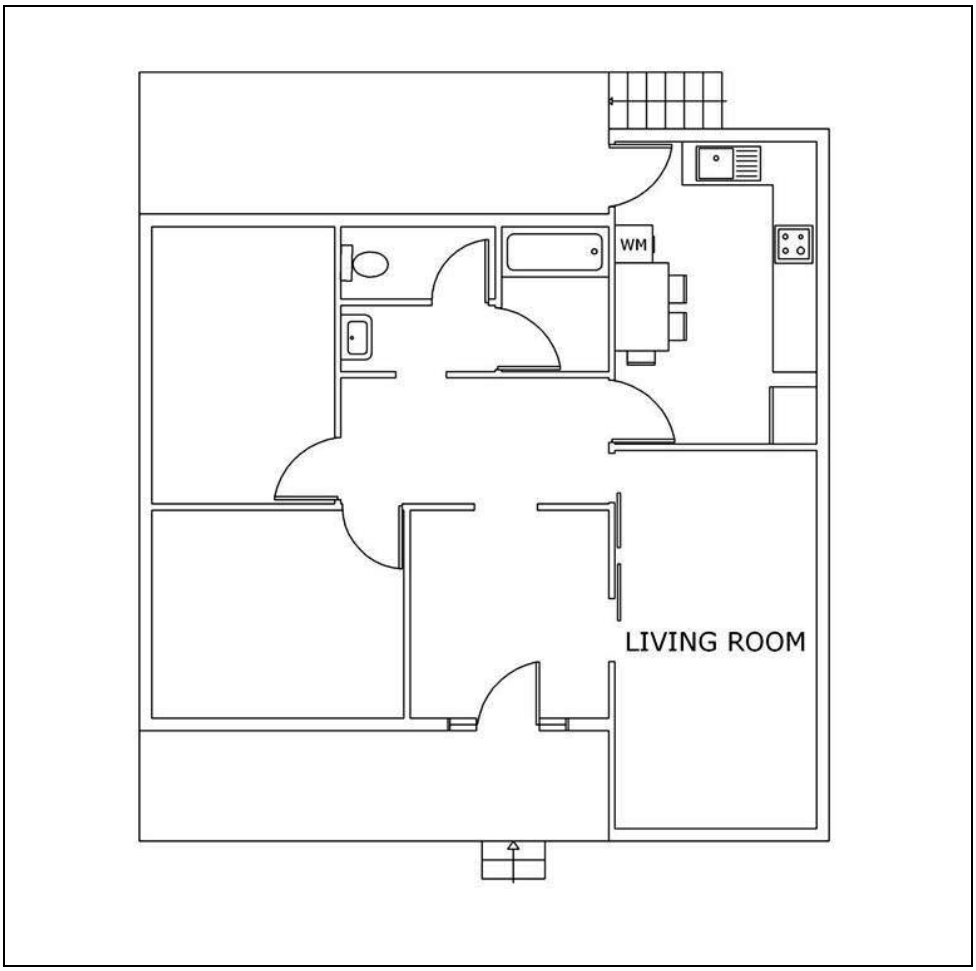

Figure 39 Plan, Modern rural dwelling in Çayırova.

Although kitchen and related views and smells are shared with close contacts, it is still a private space to strangers or formal guests – unless it is perfectly clean, well decorated and odourless. Owing to the Mediterranean lifestyle, a considerable part of Cypriot cuisine consists of fresh or boiled vegetables and fresh spices like mint or basil. However there is also an indispensable part of the Cypriot cookbook which includes frying or sautéing which inevitably causes smell that may be disturbing. While open kitchens are becoming more popular, adapting to a 'public' kitchen has not been easy for most households and associated architectural solutions have been generated by the users. In most cases, preparation and cooking of certain foods which cause untidiness and odour are carried to a much less public space like the backyard, balcony, garage, or a separate room specifically intended for this purpose. This

solution keeps the semi-public open or live-in kitchen tidy and clean, and the secondary kitchen can be kept as is until a convenient time for cleaning. Still, it is observed that not all households can afford a proper secondary kitchen and most of the time an old stove is placed in the garage or storage which confines the woman in a segregated and uncomfortable environment.

4. 2 Kitchens in Recent Dwellings

Turkish Cypriot culture, lifestyle and consequently residential architecture have been subjected to serious influences in the past three decades. Sudden political, demographic and economic changes were reflected on the social structure and inevitably global culture caused fluctuations in values and meanings attributed to spaces and materials. Similar to most 'Westernized' Eastern communities, Turkish Cypriots as well desired to keep up with global trends, however had to struggle with the discrepancies caused by clashing cultural patterns. While Turkish Cypriots did try to adopt Western attitudes in kitchen design, in the process they had to sacrifice either traditional lifestyle or local cuisine. This section analyzes meaning and use patterns in kitchens of different dwelling types, with reference to user initiated adaptation efforts.

4.2.1 Detached Houses

After the sudden urbanization in 1974 as well, Turkish Cypriots continued to construct their preferences as they would in the rural. The general tendency towards building custom designed detached houses presents the researcher with a sound proof

of domestic space preferences as the design processes are most of the time dominated by the client. The woman is usually the sole authority for design decisions regarding the kitchen, rather than the architect or her husband. This does imply a surviving association of women with the kitchen space, however does not necessarily mean that men do not use the kitchen. The recently built custom designed private dwellings almost always have a large kitchen designed for living purposes, with the 'working' function still being reserved for women. However, although Turkish Cypriot households have long integrated living functions with food related activities, the kitchen still is to an extent private therefore open kitchens are considerably less popular compared to large living kitchens. While close friends and relatives are received in the kitchen, it is preferred that especially the food preparation and sink areas are not visible from the entrance door.

Such houses frequently include a laundry room on the upper floor where it is more appropriately *hidden*; therefore washing machines are almost extinct from the kitchen. Relatively, Hand and Shove (2004:246) claim that elimination of washing machines from the kitchen "*further confirms the kitchen's status as a space of quiet or of sociability*". A television set is found in almost every kitchen in addition to a radio, which implies an effort towards preventing disconnection with life while dealing with kitchen work.

It is important to analyse and detect the differences between the kitchens of custom designs and commercial projects. The following four samples are from the rapidly growing suburban village Tuzla. The first sample is a 42 m² live-in kitchen which is a genuine gathering spot for the entire family containing a breakfast corner, a dining

table and a couch for short naps (Figure 4.18 & 4.19). This 'kitchen' is the formal dining room has been used twice in six years, and the living room is used only to watch a different program on the TV. The dinner table is obviously used for many purposes other than eating and the owners stated that the breakfast corner is most of the time enough for the nuclear-family dinners. It is observed that the kitchen is decorated as a living space with ornaments and family photographs.

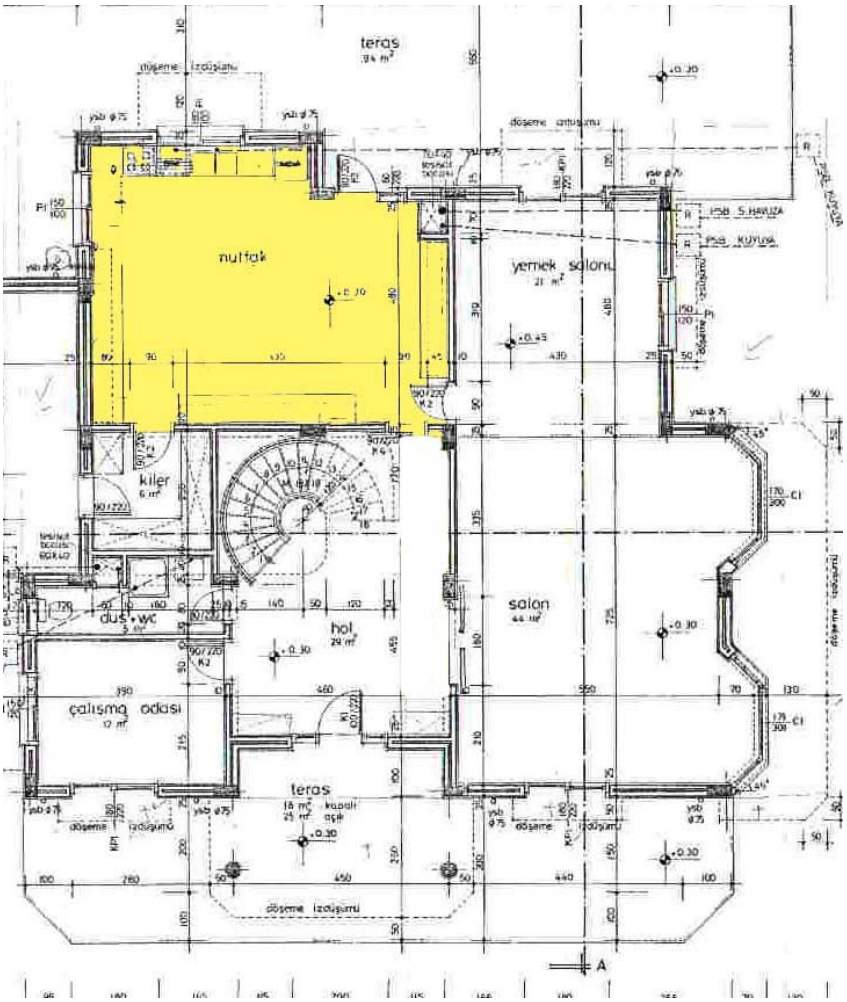

Figure 40 Plan of a two-storey private house in Tuzla, Gazimağusa (2003). Existence of a separate dining area does not cause any decrease in the size of the kitchen.

Figure 41 Separate breakfast and dining tables.

The next sample is a considerably modest dwelling compared to the former (Figure 4.20). In this case, the young owners chose not to have a dining room which would be used only rarely. Instead, they receive guests in the kitchen around a retractable breakfast table which enlarges into an 8-person dining table. The kitchen also accommodates a baby's play section, in order to be watched as the mother is in the kitchen most of the time when she is not at work (Figure 4.21).

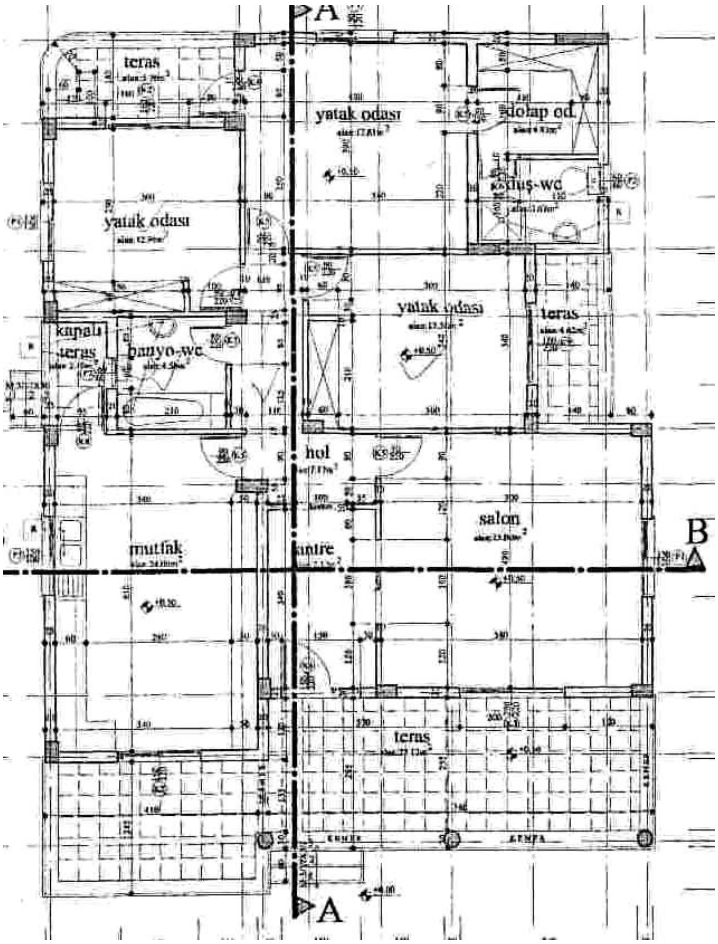

Figure 4.20 Plan of custom designed single-storey private house for a young couple in Tuzla village (2006).

Figure 4.21 Retractable breakfast table and baby's play section in the kitchen.

Development companies do respond to the widespread inclinations and propose eat-in or open kitchens in their detached house projects. However these are mostly either closed eat-in kitchens or open kitchen - living room combinations. Although such cases are considerably more appropriate than cramped work kitchens, they still do not satisfy all requirements of the appreciated live-in kitchen. For instance, an eat-in kitchen as in Figure 4.22 would attract the family only at meal times, thus leaving the mother alone. On the other hand, a semi-open or open kitchen as in Figure 4.23 would doubtlessly cause odour problems.

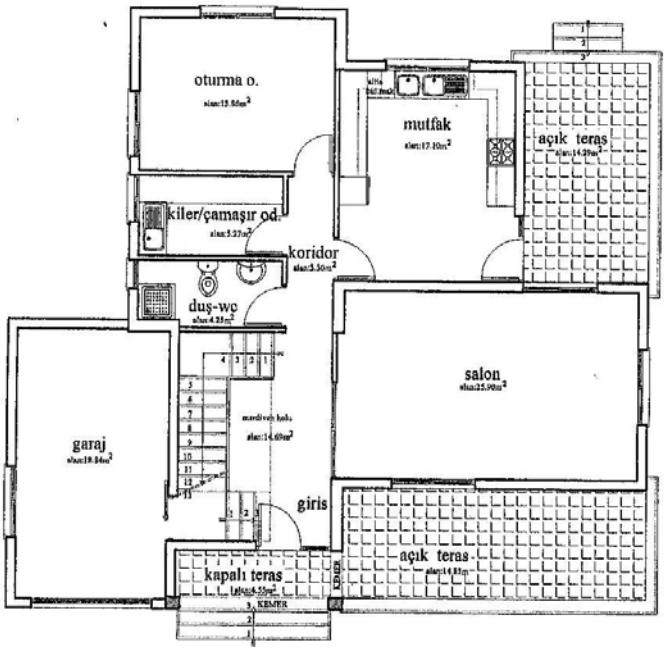

Figure 4.22 Typical detached house plan by Onlar Construction, 2006. The kitchen is neither live-in nor an effective eat-in kitchen.

Figure 4.23 A commercial proposal including a semi-open eat-in kitchen. Güçlüer Construction, 2007.

If the proposed architectural solution does not respond to the unpleasant sight and smell problem, users find their own ways of dealing with it. The following sample is a detached urban house with a fully equipped open kitchen which extends into the living area (Figure 4.24). The retired mother of this house required a secondary work kitchen when she realized that an open kitchen meant constant cleaning. Therefore, a second fully-equipped kitchen is installed into the garage which now multi-functions as a kitchen, laundry, sewing room and storage (Figure 4.25). *Molohiya* leaves are also spread for drying in this segregated workshop, because of the pungent smell they release during the process.

Figure 42 Open kitchen extending into living area.

Figure 4.25 Secondary kitchen built in the garage.

4.2.2 Apartments

Although until mid-1980s living in an apartment block was an uncommon and unappealing condition, with the widespread applications and increasing urban density apartment blocks became the residential norm in the city. Construction firms generally proposed eat-in kitchens, as live-in kitchen would require more space which was already scarce in an apartment and the conservative Turkish Cypriot households were not ready for the open kitchen-living room combination. With the new century, open kitchens in apartments became more common and acceptable by younger couples, plausibly with the encouragement of the fashionable kitchen concept.

The following case was built in 1997 as a replication of typical blocks by a local construction firm. Although the kitchen is open to the living room, it is closed to the entrance hall which implies the importance of privacy thresholds applied differently to acquaintances and outsiders (Figure 4.26).

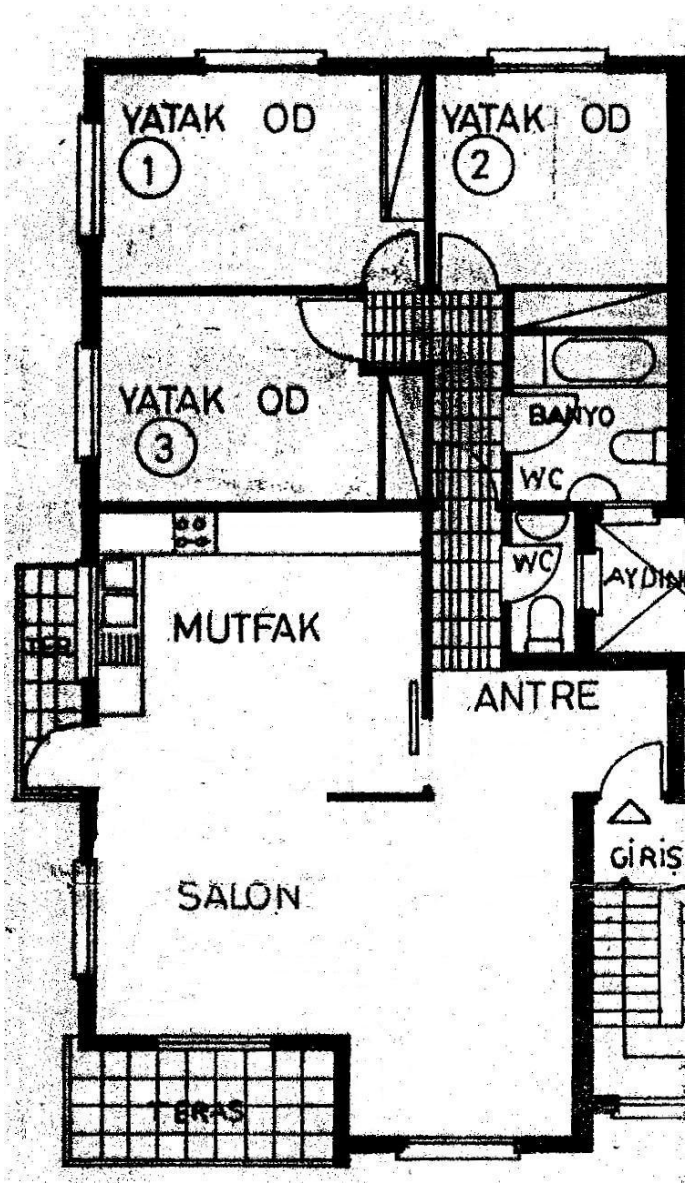

Figure 4.26 Typical floor plan by Noyanlar Construction, 1997.

However, open kitchens came with a set of disadvantages along with their advantages. The openness which enabled socialization would also create an odour issue that was especially a problem at guest reception, since besides typical Mediterranean food; Turkish Cypriot cuisine contains Middle Eastern dishes which are highly aromatic. Solutions to this problem is less varied in apartments compared to detached houses due to spatial limitations and the lack of a garden or garage. Households try to cope with this situation by extending the kitchen traditionally into

open spaces which in this case is the balcony or the terrace. A stove in the balcony or terrace eliminates a malodorous living room. Apparently, construction firms have observed this inclination and started responding by design. The following example is the solution brought by one of the leading local design and construction firms. The odour and unpleasant sight problem is hereby solved by confining the cook - doubtlessly a woman - into a cubicle that she can barely stand in (Figure 4.27). It is thought provoking that such a 'cooking cabinet' is only proposed in the most expensive apartment type within multi-type residential blocks.

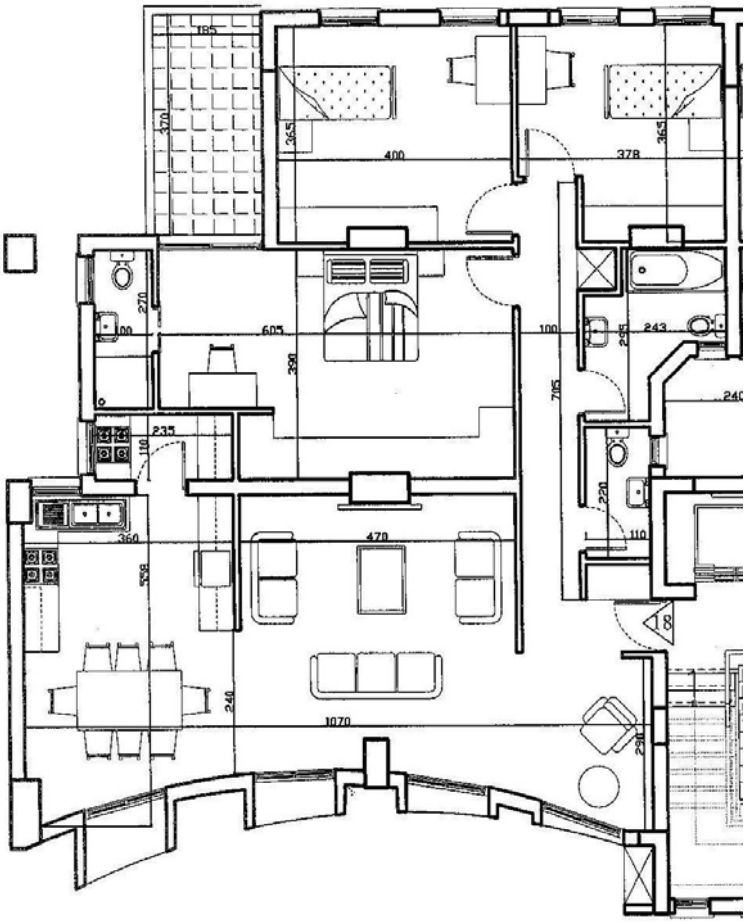

Figure 43 Apartment with a cooking cubicle. Northernland Estates, 2009.

4.2.3 Governmental Housing Case

Post-1974 migration to urban areas evidently required capital which young couples lacked; therefore governmental housing projects were employed as a means of facilitating this transition process. The units provided affordable housing however with dimensional limitations which were felt especially in service spaces including the kitchen. As the kitchen is perceived as a living space rather than service, owners of these units attempted to *fix* their rational kitchens by going back in time to irrationally large and sometimes inappropriately multi-functional kitchens, almost at medieval standards. The following analysis is made over a small-scale pilot study on the modification efforts of these units.[19]

The key factor which makes this particular set of houses very exceptional is the fact that there is an unusual legal loophole in the building code concerning this 332-unit row house complex so that the inhabitants can freely make alterations on the façades or the units altogether – without being penalized. As unit owners do not have to get authorization for the changes, almost all modifications are done without consulting an architect. The design and construction process is generally handled by the household and a master builder. Although extreme modifications may jeopardize the structural reliability of the building, in terms of plan layout everything is especially correct because whatever change that is done is done for a very good reason. This

[19] Results of this research are partially presented at the International Conference titled "Gender at the Crossroads" in April 2009, as part of the presentation titled "The Gendered Comeback Story of the Live-in Kitchen" by Türkan Ulusu Uraz and Ceren Kürüm, in Eastern Mediterranean University, North Cyprus.

situation which is technically and legally incorrect, in fact presents the researcher with a very precious laboratory where the truest needs, expectations and *genre de vie* of the user can be observed.

This section documents the ways households have found to deal with their undersized kitchens. The units are studied on site and all interviews are carried out in the kitchen space. Extended or modified parts are measured and drawn on site, and the stories are obtained from the interviewees through guided questions and informal conversations. All units are owned properties and the users are Turkish Cypriot households with teenage or older children.

The following sample belongs to a retired couple with their children (Figure 4.28). The kitchen was modified prior to moving in, without feeling the need to try it first. The mother spends her entire day in the 'fully equipped' kitchen, and sometimes takes her preparation outside into the small patio to work under sunlight. As an extension to the already extended kitchen space, they have built a tiled worktop outside which is used for 'smelly work' as she says, like fish preparation. As the kitchen is now facing the illegally high fence wall of their neighbour, she complains about lack of sunlight.

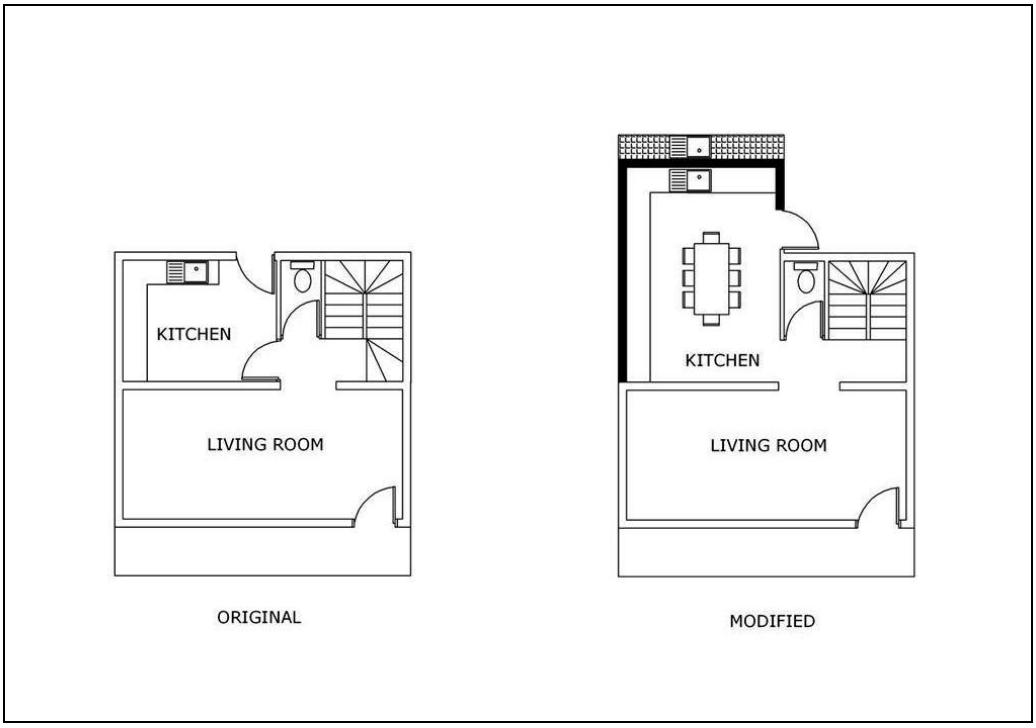

Figure 44 Modified governmental housing kitchen. Drawings by Ceren Kürüm.

The most traditional rural kitchen atmosphere is seen in this following sample where the modified kitchen contains a dinner table, two armchairs, a sofa bed and a fireplace, in addition to TV and radio which are common in all modified units. Traditional ornamental items, fresh cut flowers and framed family pictures are also observed in the kitchen. This family spends their off-work hours in the kitchen which is actually their common gathering room (Figure 4.29). The reason for modification is stated as 'the need to be together' when the mother is working in the kitchen, which takes about at least 3 hours every evening including dinner preparation, dining and cleaning. There is no separate dining area for guests, everyone is received in the kitchen and the fireplace is used for barbecue purposes in winter. The original living room contains a TV set and a treadmill, which explicitly indicates the household's living and guest reception preferences.

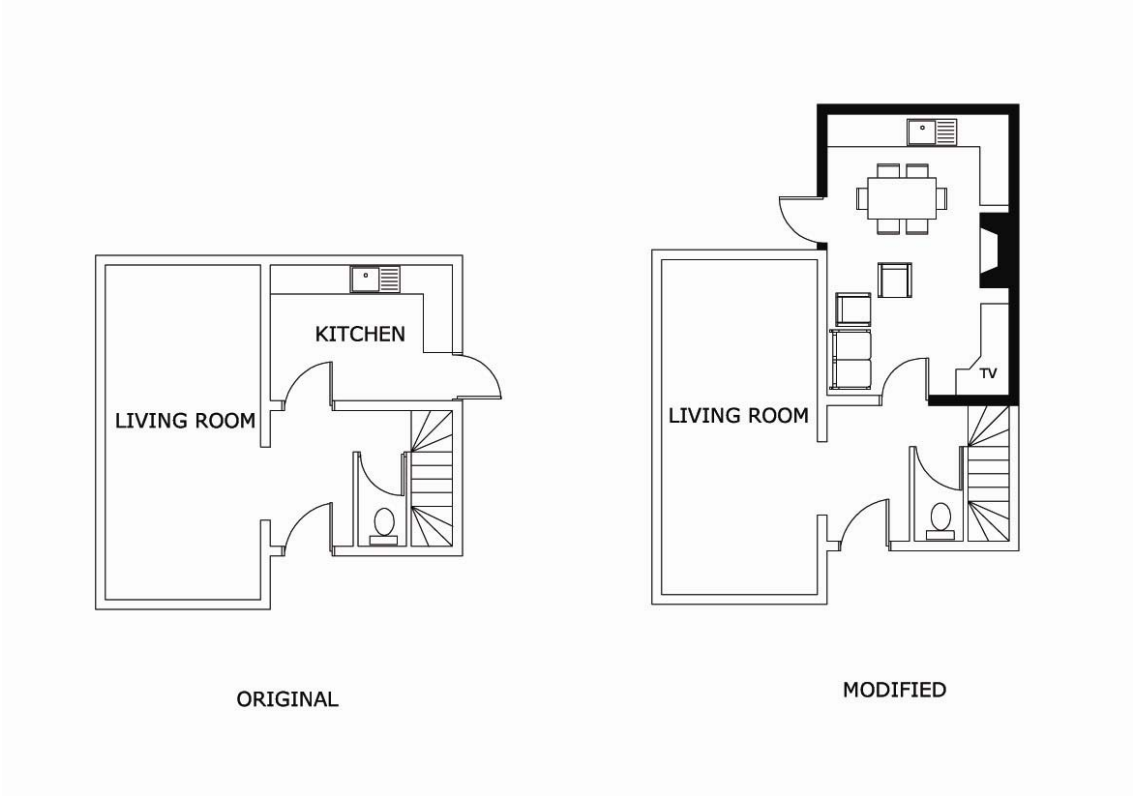

Figure 45 Governmental housing row unit kitchen modified to include a living space with a fireplace. Drawings by Ceren Kürüm.

The next family could only afford to modify their house after 20 years of trouble, demolishing almost all interior walls and leaving no doors except the entrance and toilet (Figure 4.30). Although their new kitchen is dimensionally not much different than the previous one, it is airy, open and well designed so that the mother can watch TV with her family even when she is working in the kitchen, or her husband can join her sitting at the breakfast bar and chat while she is washing the dishes. Being with the family is again the stated reason for modification.

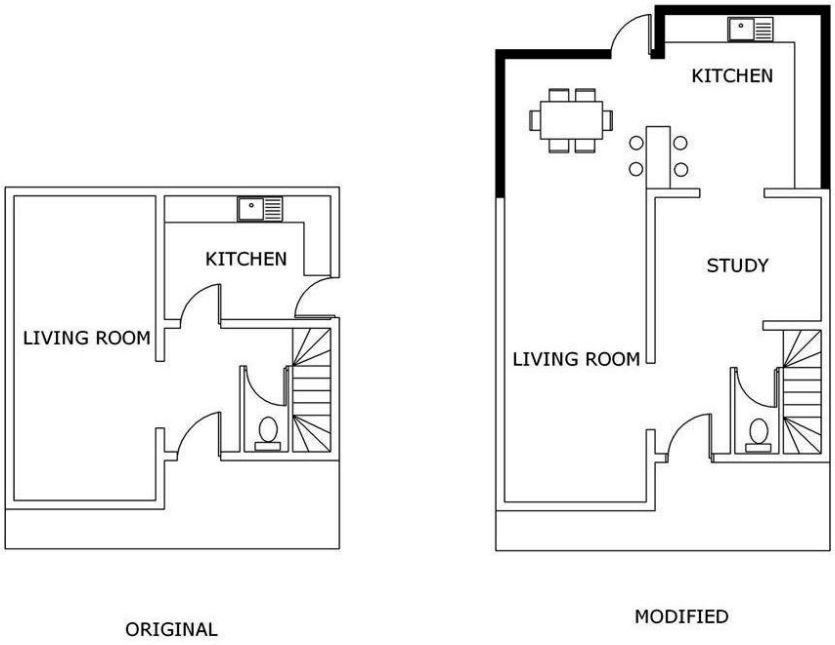

Figure 4.30 Modification resulting in a less usual open kitchen – integrated living space combination.

Among the studied cases, the only row unit that preserved the original kitchen was the following sample (Figure 4.31). The proposed rational kitchen is obviously intended for food related purposes only, as this case clearly shows what needs to be sacrificed for an eat-in kitchen. In order to place a dining table, the refrigerator is moved beneath the staircase, and the oven door barely opens without touching the table (Figures 4.32). Owners also removed the interior door and reversed the back door in an effort to gain space (Figure 4.33).

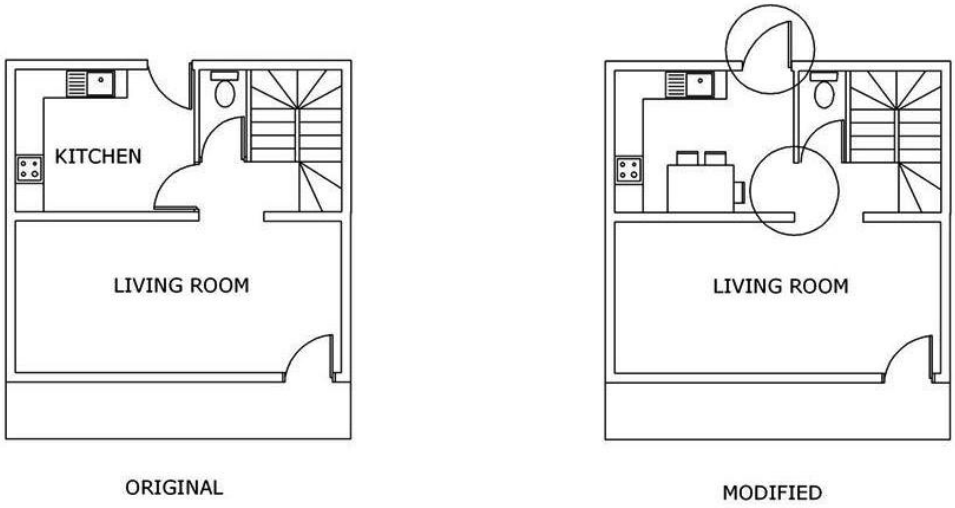

Figure 46 Minor modifications to the original kitchen.

Figure 47 Price of a dining table in the rational kitchen.

This household could not extend their kitchen towards the backyard because of an existing water tank in the ground. Instead, they built a detached room and installed the original kitchen cabinets in this annex when they renovated the undersized kitchen (Figure 4.34). The annex serves as a private kitchen and workshop for the

mother, where she states she can be free and comfortable as she can spread her stuff around and any untidiness is unseen when the door is shut. In this large and private kitchen she makes *hellim*[20] and *tarhana*[21], and dries *molohiya* leaves without worrying about the mess or smell.

Figure 48 Secondary kitchen building.

Figure 49 Fully equipped secondary kitchen.

[20] Local Cyprus cheese.

[21] A mixture of yoghurt and ground bulgur, dried for later use as a traditional soup ingredient.

The situation is not much different in the apartment types. Although in apartment cases it is not possible to extend into a yard, users have been observed to sacrifice a whole bedroom to enlarge their kitchen (Figure 4.35). The mother of this very determined household spends almost all her time in the kitchen after work until bedtime; even ironing is done in the kitchen. As a serious modification, this family demolished the wall of the adjacent bedroom and created a narrow but longer kitchen, before they moved in. She says that when they have guests, women and men separate after a while, and she withdraws into the kitchen with her friends, leaving husbands in the living room. They do not have a dining area, and the kitchen table can host at most 5 people, so they can receive guests only in summer, taking advantage of being on the ground floor: in summer the kitchen extends into the driveway.

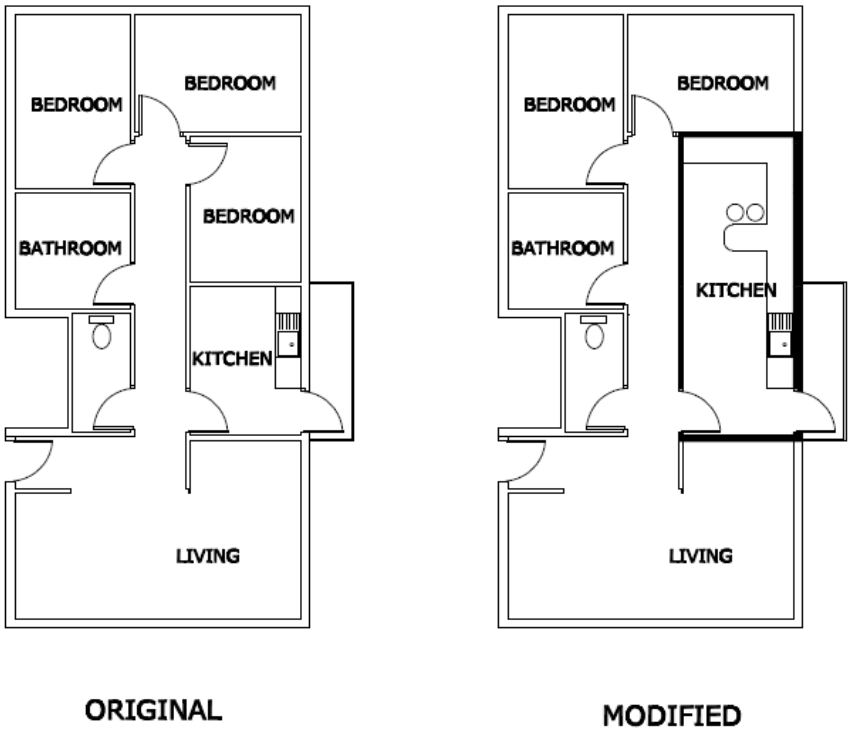

Figure 50 Apartment type governmental housing unit where a bedroom is added to the kitchen space. Drawings by Ceren Kürüm.

As an interesting exception, the only untouched kitchen among the researched cases belongs to a young working couple with two daughters who intended to modify their kitchen. The mother admits to not being very fond of kitchen related activities. Probably for this reason, and the fact that they always had the idea of building a house of their own, this family never touched any part of the unit in an expectation of moving out (Figure) . The only additions are a couple of kitchen cabinets hung on the walls as extra storage. There are no personal items in the kitchen; the space has an anonymous atmosphere. The family eat their meals in the kitchen in spite of the dimensional inadequacy.

To sum up, it is observed that the governmental housing units have undersized kitchens and reasonably large living rooms, including space for a dining table. In most units the rational kitchen encountered strong reaction and was enlarged as soon as possible. However it is important to realize that the enlargement effort was for more living area, not for more counters, and the living room is almost never used for dining purposes. In some cases this reaction resulted in a kind of reverse-evolution, going back practically to the medieval kitchen by having a fireplace installed into the enlarged kitchen.

Although the proposed kitchens were indeed more efficient compared to larger live-in kitchens, efficiency in the kitchen was not a priority to Turkish Cypriot households and the designers overlooked this reality. Rapoport (2005: 5) questions whether improvement is always a progress, and states that "*drastic change that is too rapid can be destructive, i.e., when the extent of change is too large, when it happens too quickly, when it is not desired, and when the people concerned feel that they have*

no control over the changes that are happening". Imposition of a rational kitchen to people of rural origin was a drastic change, occurred too quickly, surely was not desired and users reacted by taking the initiative when they realized that it was inappropriate. Such significant modifications are the result of the household's persistence in demanding a social kitchen, in accord with their cultural requirements and traditional lifestyles. The units are modified completely freely and the modification efforts are widespread and general, therefore these modified units could be accepted to straightforwardly display the domestic preferences of the Turkish Cypriot working/middle-class.

In spite of the less-gendered outlook of this kitchen, the person responsible from kitchen related activities is always the mother, while fathers are reported to be helpful with red meat dishes and kebab preparation. Women reported to spend an average of 4 hours every day in the kitchen including dishwashing and cleaning. Nevertheless, inn the modified kitchen, women is never isolated unless she demands it, and her work is always seen, heard and sensed. It is often observed that ornamental objects and framed family photographs are used to decorate the kitchen, further asserting the position of the kitchen as a living space. It should also be noted that especially in the apartments, kitchen often acts as a cozy *boudoir* when guests are present and the living room is left to men.

Almost every contacted household owns a microwave oven, however as they have clearly stated, these appliances has never caused the family to give up having family

meals.[22] Microwave ovens are only used for re-heating already cooked food. All families have meals as families; very rarely children are stated to take their meals to the living room to watch different programs. Half of the interviewees answered positively about open kitchens for the advantage of 'being with the family while working in the kitchen' however all of them stated worries about odour, vapour and untidy sights although none would accept an isolating kitchen because of such concerns.

Kitchen is widely used for non-food-related functions such as reading newspapers, studying, cloth washing, ironing, sewing, and hairdressing. Although traditionally kitchen is used as a common room accommodating diverse functions, mothers have complained that if there had been enough rooms for storage or hobby purposes, they would have had tidier and cosier kitchens without too many irrelevant appliances. It is understood that all mothers lived in houses with large kitchens and the meals were consumed in kitchens in winter and outside in the courtyard in summer.

4.5 Interpretation

Global culture infiltrates oriental kitchens with trendy recipes and exotic food, and necessary -or imposed- space and appliances for these recipes; like an island or microwave oven, and kitchen fashion as a whole is thus created through recipes for living. Fashionable cabinets, designer fixtures and state-of-the-art kitchen appliances

[22] Krishan Kumar (1997:226) dubs this the "*democracy of the microwave*", and claims that it encourages the dispersal of the family by giving family members the chance to prepare individual meals.
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turned the humble kitchen of the housewife into the most expensive space of the dwelling, serving several functions and various users at different times during the day. The kitchen table can become a student's desk for doing homework, solving crossword puzzles, peeling potatoes or simply eating.

Kitchen is doubtlessly the most favoured and socially significant space in the Turkish Cypriot rural and urban dwelling. Being the main living space in the house, the kitchen contains the entire household and almost all functions regarding social life. In addition to its conventional meaning, the kitchen has become a showcase for well-off Turkish Cypriot households' adopted Western culture of living, sophisticated taste and eventually, financial status.

Diversity of social and economical status naturally causes difference in the meanings attached to the kitchen. While most wealthy urban households would keep the kitchen away from living spaces and use it only for cooking in accord with the Western understanding, modest rural households would have the kitchen as the semi-private living space and use it for a variety of purposes including washing and sleeping. However, as kitchens became less private and more eye-catching in the West, meanings shifted in Cyprus as well. Now, kitchens of wealthy households are the most 'public' having access to the highest technology ventilation facilities and fashionable cabinets, while less privileged families are not that eager to integrate their kitchens with the rest of the house, although the large kitchen is still used as the daily living room in which close friends are received.

Although eating out is gradually becoming popular among Turkish Cypriots, receiving guests at home is still a significant tradition of which the lack would be accepted as antisocial behaviour. Neighbourhood relations are also intense and receiving neighbours in the kitchen is especially popular with women. This interaction over food and the space in which the food is prepared creates pressure on the house owner, or in this case the woman who is responsible for the kitchen. A couple of decades ago a Turkish Cypriot housewife would try to keep her kitchen clean and tidy at all times, and decorate it with traditional knick-knack or family memorabilia. Today, however, that does not seem to be enough for a kitchen to receive guests or friends in. A proper kitchen must be decorated with branded cabinets and furniture, and contain expensive appliances of latest technology.

Analysis of non-structured interviews implies a strong connection between men's contribution to kitchen work and women's expectations. It is observed that men do participate when women demand contribution, even in cases where these men come from strictly patriarchal families. As a noticeably common tendency, women are not inclined to hand over their dominance in the kitchen; therefore they keep undertaking kitchen chores and cooking without complaint.

It is obvious that apart from exceptional cases, Turkish Cypriot architects and households have avoided rational solutions which could hinder traditional household interaction. However, governmental units clearly neglected or ignored this widespread inclination, proposing rational kitchens which were inadequate for cultural requirements.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis has been an attempt to analyse and understand the changing meanings attached to the kitchen in both global and local terms. In order to achieve a sound point of view, general concepts influencing kitchen design have been studied together with the cultural and gender-based evolutionary process that the kitchen has lived through. With the obtained basis of theoretical information, the special connection of Turkish Cypriot households with the kitchen is sought to be understood through readings of plans; concentrating on spatial use patterns, relations and modifications, in addition to interviews. This chapter provides a breakdown of the information examined in previous sections.

Study of related literature showed that the kitchen is a highly significant space in spite of its low-profile character as a feminine service space positioned at the back of the house. The kitchen draws its power from the fact that it contains almost all aspects of life including the individuals and their gender-based roles within the family. A multifunctional kitchen constitutes a microcosm of life and society, thus replicating power structures within it. Especially for women, the kitchen can become a throne, a battlefield, an asylum or a prison cell – all depending on the context and content.

In addition to ‘internal affairs’, this low profile space has been implicitly and explicitly used for larger scale politics such as communal manipulation, stimulation of consumption and even as a tool for the promotion of capitalism during the Cold War. A range of groups including politicians, social reformers, feminists and religious figures have exploited the kitchen –and its attached meanings- to create basis for their discourses. However doubtlessly, advertisers and kitchen manufacturers have profited the most from the evolving kitchen.

In the second half of 19th century, social reformers concentrated on the kitchen taking it as a manipulation agent -or an educational tool- to promote functional segregation of domestic spaces; spreading the idea that kitchen is a dirty core and should be kept isolated from living activities. Backed by the newly acquired knowledge of germs and diseases, and of course later by Modernism, the segregated kitchen became a widely applied norm. The renewed perception of cleanliness and the novel concept of hygiene changed the meaning of kitchen fundamentally. Altered meaning inevitably was reflected in architectural character and the kitchen moved away from living spaces towards the back of the house and of life, where it was to stay for another century.

Modernist architectural approach brought serious and sudden change into the working class house by introducing the single-function-minimum-size rational kitchen. Conventional households could never truly adapt to this new kitchen and tried either to use it by squeezing other functions in, or demolishing its walls to integrate with living functions. Nevertheless, the rational kitchen had surfaced as a European marvel of post-World War I, and was attacked by an American dream-

kitchen post-World War II. The suburban kitchen of the 1950s was portrayed as the absolute symbol of freedom of choice, technology and venue of woman's supposed dominance. However as it is examined, this kitchen was a means of boosting consumption in order to revitalize the war-torn economy, and of re-domesticating women for the second post-war time in order to leave limited jobs to men, reinforcing conventional gender roles once again.

Although in the West science and politics had triggered the development of the kitchen, the situation in Cyprus was vastly different from that of 1920s Europe. Being a Crown colony, Cyprus had by no means the infrastructure to pursue scientific research and design in an effort to create the optimal kitchen. Besides, the educational and financial levels of the general community were far from discussing the possibility of a fitted rational kitchen. Feminist movement was of course not an issue of attention, nor was 're-domestication of women' a governmental issue in the particular political conjuncture of the time.

Association of women and domestic sphere has been the social norm in Cyprus as well, and Turkish Cypriot women were already assigned to the kitchen space by culture long before the rational and dream kitchens came about. Although a majority of Turkish Cypriot women have been working outside the home for the past three decades, this has not caused a significant difference in the division of household chores. Interestingly, it is observed that women see housework, especially cooking, as a performance medium and try hard to keep high standards in spite of the time and effort they spend at work. Due to this fact, women rarely demand men's help in the kitchen and traditional gender roles are thus still sustained.

Nevertheless, men are seen in kitchen ads today as frequently as never before (Rolshoven 2006:13). It almost seems like men enjoy and are extremely eager to do kitchen work. However the promotion of such an image does not directly relieve workload off women's shoulders, as men's interest in the kitchen is still voluntary. Men's involvement with the kitchen is most profitable for kitchen producers as men's involvement in the kitchen led to the further enlargement of the kitchen and inclusion of hi-tech appliances which raised the overall economic value of this space.

Through the continual integration of the kitchen and living spaces, Western kitchen did return to the medieval live-in kitchen with the help of ventilation hoods. However Eastern kitchens are seriously challenged by the opening tendency: in order to keep up with the open show-kitchen trend, either the spicy oriental cuisine will be sacrificed for a Mediterranean health kitchen, or, if the household insists on keeping traditional food, a secondary work-kitchen will be added. In either case, kitchen culture and use is deformed for the sake of keeping up with a global trend. It is observed that among Turkish Cypriot households there is a rising trend of having a hidden 'cooking cabinet' for traditional food, in addition to a larger show kitchen which is rarely used. This is a thought provoking fact implying that strong cultural roots cannot be easily abandoned for fashionable spaces.

The secondary working kitchen is in fact an adaptation effort referencing the traditional courtyard house; where the kitchen could extend into semi-open and open spaces. In the modern dwelling where spatial division is inflexible and single-

functional, Turkish Cypriot users naturally seek ways to create alternatives environment within the adopted rigidity.

It can be argued that the Turkish Cypriot kitchen today is more sociable than ever before. In spite of the traditional gathering character of this space, there is also the fact that the influence of religion-based gender roles were to an extent present in the Turkish Cypriot dwelling which made the kitchen a female domain. However today's kitchen is genuinely multi-gendered and multifunctional whether rural or urban. It can also be argued that Turkish Cypriot urban dwellers too took advantage of the worldwide trend towards open show kitchens as a means to satisfy their traditional nature which was impeded by the modernist dictation of functional segregation. Now that the kitchen is open for show, eating in the kitchen is no longer 'indecent'.

A decade ago the status symbol was simply a two-storey villa in the suburbs; the larger the building, the higher was the status. However within the past decade, Turkish Cypriot community –though partly- started perceiving and appreciating quality, rather than mere quantity. While this may seem as an intellectual upgrade, it is in fact an expected result of global public relations strategies. Coffee-table design magazines and TV programmes encouraged by design companies created a planned awareness helping the overall sales of branded furniture and kitchen appliances. Now, even the smallest apartment can become the locus of prestige with its state-of-the-art electrical appliances and fashionable kitchen cabinets exactly as seen on the cover of a magazine.

Changing lifestyles forced fundamental changes in domestic spaces. Today every individual in the family has a different schedule of work or school, and every one of them might have different diets according to their taste or medical condition - old tradition of having family dinners together is fading away. Widespread use of frozen foods and the introduction of microwave ovens in the 1980s changed the existing consumption and eating habits dramatically; preparation, cooking, serving and eating processes of food altered in meaning and practice. Now every member of the family can choose a pack of food from the freezer, thaw it in the microwave oven and eat in the space of his/her choice. Any space that contains a TV set or a PC can be a personal dining room, and wherever the microwave oven and freezer are, is the kitchen. What is more, as the preparation and service of food is left to the individual, woman's position as the sole caterer of the house in the ever-female-domain kitchen becomes questionable.

We are in fact faced with the paradox of very well equipped, comfortable and fashionable kitchens where no one ever has the time to cook in anymore (Spechtenhauser 2006: 67). Vollenweider (2006:17) even claims that dwellings of today can function without a kitchen; stressing the fact that most urban dwellers nowadays either eat outside, take home, order or thaw pre-prepared frozen meals in the microwave oven.

While this inclination towards *globalized* lifestyles disturbs the conventional meaning of kitchens as the locus of family gathering, kitchens in North Cyprus maintain their symbolic importance owing to a range of factors. The widespread survival of the marital tradition around North Cyprus ensures the endurance of

families and therefore conventional large kitchens are still sustained. Building custom designed detached houses supports the continuation of large kitchens by allowing the users to participate in the design process, unlike social housing or commercial developments. Although it may be presumed that a decrease in the size of households would put an end to the large kitchens, the open-plan kitchen and living room combination which makes up the 'Western show kitchen' is in fact what a multifunctional Turkish Cypriot kitchen stands for, and applications of open-plan kitchens in smaller apartments are gradually becoming more popular and easily adopted by singles or newly wedded couples.

Evidently, *genre de vie* is ever-changing and domestic spaces are affected by the fluctuations. It seems plausible that changes in the meanings attached to spaces may be more influential on modification of lifestyles, than direct manipulation of the built environment. That is, sudden architectural interventions for social reform -such as Modernization or Westernization- are observed to fail at one point, however gradual imposition of certain 'visions of ideal life' through the media is obviously more effective and long lasting in shaping life and architecture. In this context kitchen takes on a significant role, having the highest potential to be manipulated however possessing the cultural foundation to withstand radical change.

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