APARTMENTALIZATION AND MIDDLE CLASSNESS: URBAN SOCIO-SPATIAL CHANGE IN THE PERIOD 1950s-1970s

By

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The Turkish experience of the housing issue makes possible the display of remarkable ways, interrelations between individuals and their residential practices as well as the functional necessities developed within the context of republican modernism. During the rapid urbanization era in Turkey the home as concept and physical unit has been transformed in accordance with the changing social and physical norms and values of living. This study aims to explore the specific material and social ways, *apartment* home as subjective experience in the period 1950s and the 1970s provided the domain for the urban population to experience change in their subjective capacities and become middle class. The main issue the study questions is whether and to what extent the spatial chaos the processes of unplanned/spontaneous urbanization and residential change have caused in the physical environment, has its counterpart in the minds of dwellers in their becoming middle class.

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Başlık: Apartmanlaşma ve Orta Sınıflaşma: 1950 ve 1970'lerde
Toplumsal ve Mekansal Kent Değişimi

Fiziksel ünite ve kavram olarak "ev," Türkiye'deki hızlı kentleşme süreçlerinde dünyaya bakışın, değerlerin ve sosyal ve fiziksel yaşam normlarının da değişimiyle dönüşüme uğramıştır. Değerlerin, yaşam tarzlarının ve bunlara dair sembollerin mekânsallaştığı alan ve ilişki süreçleri olarak ev, özneler ve yaşam deneyimleri arasındaki ilişkileri analiz etmede kilit bir ara-yüzdür. Türkiye'de1950'lerden itibaren yaygınlaşan yap-satçı apartmanların baskın kentsel konut tipolojisi olarak gelişmesi de bu tür bir analizi doğrulayacak bir bağlam sunmaktadır. Türkiye'de varlığı çok daha eskiye dayanmasına ve çoklu aile yaşamının Türk aile yaşantısına uymaması nedeniyle toplum tarafından yadırgandığı halde, apartmanlar, kırsal göç sonucu ortaya çıkan konut sorunu bağlamında dönemin diğer yaygın konut alternatifi olan gecekondularla beraber çeştli eksenlerle bölünmüş ikili bir kentli yaşam algısının yeniden üretildiği mekânlar olmuştur. "Modern yaşama" ekseninde apartman daireleri sadece gecekondularda ikamet eden "yeni gelenler" için değil "kent kökenliler" için de "modern aile yaşamı"nı mümkün kılan üniteler olarak algılanmıştır. Bu çalışma, hızlı kentleşme bağlamında baskın kentli konut tipolojisinin apartmanlar olarak dönüşümünü, evsel mekanlarda, aile ilişkilerinde ve tüketim biçimlerinde benzeşerek anonim bir kentli "orta hallilik" idealinin oluşumunu ve bunların yapılı çevre-birey ekseninde yarattığı yoğunluklu olarak toplumsal cinsiyet temelli çelişkileri analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Writing on the relation between homes and their inhabitants is an attempt to make a more concrete account of the relation between the individual and his/her specific context. As a human product, architecture enables this search by reflecting the social and cultural changes without disturbing the simultaneity in their realization. Architectural text is the concrete reality on which change and modes of experiencing these changes interact. It is the built environment through which all social, economic, and cultural developments are represented. Therefore the built environment is where the values, symbols, contradictions, styles, sanctions, and, all other practices of the members of a particular society become concrete.[1]

Everyday experience is where individuals construct and challenge their subjective capacities and the home both as spatial and social unit comprises the major sphere where this capacity is shaped, and damaged. Acknowledging that, this study aims to explore how and in which specific material and social ways the *apartment* home as subjective experience in the 1950s and the 1970s provided the domain for the urban population to experience change in their subjective capacities and becoming middle class. [2] The main issue the study questions is whether and to what extent the spatial

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[1] Geoffrey H. Baker, *Design Strategies in Architecture, An Approach to the Analysis to Form.* (London: VanNostrand Reinhold Co. Ltd., 1989) , p. 36.

[2] The actual way the individuals interviewed during the conduct of this study expressed themselves as, "*orta halli*," which is a conventional phrase in Turkish referring to living under average circumstances. The social condition expressed in this phrase corresponds to a socio-economic status somewhere between the well off and the low income. The phrase may be said to imply moderation, satisfaction, and generality

chaos the processes of unplanned/spontaneous urbanization and residential change have caused in the physical environment, has its counterpart in the minds of dwellers in their become middle class.

The changes taking place "at home" reveal significant knowledge about the transformation of the lifestyles, and everyday practices of individuals. That is, the transformation of the home can not be conceived merely as physical shifts in accordance with functional necessities, but needs to be considered as overwhelming shifts in subjects' mentalities besides being breaking points of the dominant social project.

The Turkish experience of the housing issue makes possible the display of the remarkable ways in which the stated interrelations between individuals and their residential practices as well as the functional necessities developed within the context of the continuously promoted republican modernism. Considering the many transitions the country has undergone throughout its republican past, the issue of housing was first a peripheral problem shadowed by the traumas of transition until it itself arose as an undeniable urgency. This happened first with the economic developments after the

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in order to feel the security of being invisible, too. "*Orta halli*," and the noun form "*orta hallilik*" is translated as "middle class" and "middle classness," respectively, throughout the study. A primary reason for this is due to the fact that an accurate translation of it in English is impossible. Yet the second and more significant reason, which is constitutive of the scope of the study, is that the period people interpret as the process of becoming "*orta halli*" entail in aggregate the emergence of an urban middle class identity out of a population mostly of various background rural migrants. The search for security and homogeneity is clear in calling their status as middle class, where the "middle" is common with the usage in Turkish in order to imply generality. It should also be mentioned that a majority of individuals belonging to the social category of middle class wouldn't define their status with any term including the term "class" due to the "bad and dangerous" connotations it has in their minds. The study, too, is reluctant to employ the term specifically in any of its theoretical formulations in orde not to re-conceptualize and ruin the essence of what is already consolidated in these individuals' minds.
Therefore in order to find out the ways how residential change towards apartments enabled various background people yield into a homogenous perception of a social existence as the middle class in the urban setting, the term is employed in the study.

Second World War[3] and then with processes of de-ruralization, rapid urbanization and overall changes in the lifestyles of society. The housing issue, in the broadest sense, can be characterized in terms of insufficient units of housing available, lack of quality in these, and central neglect and exclusion of the problem from the policy agenda. Like the many other problematic issues of the Republic's history, housing is another example of the center's pragmatist attitude. What made the problem a key one was the inevitability and urgency it entailed, because what the central authority failed to do had to be dealt with by the people themselves within the dynamics of unorganized and spontaneous interests and economic capacities.

The home is definitive of the lifestyle and priorities of its inhabitant as well as being defined and preferred by them. Accordingly, the change of the residential typology from the 1950s onwards towards squatters and apartments in accordance with the housing needs of the accelerating urban population and corresponding interests of the small scale producers, paved the way for the production and representation of these new urban inhabitants' values and symbols in residential space. These values and symbols, whose translation into material goods within the broad vocabulary of capitalism occurred soon, became new tools for the re-interpretation of an ancient notion like "the good life." As residential space was renovated, new habits and practices were spatialised in a way to merge and transform those living conditions and customs carried from the past.

The built environment, under such circumstances, can be placed on a new-old axis horizontally, and is also cut by a legal-illegal axis vertically. The main residential typologies of the republican era were the house (*konak* and/or unitary one/multi--floor house with a garden), the *gecekondu* (one/multi-floor illegal building with or without a

[3] İlhan Tekeli, "The Social Context of the Development of Architecture in Turkey," *Modern Turkish Architecture*. Edited by Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin. Philedelphia: U. of Pennsylvania Press., 1984),

garden), and the apartment (multi-floor building with separate residential units and each unit having separate property rights). Each of these falls into different zones of the axes. However, although both the squatters and the apartment blocks, in their own differing natures, are contemporary developments reflecting the same lack of sufficient housing for an urban population, the apartment block was internalized by the modernist discourse. Detached from their temporalities and functional similarities, the apartment flat and the gecekondu alternated with each other. Ownership of a flat or ultimately rebuilding the gecekondu as a block, for the gecekondu user, meant not only increased profits but also an upgraded mode of dwelling in the city. The discursive nature of the relations between these two major residential typologies may blur due to the objective differences they present in their functional properties. It may seem natural that the gecekondu dweller rationally longs for the technically and functionally better life of flat. However, the relations in the making of these preferences are not that "rational," and are quite vulnerable and open to manipulation.

The dominant discursive agenda becomes obvious, when the relation of alternating is set between the apartment and the house. Like the gecekondu dweller's multi-component aim of ultimately transferring to an apartment, the decision of contracting with small scale producers (*yap-satçı müteahhitler*) and becoming a landowner of flats, or simply moving out of the family house entail processes of meaning production and internalization beyond economic profitability. Not suffering from low quality life standards like the gecekondu dweller, residents of the house seek – not a higher – but a "completely" different domestic experience and this expectation, this "modern" preference can only be practiced in the "modern apartment flat."

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pp. 9-31.

The concern for seeking depth and penetration in the extent and the logic of socially constructed realities in the study is related with acknowledging that all constructions are context bound, That is to say, it is within the scope of this study that the preferences, feelings, priorities, and dissatisfactions of individuals with relevant experience will be utilized as first hand resources to grasp better the extent and logic of construction of the apartment flat as the only possible "home" for living the good life in a way strongly associated with an orderly family life based on salary. Still it should be stated before all else that this study does not aim to neutralize a contextual social development by particularizing some human experience. It is also worth noting here that what the study seeks is more than simply to present the topic (transferring into apartment typology) and time (the 1950s onwards) bound accounts of individuals on a neutral basis of change in their everyday practices and general life patterns.

Grounded on the social and economic context of the rapid development of apartments as dominant residential typology in major urban centers from the 1950s onwards, the aim of the study is to explore the modes the idea of the "ideal home" operated in the formation of an urban middle class, as well as to expose the anxieties and feeling of loss that came into being due to the changing perceptions of "home" as a metaphor for modernity.

It is for certain that periodizing for Turkish economic and social histories is based mostly on objective socio-economic or political developments. Orthodox or more integrated, conducted by social scientists in general or architects, studies on urbanization and housing issues, too, constitute a part of this tradition of prioritizing technical data.[4] Concomitant with the aim and the way the study is held, processing

[4] For further information and evaluation of Turkish experience of urbanization and housing problems, see *75 Yılda Köylerden Şehirlere* Edited by Oya Baydar, Supervised by Oya Köymen (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1999).; Ruşen Keleş, *Kentleşme ve Konut Politikası* (Ankara: AÜSBF Yayınları, 1984).; Kemal.Görmez, *Kent ve Siyaset.* (Ankara: Gazi Kitabevi Yayınları, 1997).; Üstün Alsaç, *Türkiye'deki*

accounts of ordinary dwellers as first hand resources is a modest attempt to challenge the hierarchization among levels of social phenomena, when studying the spatial transformation of middle class domesticity in the context of Turkish modernization.

The dialectic relation between the place of dwelling and modes of dwelling[5] would supposedly end up in the good and modern way of life for the individual actors of the residential shift towards apartment flats. By "dialectical relation," the two inherent aspects of space – being physically available and socially experienced – are referred to in terms of domestic space, the home. The place of living defines ways and terms of living in that particular spatial unit acting as a natural boundary for lifestyle, while in turn being defined; that is, constructed, exchanged, allocated, decorated and therefore reproduced as the result of those activities it had initially enabled. In the Turkish case of apartmentalization as the main middle class housing typology, high hopes were promoted discursively, so that this relation would bring class consolidation and modern integration. Despite being overwhelmed by styles and everyday practices of living in a consumerist society today, home owners are anxious to express dissatisfaction and

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Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki Evrimi (İstanbul: KATÜ Yayınları, 1976).; İhsan Bilgin, "Modernleşmenin ve Toplumsal Hareketliliğin Yörüngesinde Cumhuriyet'in İmarı" in *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*. Edited by Yıldız Sey (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998).; Sibel.Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building, Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Singapore: University of Washington Press, 2001).; Michael N Danielson and Ruşen Keleş, *The Politics of Rapid Urbanization, Government and Growth in Modern Turkey* (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers Inc., 1985).; Ruşen Keleş, *100 Soruda Türkiye'de Şehirleşme, Konut ve Gecekondu*, first edition. (Istanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1972).; Tarık H Şengül, *Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset, Kapitalist Kentleşme Süreçleri Üzerine Yazılar* (Istanbul: WALD, 2001).; David Stea, and Mete Turan, *Placemaking: Production of Built Environment in Two Cultures* (Hants: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1993).; İlhan Tekeli, *Bağımlı Kentleşme: Kırda ve Kentte Dönüşüm Süreci* (Ankara : Mimarlar Odası, 1977).; Kerem Kabadayı "Capitalist Urbanization in Turkey Between the 1920s and the Early 1990s: An Alternative Interpretation" (Master's thesis, Boğaziçi University), 2004.; İsmail Ceritli, *Kentleşme Sürecinin Ekonomi-politiği ve Bir Türkiye Uygulaması* (Ankara : Yargı Yayınevi, 2004).

[5] For further information about Henri Lefebvre and the theories of spatial dialectics refer to Henri Lefebvre, *Keywritings*. Continuum. 2003.; Rob Shields, *Henri Lefebvre: Love and Struggle* Routledge. 1999 and "Henri Lefebvre: Philosopher of Everyday Life," in *Profiles in Contemporary Social Theory* Edited by A. Elliott and B. Turner (London:Sage, 2001).; Stuart Elden, "Lefebvre in Contexts: An Introduction," *Antipode*. Vol. 33, no. 5 (November 2001), pp. 763-768.; Mark Gottdiener, "Beyond Marxian Political Economy: The Trinity Formula and the Analysis of Space" in *Social Production of Urban Space* Austin: University of Texas, 1985).; Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies* (London and New York: Verso, 1989), Harvey David, *Social Justice and the City* (Johns Hopkins uni Press, 1973).

feelings of loss besides the undeniable increase in life standards. Among their respective individual reconceptualizations of general domestic issues like family relations, urban life, everyday practices, and leisure; the only consolidated area seems to be their consumption patterns and their common doubtful attitude towards "modern life" they have attained with their homes in apartment blocks and by the salaried maintenance of life expenses.

Aiming to decipher the anxiety and to decode the production of feelings of contradiction necessitates methodological means that are inherently different from conventional objective data sources such as statistical facts about the economy or politics, or legal provisions on the housing issue, etc. Although it is inevitably framed within the context these sources point out, the study would be reduced seriously in depth if handled merely by those means.

Monitoring these changes from the cultural products of the era also could reveal knowledge on the ways perceptions of the "ideal home" shifted towards apartment flats. Having benefited from popular magazines[6] as well as professional publications[7] of the era in order to gain a better understanding of the changing trends of popular neighborhoods, home design, gender roles, architectural debates over typology and their political meanings and such, these sources are unable to reveal information on their repercussions for today. That is to say, despite the volume of knowledge these factualities provide in relation to the past, that they are fixed in some past temporality, what their repercussions are and how they can be related to today have to be constructed solely by the researcher. In this sense, although the strength of cultural data

[6] *Hayat, Ses* magazines of 1960-1970s period as well as *Ev-İş* magazine of 1945-1951 can be referred in order to gain an insight of the popular domestic and general consumption trends of the era.

[7] In the first half of the1970s, Ankara Chamber of Architects periodical *Mimarlık* was the domain of hot professional debates about housing problem in general as well as the ongoing processes of apartmentalization.

in toning and integrating the individual accounts is vitally significant, especially for a researcher lacking experience-based knowledge of the stated developments as is the case for the conductor of this study the statements of real actors, for whom the contradictions are still ongoing, preventing them from firmly consolidating their social beings and causing latent anxieties, provide far more exciting and equally challenging sources of inquiry.

Because of these concerns, ethnographic and oral history tools are utilized for the conduct of the inquiry.[8] The study is based on fifteen interviews conducted between December 2005 and April 2006. Interviewee profiles[9] differ in age, within a range of 50-82, and are mainly females who have been living in Istanbul for the last thirty years minimum. Although the individual patterns are diverse in terms of social and regional origin, occupation, marriage and financial means, what identifies them as subjects of this study is their common self-affiliation as "middle class." As the interviews were not designed as surveys to be aggregated into any statistics, in order to be a sampling of the experience of urban masses it is considered sufficient that they all have undergone certain residential traumas, ending up in apartment flats, and an overall change in lifestyle.

Each interview was held in a semi-structured[10] way which referred to the informant's knowledge on the interviewer's will to interview him/her on a particular

[8] For practical information about why and how to conduct an oral history project see Handbook for Oral History and techniques edited from the proceedings of the Oral History Workshop organized by the History Foundation of Turkey in 6-7th June 1993 and "Popular memory, theory, politics, method," by Paul Thompson accessed from the Foundation's website (www.tarihvakfi.org) in 2005. Further practical information on interview techniques, oral history resources and web addresses of archives and projects are availabale in *Geçmişin izleri : yanıbaşımızdaki tarih için bir kılavuz* (İstanbul : Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfi, 2001) by Esra Danacioglu.

[9] See Informant Profiles Page in Appendix B.

[10] Bernard Russell, "Unstructured and Semi structured Interviewing" in *Research Methods in Anthopology*, (Sage Publications, 1988). For clues on how to process ethographic data see *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnote*s by Robert Emerson, Rachel I. Fretz, Linda L. Shaw, (University Of Chicago Press, 1995).

topic. In this case the informants knew from the making of the appointments that they would be expected to talk about their "homes" – whatever the word is associated with in their minds. In accordance with the semi-structured mode, the interviewees were then led by specific enquiries during the appointments, the duration of which varied from one to three hours depending on the physical condition and oral skills of the person. Within the framework of the guideline prepared for the interview, the informants were asked to talk about: background information on age, marital status, education, and occupation; financial means, including flat ownership, social security, inheritage, and investments; general perceptions on change in urban areas in administrative terms, housing and built environment in general; and domesticity, everyday practices; religious, political, social, leisure scales of domestic life. The interviews, which were all recorded on micro-cassettes by using a standard sound recorder, were then transcribed onto hardcopy. As the data collection part finished, what the informants revealed about their residential experiences in apartment flats and their repercussions for today were categorized into subsections in a way to encapsulate all relevant dimensions that scope of the inquiry vitalized.

Although qualitative data formation enables the extraction of profound and in-depth knowledge on the investigated topic, moments of methodological challenge are also of significance and are considered enriching. One reason for this is having the opportunity to re-question the relation of adequacy between the topic and resources as against the qualitative method through these challenges. As such the researcher verifies at each step whether the scientific means utilized are the most appropriate for the nature of the issue in question.

A major moment of loss after the decision to conduct interviews was the problem of selection, which was overcome by setting the common ground for all individuals as

"belonging to the middle class." This anonymity helped not only in the prevention of particularizing a certain dimension of the experience of apartmentalization, but also in the achievement of making up a list of informants despite their diverse personal histories. After the appointments ended, general difficulties concerning transcription, interpretation, "making up" coherence and questions on confidentiality, the disposal so which are beyond the extent of this study, were dealt with in accordance with general common sense and individual ethical preferences.

Unique processes of memory together with the rather flexible mode of interviewing sometimes helped the revelation of the most noteworthy aspects of the whole experience. A tricky dimension in such a methodological determination was the necessity to be extremely sensitive about clues that might imply strong feelings. It is observed that more reliable and impulsive information was gained when the informants expressed feelings and opinions about concrete events and instances, compared to what they revealed when they were asked on the general level. While they were talking within the framework of the guideline, the flexibility of the format enabled them to make their own preference of emphasis and talk more on what they perceived as more important when talking about their "home"s.

Questions on memory and how it processes and constructs the past generally emerge when less conventional sources of knowledge extraction are employed. In this case the informants were aware that they were giving information on the residential and domestic change they had experienced in becoming "members of the middle class," in accordance with the format of the semi-structured interview. They were led to make in-depth descriptions of, for instance, how they felt when moving from one particular home to another, or what they disliked about their new life styles. Therefore, rather than problematizing whether "did they tell me the truth?" the question on which to focus is

"what truth did they tell?"[11] that is, cover ups, and distortions are strategically significant for the analyzed phenomenon. Finally, objective truth is not a major concern when an informant fails to recall the amount they had to pay for their first flat, but people are sharp in their memories when it comes to recall an emotion or expressing loss or dissatisfaction.

Changing Domesticity and the Category of Class

In its attempt to contextualize the rise of apartments as the most popular middle class residential ideal in the context of rapid urbanizationing Turkey, the study tries to highlight the relation developed between the individual and the residence in order to produce the state of "well being." To put it in other words, the primary concern of the study is to seek the ways "well being" was conceptualized in being middle class and how these expectations materialized through the apartments and the new domesticities there. What kind of invisibility, integrity and security were referred to in being middle class in the context of the emergence of the apartment phenomenon is questioned. Subjective accounts are expected to present the unique ways the assumptions about residence-home-subject relations materialized during the rapid urbanization of Turkey. However how to deal with a concept like "middle class," how to apply it analytically without implanting theoretical features to the extract gained from usage in the accounts.

At this stage, an inspiring source has been *House and Home in Modern Japan*[12] by Jordan Sand, where an earlier period of Japanese bourgeois consolidation and transformation of domestic architecture is analyzed. Sand elaborates on many different

[11] Ezra F. Vogel, *Japan's New Middle Class* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963). The quote is originally based on an anecdote by the author: "Some fellow American social scientists have asked us how we can be certain our informants told us 'the truth.' I would prefer to phrase the question not 'Did they tell us the truth?' but 'What truth did they tell?'" p. 287.

aspects of these material developments and aims to emphasize the extent of a major social transformation project this time in the period 1880-1930. While providing an insightful account of how "modern classification of human activity into leisure and labor"[13] occurred in early modern Japan, Sand focuses on relations between the home and the formation of a national residential style, and the emergence of modernist domesticities with an overall conclusion on the reinvention of everyday life in Japan in the early twentieth century.

A significant dimension of Sand's analysis in its relation to the current study was his insightful employment of the category of class. Being re and re-formulated, the concept, rather than being beneficial, can sometimes lead to further complexities. Therefore, according to Sand, his usage of the term "middle class" is less technical in terms of complex class theorizations than it is functional to refer to continuous processes of "production and reproduction of social positions."[14] For Sand, "like 'home' the term 'middle class' too needs to be understood not as a simple social reality but as a discursive construct, and a highly contingent one."[15] In such a usage the relativity aspect of shifts in class formation is emphasized the most. That is, any identification of a certain social position as within a class is the referent for identification of a respective position in another segment. Therefore as long as new actors are introduced to the social scene, inevitably there emerges the potential for endless divisions and subdivisions in existing class patterns. Still, saying that it is already vague to determine what the middle class is and where it ends, should not lead to rhetorical reductionism of the concept.

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[12] Jordan Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan, Architecture, Domestic Space, and Bourgeois Culture 1880-1930.* (Massachusettes: Harvard University Press, 2003).

[13] Ibid., p. 91.

[14] Ibid., p. 9.

[15] Ibid.

Giving up commitments to see it solidly allows monitoring the strategic shifts and discursive reformulations taking place within the concept. This is to say, employment of the term flexibly in order to highlight the modes and acceleration of social formation and change, seems to be a more fruitful attitude than leading it into abstraction through theoretical fixation.

Another enlightening example of the idea that residential typology interacts with modes of living and experiencing home, and this whole relation is integral in the formation of particular modes of subjectivities comes from Ann Waswo's analysis of the Japanese context in *Housing in Postwar Japan: A Social History.*[16] Based on post-war urban Japan, when the housing crisis was "a central feature of daily life,"[17] Waswo elaborates on the issues that come out from the memoirs of Kyoko Sasaki, who was a middle class housewife coping with the crisis in the period 1961-1970. Sasaki's colorful account of her life with their two children outlines all the residential choices a middle class urban family may go through during early years of married life, which also corresponded to the national economic development and growth period. Writing on the homes they had, Sasaki gives a layout of the array of choices an average middle class family confronts. Sketching out the ways pre-war Japanese governments were involved in regulating the housing system increasingly as Japan drew closer to war, Waswo notes that, the institutionalization of the issue accelerated largely as part of the post-war destruction and growth of urban population.[18] The establishment of new structures and typologies, inevitably, paved the way for significant shifts in the way people lived. The process of consolidation in Sasaki San's particular story of the shift from their first 4.5

[16] Ann Waswo, *Housing in Postwar Japan, A Social History.* (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002).

[17] Ibid., p. 2.

[18] Ibid., pp. 39-62.

mat[19] home to the final two floor house of which they became owners by 1970, can also be interpreted as the consolidation of the formation of an urban Japanese middle class into which they, too, evolved. To put it another way, what Sasaki San, regarding the ownership of this final family home, records as "all we had managed to achieve was the bare minimum of space for a decent life for a family such as ours" reflects the way, new modes of accommodating are internally linked with the "promotion of new lifestyles in mind."[20] That is, flush toilets, doing away with public bathrooms, more comfortable kitchens with tables, chairs and western equipment, the unification of the living spaces of male and female households, and sleeping in individual bedrooms are the material components of the formation of the post-war Japanese urban middle class, which Waswo calls a "lifestyle revolution."[21]

Sasaki San's story takes place in Tokyo, making the capital the center of focus in Waswo's analysis. Like the case with Istanbul, developments in Tokyo are key in understanding the overall process, as determinants of the issue such as high prices and demand, and the shrinkage of living space were more obscene there. However, unlike the Turkish context, central planning and the application of industrialized production methods in the housing sector were the dynamics of the Japanese experience. Although the two cases are unique versions of particular modernist outlooks, the common ground for them is "lifestyle revolution" being the core for both.

Considering these and turning back to the Turkish context of middle class formation led by rapid urbanization, it should be said that it is tricky to achieve a symmetrical

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[19] Ibid., p. 5.
The mat refers to the *tatami,* which means "woven strips of rush on top of a thin layer of packed straw, bound in fabric trim ". Each *tatami* mat is roughly in the size of an adult set of bedding and this size was used as the measuring unit of rooms in Japanese architecture, pp. 2-3

[20] Bill Sewell's review on *Housing in Post War Japan*, published by H-US-Japan (June, 2004). Accessed via Internet.

[21] Waswo, p. 62.

decomposition of the pattern. While secondary education guaranteed a status for some, the sale of rural lands and migration to the city was the basis for others. Likewise, there existed both natives of Istanbul replacing their family houses with apartments and penniless rural migrants who became gecekondu residents but nonetheless shared the virtues of living in a flat as an ideal. It is evident that these people were of various social backgrounds, and eventually evolved to form different social classes as educated or uneducated, white or blue collared, or salaried or unemployed. The urban setting is a mapping of this differentiation marked by relativity in residences, transportation and other infrastructural facilities, security conditions, and welfare services. Still, whatever the extent of material reflections of this social differentiation may be, the urban population of diverse origins was vacuumed into middle classness through this residential shift towards apartments and attached changes in domesticity and lifestyle taking place within the broader modernist outlook.

Modernization, Urbanization, and the Rise of the *Apartment*

The accelerated construction of apartments as the dominant residential typology in the second half of the Republican past needs to be evaluated critically from the perspective of Turkish modernization and urban developmentalism. The phenomenon of apartmentalization can be utilized in order to achieve a critical account of the Turkish experience of rapid urbanization from 1950s onwards. Due to the key role accommodation has in the organization of labor power for the sustenance of development in the city, housing units played an important role where the urban center was undergoing major structural shifts.[22] Still, although squatter housing was also

[22] David Harvey, *Urbanization of Capital* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), chapter 8. According to Harvey's interpretation of urbanization in capitalist cities, capital has to be allocated in the built environment in order to enable its flow for profit . This investment in the urban area is strategic considered that it is accompanied by reproduction of labor power around these socially improved areas. Governed by state

produced in the era, the utilization of the rise of apartments as an object of inquiry is considered a better focus, as squatters are never recognized by the modernist discourse and are seen always as handicapping an ongoing process. Apartments, on the other hand, together with all the attached values and ideals, were imposed and provisioned by most legal and cultural means.

Notions of modernization and development have gone along with the phenomenon of urbanization, where urbanization should not be considered as merely an increased urban population. Therefore a broad and integrated definition of it entails the aggregation of population, which leads to an increase in the number and extents of cities as well as a paralleling diversification in institutionalization and labor specialization besides an overall shift in personal relations and behaviors that are unique to urbanites.[23] Once this process begins, its materialization in physical space causes grand structural changes in urban areas. These structural changes taking place in the urban space refer to the rise of the need for increased functional diversification in elements of the built environment. Spatial specialization in the form of increased functional diversity, in concrete, means the adaptation of new construction techniques and housing typologies as well as their attached economic, administrative and cultural adjustments.

Exploring the ways physical change in residential space interacted with the development of a homogenously perceived urban middle class from originally various segments of urban newcomers necessitates an integrated periodization of the Turkish experience of urbaniztion in the Republican era. And such an attempt, above all, has to

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policies of growth in general, this development, taking place according to central planning or arbitrarily, is demand-based and seeks stabilization of capitalist processes via promoting consumption. In other words, In Harvey's account of urbanization of capital in Keynesian cities, growth is provided by the diffusion of the mentality of consumption among laboring urban masses and investing on the improvement of cities is vital in sustaining this labor reproduction.

[23] Keleş, *100 Soruda*, p. 6

be aware of the pitfalls the issue entails. The two major reductionisms possible in such analysis are either constructing a narrative out of complex realities in such a way as to drown them into generalizations through an exclusive discourse of modernization or over-emphasize the temporalities of major turning points over their materialization into space. A third possible problem could arise in a reduced understanding of space; that is, only a proper conceptualization of the spatial dimension, in a way to highlight the constitutiveness of its physical and social definitions, can provide a historically and politically valid periodization of urbanization in the Republican context. That is, the study of social space means a simultaneous analysis of both the abstract and the concrete. What is referred to as analytical awareness here is the abolition of formulating unilinear relations from physical space towards social relations or vice versa. For space is physically existent, and socially experienced; the city being a socio-spatial unit is where the public and private are simultaneously segregated and rebuilt. Where owners and consumers versus the builders struggle, negotiate, exchange, or dissolve, buildings themselves are constructed and simultaneously produce these networks of relations making up urbanization as a whole process.

Scale, too, is a dimension necessitating analytical skepticism in such an inquiry. Only an integrated and dialectical setting of international, national and local variables can prevent a reductionist analysis such as considering urban development in particular cities to reflect the overall national experience. As urbanization is not a homogenous process and is an outcome of many different political, economic, and social level forces; these forces, among themselves, are diverse in terms of scale, too. There are local, central, supra-national economic and social dynamics effecting differently on local, regional, and national scales. Despite, the fact that transformations follow different courses and occur at different paces at different scales, they should be sampled

strategically from different scales for analytical purposes. To put this in terms of the Turkish context, it is well known that urbanization in Turkey did not occur according to a specific model for every urban center, leading to the same changes everywhere; therefore which scale we are speaking of is rather questionable when we say "Turkish urbanization." However it is also well known that Istanbul has had a major role in the way urbanization has taken place. It also would be misleading to set equivalence between other cities and a major port city receiving masses of rural migrants where approximately one-fifth of the national product was produced by 1970s.[24] Istanbul is key to understanding how Turkish urbanization took place, not because it samples the experience of all of the nation's cities, but because it is a main focus and a center of gravity in an analysis concerning the urban history of Turkey.

Table 1. Year-based Comparison of Population in Istanbul vis-à-vis Turkey. [25]

Year of population census	Population of Turkey	Population of Istanbul	Number of Marriages
1927	13,648,270	690,357	117,495
1940	17,820,950	991,237	136,508
1950	20,947,188	1,166,477	132,655
1960	27,754,820	1,882,092	142,711
1970	35,605,176	3,019,032	155,066

[24] Keleş, *100 Soruda*, p. 34.

[25] Konut Sorunu: Toplu konut uygulama sonuçları ve Son Zamanlardaki Gelişmeler, Türkiye Ticaret Sanayi ve Deniz Ticaret Odaları ve Ticaret Borsaları Birliği Yayınları Yayını, 95, AR-GE 36, 1988 cited in Sibel Şener, "1944 Yılı Sonrası Toplu Konut Uygulamalarında Apartman Plan Tipolojileri Gelişimi" (Master's thesis, Istanbul Technical University, 2000).

Evaluating the motives behind Turkish urbanization, Keleş defines three sets of causes: impulsive, attractive and conductive forces.[26] Among the impulsive forces the priority is the huge income differentiation between agricultural labor and the non-agricultural sectors.[27] Increased transportation means constitute the basis of conductive forces of urbanization.[28] Third, the rise of non-agricultural and non-industrial sectors in urban areas attracted rural population towards cities. With this sketch the main problems Keleş highlights are rural-urban and east-west polarization, unindustrialized growth and increased lack of housing for low income masses due to high land speculation and rents.[29]

The most generalized urbanization patterns from which policies on urbanization can be evaluated in terms of applicability and success are rates of urbanization for each five-year period between 1960 and 1980 being 5.7, 6.9, 5.9, and 4.5 percent, respectively. However, these figures become weighed only if the fact is added that the urban population in the same period increased from 7.3 million to 22 million by 1980.[30]

A conscious urban policy agenda was non-existent until the end of World War Two, for it was only until the end of the 1940s that the urban public had to face rural migrants and the problem of squatting.[31] A series of squatting legislations issued after

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[26] Ibıd., p. 37.

[27] Ibıd., From 2134 TLs to 9273 TLs by 1965.

[28] Ibıd. Number of trucks and buses between 1960 and 1965 increased by 274 percent and 187 percent respectively.

[29] Ibid., pp. 40-42. Under the effect of increasing land speculation, low income urban masses are able neither to own a residence nor to pay the high rents. While percentage of tenant families in Turkey is 19.7, the rates in Ankara, Istanbul, and Izmir are 53.3, 54.4, and 45.4, respectively.

[30] Ruşen Keleş, *Kentsel Bütünleşme.* Edited by Türköz Erder (Ankara: Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği Türkiye Gelişme Araştırmaları Vakfı Ortak Semineri, 1982), pp . 67-70.

[31] Ibıd, p. 72.

the War, and the establishment of the Ministry of Settlement were what carried the issue of urbanization into the "planned era" starting with the 1960s.

In the first Five-Year Plan issued for the 1963-1968 period, the optimal urban growth notion was supported where the optimization was in accordance with the labor capacities of the cities. However, it can not be claimed that there was a specific and explicit urban policy agenda in the First Plan. The Second Plan (1968-1973) was relatively more explicit in these terms. Defining urbanization as a natural outcome of industrialization and growth, as well as a pushing factor for the economy, it favored more regulating of regional disparities. What distinguished this Second Plan from the First one was its favorable attitude towards urbanization as the determinant of development.[32] It was in the Third Five-Year Plan (1973-1977) that urbanization was recognized explicitly as the dynamic behind social and cultural modernization and industrialization. The Third Plan also verified for the first time that urbanization considered as mere population aggregation would be harmful for economic growth in the long run.[33] Problematic issues like urban social and cultural integration, the need for inclusion in the social security domain, and the need for quality housing standards were for the first time mentioned in the Third Five-Year Plan. Analysis of high land speculation came even later with the Fourth Plan in 1979.

An overall account of the Turkish experience of urbanization is laid out by Şengül. The first of the three periods he presents is between 1923 and the late 1950s, and is defined as "the urbanization of the nation-state." This initial era is characterized by the first channeling of public investment into urban space. The construction of Ankara as the [illegible] Republican capital, the establishment of a provincial administrative system

the construction of networks of transportation throughout Anatolia and further state investment in these cities were the main projects of the era. These interventions of the early Republic can as well be considered as the spatial reflections of the ideological project of doing away with the past. The inclusion and prioritization of the urban development of Anatolian cities in the national economic development plans is another reflection of the ideological motivations that characterize this early period of urbanization.

In conflict with the early Republic's goals in terms of the significance of establishment of urban growth, the economic policies of state-led industrialization drained major portions of public funds and investments away from projects of this kind. Still, the economic programs and planning cannot be denied for their relative success, which had its impact on the urban space at the national level. Yet controlled urban growth and planning were inhibited by other factors, such as rapidly increasing urban population, lack of funding, lack of qualified cadres, and the competition of rent distribution among urban middle classes.[34] In terms of the actors of these early decades of the Turkish urban experience, urban bourgeoisie and state bureaucracy arose as interacting through their needs and policy aims that shaped the legislative framework for urban development and national economic growth as mutually integral components.

In the 1950s, which signaled the beginnings of the second phase of urbanization in the Turkish context, the trade-off between channeling state funds and investments towards extensive infrastructural projects like establishing further railway networks rather than investing in vital urban facilities, became reflected on the composition of class structure. This is how newcomers and existent low income groups became more neglected by the policy agenda. As they became more and more vulnerable to "over-

[34] Şengül, p. 74.

urbanization" the formation of the lower segments of the urban middle classes and the urban poor accelerated. Rapid and asymmetrical urban growth and the existence of vulnerable groups helped the reproduction of local powers and an overall corporatist scheme of state powers on the one side and a power web of notables and small entrepreneurs on the other.[35] As the only institutional links brought from the village by the newcomers were communal relationships and the family,[36] these inevitably became the bases of negotiation and exchange in the city as well. Re-establishing the power of informal ties, already affiliated or interest seeking notables found the opportunity to play the role of intermediaries mainly between people and local governments and political parties.

By the 1950s it was also the case that the alliance between the national bourgeoisie and the state bureaucracy had decayed and turned into the grand bourgeoisie's taking over of state power and production of populist political discourses and practices in the multi-party context. Mass internal migration from rural areas into urban centers was another major variable that shaped the route and nature of urbanization in this period. The preferences of central decision making in terms of the distribution of public funds together with the priorities of private capital in industrialization strengthened their motivations in the Marmara Region and especially Istanbul to be the locomotive of the accomplishment of their goals. A combined outcome of this orientation in terms of periodization was the abandonment of the initial Republican motives for equivalent growth and urban development throughout the nation.

By the 1960s despite the state's emphasis on the application of a planned national economy, urban scale was not a central focus of intervention, as can be understood from

[35] Ibid., p.102-103

[36] Kıray, *Kentsel Butunleşme*, p. 65

the five-year plans. Urbanization was still understood as a neutral and natural outcome of industrial development and growth. The agents of urban change were still local interest groups, as well as small merchants and producers.[37] The political, social, and economic level shifts of the 1960s did not cause direct shifts in the urban dynamics such as migration, squatting, and rant-seeking behavior of the new urban poor and middle classes whose roots of existence lay in the 1950s. In other words, the central perception of change was too superficial to see, and not specialized enough to realize that urbanization referred to the demographic, environmental, and physical transformation of the built environment, besides the profound meanings inscribed in it in socio-cultural terms.

The mentioned shift in terms of the development of new agents in the transformation of urban processes was brought about by 1980; that is, the beginning of the third phase of Turkish urbanization. Trade liberalism, the privatization of state enterprises, the deregulation of capital markets – despite its arbitrariness and limited scope – set the context for the development of private actors as the main investors in urban change. As state funds were channeled increasingly towards infrastructural projects, these holders of capital increasingly based their investments in Western cities, which extended the regional disparities between the East and the West.[38] This, in turn, had an accelerating effect on the influx of rural immigrants to major cities in the West.

While a brief temporal sketch of the urban history of the Republican era may reveal major influences and ruptures in the transformation of urban spatial layers, a better integrated analysis necessitates further zooming in on the issue to gain a better insight of how these developments and shifts materialized into people's lives, places

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[37] Şengul, p. 73.

[38] Roger Owen and Şevket Pamuk, *A History of Middle East Economies in the Twentieth Century.* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998), p. 124.

and experiences. As a house is not only a shelter to its owners but also a physical/spatial and social unit connecting itself and its owners to the wider urban spatial and social network, it can serve as a feasible unit of analysis. In this study the spatial characteristics of residential units and the processes of their development are integral in understanding the urban experience.

CHAPTER II

THE MODERN APARTMENT

A History of Multi-Family Housing and the Rise of Modern Apartments



Fig. 1 1970s-80s Apartment Buildings (Bostancı- Maltepe, Istanbul).

A house is a structure in which there is a specific experience attached that makes it a home. The housing issue is integral in meanings of social status, expectations, and identity. This is why "the good home" was a central image of progress for the early Republic.

"*Kübik ev*" (Cubic house) was a term coined in the 1930s which referred to villas with "flat roofs, wide terraces and cantilevers, simple cubic volumes with round corners and continuous window sills and balconies and an overall absence of decoration, which by then had already become the official discourse of progressive architects

everywhere."[39] The 1930s National Architecture Movement *(Ulusal Mimarlık Akımı),* which dominated the architectural discourse during the flow of the Turkist and nationalist trends of the 1920s and was therefore supported by the state, was replaced by the more western-oriented movement of Rational Functionalist Architecture.[40] Having nothing in common with the traditional wooden neighborhood houses, it was this new typology that was provisioned by the "so called 'Republican Bourgeoisie,'"[41] which mainly was made up of military and civilian officials. Neglecting national and cultural influences, the period represents the tension to keep up with universal/western designs and forms. The re-inclusion of national features in Turkish architecture, interestingly, came simultaneously with the global nationalist trends in architecture during the Second World War period.

In the early decades of the Republic, residential scarcity was not a major problem due to the lack of massive demographic shifts. Apartment blocks were criticized and despised for their physical and ethical inappropriateness for the Republican ideal of the nuclear family. The apartments of the 1930s and 1940s, which were then called *kira evi* (rental house), were considered as the properties of scarcity exploiters of the Great Depression and Second World War. Public opinion towards rental houses categorized them as urban investments made in unclear ways.[42] The fact that the Municipal Tax Law of 1933 treated apartments as semi-private spaces built for commercial purposes

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[39] Bozdoğan, p. 318.

[40] Üstün Alsaç, "Türkiye'deki Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki Evrimi" (Ph.D. diss. KTÜ Atelyesi, Trabzon, 1976), p. 20-22

[41] Afife Batur, "To be Modern: Search for a Republican Architecture" in *Modern Turkish Architecture.* Edited by R.Holod and A. Evin A. (Philedelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvenia, 1984). p. 77.

[42] Murat Balamir, "'Kira Evi'nden 'Kat evleri'ne Apartmanlaşma: Bir Zihniyet Dönüşümü Tarihçesinden Kesitler" *Mimarlık*, no. 260 (November, 1994) Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, p. 29.

and charged them higher taxes than average single family houses indicates that official opinion about them was not much higher.[43]

The *konak* (large detached house) and konak life comprised the second architectural subject of Republican exclusion. The family dwelling and the extended family life it implied were already inconsistent with the transformed family lives and places of the early Republic's elites and developing urban bourgeoisie.[44]

It is possible to say that until the 1940s, residential typology developed out of a tension between the official ideology and the practical reality. Indulging too much in modernist ideals, the architects of the era gave way to the transformation of the urban fabric into fragmentation and incoherence.[45]

The residential appearance of the Republic had to be in compliance with the anticipated ideals such as citizenship and monogamy. The physical setting of this nuclear family model, therefore, materialized into the construction of a modern dwelling ideal which with all its appliances and amenities was designed to sustain and further nurture the accomplishment of these modern ideals.[46] In fact, the first apartments that had been built around Galata and Beyoğlu in the late nineteenth century had responded more to these ideals than to the increased population of Istanbul. That they arose first in mainly non-Muslim settlements, whose interactions with Europe were already frequent, implied that the notion of apartment had its ideological roots in the fascination with the West. Therefore, as much as any ethnic or religious explanations for preferences of typology are considered, it is certain that the apartment block in that era, too, referred to

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[43] Ibid., p. 30.

[44] Atilla Yücel, "Istanbul'da 19. Yüzyılın Kentsel Konut Biçimleri" in *Housing and Settlement in Anatolia: A Historical Perspective*. Edited by Yıldız Sey. (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1996), p. 299-301.

[45] Bozdoğan, p. 220.

[46] Bozdoğan, p. 216.

a major shift in lifestyle, which, according to Kıray, corresponded to the initial formation of salary-based middle classness.[47] That is, multi-family housing in the era was the signifier of a modern wealthy life, the aspirations to which lay in the West.

In economic terms, the recession of the construction sector, like that in many others due to Second World War, led to the initial involvement of the state in providing housing first of all, in Ankara for growing numbers of civil servants in the city.[48] By the mid-1940s Istanbul Municipality also undertook housing projects like the Mecidiyeköyü Project.[49] As it turned out, in both Ankara and Istanbul these two or single storey houses, which were initially meant for middle class families with moderate incomes or civil servants, targeted higher income groups who could afford living in houses with separate gardens. In other words, as the physical scale of housing construction decreased due to economic instability, the architectural theory and practice of the era could not create a uniquely modern expression and remained as superficial "representations of an imported modernity."[50] In sum, the lack of capital, technologies, qualified labor, and inhibitors such as labor intensive techniques interacted as the contextual limits of the early Republican residential outlook.[51]

Among the variety of causes for housing deficiency such as annual population growth, expropriation, wearing out of buildings, immigration and natural disasters the

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[47] Kıray, "Apartmanlaşma ve Yeni Orta Tabakalar", *Çevre,* no. 4 (June, 1979). p. 78. In Mecideyeköyü Project the initial target was to provide housing for lower and middle income groups but turned out to be inhabited by higer income families. Bahçelievler Project, which was its counterpart in Ankara and meant to provide the residential needs of average income state officials' families, turned into an upper class neighborhood. This is mainly due to the lack of a professional and analytical attitude towards not only the housing needs of lower income groups, but also to the resources available.

[48] Michael N Danielson and Ruşen Keleş, *The Politics of Rapid Urbanization, Government and Growth in Modern Turkey.* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers Inc., 1985), p. 109.

[49] Istanbul Municipality, "Mesken Siyaseti" in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde Istanbul* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basimevi, 1949), p. 151.

[50] Bozdoğan, p. 187.

[51] Ibid., pp.188 189.

major reasons in Turkey have been population growth due to immigration and worn out buildings.[52] An accompanying dimension of lack of sufficient residential capacity is the increase in consumption of luxurious housing, growing in line with asymmetrical and socially disintegrated urbanization.[53]

The architectural discourse on housing from the 1950s onwards was a period of transformation of the two former dominant residential typologies, the rental apartment and the neighborhood house. As the construction sector become more and more dominated by small entrepreneurs, the state's engagement in large scale housing production diminished. By the 1950s this led to the emergence of apartment blocks that can in no way be compared to the unitariness and modesty of the rental houses of the former era. The modernization of the early decades, which referred to an elite way of life, homogenized and became the norm for a greater number of social groups. "The most appropriate ways of living," therefore imposed newly built apartments as the "place to pursue a modern life" even in the minds of the gecekondu dwellers as an ideal. In this sense the major agents of urban housing ceased to be the state, and the nature of the urban residential transformation evolved in accordance with the dominating entrepreneurs' investments; either in the form of squatters, or legal or illegal construction of apartment blocks. From then on, apartments became the most popular way of gaining a share of[54] urban property through productive relations between

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[52] Keleş, *100 Soruda*, pp. 79-80.
Main sources of housing insufficiency 1968-1972:

Population growth (Natural growth + growth in urban population)	756,970
Squatter cleaning	37,500
Renovation due to natural wearing out	60,000
Expropriation and natural disasters	20,000
Decreasing of residency frequency	50,000
Total	925,370

[53] Ibid., p.81.

[54] İhsan Bilgin, "Modernleşmenin ve Toplumsal Hareketliliğin Yörüngesinde Cumhuriyet'in İmarı" in *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, p. 263.

producers, landowners and local governments as well as informal communal ties. Urban transformation from the 1950s onwards can be claimed to have experienced a turning point in terms of the spatial and cultural cleavages on which residential practices were based.

The history of housing in Turkey, above all, is based on the axes of housing construction through public social housing projects as against "spontaneous action," which refers to construction by private producers of various size with their respective economic and aesthetic properties attached.[55] The possibility of applying this to other social issues like the diversification in the informal sector versus the broader problem of unemployment, dealing with immeadiate housing needs of the migrant masses can be evaluated in line with spontenaous action in the context of center's lacking emphasis on it. Despite the constitutional reference to the issue that the state "takes measures to provide hygienic housing for the poor and low income families" (Article 49), [56] its involvement in economic and policy making terms has been limited. According to Keleş, one reason for this step back might be the rather vague definition of resources allocated for housing. The vagueness of this definition is due to the governmental tendency to consider housing as consumption rather than production in I economical terms. As residences have this unique characteristic of belonging both to production and consumption, state investment in housing becomes reluctant especially if the resources are limited and priorities are different.[57]

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[55] Tekeli, pp. 27-28.

[56] *"Yoksul veya dargelirli ailelerin sağlık şartlarına uygun konut ihtiyaçlarını karşılayıcı tedbirler alır." (Madde 49)*, 1961 Constitution.

[57] Keleş, *100 Soruda*, p. 85.

In the Turkish housing sector where 98 percent of investments were held by various-scale private entrepreneurs,[58] either squatter housing or luxurious apartments had been produced. Widespreadness of squatters left aside, moderation in luxurious apartment production, too, is an adjustment in line with the spontaneous action assumption. Based on the axis of spontaneous or planned analysis of various contextual categories such as residential planning and policy making, and ownership and production relations in property developments becomes possible.

Rapid urban development from the 1950s on, either in terms of squatting or apartment buildings, whether illegal or legal, can be count on the spontaneous action side. In economic terms, the period after 1950 was an outcome of a new property development method in which profitability overwhelmed the concern for quality. The pressures of the increasing density of immigrant masses, the scarcity of housing, and existing social networks provided the emergence of small and middle scale developers who became the actors of loose relations between these groups in the distribution and production of urban space. These builder-sellers, who channeled all capital accumulated into agriculture and small business between the 1950s and 1970s to themselves, besides failing to supply sufficient housing for the middle class masses, complicated this massive process in all means.

Not only leading to non-recyclable changes in the urban social and physical structure, the informal economic web they formed, especially after the promulgation of the *Kat Mülkiyeti Kanunu* (Law on Flat Property) in 1965, helped in no way the structural solving of the housing issue.

[58] Ibid., p. 88.



Fig. 2 These apartment buildings of the era belong to no architectural style but a corrupt mixture of traditional motifs with modern techniques.





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Fig. 3 It is possible to see remaining family home structures even in those parts of the city where apartmentalization entirely transformed the residential pattern.

[59] "Kandemir Construction buys your land in return for flats or cash."
Small scale construction firms still exist and play their role in transforming the remaining old buildings though their significance declined.

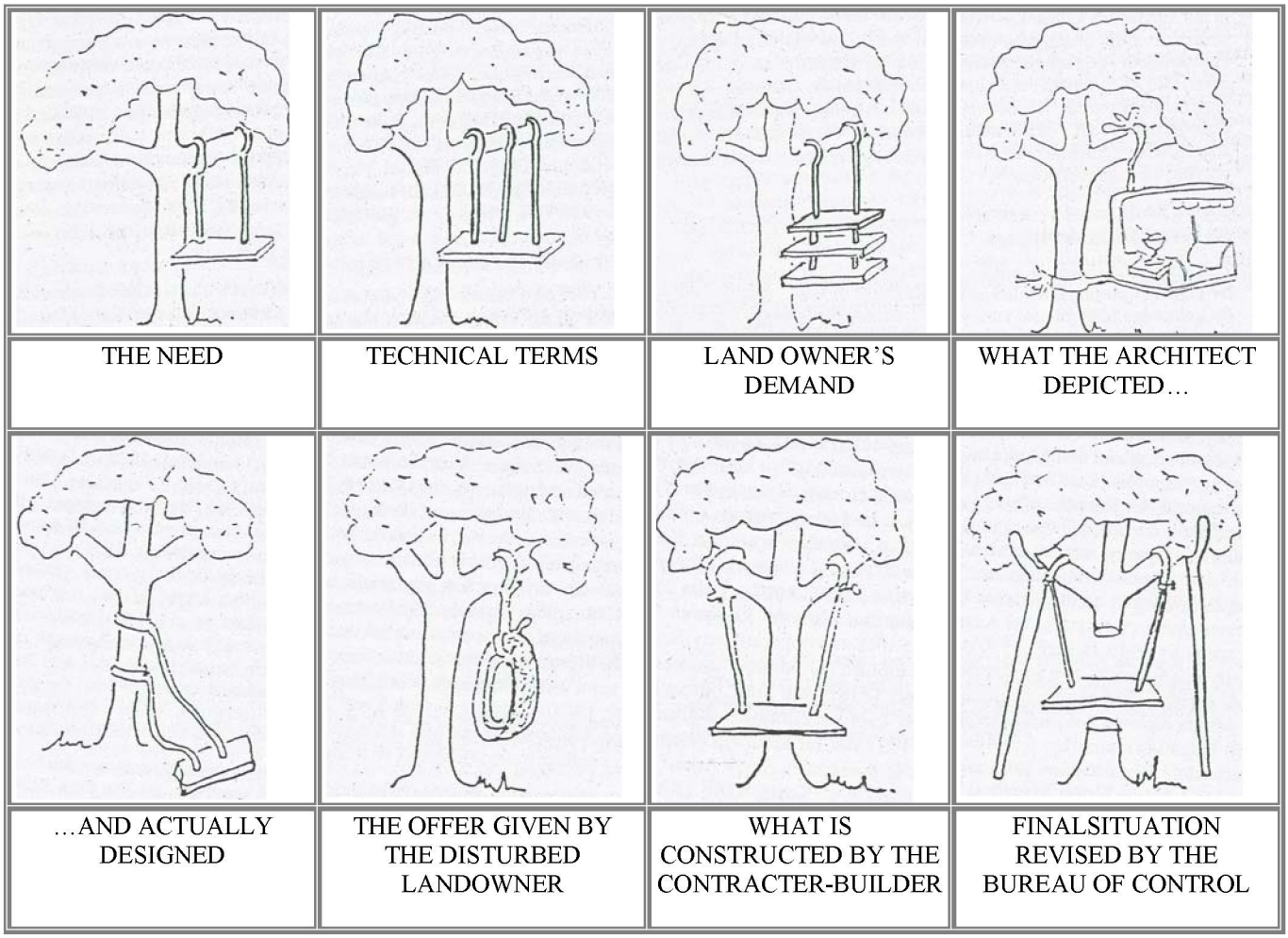


Fig. 4 "X Construction, Production Organization Scheme"[60]

The Law on Flat Property was the reflection of uneven urban developments in the legislative sphere. Until then, before the construction began the promise to sell or right of easement was applied to a certain piece of land that was subject to shared ownership.[61] After the law, by recognizing fragmented property rights on apartment flats, an apartment's ownership by different occupiers was enabled. Therefore apartment

[60] Source unknown, cited in İhsan Bilgin, "Konut Sorunlarının Çeşitlenmesi", Defter. no. 7, (Dec-Jan 1988).

[61] Ibid., p. 165.

flats after the Law on Flat Property become anonymous units of urban property, unlike any former residential typology.

The Law can be considered beneficial in terms of regulating the relation and basic conflicts between land and/or flat owners, therefore causing a decrease in the burden on courts.[62] Besides, building management regulations can be said to have provided a relative increase in social participation for residential issues. Still, the Law was not a step towards the provision of residences. Its accelerating the transformation of single floor houses into apartment blocks provided the basis for asymmetrical shifts in the urban built environment engraving district-based demographic and residential disparities, due to the lack of complementary municipal and construction legislation.[63] However, this change in the regulation of ownership possibilities was in fact what transformed the apartment's negative perception into a positive one in society.[64] Overall, the Law paved the way for the consolidation and perpetuation of the asymmetrical yet profitable relationships between the landowners, developer and flat owners. [65]

As the whole process implied no planning and further legitimated the looseness of spatial relations, the unavailability of demand forecasting, lack of collective mechanisms to regulate and undermine the speculative nature of processes carried the

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[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Balamir, p. 29.

[65] Oğuz Işık, "Yapsatçılığın Yazılmamış Tarihi: Türkiye'de Konut Kesiminde küçük Üreticiliğin Varlık Koşulları ve Gelişimi üzerine Gözlemler,"*Mimarlık,* no. 261 (January, 1995), p. 44.
After the first legal arrangements for buying and selling of individual housing units in 1954, the whole concept of "flat ownership" was more a turning point than the law of 1965 itself was, in practical terms. Although legal recognition and definition of terms and rights towards flat ownership did not bring structural improvements in the operating relations between constructors and owners no more than legalizing their complexity, the notion of owning an apartment unit was a major cause of shift in the positive popular perception of apartments. Therefore it can be said that the popularity of apartments in Turkey can be evaluated in two periods being before and after the Law on Flat Property.

sector, which had become larger in scale, to the 1970s until it was hit by the crisis at the end of the decade. By the 1980s the urban space already was covered by the massive architectural layer of apartments and squatters. According to Keleş, unlike the early Republican architectural layer of the first decades, which represented confusion on the ideals of nationalism, modernization and the "ideal home" that materialized into centrally financed single or two storey houses together with the single owner apartments of the national bourgeoisie, the period between the 1950s and 1980 was an experience of spatial materializations of the instant interests and needs of the urban middle classes and the urban poor.[66]

The scarcity of urban space, the lack of sufficient housing, and the recession in the construction sector were what the neo-liberal governments of the 1980s had to deal with. By revising the Law on Social Housing in 1981, the Motherland Party government tried to motivate the involvement of private construction firms and change the scheme of mass housing from the cooperatives of the previous era into the production of social housing. Yet massive settlement projects continued to be taken on mainly by local governments. This final period of the Turkish urban residential experience since then evolved into further complex interactions such as the change of approach towards squatters to a positive, the rise of suburbia, and shifts in the nature of the urban classes as well as emerging actors of the urban space. In conclusion, one can observe that housing and the allocation of urban space have never been significant parts of the policy agenda of the Republic. Furthermore, when this has seemed to be the case, the focus of both state production of housing and private housing production consistently has been for the middle and upper classes. Lower income groups, even in cases where they have

[66] Keleş, *100 Soruda*, p. 134.

been the initial target, have had to create their own strategies of survival in the urban context in line with the tradition of spontaneous action in Turkish urban history.

The *Apartment* as a Socio-Spatial Phenomenon

From the 1950s on, the modern apartment, with its scale, typology, production processes, and social aspects, became the dominant structure that built up the urban built environment and social life. As the most common residential unit, the apartment flat also became equated with the notion of home. In this spread of apartments as the dominant urban housing layer, multi-level processes like population increase, economic and cultural change, technological transformations, legislative regulations, and an overall shift in the tastes and lifestyles of urban population have interacted.[67] Apartmentalization refers to the social (abstract) and spatial (concrete) representation of simultaneous processing of these dynamics, evaluating it as an integral phenomenon is vital.

Since its emergence first in the late nineteenth century, the rise of the apartment has been interpreted either along with the economic and residential needs of a newly consolidating social class, or as a concrete signifier of the shift in the status perceptions of its target residents. In favor of the first explanation, Balamir believes that multi-family housing typologies develop for mere objective reasons such as lack of capital and/or land.[68] Regarding the early multi-housing structures in Beyoğlu and Pera, Kıray, on the other hand, evaluates this early period as representing the initial phases of urban middle class formation. According to her, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, the residents of these early apartments had already experienced major lifestyle shifts. Due to the

[67] Cengiz Eruzun, "Konut üretiminde nitelik sorunu," Mimarlık, no. 227 (1988), p. 48-50 .

[68] Balamir, pp. 29-33.

Western influenced commercial and social developments in these neighborhoods; that is, the establishment of Western banks and companies as well as consumption patterns of European origin goods and services, the home perception of these people changed accordingly for the sake of apartment life.[69]

A better integrated analysis of apartmentalization is elaborated by Tanyeli, who supports that it was not this architectural typology which was modern, but rather the residents whose tastes and expectations had already been transformed and perceived it as such.[70] Of course, this is not to say that the expectations of urban populations in the following decades, freed from any economic determinants, contingently matched the apartment ideal. However, the fact that the idea of living in a flat is strongly associated with "a better way of life" places the whole story into a broader context and gives strategic clues about the lifestyle revolution and urban middle class formation that took place in Turkey.

In spatial terms, the former introvert house typology in the early Republican era was replaced with extrovert glass surfaced buildings where Western design techniques and construction materials were allocated. The interiors in these ideal homes also reflected the aspirations for a modern life with the introduction of varnished tables, cupboards, cabinets, and Moroccan armchairs as representatives of Bauhaus industrial furniture design.[71] The multi-family housing buildings of these early decades were also the first examples of the functional division of residential space. In line with the newly introduced ways of living, rooms were for the first time defined as bedrooms, dining and living rooms. Rooms in these apartments were approximately of equal dimensions

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[69] Mübeccel Kıray, "Apartmanlaşma ve Yeni Orta Tabakalar", *Çevre,* no. 4 (June 1979).

[70] Uğur Tanyeli, "Konut Mekanında Modernite Kavgası", *Mimarlık,* no. 95/262, pp.16-18.

[71] Ayla Ödekan, *1908-1980 Çağdaş Türkiye.* Türkiye Tarihi, vol. 4. (Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1990), pp. 505-589, p.534.

and were situated around the hall or along a corridor.[72] Disturbing the continuance of the traditional modes of privacy, spatial functionality in the apartments symbolized the modern lifestyle, which prevented its wider popularity and led to its remaining as an elite way of life. Besides its economic unavailability, functional determinedness and overt usage of rooms in the apartment flat made it the "other" of the traditional conservatism of Turkish family life.

The popular idealization of living in an apartment in wider segments of the new urban population by the 1950s is also reflected in the disappearance of servant bedrooms from flat designs. [73] Servant bedrooms, which only existed in the plans of the prior era, on the one hand, represent the elite perception of apartments, while on the other hand give an idea of the social strata to which they appealed. Architectural developments like the omission of these rooms, together with trends of becoming smaller, point to the process of the spatial reformulation of apartments in accordance with the popular internalization of them as "the most appropriate way of life" besides becoming accessible by legal restructuring as well.

The Flat Property Law was an important turning point in the standardization of "build and trade" apartments' popularization as the dominant middle class house typology. These buildings, which were low in quality but relatively high in exchange value, were made primarily for their use value and represented no architectural style and all resembled each other. Attached or separate, most of them have a little garden at the

[72] Gülsüm Nalbantoğlu, "1928-1949 Döneminde Ankara'da Yapılan Konutların Mimari Değerlendirmesi" in Tarih İçinde Ankara. Edited by E. Yavuz and N. Uğurel (Ankara: ODTU Mimarlık Basım İşbirliği, 1984), p.260.

[73] Şener, p. 53.

back or around them. The number of flats on each floor varies from three to six, and the elevator is only available in those buildings with more than five floors.[74]



Fig.5 Examples to separate and attached apartment settlements in Maltepe and Üsküdar, Istanbul.

[74] Hülya Arı, "Ekonomik ve toplumsal gelişmelerin apartmanlaşma sürecinde konut birimlerine etkileri", (Ph.D, diss., Istanbul Technical University, 1994), p. 230.



Fig. 6 Apartment entryway doors in various neighborhood in Istanbul.



Fig. 7 Bell buttons and mail boxes, Istanbul.

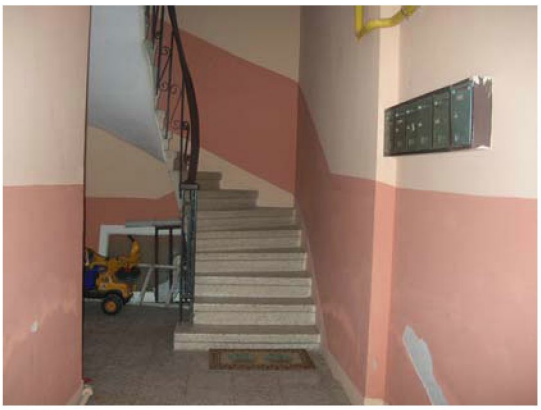


Fig. 8 An apartment entrance, Istanbul.



Fig. 9 Apartment names in various neighborhoods of Istanbul.

In accordance with the integration of the traditional/popular spatial conventions and expectations, functional differentiation among rooms decreased compared with more western designs of early apartments. As such, the apartment flat from the 1960s onwards generally includes bedrooms, a living room (*salon*) larger than the bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom and sometimes also a WC, and a generally small hall and corridors.



Fig. 10 An example to the three bedrooms and a corridor plan
from the 1970s (Maltepe, Istanbul).

In terms of popular perception, the early single owner apartments were associated with their owners. They represented the preferences and lifestyles of the owners in architectural character as well.[39] Size, plan, construction material, and techniques were all negotiated in accordance with the owner's active involvement. Despite the popular negative perceptions related to it, owning an apartment building named after the owner was an important source of pride for the urban elite for whom differentiation from rest of the society and European aspirations were considered even better. The Turkish operetta, *Lüküs Hayat* [40] (A Life of Luxury), where the setting is an apartment in Şişli – a popular modern district – satirizes this kind of cultural mismatch between the accustomed ways of living and the pretentious modern life the owners of the apartment is keen to adopt.

The shift in residential preferences in favor of the apartment, besides being a demographic necessity, is an outcome of the Republican ideals of modernization and

[39] Balamir, p.30.

[40] Composed by Cemal Reşit Rey in 1933.

progress. In the first phases of apartmentalization, this shift in the mentality for the "most modern way" of pursuing one's domesticity was limited to an urban elite of very limited number. The move from traditional houses to apartments reflects the mental exodus of these early residents, from former domestic ideals and practices to the inexperienced but heavily imposed European lifestyles for the ultimate formation of a modern nation. Social hybridity in Istanbul inevitably enforced the further transformation of cultural perceptions As these ideals became better diffused among lower segments of society by the Republic's education and cultural policies, they became internalized as "naturally appropriate ways of living" towards which expectations and economic means were oriented.

The mental shift in ideals in domesticity, in accordance with the never ending continuance and richness of everyday life situations and practices, continued as an unconsolidated process. Below an excerpt from Enver Abiral's article dated 25 February 1950 published in *Cumhuriyet,*[41] depicts the mental moment of the decade:

> Apartment life for us was not widespread until the last three or four decades. There were several reasons for this. First of all, apartment life was not in compliance with our customs and habits then. As privacy in family life used to be high in that time, it was impossible to imagine women being seen by strangers in the halls or stairs of the apartment. … The existence of this and other factors caused the construction of apartment buildings in Beyoğlu, the considered Western district of the era, and in no other parts of the city was this residence type preferred. … The terms of living changed a lot after the First and Second World Wars. We have given up many habits we used to practice then, in part due to their incompatibility with today's modes of thinking and in part we find them funny. … In time, life in the house was left and the demand for apartment life has increased.

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[41] M. Ünal, "Türkiye'de Apartman Olgusunun Gelişimi: Istanbul Örneği," *Çevre*, no. 4, (1979). pp. 71-77 cited in Şener, p. 11. *"Apartman hayatı bizde 30-40 sene evveline kadar teammüm etmemiş bulunuyordu. Bunun müteaddit sebepleri vardır. Evvela apartman hayatı o zamanki örf ve adetlerimize uymuyordu. Saniyen aile hayatımızda kaç-göç olduğundan kadınların apartman antresinde, merdivende başkaları tarafından görülmesi havsalaya sığar şeylerden değildi… Bu ve buna benzer başka amillerin mevcudiyeti apartmanların o zaman frenk muhiti sayılan Beyoğlu semtinde inşaasına yol açar, şehrin diğer taraflarında bu tarzdaki iskana rağbet eden olmazdı… Birinci ve İkinci Dünya Harpleri'nden sonra hayat şartları çok değişti. O zamanlar itiyat ettiğimiz hallerden bir çoklarının bugünkü düşünüş tarzlarına uymadığından ve kısmen de bunları gülünç bulduğumuzdan terk etmiş vaziyetteyiz… Zamanla ev hayatı terk edilmiş ve apartman hayatına karşı rağbet artmıştır"*

It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss how "increased esteem" would be replaced by overall dominancy of apartment typology and lead to such a rapid and corrupt transformation of layers of the urban built environment. Provisioned by the economic and demographic context from the 1950s on, this dominance became possible more by the cultural change of society in favor of middle class consumption habits than by the adaptation of aspects of Turkish domestic life in the apartments built by contractors. As such, the place for the notion of home became expressed by the apartment flat in all terms of the exchange, spatial features and the nature of domesticity that was sought to be lived there.



Fig. 11 Typical separate apartment building entrances.

In conclusion, both spatially and in terms of perception the phenomenon of apartment has gone thorough transformations causing simultaneously the transformation of residents' lives taking place at home and in the broader urban setting. Regardless of the differentiation of the social status of subjects and the discourse it is employed by,

"the apartment" has always signified the "better life" whether this improvement in lifestyle has entailed getting in touch with European modes of living, or achieving the feeling of security with which middle class aspirations are associated. How these expectations turned out for the urban populations for the period between 1950 and the 1970s can be understood through the experiences and repercussions revealed by the subjects while they reflect on yesterday and question its relation to today.

CHAPTER III

MAKING OF THE APARTMENT HOME

The Home, the Residence, and the Subjective Experience

The home as concept and physical unit has been transformed in accordance with the changing social and physical norms and values of living during the rapid urbanization era in Turkey. The definition and meanings attached to home have changed due to the shifts in economic conditions and social structure of the urban population. Apart from being a result of the material change of living conditions, the ideal of home has always been a focal domain of social consolidation for the broader modernist outlook. The republican emphasis on the urban nuclear family ideal also made references to realizing this by depicting the proper domesticity and residential standards through educational and popular channels.

The apartment, phenomenon, defined in its objective and discursive contextual boundaries, therefore, needs to be placed in an integrated perspective on the relation set between the "home" and the "residence." The apartment referring to both the residence and the life experienced in it, slipped from content to content during the course of the realities that made up its context. This slippage in content cannot be traced thoroughly from an objective analysis of this entity but needs to be analyzed through the experience of its subjects. It is the subjects' moments/events of attributing particular meanings that acted as moments of slippage in modes of perceiving. And these twists only can be revealed by the subjects' own accounts of whatever they have experienced. However,

the terminological interaction among concepts is necessary before an attempt is made to question how these modes of perceiving as well as the physical structures of living came into being.

The residence and home refer to different – and sometimes – incompatible meanings which can not be reduced to each other. The residence is a material reality which is transformed into home in time and according to the subject's existence. This definitive differentiation between the concepts, one being an economic, architectural, and administrative objectivity, and other the product of a particular subjective experience, becomes graver with the existence of other determinants of differentiation, such as massive migration and rapid urbanization, as in the case of Turkey. The residence acts as the cluster of home shapes, limits, and makes possible the emergence of particular modes of living in it. Besides being the interface between the inside of the home and the rest of the world, the residence is integral to home. It is the residence that addresses a particular home to the wider areas of social interaction, such as the neighborhood or the city. The emergence and take over of a particular residential typology signifies transformations in all these domains involved; that is, it signifies the existence and nature of an overall social transformation, which in the Turkish urban context of the 1950s corresponded to the rise of apartments being the material metaphors of the consolidation of middle classness among the urban masses.

All social, psychological and physical interactions of human beings are spatial experiences and residency refers to this overall inhabitancy. The body, the home, the city, the nation and so forth are all various-scale spatial experiences happening on physical, social, psychological levels simultaneously. The homogeneity implied by the word "space" is contextualized while it becomes "place" through experience; and experience necessitates a subject. Therefore place making is a subjective process bound

by physical (spatial) limits occurring in the broader context. That is, the making of the apartment home refers to multi-dimensional shifts in the mentalities of its subjects in terms of residency in its extended definition. Seen in the broader context of modernization and the particular emphasis of growth in the period starting with the 1950s, rapid urbanization in Turkey has undergone an overall social reorganization of all terms of living.

It is easier for the relation of the resident with the residing to remain fragmented in the knowledge of specialists. For the architect the relation is one between the residence and the user. For the builder it is the one between the customer and the good. For the sociologist, between society and the physical environment, and for the politician, the relation refers to the public and the housing issue. In most of these disciplines, the emergence of new residential typologies in the rapid growth of modern cities results in the neglect of basic human motivations, aspirations, and behaviors. What is important here is the fact that what these disciplines bring about do not remain merely as abstract knowledge but materialize into policies and structures that shape the perceptions and the limits of the world subjects'experience. Therefore due to the lack of subjectivity in this process of compulsory change and structural recreation, the individual is alienated from the design and nature of the living place for the combined priorities of technological objectivity, bureaucracy, consumption, and scale. This externalization of the dweller from the dwelling is claimed to lead to serious psychological problems that basically referred to as "homelessness" and "placelessness."[78] Homelessness, on the one hand, means the lack of a proper residence, and, on the other hand, implies "rootlessnes,"

[78] K. Dovey, "Home environments" in Home and Homelessness. Edited by I. Altman and C. Werner. (1985), cited in Zehra Akdemir Aksoy, "Konut ve Ev Kavramlarının Karşılaştırmalı Analizi" (Ph.D. diss., Dokuz Eylül University, 2002), p.3.

"unbelonging," and "alienation."[79] The detachment of identity from the place of living leads to dissatisfaction with the self and the rest of the social environment. The anxiety caused by unfamiliarity with the lived environment materializes into all levels and units of social interaction.

The detachment of the physical structure from the subjective context of the resident is replaced by the resident's efforts to ease the discontent. At this stage, consumption, being the cure for many modes of expressing pain and anxiety, plays a key role in dealing with this continuous feeling of lacking a home. The state of being unable to establish an integrated relation with the mode of living and other subjective variables, which ends in consumerist transformation, is basic in understanding any subjective experience related to home today.

Middle Classness and the *Apartment* Home

Zooming into the broad contextual layout of Turkish modernism as experienced through the residential transformation in the era of rapid urbanization reveals the instant moments of change and perceptions attached to it. These bits of going through change are inscribed in the everyday lives of urban subjects. This whole shift can only be conceived by going through these subjects' expectations and reactions regarding following developments.

The subjects of following sections are apartment residents who consider themselves members of the middle class regardless of any analytical definition of the term. Based on an integrated terminological interaction of concepts like home, residence, and well being, a main concern was trying to avoid a mere categorization of ideas on similar

[79] Ibid, Further elaboration on the concepts of home and residence based on various parameters such as time, space, user identity, dimension, and discourse is available in the dissertation.

topics. Whether speaking on the same issue by using the same words or not, the aim was to extract and subgroup similar feelings, anxieties, and emphasis although, their origins of impulse were different due to the diversity of individual contexts.

Changing Expectations and Consumer's New Life

The making of the home in both physical and experimental terms situates a major element in the consolidation of an urban bourgeois life among the urban masses of diverse origins. "Dwelling" in the extended meaning, covering all everyday activities, is the stream through which subjects of the middle class have greater opportunity to differentiate themselves from the diversity of their backgrounds to become part of a perceived homogeneity as the "middle class." Moving into apartment flats, creating interiors with different, "modern" tastes and styles, practicing different domesticities, and going through change in domestic role patterns were dynamics of this differentiation. This is how the subjects of these processes overcome the communal and communal gecekondu ways of living, not to mention the rural "undifferentiated spheres of productive labor and consumption"[80] that have been left behind. To put it another way, the creation of the apartment home is a concrete course of how subjects of diverse social backgrounds with similar means and potentialities channel themselves into the anonymity of middle classness. However, this is not to say that the perceived objectivity of the process is the reality; that is, the homogeneity and the feeling of comfort in being anonymous implied by being "a member of the middle class" is experienced differently, as evident in the different modes of expressing discontent.

While the process of middle class self-differentiation was in progress, the practices and consumption mode adapted by them mapped "the most appropriate ways (goods,

[80] Ibid., p. 13.

places, modes) of living" for all other segments. Selling the idea of apartments to all urban dwellers as an ideal, regardless of their social position, signifies the extent of the interaction between the anonymous subjects of the middle class and their fellow observers.

All these were spatial and social constructions of a certain moment of underdevelopment and modernism taking place within the Turkish urban context. Therefore, the discursiveness of the processes, on the one hand, led to irreversible physical asymmetries in the urban setting; while on the other hand, it led to the emergence of a "middle class disappointment" and feeling of loss expressed in individual anxieties.

In *Cehenneme Övgü*[81] Gündüz Vassaf defines apartment life as the totalitarianism of everyday lives of the urban masses. Doing exactly the same things, in the same spatial environment, preventing any alternative reorganization of lived space are aspects of this totalitarianism. Based on the pseudo "feeling of order" of having everything in its place, the apartment to the urban dweller, according to Vassaf, is what barracks are to a soldier. The analogy is further elaborated by aspects like the uniformity, spatial determinacy and discipline both structures impose on the individual. The functional differentiation of rooms while determining the kind and mode of the activity attached, limits and standardizes the feelings related to that behavior.

Vassaf's depiction of apartment life is in line with Bektaş's claims that what had been dreamt about formerly ceased to be a home and simply reduced to "somewhere to shelter."[82] Although these comments are agreed upon easily by specialists from various disciplines, the perceptions of the early dwellers who took up moving into flats were far

[81] Gündüz Vassaf, Cehenneme Övgü, (Eulogy to Hell). (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 1992) pp.62-67. Translated by Ö. Madra and Z. Gecosman.

[82] Cengiz Bektaş, Yuva mı Mal mı? (İstanbul: Literatur Yayınları. 2003). Pp 203-209.

different. What Vassaf called the process of totalitarianism, to them referred to the obligatory preconditions of a modern life. Finding the opportunity to start a life in identical units was a symbolic referent of yielding within a bigger bourgeois anonymity:

> There occurred an increasing desire for apartments in the 1970s. Many people either sold or rented out their houses; they all left for apartments. I don't know for sure, for I was a kid, if they affected each other, but I know that our neighbors left. I mean they moved to apartment flats in Bostancı or other places. And do you know why? I mean…in my opinion…there had been no apartments until those years. Those people had spent their lives in gardens and two floor houses since they were born. The new apartments and all…it was something new…I mean…preciosity. To live something that had not been lived before.[83]



Fig. 12 An apartment built in the 1970s (Bostancı, Istanbul).

Improvements in lifestyle were multi-scaled and younger generations and women were stated as the main actors of the increasing popularity of apartment life:

> In those times central heating was not available in those (two storey) houses. Those living in them were worn out because of the cold. And it was the women that suffered the most. Therefore, although they weren't able to manage it by their own means, they led their husbands towards apartments. Youngsters then were effective. They wanted to go to those popular districts.

[83] *Meral Diren, interviewed by Aslı Duru, March 06, 2006, at her home in İstanbul, Turkey. "İşte 1970li yıllarda bir apartman özlemi oldu. Çoğu kişi ya sattı ya kiraya verdi; hep apartmanlara gittiler. Birbirlerini mi etkilediler onun tam farkında değilim ben çocuktum ama komşularımız gittiler yani Bostancı'ya başka semtlere apartman dairelerine gittiler. Neden biliyor musun?. Bence yani... O yaş grubunun o seneki yaşamlarına kadar apartman yoktu. Yani bunlar doğduğundan beri iki katlı evlerde bahçelerde bilmem nerelerde. Yeni apartmanlar yapılmış falan..o yine bir şey oluyor... özenti. Yaşamadığı bir şeyi yaşamak... "*

> And shopping of course… It is relatively harder to find shops as much in those former neighborhoods. To apartment dwellers everywhere was nearby. This attracted people. Cafes…and everything. Life there was more modern. That is why they left.[84]

The motives for "a life more modern" materialized through the novelties brought about by the changing of physical setting. Shifts in the perceptions related to places of living occurred first in the minds of wives and children.

> As a kid apartment flats were really attractive to me. "How nice, straight away… A one-floor apartment home must be more comfortable," I used to think. Then when I got married we moved into a very small flat. It was my husband's – may he rest in peace – own property. It was forty-five square meters. "Let's not pay rent, we are newly taking up our life" we thought. I found it really small after our big family house. There was no balcony to dry the laundry; I used to hang it by the windows. We lived there five years.[85]

It was usually the rest of the family that filled in notions of modernizing everyday life through the paternal network of domestic relations and idealized the apartment as a symbol of social status for the man:

> Those days we were keen to live in an apartment. It was a revolutionary development for us when we first moved into one. We moved to a four bedroom flat with a rather small *salon* (living room) in Üsküdar. When we started living there everything, everything in my life seemed to have become better. Of course, still we didn't have separate rooms for everyone. But still it was larger than our former home. And most importantly it was a flat. The heating system, the balcony, separate doors for the flat and the building were all new and original for us.[86]

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[84] *Meral Diren, "Kaloriferli evler yoktu o zaman iki katlı evlerde. Yıpranmıştı o insanlar soğukla falan. Daireler o yüzden çok çekici geldi. Bundan da en çok kadınlar mustarip olduğu için..kendi maddi güçleri olmasa da kocalarını apartmanlara yönlendirdiler.Çocuklar, sonra gençler etkili oldu. Revaçta olan yerlere gitmek istediler. Bir de alışveriş tabii. Buralar mahrumiyet sayılır nispeten. Onlara her şey düz ayak. Dükkanlar hemen ayak altı. Çok cazip geldi. Çay bahçeleri. Daha modern bir yaşam oldu oralarda. Onun için gittiler."*

[85] *Mihriban Arabacı, interviewed by Aslı Duru, March 06, 2006, at her home in İstanbul, Turkey. "Ben küçükken apartman daireleri bana çok cazip geliyordu. "Ne kadar güzel, düz ayak, daireler herhalde daha rahat" diye düşünüyordum. Ondan sonra ben evlenince çok küçük bir daireye gittim..45meterkareydi. Rafet'in – Allah rahmet eylesin – kendi mülküydü..Kira vermeyelim, hayata yeni atılıyoruz diye. Bizim evden sonra orası çok küçük geldi bana. Balkonu yoktu çamaşır asmaya, pencerenin önüne asıyordum. Orada beş yıl oturdum."*

[86] *Hüsnü Büyükcoşkun, interviewed by Aslı Duru, March 18, 2006, at his home in İstanbul, Turkey. "O zaman böyle bir apartmanda oturmaya böyle çok heveslenirdik. Bir apartman olsa yani. İlk defa daireye taşındığımızda da muazzam bir devrim gibi bir şeydi. İşte dört odalı, bir küçük salonu olan bir eve taşındık Üsküdar'da. Oraya taşındığımız zaman her şey, hayatımda her şey düzelmiş gibi sanki çok güzel gelmişti. Tabii yine de adam başına bir oda düşmüyordu orada. Ama gene de diğerlerine göre çok geniş*

An important aspect of this newly emerging way of life was the reconfiguration of social ties and modes of social interaction. The urban setting, which was defined mainly on the basis of various degree combinations of residential neighborhoods and city-centers, became subject to massive physical change.

> [In Sultanahmet – An old Ottoman district famous for its tourist attraction today. By then wooden houses were rented on floor basis perhaps due to the lack of multi family housing typologies.] Our neighbors were of middle strata. Civil servants in general… Kids used to be sent to school. Our relations with neighbors were good enough. [For Levent – An early modern district of widespread apartment type housing.] There our neighbors were usually retired civil servants and mainly army officers. The rent there was 450 TLs. It was high and my uncle [An army officer as well, looking after the family] used to pay it.[87]

The transformation of house typology towards apartments brought with itself the recodification of this existent social network. While this is not to say that change was a characteristic of this new typology and the former urban texture implied social permanency, the uniqueness was due to the process of becoming the actors of these new urban modes of living on the part of the former subjects. That is, it was not only the building type and interior practices that were renovated but this whole experience led to the redefinition of concepts that entailed aspects of everyday practices of living.

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bir yerdi ve apartman dairesi olması çok önemliydi. Isınması, balkonu, aşağıdaki kapısının ayrı, daire kapısının ayrı olması filan çok değişik orijinal şeylerdi.

[87] *Bahar Duru, interviewed by Aslı Duru, December 28, 2005, at her home in İstanbul, "[Sultanahmet'te] Orta halli insanlardı komşularımız. . . .Çocuklar okutulurdu. Memurdu genel olarak. Komşularımızla ilişkilerimiz iyiydi. . . . [Levent'te] Genelde subay aileleri oturuyordu. Emekliler, muvazzaflar. Kira 450 TL'ydi. Çok zor bir kiraydı. Dayım veriyordu."*



Fig. 13 A typical *bakkal/mini-market* in Üsküdar, Istanbul.

> There used to be a market garden opposite our old home. They had a cow too. We used to buy fresh milk there. And each and every morning our bread and papers were delivered to our door. The *bakkal*'s (local grocer) apprentice used to do that…I guess it's like today's *kapıcı* (door keeper). And there was the butcher, too. These were the people from whom we used to shop everyday. They used to come around each day. Our relations with them were quite different. We used to share time and converse. You know what…I worked on the question "whether supermarkets may develop in Turkey, or not" for my bachelor degree thesis. It was the time when the idea of supermarkets was new. My hypothesis was "supermarkets can never be widespread in Turkey because people are accustomed to personal relationships." Unfortunately the establishment of supermarkets boomed. *(Laughs)*. I conducted interviews at the *Bakkallar Federasyonu* (Federation of Local Markets) in Zeyrek. I worked so hard on it. *(Laughs)*. None of my conclusions applied. I think people of developing countries long for certain things. Long to consume everything from everywhere. And things like sharing or what is not attractive for anyone. The spirit is gone.[88]

What she mentions as the loss of "spirit" refers to the changing patterns of consumption and, therefore, dwelling, in accordance with the promotion of the rise of new places for these new patterns.

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[88] *Meral Diren, "Bizim karşımız bostandı. Giderdik sebzelerimizi alırdık. Bir de inekleri vardı. Süt. Taze süt alırdık. Bir de her sabah, ama her sabah kapımıza gazetemizle ekmeğimiz asılırdı. Bakkalın çırağı. Şimdiki kapıcı gibi herhalde. Bir de kasap sürekli, her gün alışveriş ettiğimiz insanlar. Her gün dolaşırdı bunlar. Onlarla da muhabbet apayrıydı. Paylaşım vardı. Bak ben bitirme tezi olarak-o zaman süpermarket yok da market fikri yeni yeni dolaşıyor ortalarda- marketler Türkiye'de olsun mu, olur mu diye bir çalışma yapmıştım. Ben "asla demiştim. Türkiye'de süpermarketler olmaz. Çünkü insanlar birebir ilişkiye alışkındır tezini kullanmıştım. Maalesef gümbür gümbür süpermarketler açıldı. (Gülmeler). Bakkallar federasyonu'na falan gitmiştim Zeyrek'te. O kadar araştırmıştım ki… Hiçbiri olmadı. Bence bir özlem oluyor gelişmekte olan ülke insanlarında. Her yere girip alma özlemi. Paylaşım bilmem ne de kimsenin ilgisini çekmiyor. Ruhu gidiyor."*

As the spatial order of dwelling was reformulated in physical terms, both the actors and the nature of the social link between the home and its setting are recreated. A pessimistic expression of the feeling of loss is evident in the informant's account when she speaks about the "lost spirit," But the overall context in which the pessimism is expressed is highly nostalgic in character. For her, everything that has happened seems part of an inevitable fate, and it was only her naivety to think their peaceful, local atmosphere would persist.

The route of spatial and social reorganization, however, followed differentiated paths until channeling its subjects into middle classness. That is, although nostalgia is an enabling way of expressing pessimism and dissatisfaction with today, the paths ending up in middle class identity were sometimes harsher:

> When I first saw Sanayi Mahallesi (Industrial Neighborhood – An early squatter settlement area where homes were built by constructing extra floors on workshops which were also illegal buildings.) I thought of Afyon (A middle scale non-coastal city in the Aegean Region) as a beautiful city. It (Sanayi Mahallesi) was all muddy...and how should I say…the streets are so narrow. Still it was called Levent though. Streets in Afyon are wide and so clean. When we moved here I felt so strange. I complained a lot, saying, "Was this the only place we could have come?" Can you imagine…even the guests from Afyon didn't like it there. Those visiting me used to ask how I could live at that house. Our homes in Afyon are large. This one was so small. Only two rooms… There we live in houses with huge living rooms and gardens. And this was the case for everyone. I mean in our neighborhood in Afyon everybody used to live in large houses. Now I like it here (Akatlar – a modern social housing district popular for being close to major shopping malls) though. For those years we lived in Sanayi Mahallesi we didn't realize whether the trees had bloomed or not. Streets so narrow, everywhere so muddy, and no trees, nothing green at all... We and the kids saw trees only if we went to Afyon…or sometimes we used to take them to picnics in spring. Here it is different. Even my mum [who lives in Afyon] likes it here. Here it is green (referring to the small lane by the apartment gate) even in winter. There is no green in Afyon during winter. [89]

[89] *Elif Kayı, interviewed by Aslı Duru, February 10, 2005, at her home in İstanbul, "Ben Sanayi Mahallesi'ni görünce Afyon bana çok güzel gelmişti yani... Çamur..ne bileyim..sokaklar daracık... Levent diye geçiyordu ama orası da. Afyon'un sokakları falan büyüktür. Tertemizdir. Bura geldiğimde o yüzden çok tuhaf gelmişti yani.. "Gele gele buraya mı geldik... " diye çok söylenmiştim. Bak düşün. Afyon'dan gelenler de beğenmiyordu. Banim evime gelenler "Sen nasıl bir evde oturuyorsun" diyorlardı. Bizim evlerimiz kocamandır. Bu küçücüktü, iki oda. Kocaman bahçe, salon. Ve herkesin öyleydi. Bizim büyüdüğümüz mahallede herkesin evi öyleydi. Sokaklar geniş... Şimdi burayı (Akatlar, Karanfilköy) beğeniyorum ama. Sanayi Mahallesi'nde kaç sene oturduysak biz ağaçlar ne zaman açar ne zaman*

At this stage it is even more difficult to find a way to translate dissatisfaction and feeling of lack which is common for all subjects. The discontent is something more than the loss of what was existent then and is lacking today, for it is observed in cases which imply significant social and economic improvements during the pass of time. The thankful tone of her account for where life brought her family is explicit in her being in favor of her current neighborhood in a comparison made between the natural beauty of an agricultural city like Afyon and a street-long continuity of apartment lanes which end up in a most problematic square of traffic in Istanbul (Akatlar).

Unlike longing for the past urban life which was constructed as a highly pastoral and local way of life in the former account, the early stages of this story in one of the earliest and harshest squatter areas enable no construction of nostalgia. Still her early share of the district named Levent could be fulfilled in content by improving their standards from a daily-wage earner textile worker family to a salaried life where the bread-winner husband can earn enough to own an apartment flat and provide higher education for their two children. An interesting outcome of the interviews is seeing how feelings of dissatisfaction and remedy expectations (return to nature: "a house with a small garden not too far from the city") homogenized and shared among members of a certain social class despite high differentiation in their becoming within that class. The informants' comments on becoming and final dissatisfaction were mostly associated with "personal preferences," but these preferences were not questioned at all. Moreover it was really hard to talk much about the probable reasons "for the way things turned out," as "it was all natural for people of a developing country." Most of the time pessimism and dissatisfaction were interpreted as a personal characteristic and "it was

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yaprakları çıkar bilmezdik. Sokaklar daracık; evler dip dibe, çamur; ağaç yoktu..tek ağaç yoktu... Anca Afyon'a gidersek görürdük. Ya da çocuklarla bahar zamanında dışarı gidersek, ormana filan..görürdük. Burası farklı ama. (Oğluna) Anneannen bile buraya hayran oluyordu. Kışın bile yemyeşil burası (apartmanın ön bahçesindeki çimleri kastederek) camdan bakınca. Kışın Afyon'da yeşillik olmaz."

all because human beings are greedy and always look for more," and "one should be thankful for what modern life brought us considering the times of our mothers."[90]

A further interesting point arises when it is seen that none of these initial backgrounds are considered relevant origins on which future expectations are shaped. The need for a life more natural "especially in the old age" which was agreed by all informants is never associated by the logical assumption of coming from a rural past. Although high elaboration of the pastoral lifestyle, whether rural or urban, was made, the becoming process seems to be internalized as a complete transformation period having nothing in common with how they feel today. In the accounts loss feeling is expressed specifically in relation to their own childhoods and rural backgrounds. However, the fact that there are feelings of loss even in cases where there are still strong links with the city of origin proves that loss is less related to their diverse backgrounds. To put it another way, particular physical and spatial confusions left aside – the process of becoming seems to be an unconsolidated identity problem and therefore a source of anxiety itself.

Class Security and Measures of Upward Mobility:

Education, Salary, and Leisure

> "To be civilized" was a phrase my dad used a lot. While talking to us he used to try and make causal explanations rather than phrases like "God willed as such" etc. Still he was in search of no *ism*'s. He took up performing the daily prayer after he was retired, but he used to fast. I think this was related to the fact that my Grandparents were living with us. In the context of our conservative family atmosphere he always tried to protect us. . . Although he might have experienced conflicts in terms of faith and prayer, he thought that these were not related to issues like "good life," "proper person," and "civilized life" and these issues had their roots in human relations such as education, culture, arts and speech. Years later, in his old age when he was about to have an operation a friend of mine said to him "Hüseyin Amca, don't you worry. I believe in science," and this was what he stuck in mind

[90] One of the most repeated phrases in the interviews with the female informants.

> months later. "There is nothing to do against fate" was not for him. Going on in life had priority for him and he had no concern about thinking whether it was science or faith that was important. [91]

Middle classness refers to a massive homogeneity in effect and a conflicting heterogeneity in preferences, and the contexts through which subjects are channeled into it prove diverse experiences. It is evident that although a feeling of consolidation is presented rhetorically, the reality is a tensious awareness fort with which he needs to struggle on the discursive level. The struggle is reflected through consumption and practice patterns as well. Individual accounts are eager to emphasize the uniqueness of their stories and strongly avoid attributing themselves to any wider social development while persistently defining themselves within "the middle class." It seems they use the phrase to refer simultaneously to a certain mixture of invisibility, security, and morality. They seek to cling to their position so much as not to challenge it by mentioning any past (other) social positioning and they emphasize certain dimensions that they consider key in their social existence now. Identifying strategies such as denial, constructing nostalgia and the latent struggle to posit themselves as middle class necessitates further zooming into the dynamics of becoming into middle class in order to gain a better understanding of the era.

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[91] *Hüsnü Büyükcoşkun, "[Babasıyla ilgili] 'Medeni olmak' mesela hep kullandığı bir sözdü. 'Medeni bir insan' vs. gibi.Bizimle konuşmalarında 'Allah öyle istedi,' 'Allah çarpar' gibi şeylerden çok nedensel açıklamalar yapmaya çalışırdı. Ama kendisi herhangi bir izm'den bahsetmezdi. Emekli olduktan sonra namaz da kılmaya başladı. Gençlik yıllarında namaz kılmazdı ama oruç tutardı. Onda da herhalde babaannemle dedemin bizimle yaşamasının etkisi büyüktü. Ama kesin hatırladığım bir şey var, bizim mutaassıp aile çevresi içinde daima bizi bu etkilerden yanlış inançlardan korumaya çalışırdı. . . . Yani o kendi içinde inanç, ibadet gibi konularda çelişmiş olsa da bütün bu konuların 'iyi hayat,' 'doğru insan,' 'medeni yaşam' gibi konulardan ayrı olduğunu bunların kökeninin eğitim, kültür, sanat, konuşma gibi insan ilişkilerine bağlı noktalarda olduğunu düşünüyordu. Yıllar sonra yaşlılığında ameliyata girerken bile benim bir arkadaşımın ona 'Hüseyin Amca, merak etme ben bilime güveniyorum' demesi ameliyattan günler, aylar sonra hatırladığı şeydi. 'N'apalım kader...' diye düşünmek ona göre değildi. Hayatı bir şekilde devam ettirmek onun için öncelikliydi bilimle dini karşı karşıya koyup düşünmek gibi bir derdi yoktu."*



Fig. 14 Middle class balconies from various neighborhoods. (Üsküdar, Maltepe, Bostancı, Erenköy, Istanbul)

Our dad used to work at pharmacies. He had been with pharmacists and medical doctors. He worked with an Armenian pharmacist in Erenköy. He used to talk a lot about this guy. He knew very good French, and he was older than my dad. He always gave him advice about how valuable education and culture were. And because the guy was a proper person his words were very effective on him. He observed very carefully the way the

> guy dressed, spoke, and interacted with other people calmly. Dad thought education was something he lacked, but which his children definitely would have. And it was not only schooling. He wanted us to read newspapers, and go to theaters. I remember clearly that within those low income standards he used to take us to plays where he himself did not enter. He used to collect coupons from the papers for us to go to concerts. I mean he specifically used to take us out. I know no one else at those times specifically taking his children out.[92]

Based on the consensus that "terms of life have improved nonetheless," the overall experience since the 1950s imply upward mobility for these new urban dwellers. Whether their physical existence in the city was new or they had already been urbanites, the physical and social modes of their inhabitancy have transformed in a way that necessitate different conceptualizations. That is, although the main measures of upward mobility in the era being education and salary earning were not new, the way these were perceived went through significant change.

> Our going to school for higher education was considered odd among our relatives. As those time high school graduates were scarce, "Why are you sending them to school; let them get a job and earn money," they used to say [to our dad]. Or they would criticize my sister. In fact for our dad it was especially the girls that needed to study. He used to say, "Boys can work at any job, but girls should have quality jobs;" it was for them to be respected in society. [93]

> As a female child what I remember is my dad's regular taking me to the other side [European side of Istanbul] to teach me the major places of entertainment, and culture and sports. What I consider interesting about his

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[92] *Hüsnü Büyükcoşkun, "Babam eczanelerde falan çalışmış. Eczacılarla, doktorlarla bulunmuş. Mesela Erenköy'de bir eczanede çalışmış, bir Ermeni eczacıyla. Ondan çok bahsederdi. Adam çok güzel Fransızca bilirmiş. Babam genç, o biraz daha yaşlı. Hep babama okumanın, bilgili olmanın ne kadar önemli ve iyi bir şey olduğunu. Adam bir de çok düzgün bir adam olduğu için çok kale almış onun dediklerini. Adamın giyinmesine, konuşmasına, insan ilişkilerine, yumuşak kişiliğine çok dikkat etmiş, hep bahsederdi. . . . Eğitim kendisinde olmayan bir şey olduğu için mutlaka çocuklarımda olması gerek diye düşünmüş. Sadece tahsil de değil, gazete okuyan, tiyatroya giden kişiler olmamızı isterdi. Ben çok iyi hatırlıyorum o dar gelirli bütçesiyle bizleri tiyatroya götürürdü. Kendisi girmezdi. Herhalde çok para gitmesin diye kendi de girmezdi. Gazetelerden falan kupon kesilirdi. Konserler olurdu onlarla düzenlenen. Oralara götürürdü. Özel olarak çıkarıp gezdirdi yani. Hiç kimsenin aklına gelmezdi çocuklarını gezdirmek."*

[93] *Hüsnü Büyükcoşkun, "Akraba çevremiz garipserdi [okumamızı]. O zamanlar lise mezunları da kıymetli olduğundan 'ne okutuyorsun daha. Para kazansınlar işte' derlerdi. Ya da ablama karşı çıkarlardı. Oysa babam asıl kızların okumasını önemserdi. 'Oğlan nasılsa her işte çalışır; ama kızın kaliteli bir mesleği olsun' derdi. Toplum içinde saygı duyulsun diye."*

> attitude now is that he never said "you must study" to us. But he guided us by somehow creating the atmosphere for us to study further. We never thought of anything else. Years later when I was at an alumni meeting with my high school friends, one of them sighed and complained of not going on for higher education and then explained "Of course you can't go to university for I remember very well when dad slapped me on the face for asking for training shoes which the physical education teacher had told us to bring. He shouted 'what are training shoes, can you not do it with the ones you have." Then I thought this would have never happened to us. . . . Dad was as generous as he could be for school expenses. He used to control our packs while we were sleeping and replace any missing item, or he would sharpen our pencils with his pocket knife. Not everyone had pencil sharpeners then… *(Laughs)*. [94]

The internalization of education as the main route for a better life is strongly tied to the republican discourse on education, development and modernization. Unlike the post-1980 context of the rapid materialization of the ideal of good life, these are still the times when the transformation of life standards was questioned on the basis of values. That is, it was not enough to share the same physical environment or benefits to accomplish the ideal of life improvement. Being a well-read, well-educated person seems to have been perceived as a life-long accomplishment for which material betterment was an accompanying benefit, a natural outcome needless to be emphasized for its own sake.

> At those times conditions were harder and people were surprised to see ones like us studying…and I mean all four of us. To live in Üsküdar… Then Üsküdar was not like now – it was no periphery. None of these were cases of a pharmacist journeyman. There is one more aspect. We were supposedly from Istanbul [to imply being rich and modern] but things were harder for us. We knew nothing about scholarships or other funds. "Schools

[94] *Aysel Utku, interviewed by Aslı Duru, March 18, 2006, at her home in İstanbul, Turkey. "Bir kız çocuğu olarak ben hatırlıyorum. Beni alır karşıya götürür, "burası şu burası bu" diye anlatırdı. Çiçek Pasajı, tiyatro, Spor Sergi Sarayı vs. oraları öğretirdi. Bir de bana ilginç gelen bize sözle "illa ki okuyun" demiyordu ama bir şekilde ortamı yaratarak yönlendiriyordu. Biz başka şey düşünmüyorduk bile. Ben seneler sonra okulumun bir pilav günü ne gittiğimde eski bir arkadaşım – yüksek tahsil yapmayan bir arkadaş – "aaah ahh, biz okuyamadık. Aman nereden okuyacaksın. Ben çok iyi hatırlıyorum Beden eğitimi öğretmeni spor ayakkabısı istedi diye eve gelip söyleyince babam bir tane patlattı 'nereden çıkmış bu, ayağındakiyle yapamıyor musun, sporun da ayakkabısı mı olurmuş' diye" dedi. Ben o zaman düşündüm.. Okula karşı çok açıktı. Çantalarımızı kontrol eder, kalemim küçülmüşse hiç söylemeden yenisini koyar, ucu kütleşmişse çakısıyla açar… Hep biz uyurken… O zaman herkeste kalemtraş yoktu… (Gülmeler)."*

are in Istanbul, you live in Istanbul, it is easy" they used to think. When I talk about those days with my colleagues now, I see in Anatolia there were many opportunities. They think everything was easy to access here, but it was not by then; I graduated from high school in 1963. I never even for a second thought of earning money while I was a student. This was never thought. The material side of it was never mentioned. It was considered a natural benefit, but the emphasis was always on being knowledgeable, cultured, and deserving respect.[95]



Fig. 15 1960s-70s neighborhood in Üsküdar, Istanbul.

Her still enthusiastic account of the days she and her family went through makes explicit the way measures of upward mobility having a breaking point by the 1980s changed since then. The shift from a rural to an urban setting of life which is based on salary rather than a self sufficient economy was attached its relevant values and norms such as being educated, cultured and therefore wise as against ignorance and conservatism of former lifestyles. That is, becoming middle class in the era was not solely based on material change of consumption or practices but an overall change of attitude towards life. Clarified by the common complaint of all informants for brutal

[95] *Aysel Utku, "O zamanlar şartlar daha zordu da şaşırıyordu insanlar bizim gibilerden okumak, dört çocuk hem de, Üsküdar gibi bir yerde oturmak – şimdiki gibi de değildi Üsküdar – kıyıda köşede bir yer değil. Bir eczacı kalfasının işleri değildi yani. Bir de bizim adımız İstanbul'luydu ama şartlar bizim için daha zordu. Bizim imkânlardan burslardan haberimiz yoktu. Okul İstanbul'da sen de buradasın ne bursu. Ben şimdi Anadolu'da okumuş yaşıtlarımla konuşunca fark ediyorum isteyene imkânlar orada daha açıkmış. Burada her şey ayakaltında sayılıyor ama bilen bilir İstanbul'da okumak çok zordu. Ben 1963 lise mezunuyum. Ben bir gün 'okuyup para kazanacaksın' lafı düşünmedim . Denilmezdi böyle bir şey. İşin para kısmı hiç konuşulmazdı. O zaten olacak bir şey gibi görür vurgu hep bilgili, kültürlü, ve saygın olmaktaydı."*

consumerism and urban "invasion" of those who took their urban share after "themselves," upward mobility of this early Turkish urban middle class was a period of heavy moral struggle inspired mostly by republican modernism and emphasis on education. Salary as the natural outcome of this process of personal and material sacrifice was the main tool and basis for the sustenance of this cultured life, which was "their" line of differentiation from "those rich but ignorant strata of the post-1980s."

Considered the highly hegemonic nature of development of urbanized middle classes it is possible to regard significantly the practical measures of upward mobility in this era for their ritualistic character. As there was increased association of some practices and modes of living with certain perceptions on "living a modern life," these practices became higher in their discursive value and granted their subjects the identity they sought. This is why they kept school items, records on schooling, book shelves, old theater tickets, and newspaper articles that provided important proof when the informants reconstructed their past experiences.

It can be further said that the context of Turkish urbanization which led the objective conditions for spatial and further related change in subjects' lives were primarily of ritualistic value. Besides, the time taken for internalization of change for a more consolidated social status was a period of developmentalist competition among these new urbanites until the whole process became a shared domain of social interaction. This is at the same the time passed until the tensions and confusions of what to do with these new goods and places surrounding the urban subject were overcome. Still, although it is possible to speak of an urban middle class lifestyle and its consolidation in the era, it refers to the vitality of continuous struggle for self-attribution in order not to fall away. At this point one of the strategies seems to have been avoiding the setting up of any realistic link with the rural origin especially in the case of internal

immigrants. The attempt to do away with the past by denial was followed by the construction of a past of nostalgia allowing no realistic personal evaluation of the former life and its setting. Nostalgia helps self-differentiation by helping narrate a life story fully of subjective motivations for improvement and modernization freed from most constraints such as economic crisis or social disintegration. Mainly salary and other sources of economic predictability come out as the primary catalyst of social integration and internalizing everyday practices less for their ritualistic essences for being modern than for being "objective bits of reality about life."[96] That is, economic predictability guaranteed by the salaried life makes predictable what kind of life to live; what to spend on, whether to save or not, etc. Feelings of control and setting up a life of order are fed by this predictability. Besides the implicit or explicit feeling of loss the accounts reveal in relation to their newly urbanized lives in the era, the ability to control one's life is also expressed to be a contribution of the same material and social changes.

In terms of the criticisms related to traditional conservatism especially in the rural areas, it is possible to understand that lacking personal means of control on life had been an important dimension of motivation towards living in the city. This seems to be how married males and females became influent wives and bread-winning husbands enjoying freedom gained by relative anonymity in the city. Despite the continuance of communal and familial ties in the urban as well, salary-basedness was often mentioned as a familial turning point for "familial peace."

Control and predictability refer to rational differentiating between means and therefore provide a good basis for practicing and attributing values. Unlike the former homogeneous domestic life which implied very little or no chance for personal

[96] Inspired by the Turkish proverb "The way to ration is common," *(Aklın yolu birdir.)* which came out from nearly all informants when they were telling first about their confusions and later adaptations to aspects of modern life varying from "allowing children to go and stucy in other cities," "giving up sitting on the floor," to owning a flat in the city and a summer house."

economic, spatial, or temporal design in family relations especially on the part of non-male households, an aspect of upward mobility and transference into modern urban life can said to be evaluated on the level and success of differentiation and re-ordering. That is, economic differentiation of income into expenses and savings, spatial differentiation in home design as parental and children's bedrooms, and temporal division of time into work and leisure signify an overall attitude in terms of timeliness, orderliness and awareness towards life.

> We used to go out a lot in the weekends. Şevket [her husband] always used to take me to different neighborhoods. He used to take me the other side [of Istanbul]. Sometimes it happened that we stayed out for two days. When there was anyone we knew in that neighborhood we used to stay with them. We used to take trips to Izmit [a neighboring city], I had a friend from Afyon living there. The Tulip Garden was the place I loved the most. If we weren't going anywhere else we used to go to that park. I still love the place.[97]

> We used to live very active socially. . . . As children we used to stay out till midnight. Open-air movies... And the winters...there was no TV then...you had to be alltogether. Whether you liked it or not. But we liked it mostly. We were not complaining about it. There was no sitting in one's own room alone.[98]

> And there is the summer house thing. It is fun to live in garden houses in summer. Summer houses became popular after apartments. . . . You live in comfort in winter, and in summers when you go live in your summer house your need for garden life is satisfied. [99]

On the spatial axis differentiation of leisure from work refer to the ideal of living in an apartment flat and having access to a summer house preferably as the property owner. The silence as if lacking any rural experience or making a merely pastoral

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[97] *Elif Kayı, "Hafta sonları hep dışarıda olurduk. Şevket (Eşi) beni her hafta bir semte götürürdü. Karşıya götürürdü. Bazen eve iki gün gelmediğimiz olurdu. Hani gittiğimiz yerde tanıdık bildik varsa kalırdık. İzmit'e giderdik. Benim Afyon'dan arkadaşım vardı. Orada kalırdık. Ben en çok Emirgan'daki lale parkını severdim. Hiçbir yere gitmesek oraya giderdik. Hala da severim."*

[98] *Meral Diren, "Çok sosyal yaşıyorduk aslında. . . . Biz çocuklar gece yarılarına kadar sokaklardaydık. Yazlık sinemalar... Kışın da TV yok ki. Mecbur beraber oturacaksın. İste ya da isteme. Ama istiyorduk yani..o kadar şikayetçi değildik. Yoktu öyle herkesin odasına çekilip ayrı oturması."*

[99] *Meral Diren, "Bir de yazlık olayı var. Yazın bahçeli evlerde oturmak çok zevkli. Apartmanlardan sonra yazlıklar başladı. . . . Kışın burada oturuyorsun rahat. Yazın da yazlığa gidiyorsun. Bahçe ihtiyacın karşılanıyor. Ben kışın rahatıma bakıyorum maddi manevi. Kapıcıların varlığı da çekici. Çöpünle servisinle sen ilgilenmiyorsun."*

account of it rather than a critical evaluation of life before and now seems to be a necessity to stay as middle class and such silence is needed to grant the comfort of this existent status.

Buying the Home Ownership Dream, Selling New Domesticity, Experiencing the Housing Crisis

> My mum always told us "Eat bread with onions [in order to refer to very low economic standards]..but do own a one room place of your own," I mean we are kind of fond of real estate.[100]

In the interviews access to an apartment home ownership was mentioned as the primary referent of the start of a new life interval. It is only natural that ownership of any means is along with feelings of relief and success. What is further than this is the feeling of satisfaction due to accomplishing a share in the urban not only in physical/spatial terms but also as a socio-spatial atmosphere.

> I insisted a lot on owning a home [apartment flat]. Everyone has this urge. No matter small or large.... "I am dealing with trade, I can't allocate my liquidity for that," he used to say. He had to buy one when the bank asked for heritable security . . . We bought our first flat after the Flat Property [Law] in Plaj Yolu. Jewish people used to have summer houses there. I used to put the pot in the oven and take the guests to the beach; those neighborhoods were so close to the beach.[101]

The general inclination for home ownership may be generalized for other cultures, too. However the described "embeddedness of the will" to own an apartment flat in which

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[100] *Melahat Öralay, interviewed by Aslı Duru, December 12, 2005, at her home in İstanbul, Turkey. "Benim annem hep böyle demiştir bize "soğan ekmek yiyin..bir tek odanız olsun..," gayrimenkula düşkün sayılırız yani."*

[101] *Güner Kayıran, interviewed by Aslı Duru, March 12, 2005, at her home in İstanbul, Turkey. "Ben hep bir ev almasını istedim.. Herkeste vardır bu istek..büyüklüğü küçüklüğü değil... 'Ben ticaret yapıyorum, para bağlayamam' derdi.. Evi banka ipotek bedeli olarak mal sahipliği isteyince almak zorunda kaldı. . . . İlk evimizi Kat Mülkiyeti'nden sonra Plaj Yolu'ndan aldık. Yahudiler yazlık diye gelirdi oralara. Yemeği ateşe koyar misafirleri plaja götürürdüm. O kadar yazlıktı oralar."*

the "good life" can be lived during the development of an urban middle class in Turkish society is a contextual variation of the deep rooted traditional aspiration that "space in this world, and faith in the one after are vital."[102]

> We were not, at all, having difficulties to pay the rent. Still the absolute priority for Şevket was to buy a home. He always used to say this…I mean to his boss. [In the process of negotiating to buy this current flat] we did not check it out properly. I don't know…were we shy or what?.. We didn't see part of the floor was uncovered. There were *çek-yat*s[103] everywhere. We saw almost nothing at all. "Deal?" "Deal." And that the boss made up his mind too, saying that it is a proper neighborhood…
> In fact first he was about to buy a house in Sanayi Mahallesi [slum neighborhood where they had first moved], but it was given up. Then we contracted a housing Project in Afyon [city of origin]. When the house was finished, the worst flat was given as ours. We paid the highest amount and got the worst flat. My husband was angry and he decided to sell the house. His boss told him then "let's find a flat for you." He found this place in newspaper listings. He [the boss] came and checked the place himself. As order [referring to leftist and rightist extremism going on especially in Istanbul slum areas throughout the 1970s] was established by then, my husband re-made his mind to buy one in Istanbul. He wanted to buy a flat before all else. The boss told us to come and see the place. Two families were living here then. They were brothers, but their wives did not get along well with each other and therefore they were selling to move separately. This is how we bought this place. Its cost took our money from the house we sold in Afyon and even more. The boss bought it for us and took our money and built an extra floor for his textile workshop on his by his squatter home. Then my husband had to work free for five years to pay him our debt for the rest of the money he paid for us. He organized the contract such that he became unable to quit either. [104]

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[102] The proverb in original is *"Dünyada mekân, ahirette iman [gerek]"*.

[103] Çek-yat (*"Çek"* in Turkish means "to pull" and *"yat"* is the Turkish of the verb *"to lay"*) refers to a coach designed to convert into a bed when necessary. Replacing traditional *divan*s, it emerged and became popular first in this period of spatial transformation of homogenous home space into bedrooms and living rooms. Being functionally no different from *divan*s, their attraction rooted in their modern daytime look until they were set up for bedding. Some of them being very elaborated in design, Çek-yats may be considered as the symbols of confusion on how to live, where to sit and, lay;. as well as the attempt to mediate modern aspirations with conventional life habits in the context of the practical reality of lacking individual space for all households.

[104] *Elif Kayı "Hiç zorlanmıyorduk kiraya. Ama en önemli şeyi Şevket'in bir ev almaktı. Hep derdi..yani patrona söylerdi bunu. Bu eve öyle alıcı gözüyle filan bakmadık [alırken]. Utandık mi n'aptık... Buraların falan beton olduğunu görmedik hiç. Çek-yatlar vardı böyle; çek-yatlar vardı hep baştan başa... Hiçbi'şeysini görmedik. Olur mu, olur... Patron da karar vermiş ya, iyi bir semt diyerekten...*
Aslında Sanayi Mahallesi'nde alıyordu bir ev..vazgeçildi. sonra biz Afyon'da bir eve girdik.. kooperatif. Orada evimiz bitti ama en kötü daire bize düştü. En çok parayı biz ödedik. En kötü yer bize düştü. Şevket de kızınca orayı sattı. Patronu dedi ki 'Sana ev bulalım.' Gazeteden bulmuş. O (patron) bu evi gazeteden bulmuş. Geliyor kendi; bakıyor. (Eşi) Ortalık düzelince gitmekten vazgeçince (Afyon'a) ev almaya karar verdi. her şeyden önce ev isterdi..arabadan marabadan önce... İşte gazeteden bulmuş (patron), gelmiş, bakmış. Sonra bize dedi. Beraber geldik. İçinde iki aile oturuyordu buranın. İki kardeş anlaşamamışlar;

Comfort is the general concept on which the informants narrate their accounts. Rise of terms of domestic life by transferring into apartment flats are generally mentioned as the main aspect.

> I don't exactly know when this whole [apartmentalization] thing began, but I was easily determined that a flat should be bought and used…my aim was to provide comfort for myself and my four children… [105]

Considered in the context of accompanying changes taking place, such as the increasing participation of women in the labor force first in the era, comfort aspects seem to be turning into vitalities. Concerning her childhood, which she spent with two grandmothers and a working mother, a fifty year old housewife comments that:

> My grandmother had cancer by then. It was harder to prepare the fireplace and stuff… There was a sick person and central heating was needed. When my grandmother went to Ankara for treatment, my other grandmother left to stay with her relatives. We had little time. My mother's brother found a flat and we moved in. . . . Three bedroom types were built later. We hired one of them; this is how everyone of us had a room or herself. We had no other living rooms other than the *salon.* When everyone had a personal room it was not necessary, and the salon was big enough… [106]

Likewise:

> After my husband died the kids and I were devastated. We dealt the house to a contractor to build us an apartment in turn for flats for himself. We needed to live more comfortably; we wanted to have a doorkeeper. We wanted six flats, five for the children and one for myself. If we had greed to have five, each would be larger. The construction took two years and during that time we lived in a flat hired by the contractor. [107]

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satmaya karar vermişler. Biz de aldık o evi. Bizim Afyondaki evin parasını patron aldı. Kendi bahçesine bina yaptı, oraya kullandı. İşyerinin binasını yükseltti yani o parayla. Sonra Şevket'e de işte bu evi aldı. Beş sene çalışmak zorunda kaldı Şevket; çıkamadı. Öyle bir imza attırmış ki.. Yani beş sene para ödeyerek değil, çalışarak ödeyecek... "

[105] *Mediha Erkan, interviewed by Aslı Duru, January 19, 2006, at her home in İstanbul, Turkey. "Bu iş hangi sene çıktı onu bilmiyorum ama ben yani ikna oldum öyle bir kat alınıyor ve kullanılıyor.. rahat etmekti benim amacım, dört çocuğumla... "*

[106] *Bahar Duru, "Anneannem kanser oldu. Taşındık. Artık soba falan yakmak zorlaşmıştı. Hasta vardı kalorifer lazım oldu. Anneannem tedavi için Ankara'ya gidince büyükannem akrabalarına gitti. Acelemiz vardı. Dayım bir ev buldu çıktık. . . . Yine Levent'te üç oda bir salon olmuştu. Onlar sonradan başlandı yapılmaya. Biz de tercih ettik. Böylece herkesin bir odası oldu. Bizde hiçbir zaman oturma odası diye bir kavram olmadı. Herkesin yatak odası olunca başka bir şeye gerek kalmıyordu. Salon da büyük olunca... "*

[107] *Mediha Erkan, "Eşim ölünce, çocuklar da dağılmıştı.. en küçükle ben kaldık.. katçıya verdik daha konforlu olsun diye.. kapıcı olsun diye... Altı daire bizim olsun dedik..çocuklar otursun birer hep... Beş*

In conflict with the accounts stating traumatic causality in their transferring into apartment lives, that the apartment as a phenomenon is more than increased standards of living and individuation, and is a status symbol itself becomes evident in other accounts:

> We used to live in a two floor country home in Adapazarı [A city neighboring Istanbul] with my seven sisters, two older brothers, and my parents. My father used to find wall painting jobs in constructions. This was why he had to be in Istanbul frequently. One day he came and said to us "let's get ready and I'll take you somewhere." He took us to our [apartment] home which we still own. We found out that he had just bought the flat, decorated it, and made a real surprise for us, all the family. [108]

Placed in the context of increasing internal migration, construction sector, whether legal or illegal but private for certain, was the sector for private achievement. In such an atmosphere it is understandable that a painter – a former agricultural laborer wants to benefit more from this economically lively period. Moving his eleven people family into three rooms, and making it into a surprise which everybody received in enthusiasm, however, signals the status perceptions attached to these changes. Interestingly, the fact that the period was a highly problematic one; that is, these processes were in fact survival tests leading to major social and physical structures with respective losers and winners but this was never mentioned as such.

> We were newly wed when we came to Sanayi Mahallesi from Afyon [1973]. We rented the house of our uncle's wife, Gül. It had two rooms and an entrance. It was the entrance and the hall. We used to use it also as the kitchen. It was the link to bathroom as well. We used to have a light fire. I used to carry coal home. We both lit the fire. We lived there for two years. Gül used to feed chickens. Chicken noise coming from on top of us! She used to cut wood, and the chickens… My husband couldn't take it any more and we moved into another place again the same neighborhood but this time along the one and only paved road. Again two rooms and no

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daire olsaydı daha büyük olacaktı..çocuklar dedi ki sana ayrı daire olsun..altı oldu daha küçük oldu… İnşaat iki sene sürdü..o sürede müteahhidin tuttuğu kiralık bir evde oturduk."

108 *Zeynep Sofu, interviewed by Aslı Duru, March 15, 2006, at Fikriye Boyacı's home in İstanbul, Turkey Yedi kız kardeşim ve iki ağabeyimle Adapazarı'nda iki kat üstüne bir evde kalıyorduk. Babam badana boya ustasıydı. Sık sık Istanbul'a gelirdi. Bir gün bir baktık babam 'haydi sizi bir yere götüreceğim' dedi. Aldı bizi buradaki evimize getirdi (Maltepe). Ev almış, dayamış döşemiş. Sürpriz yapmış yani bize.*

kitchen…But it was not in any peripheral street. I was under treatment there for nearly three years and we had our first baby there.[109]

None of the informants spelled housing problem as an issue of the era. Unemployment, integration problems were elaborated on in detail but even at times when difficulties in providing housing was mentioned, it was not presented as an issue of complaint and questioning but a predictable resolution.

> We had to change many houses. Let me see..one, two, three, five, seven houses I remember as a kid. But what I remember as common..I mean..we were restricted in all terms in all of them. For instance in one of them there wasn't flowing water. Drinking water was brought from outside. I remember them as cold, insecure places. For instance we had to walk considerably to school and when it was winter, and dark, and the road was not a busy one… I used to feel insecure. It was like something would happen in any minute. But there was a house we lived in Altunizade. It was relatively different. Everyone knew each other and there was a common garden. We used to play there. Still I remember the place as uncomfortable. Two bedrooms and a salon. . . .
>
> You know whom I was named after?... We had just moved into a house. Two floors, landlord and wife upstairs and downstairs was rented. They were classical Istanbul people. His wife playing the *oud* every evening, his armchair by the window, having their evening coffees together. They had three married daughters all living away and female grandchildren from each of them. When my family – my mother pregnant – wanted to be tenants, the man seemed reluctant as there will soon be baby cries all around and etc. But the lady likes my mum and persuades her husband saying that their grandchildren are away and it is only good that there is a baby coming. The man accepts and makes a joke saying "look I am giving you the house but I want a grandson. Then it is me… *(Laughs)* And this is why they named me after him, to polish the apple, you know… *(Laughs)* As a baby I didn't cry much they say and the man loved me as a grandson. But my father was not very happy with my name as he preferred to call his son "Aydın,"[110] which is the name of my younger brother. This is the story how I happened to stay as a "Hüsnü"[111]… I couldn't even be named after my own ancestors. *(Laughs)*. [112]

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[109] *Elif Kayı, "Afyon'dan çıkıp Sanayi Mahallesi'ne geldik (1973). Gelin geldim. Evimiz önceden tutuldu. Gül Yenge'nin evinde kiracı olduk. İki oda bir de girişi vardı. Hem giriş hem salon gibi..mutfağı da o girişteydi. Banyoya da oradan giriliyordu. Soba yakıyorduk. Kömür taşıyordum. Ben de yakıyordum, Şevket (eşi) de yakıyordu. Orada iki yıl oturduk. Gül Yenge'nin tavukları vardı. Tepemizde tavuk sesleri, onları beslerdi, odun kırardı. Eşim dayanamadı. İki yıl sonra taşındık. Yine Sanayi Mahallesi'nde ama cadde üzerinde. Yine iki odalı, mutfak yok. Ama ara sokak değildi. Orada ben tedavi oluyordum. İlk çocuğumuz iki buçuk yıl sonra oldu orada."*

[110] Turkish-origin word used as a male name meaning modern and intellectual.

[111] Originally Arabic, classical male name meaning "beauty".

Experiencing the housing crisis somehow seems to be considered as a necessary phase of development followed by increase in terms of life finally. To put it other way, that the era entailed severe housing problems and deficiencies seems to be considered as quite natural developments for a "developing country." Considering how the issue was problematized and reacted against popularly and dealt with centrally[113] makes the question a more strategic but a less answerable one. While an alternative may be because they count themselves on the winning side which can be related to the security feeling gained by being middle class, part of the answer may be the existence of "others" who are to be blamed for the physical and social corruption of the city.

"Them" and Others, "Healthy" Areas, "Unhealthy" Developments

> "There will come the time," my husband used to say "we will not be able to step out the door, this is how fast they pullulate." [on the squatter issue].[114]

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[112] *Hüsnü Büyükcoşkun, "Çok ev değiştirdik biz. Bakayım..bir..iki..üç..beş..altı.yedi ev değiştirdik biz. İlk Toptaşı'nda oturuyorduk. Ama hep hatırladığım. Yani hangi ev olursa olsun imkanlarının kısıtlı olduğu. Mesela bir evde oturduk su yoktu. İçme suyu dışarıdan getirtilirdi. Soğuk, güvenlikli olmayan evlerdi diye hatırlıyorum. Okula giderken örneğin yürümemiz gerekiyordu epey. Kışın hava kararınca, yol da böyle cadde üstü kalabalık bir yol değildi. Emniyette hissetmezdim, her an bir şey olacak gibi gelirdi. Mesela Altunizade'de bir evde oturmuştuk. Onu nispeten olumlu hatırlıyorum. Ev sahibi de dahil etrafında başka evler de cardı. Herkes tanıdık. Ortak bir bahçe vardı. Orada oynardık. Ama yine de orayı da sıkıntılı hatırlıyorum. İki odalı, bir de küçük salonu olan bir evdi. . . .*
Benim ismim nereden geliyor biliyor musun? Biz Toptaşı'nda bir eve taşınmıştık. İki katlı. Üst katta ev sahipleri… Eski İstanbul insanları… Hanımı evde ud çalar adam dinler falan.cumbalı bir ev… Adamın koltuğu cam kenarında. Akşamları gelince kahvelerini içiyorlar beraber. Üç kızları var, hepsinden de kız torunları var. Annemler evi isteyince adam pek istemiyor. 'Şimdi bu hamile, çocuk olur, ağlar mağlar" diye düşünüyor ama kadın annemi seviyor ve 'Bak verelim bunlara, senelerdir çocuk da yok, torunlarımız da uzakta' diye ikna ediyor. Evi vermişler sonunda ama adam espri yapmış 'evi veriyorum ama erkek torun isterim' demiş, sonra ben doğmuşum. (Gülmeler). Bizimkiler sonra yağcılık olsun diye adamın ismini vermişler bana. (Gülmeler). Babam aslında hiç istemiyormuş. Aydın ismini koymak istermiş oğlu olursa, zaten küçük kardeşimin adı Aydın oldu, benim ki Hüsnü kaldı ev sahiplerine yaranacaklar diye… (Gülmeler). Tesadüf ben de pek ağlamayan bir çocukmuşum. Sonra ben Hüsnü Dede dedim adama, sonra da giderdim bayramlarda falan. Beni sevsin diye götürürlermiş sevsin diye, gece sesimi duymazsa "yahu çocuk ağlamadı, niye ağlamadı, hasta falan mı, bakamıyorlar mı" diye de sorarmış. Bizimkiler çok mutlu olmuşlar tabii. (Gülmeler). Ama ben Hüsnü kaldım. Dedemin adını bile alamadım. En küçük kardeşim de onu aldı Ahmet.. Hiç değilse kendi aile büyüğüm… (Gülmeler)."

[113] The main reference in mind here is the post-war housing problem of developing Japan referred earlier on the basis provided by *Housing in Postwar Japan* by Ann Waswo.

[114] *Melahat Öralay, "[gecekondular için] Eşim derdi ki 'olucak ki..yani biz kapıdan dışarı çıkamıyacağız..o kadar üredi bunlar...'"*

> It was a fine neighborhood. The kids had no transportation expenses, it was near the schools. The office was nearby too. We lived there so many years. But then shoemakers came there. Next door place turned into a printing shop. The opposite building became an office building. Workers sitting on our doorsteps...noise from the printing shop, etc. We had to move immediately. We started looking for flats. We checked out Yeşilyurt, Maçka[115]...so expensive... Then we decided to deal our summer house in Erenköy with a contractor [1976-1977]. They replaced the single floor house to build a three floor, double flat apartment. Others fallowed us. Soon everybody was willing to buy a flat. It became popular I mean, it was accomplished. There were hardships, but contracts, laws were made [to organize things]...[116]

Questions on defining the urban poor, how they lived, and what changes their living strategies brought in the urban transformation processes were thought along an "us and them" axis in all the interviews conducted without an exception. As all informants defined those settling after themselves called those as "others," when in the final the time range of the interviews are evaluated, it seems everybody is somehow included in that "others" narrative.

Another interesting aspect of the issue is that being poor in the accounts generally referred more to a different and rival social status than an integral social reality entailing severe hardship in conducting life. Moreover the rivalry of the status is not merely due to different standards of living but imply alternative life perspectives, values, and perceptions making restricted conditions as a natural outcome. That is, for those who define themselves as middle class it is only ignorance that rural population migrate to live in single room squatters, unemployed, and lacking any potential for development except being greedy and jealous of "their" deserved means. In opposition with middle class developmentalism and modernism, they are irrational and lazy, and this is why

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[115] Attractive and long-existent districts situated on the Eurepoan side Istanbul.

[116] *Mediha Erkan, "İyi bir muhitti, çocuklar yol parası vermiyordu.. okullara yakındı, yazıhane yakındı.. onca sene oturduk orda fakat sonra Gedikpaşa'ya ayakkabıcılar geldi.. bitişiğimiz matbaa oldu.. karşımız iş hanı oldu.. kapıda işçiler oturuyor.. matbaa gürültüsü falan biz artık oradan taşınmamız lazımdı..kat aramaya kalktık, gittik Yeşilyurt'a baktık..çok pahalı..Maçkalara baktık..oraları da çok pahalı geldi..ondan sonra Erenköy'ü yapmaya..taşınmaya karar verdik.. burası da yazlık evimizdi..(1976-1977) Tek katlı evi yıkıp üç katlı, çift daireli ev yaptık..arkası geldi, bundan sonra işte herkes daire almaya heveslendi..tutuldu yani..başarılı olundu..zorluklar oldu..anlaşmalar, kanunlar çıktı..."*

they have hunger for the least the city has to offer them, being squatters. It is unjust that they seek better lives without contributing anything to the city and civilization in general except for spoiling the existent resources and making life unbearable both for themselves and the rest.

> For instance the times when there was no place like Ümraniye[117] is not far in my mind. A family we knew back then had bought a house there. I don't exactly know how but it was a registered property. I remember my being so surprised. I am sure it is a central place there now. When this squatter issue started, because of my young age, - in the 1970s – and since I was incapable of imagining the extents, I considered it "some adventure seeking man built a house in some mountain." I didn't consider even for one second that it would reach this far. By the end of the 1970s the issue had increasingly become more and more disturbing. As a person of leftist affiliation I had sympathy for these people..I mean..I was not pleased at all. Still I never identified myself with them. I was trying to understand them in line with my leftist ideas and I was getting angry with those saying "where the hell did they come from, they are rushing lawlessly[118] to the city." My response to them to say no human being would leave the place he belonged to live under these conditions because of nothing, but I myself knew I wasn't able to set up a proper understanding of their situation. It was for sure that none of the eight construction workers would like to squeeze in one room to live with his feet near the other's nose. However, unfortunately they were ruining here too and in fact terms of living were not easier here either. I also knew, although these people belonged to the working class, they were essentially backward and fascistic. Except for having special identities like being Alevis or Kurdish, none of them were leftists. I mean the whole thing was a conflict in my mind.
>
> In my early years of teaching, I remember a student – the only son of parents working in Germany – trapped by the Nationalist Movement Party supporters, looking around for leftist supporters to beat but who burst into tears when I sat down to talk to him. Now in that case I was confused whether to be pissed off or be sad about it. The confusion still goes on… I know very well for I taught for ten years in Ümraniye I had personally visited most of the houses there. You go there and they serve you fried eggs, you are served like a king. They themselves sit back on the edge of a chair. When I had been to those houses I used to remember my own childhood. What they served used to be the fresh products we lacked the luxury to find ourselves. Fresh eggs, for example, were considered the best

[117] Ümraniye is one of the early areas of squatterring. Today it is a municpal distrcit being the largest and only non-coastal among Istnbul's municipalities.

[118] Though "to rush lawlessly" does not cover the original meaning of the phrase which implies a dog's break free of his chains.

> to serve the guest teacher, and there is the mixed salad, and *ayran* [119] of course… You should see how feelings get mixed up. On the one hand, you think "don't do it, I am a human being like you are as well," and on the other, they think what an honor that the teacher paid a visit to their place..what a privilege for them.. And they play some music for you too, arabesque… These people later owned apartments there, and I became retired, but still keep on working in the private sector. [120]

Confusion on how to code these developments occurs in the form of inability to identify the subjects of the experience in most other accounts. That is, there is the reality that physical environment, and networks of social interaction have changed for no good, but the guilt is floating among staying on one's subjectivity for a while passing to another one later. The use of concepts like "them," "the squatter people," "the rural people" share the inherent vagueness but functioning rigidity of declared "middle class"ness. Although, whether migrant or not, the discontent expressed on what has changed in the urban setting in the last four or five decades is common in all the

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[119] A drink made of yogurt and water.

[119] *Hüsnü Büyükcoşkun, "Ümraniye diye bir yerin olmadığı dönem bana çok yakın geliyor mesela. Bizim bir tanıdıklarımız orada bir ev almışlardı. Nasıl bilmiyorum belki tapulu bir yerdi ama ben çok şaşırdığımı hatırlıyorum. Şimdi eminim Ümraniye'de merkezi bir yerdi. Bu gecekondu olayları ilk başladığında hem yaşım gereği hem de boyutları tahayyül edemediğimden – 1970lerde – adamın biri ev yapmış diye düşünüp maceraperestlik olarak görüyordum. Aklıma bile getirmemiştim buralara varacağını. 1970lerin ortaları itibarıyla bu daha rahatsız edici bir şey haline gelmişti ama. Solcu olarak onlara sempati duyuyordum ama içim buruktu da..yani içten içe içime sinmiyordu. Ama hiç özdeşleştirmedim kendimi. Sol eğilimlerimden dolayı onları anlamaya çalışıyor, 'nereden çıktı bunlar..ipini koparan burada' diyenlere kızıyordum, 'hiçbir insan keyfinden ait olduğu yeri bırakıp bu koşullara razı olmaz' diyordum ama tam olarak özdeşleştirmediğimi de biliyorum. Sekiz tane inşaat işçisi, burada bir odaya sıkışıp ayakları birbirinin burnuna değe değe yaşamak istemez ama ne yazık ki burayı da mahvediyorlardı ve durum burada da daha parlak değildi aslında. Bu insanlar emekçi sınıfından olmalarına rağmen gerici ve faşizan bir özyapıya da sahip olduklarını biliyordum. Kürt ya da Alevi olmak gibi bir özel grup durumları yoksa hiçbiri solcu falan da değildi. Kafamda bir çelişkiydi yani. İlk öğretmenlik yaptığım yıllarda annesi babası Almanya'da işçi olan ve burada MHP'lilerin kucağına düşmüş dövmek için solcu arayan bir öğrencimin ben oturup konuştuğumda nasıl ağladığını ben biliyorum. Şimdi oturup kızayım mı, üzüleyim mi bilemiyordum. Hala da öyle… On yıl kadar Ümraniye'de öğretmenlik yaptığım için ve önemli sayıdasının evine gittiğimden biliyorum. İşte gidersin yumurta kırarlar sen orada paşalar gibi yersin. Kendileri geride bir sandalyede… O evlere gidince ben kendi çocukluk günlerimi hatırlarım. İkramları bizim sahip olma lüksümüz olmayan kendi ürünleri olurdu, taze yumurta mesela. Öğretmene sunulacak en değerli şey. Bir de çoban salata, ayran da var… Nasıl duygular böyle karmaşıklaşır... Bir yandan 'yapmayın ben de bir insanım, abartmayın' diye düşünürsün. Diğer yandan bir öğretmen kalkmış evlerine gelmiş, şeref vermiş, ne müthiş bir şey onlar için… Bir de müzik koyarlar, arabesk… Onlar tabii apartman sahipleri oldular sonradan orlarda. Ben de emekli oldum, özel sektörde çalışıyorum."*

narratives, the subjectivizations spelled under the same words sometimes clashed at others intersected. While this on the one hand gives an idea on the prevalently traumatic nature of the whole experience, on the other hand prevents a possible schematization of social actors coherent in terms of economic values and features of identity.

> I went to the 44th Primary School. Even there in primary school there was discrimination. I think now the place is converted to a public bath, but there used to be the Cevri Kalfa Primary School. We used to…I mean those kids we used to look down on them. I don't know why. It was the school for common people. Of course it is because of the people there…those migrants… They were really poor people. There was of course a lack of good manners at that school. It reflected through the way they were dressed, through their low levels of success at school.[121]

> One summer we went to a place called Şenlikköy near Yeşilköy. There was the Atatürk Farm and the sea, but it somehow made me feel like an alien. It is because men in their striped pajamas and bottles of *rakı*[122] were everywhere. It was unbearable for me. Wild and brutal worker men by the sea. Since then [1967] we came here for vacation [and we bought the place eventually]. We got used to this neighborhood. We were able to go out to the cinema during the nights easily. Those times it was all single floor houses here. We were the first to build a three floor one. [123]

It is certain from all the accounts that choosing a place to live is a major concern in designing a lifestyle.

> When we moved into our first flat I was attending to university. The road was all muddy until the tram stop. I used to walk in great difficulty to those places where Capitol[124] is situated now. In fact that very place used to be called the Unpaved Road. My shoes used to be so dirty until I arrived at the school. Of course at school there were those coming from those other areas. They used to ask, "Wow, is it so muddy on the other side [of Istanbul]?" I was so pissed off. When we moved down to Üsküdar, I was pleased.

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[121] *Bahar Duru, "Ben 44. ilkokulda okuldum mesela. Orada bile ayrım vardı. Şimdi hamam olmuş galiba, Cevri Kalfa İlkokulu vardı. Onun öğrencilerini biz.. yani böyle aşağılayarak bakıyorduk. Ne bileyim ben niye. Avam bir okuldu. Halkından tabii. Göçmenler falan. Çok fakir insanlar. O okulda dolayısıyla bir görgü eksikliği vardı. Kıyafetlerden yansıyordu. Başarılarından yansıyordu."*

[122] Raki, traditional anise essence alcoholic drink.

[123] *Mediha Erkan, "Şenlikköy'de Yeşilköy'de yazlığa gittik bir yıl.. Atatürk ormanı vardı.. deniz kenarı.. orada yabancı geldi bana..çünkü hep çizgili pijamalı, rakı şişeli erkekler oturuyordu..orada.. korkunç geldi..denizin kenarında kaba kaba işçiler.. Sonra 67'den itibaren buraya [Erenköy] yazlığa gelmeye başladık..bu muhite alıştık..rahat sinemaya gidiyorduk gece sokaklarda.. buralarda hep tek katlı evler vardı. İlk biz yaptık üç katlı… "*

[124] One of the major shopping malls on the Anatolian side.

> Everywhere was paved. It was the place rather than the house that made me happy. No mud, and Access is easy to anywhere.[125]

Neighborhood preferences have been second major issue to grant a certain social positioning. After securing the first prerequisite of transferring into the "modern places of living" with central heating, doorkeepers, internal spatial differentiation and their attached means of practicing comes the necessity to base this life in a proper, decent and refined neighborhood.

> In line with the idea that there is contentment and good in changing the scene from time to time[126] we used to move every five years. But we never changed our neighborhood. We were all in-between Erenköy-Bostancı, Göztepe maximum…[127]

> At those times people used to say "houses in the other side [Anatolian side] are cheaper." But for us other side only meant Erenköy and nearby coastal places. Where we lived [Levent] was the best place.

> We always looked for homes in Levent. It had become our negihborhood..our schools and things… Those times the most developed of those squatter areas was Gültepe. Then came Çeliktepe, and Sanayi Sitesi was established. But the people there were not good. Houses were gecekondus. Legalized constructions were hardly existent outside of Gültepe.[128]

Depiction of "the best" is interrupted by the account on a violent act taking place in one of the stated nearby squatter areas. It is interesting to see how close the

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[125] *Aysel Utku, "Altunizade'deki evdeyken ben üniversiteye başlamıştım. Tramvay durağına kadar yol çamurdu. Capitol'ün oralar falan hep bata çıka giderdim. Zaten de oranın adı Toprak Yol'du. Ben okula varana kadar ayakkabılarım mahvoluyordu. Tabii okulda o karşıdan Şişli'den falan gelenler soruyorlardı 'Aaa.. çamur mu var karşılarda' diye. Çok canım sıkılıyordu. Üsküdar'a inince (Taşınınca) memnundum. Kaldırım taş her yer. Evden çok yolu beni memnun etmişti. Beklemek yok, çamur yok, merkezi… "*

[126] A hybrid translation of the Turkish proverb *"Tebdil-i mekânda hayır vardır,"* with a saying in English which is similar in meaning. Although the proverb may be evaluated in the context of the namodic features in the Turkish culture, her usage of it to parallel the idea behind their rotating in nearby neighborhoods for no practical reaosns is strange.

[127] *Güner Kayıran, "Tebdil-i mekânda ferahlık vardır, hayır vardır diye beş yılda bir taşınırdık. Ama neredeyse hiç semt değiştirmedik hep öyle Bostancı-Erenköy-Göztepe arasındaydık en fazla… "*

[128] *Bahar Duru, "Mesela şöyle bir laf vardı: 'Karşıda evler ucuzmuş.'Ama karşı deyince Erenköy, Bağdat Caddesi geliyordu. Bizim oturduğumuz semt en iyisiydi.*
Hep Levent'te ev baktık biz. Muhitimiz olmuştu orası. Okullarımız falan. O sırada yeni gelişenlerin en gelişmişi Gültepe'ydi. Çeliktepe oldu sonra, Sanayi Sitesi kuruldu. Ama ahali bakımından kötüydü. Evler gecekonduydu. İnşaatlar biraz biraz Gültepe'de başladıydı sadece."

best is to insecurity and how perceptions on the good life are little related to objective reality:

> They were stretching ropes to hang it..something like a bomb [explosive]..before our eyes. Then they used to take a few step back and watch it like everyone else. Those times it was a major road in Sanayi Mahallesi. Cops and soldiers used to shout at us at homes to stay away from the windows. For a long time I didn't take my baby to the window. Those years we were at the edge of moving back to Afyon. Then everything passed. Those times there was no paved road around there. We used to walk in mud. There was no bus stop until around Akmerkez[129]...the place was all empty then. Then in time roads were constructed..and other beneficial developments too. The people, though remained the same. [130]

The extents of relativity in conceptualization of middle class concerns such as security, and refinement are easier to see when "newcomers"'s mutual perceptions of each other are added in the evaluation. The reply to the question "how can you comment on your initial experience of your life in the city" the following respond is ironic enough to stain all the perfectionism and strategies to dominate the definition of urban middle classness:

> *(Laughs)* No it wasn't easy at all. Those in the upstairs looked down on us. In fact they were from Erzincan[131]...but you see they are urbanites..the girls despised the way we dressed. Then we became friends though, they accepted us. [132]

The analysis gets even more complex as the accounts diversify in experience. A female international migrant who went to Germany directly from her central

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[129] A major shopping center in İstanbul.

[130] *Elif Kayı, "Gözümüzün önünde ip asıyordu..bomba gibi bir şeyi ağızları bağlı bağlarlarmış..sonra az ilerde ağızlarını açıp herkes gibi seyrederlermiş. Orası Sanayi Mahallesi'nin çok işlek bir caddesiydi o zaman. 'Camdan falan bakmayın, çekilin!' derdi polisler, askerler. (Oğluna) Ben hele seni cama hiç yaklaştırmadım uzun süre... Nerdeyse Afyon'a taşınacaktık o senelerde..sonra geçti ama. Önceden burada yol bile yoktu. Biz çamurlara bata çıka gittik kaç sene. Akmerkez'e kadar durak yoktu bir defa. Şimdi Akmerkez..o zaman boş bir tarlaydı orası. Sonra sonra yollar yapıldı..tabii ki olumlu şeyler oldu. İnsanlar pek değişmedi ama."*

[131] A Turkish city in the East giving out migrants for due to underdevelopment.

[132] *Zeynep Sofu, "(Gülmeler). Yok..hiç kolay değildi. Üst katta şehirliler bizi aşağıladılar. Onlar da aslında Erzincanlıydı.. ama şehirliler ya..bizim giyimimizi falan beğenmezdi kızları. Sonra arkadaş olduk ama kabullendiler bizi.*

Anatolian city of origin without being in any of Turkey's major cities describes her disappointment on her and her three daughters' return to Istanbul:

> I went through thirteen medical operations there [Switzerland]. I worked in five different factories. All of it was heavy work, but I managed it. After the last operation, the doctor told me "your illness is being homesick. Homesickness makes you ill, it causes you cancer." They say it's true. I gave up retirement, took my money from the insurance, and we moved back. Here [Kartal] it is close to my sister, the shops… This is why we bought our flat here. But I wish we had bought closer to Maltepe. This was a mistake. Lifestyle here is not for us. We are not comfortable here. I have friends living in Erenköy, Bostancı… Their daughters stay out until late at night, nobody cares about it. Here the step we take is watched by someone. I am not happy about this at all. [133]

Refinement in terms of spaces of living and general lifestyle in most of the accounts was defined in reference to former cosmopolitanism in Istanbul and corruption was related strongly to the leave a decline of Greek and Jewish populations.

> [About Üsküdar] I was born in 1952, so I can remember 1960-63 and then onwards pretty well. Above all I can remember a place where profoundly balanced and art lover people exist before 1960. There was a movie house called Sunay. When we went to evening showing to there, I can remember a highly decent society which it is not easy to find. Between 1960 and 1970 I can remember that there were so many non-Muslim people who are called as minorities. For example, I can easily remember the Jewish textile artisan with his glasses and book who puts the bookmark into his book, standing up and saying "come in, little sir" when I entered the shop as a kid. It was so common for me at that time. But now… Addressing a kid as "Little Sir"… In addition, doing this just as to an adult not to a cute little child… All these continued until 1970. In my mind, 1970 is stabbing for Üsküdar. I think of Üsküdar with development of the reactionary, fascist movements which grew with the Note. The effort of NMP[134] to cause people to perceive itself was existent actively until 1980 but it was not explicit. These movements, first of all, of course sent away minorities, followed by the ones, whose income level is higher…

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[133] *Fikriye Boyacı, "Ben on üç ameliyat geçirdim orada(İsviçre). Beş ayrı fabrikada çalıştım. Çok ağırdı yükü ama yaptım. Sonra, en son ameliyattan sonra doktor, "sende yurt özlemi var. Bu seni hasta ediyor, kanser ediyor" dedi. Varmış öyle şey. Yaktım emekliliği, sigortada biriken paramı aldım, göçtük. Burası kız kardeşime yakın, çarşıya yakın diye aldık. Sahil var. Ama keşke biraz daha Maltepe taraflarından alsaydık. Hata yaptık onu. Buranın görgüsü bize göre değil. Rahat ettirmedi. Benim Erenköy'de, Bostancı'da oturan arkadaşlarım var. Onların kızları sabahlara kadar sokakta, kimsenin bir şey dediği yok. Burada adımımız izleniyor. Hiç memnun değilim bu yönden."*

[134] NMP refers to the Nationalist Movement Party which can also be translated as Nationalist Action Party. The party is the source of extremist nationalist political views especially in the era. Its original name in Turkish is Milliyetçi Haraket Partisi (MHP).

Maybe it will be always the same emphasis but I think that degeneracy of life in Istanbul is highly related with decrease in the number of minorities. Until the early 1970's, people who came to Istanbul were striving to adapt to the city. But the followings were attending to adapt the city to themselves. When I was a kid, there weren't any *lahmacun*[135] houses or any like that. When you went to a restaurant, there was bread. But now; *lavaş pide*[136]... I get confused, when I see that they are serving pide even at beer houses. Once I asked for bread, they answered "there isn't any." In the past, pide at the beer houses; it is unbelievable.

At those days, people were living their local culture in their houses. I remember that one of our neighbors were from Kayseri. They were rich, too. When you look at the lifestyle in their own house, you could see the difference. Since we were kids and friends of their children, we could easily go into their house. Their cuisine, way of eating... For example that Kayserian man had two wifes in the same house. I was shocked!.. The children were calling "mom and mummy." "What is that mummy, who is she?" were always on my mind. "Is she his mother's mom?" I was a kid and I couldn't interpret what was happening. Till that day, I hadn't known that a man could live with two, three or even four women.

As I remember, the beginnings of apartment life in Üsküdar corresponded to the late 1960s. And people perceived this as something good. As a result, while living in the apartments was established, apartment culture had not consolidated yet. Some new problems occurred while people lived at those apartments.

The first settlers were wealthier. That is, for example, local shopkeepers who had sold all their properties in Anatolia, were expecting a new lifestyle in Istanbul. However, the ones who came to Istanbul after 1960s took it like "let's move to Istanbul at once. There we have this and that working in a construction. First we can crash up at his place, then we find somewhere to live." They formed a mass considering street selling as employment and the squatter house as home. And of course this turned out to an unmanageable situation.

After the establishment of the republic, people started to question "Why the shop at Eminönü doesn't belong to me?". I mean, the same was the case in all over Turkey, but it was more obvious in Üsküdar because Üsküdar is an important geographical and cultural center that it would be an important part of this war and attack. An easy place to come together, the first destination on the way to Istanbul, a very important port of Istanbul...

Çiçekçi, Doğancılar, most of the neighborhoods by the Bosphorus, Bağlarbaşı, Göztepe, Bostancı, Kadıköy, and of course Nişantaşı and Harbiye were important and select residential centers.[137]

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[135] Anatolian dish. Meat and spices on a thin layer of bread.

[136] Traditional pita bread.

[137] *Hüsnü Büyükcoşkun, "[Üsküdar'la ilgili] 1952 doğumluyum, dolayısıyla 1960-63 ve sonrasını iyi hatırlıyorum. Bir kere 1960'dan önce son derece dengeleri olan sanatla ilgilenen insanların çok olduğu bir yer hatırlıyorum. Bir Sunay sineması vardı. Oraya suareye gittiğinizde kolay kolay rastlanamayacak nezihlikte bir topluluk hatırlıyorum. 1960-70 arasında azınlık denilen gayrimüslimlerin çok olduğunu hatırlıyorum Mesela bugün gibi hatırladığım bir şey elinde bir kitapla gözlükleriyle ben dükkana girince ayracını kitabın arasına koyup ayağa kalkıp "buyurunuz Küçük Bey" diye hitab eden Yahudi kumaş*

It is clear from the mapping of refinement among Istanbul's neighborhoods all of which are seasonal or permanent non-Muslim settlements, these people with their lifestyles, tastes and attitudes represent the materialization of modernist ideals. For those who experienced living in or nearby a non-Muslim community, they seem to be considered as accomplishment and observed as models along all possible lines of social interaction taking place between the communities. Although these channels were rather restricted due to mutual conservatism shopping, trading, education and kids in general have been major domains of interaction.

> Eyüp, Fatih…we always lived there about. But was it like this? Since my father was a state officer, firstly we were living in a konak, and then we moved to a flat. We had it constructed.. I was a kid. I remember. I had so many Greek friends. We were all together until we started to go to school. I used to visit their houses, also did they. Our mothers used to send some gifts to each others although they didn't use to see each other. At the primary school years, we separated since they went to their special schools. But

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esnafı… O günlerde bu bana çok sıradan bir şey gibi geliyordu. Şimdi olsa bir çocuğa "küçük bey" diye hitab etmek, üstelik onu şeker bir çocuğa söyler gibi değil, bir büyüğe "buyurun efendim" der gibi… Bunların hepsi 1970'e kadar sürdü. Üsküdar için aklımda 1970 bıçak gibi. Muhtırayla gelişen gerici faşist akımların palazlanmasıyla birlikte düşünüyorum Üsküdar'ı. MHP'nin varlığını hissettirme çabaları 1980'e kadar aktif olarak vardı ama çok belirgin değildi. Bu hareketlerle tabii ilk rahatsızlık azınlıkları gönderdi. Sonra gelir düzeyi daha iyi olanlar çevrelere hareketlendirdi…

Belki hep aynı vurgu olacak ama… İstanbul'da şehir hayatının yozlaşmasının azınlıkların azalmasıyla çok ilişkisi olduğunu düşünüyorum. 1970lerin başlarına kadar bence Istanbul'a gelenler buraya ayak uydurma telaşına düşüyorlardı. Ondan sonrakiler burayı kendilerine benzetme uğraşı içerisine girdiler. Ben çocukken lahmacun salonları falan yoktu. Lokantaya gittiğinde ekmek olurdu. Şimdi lavaş, pide… Ben çok şaşırıyorum meyhanede bile pide getirdiler. Ekmek sordum "yok abi" dediler. Olacak şey mi eskiden, meyhanede pide… İnsanlar kendi kültürlerini kendi içlerinde yaşarlardı. Ben hatırlıyorum Kayserili komşularımız vardı. Zenginlerdi de. Kendi evlerinin içerisinde yaşantılarına bakıyorsun. Farklılığı hissediyorsun. Biz çocuğuz tabii, arkadaşız çocuklar. Girip çıkıyoruz. Yemek yemeleri, yemeğin türleri… O Kayserili adamın iki karısı vardı mesela aynı evin içinde, ben şok olmuştum. "Annem, Cici annem" diyordu. "Ne bu cici anne, kim acaba" diye hep düşünüyordum. Annesinin annesi mi acaba… Pek de yorumlayamıyorum..çocuğum, o zamana kadar bilmezdim bir erkeğin iki, üç, dört kadınla evlilik yaşayabileceğini…

Üsküdar'da benim hatırladığım apartmanlaşmanın başlaması 1960ların sonlarıdır. Ve bu çok iyi bir şey gibi karşılanıyordu. Tabii apartman kültürü oluşmamışken apartman yaşamı başladı. İnsanlar o binalarda yaşarken başka sorunlar gelişti.

İlk gelenler daha varlıklı insanlardı. Yani Istanbul'a gelmek için Anadolu'daki bütün varlıklarını satıp yeni bir yaşam kurmak isteyen esnaf mesela. Ama 1960lardan sonra gelenler "hele bir idelim Istanbul'a. İşte bizim bilmemkim bir inşaatta çalışıyor. Onun yanında bir süre idare ederiz" diyen, işportacılığı iş, gecekonduyu ev bilen bir kitleydi. Sonra da toparlamak mümkün olmadı tabii.

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti devleti olunca artık "niye Eminönü'ndeki dükkan benim değil" diye sorular sorulmaya başlandı. Yani bu Türkiye genelinde yaşandı ama Üsküdar'da keskin oldu. Çünkü Üsküdar bu saldırı ve savaş alanının önemli bir parçası olacak kadar coğrafi ve kültürel açıdan önemli bir merkez. Kolay öbekleşilen bir yer, İstanbul'a gelindiğinde ilk durak, İstanbul'un çok önemli bir iskelesi.

Çiçekçi, Doğancılar, Boğazdaki pek çok yer, Bağlarbaşı, Göztepe, Bostancı, Kadıköy ve tabii Nişantaşı, Harbiye önemli ve mutena yaşam merkezleri.

> again we came together at teens. We were friends from neighborhood. My god, I used to visit their houses…I loved it...I loved it…Curtains, covers of armchairs, chairs, and table cover were made of same cloth. Huge roses… Different dresses for different things even at home. We also had table at those times but… covers and everything are different. Nothing matching with each other… There was no tulle on windows, only curtain. I don't know…not like them… But it is not only us lacking it, everybody did. It was not a custom. I used to go, see, comeback and we used to sew what I had seen with my mom. Being open minded is very important, you may not know, but you should be open evolution and learning from someone who knows the subject. I mean their life style was so different. I really miss having them around. But they were right to emigrate, who wants to live in this city anymore? We also can't stand it. [138]

Despite the consensus on non-Muslims' representing the accomplishment of living the modern and civilized life, the attitude towards them is different when personal experience of living in close relationship with these communities. Similar to the construction of irrational, lazy, dishonest, and greedy rural migrants; the idea of the modern, civilized non-Muslim ideal is built in reference to an undefined but taken for granted "us."

> Afterwards, when I got married, my mother moved to Bomonti. I never liked that place. It was very easy to access and central but it was a Jewish neighborhood. I didn't like it for that. Then apartments were side by side along the street. I like separate blocks with lots of space around. It was a comfortable place but I was suffocating. I never lived so close ton on-Muslims. Then there were actresses in the upstairs. Many were coming and going each day. I didn't like it. I didn't like it at all. [139]

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[138] *Sevim Sasak, interviewed by Aslı Duru, March 12, 2006, at her home in İstanbul. "Eyüp, Fatih..oralarda oturduk biz hep. Ama böyle miydi? Önce konağımız vardı babam devlette çalıştığı için sonra kata geçtik. Biz yaptırdık. . . . Çocuktum. Hatırlıyorum..Rum arkadaşlarım vrdı çok. Okula başlayana kadar hep beraberdik. Evlerine giderdim, onlar da gelirdi. Hediyeler gönderirdi annelerimiz. Kendileri pek görüşmezlerdi ama. İlkokula başlayınca onlar keni okullarına gidince ayrıldık ama sonra genç kızlıkta birleştik. Mahalle arkadaşıyız. Allahım ben onların evlerine gidiyorum..bayılıyorum..bayılıyorum... Perdeler, koltuk kaplamaları, sandalyeler ve masa örtüsü aynı kumaştan. Kocaman güller... Ev kıyafetleri ayrı, o kıyafet ayrı, bu ayrı... Bizde de o zaman masa var ama. Örtü başka. Pencere tül yok, sadece perde. Ne bileyim yani..onlar gibi değil. Ama sırf bizde yok değil. Kimsede de yok, adet değil. Ben giderim gelirim, görürüm, oturur annemle dikeriz. Alıcı olmak çok önemli, bilmiyor olabilirsin ama gelişmeye, bilenden öğrenmeye açık olacaksın. . . . Yani onlar çok başkalar. Yokluklarını da çok arıyorum. Ama iyi ettiler, göçmekle, kalınacak yeri mi kaldı bu şehrin. Biz de dayanamıyoruz.*

[139] *Bahar Duru, "Annem sonradan, ben evlenince, Bomonti'ye çıktı. Orayı hiç sevmedim mesela. Yine çok merkeziydi. Ama çok Yahudilerin içiydi. Onu sevmedim. Neden bilmiyorum... Sonra sokak içiydi. Genişçe bir sokak düşün. Karşılıklı evler.:Bu kötü işte..Ben site seviyorum. Hala da öyleyim. Blokları seviyorum. Açıklık. Alan. Rahat bir evdi ama afakanlar basıyordu beni. Hiç sevmedim. Daha önce hiç gayri-Müslim yoktu çevremizde Sonra mesela üst katta artistler vardı. Gelen giden..Sevmedim..Oraları sevmedim."*

Although it is clear that there function many measures of inclusion within the "us" discourse, it is also evident that there is little coherence among them. Middle classness is a vague and fully loaded concept and identity. Despite the vagueness, it is possible to say that, for the stated era, inclusion or segregation processes were not merely related to owning the means to sustain the terms of experiencing the status. That is, the status relations of the era seem to entail more complex processes than living either in the squatter area or the apartment neighborhood. Although it is for sure that such status cannot be attributed to a squatter dweller, it is not guaranteed either after he/she becomes the owner of a whole apartment. Being the newcomer whenever the reference of "new" is, signifies an important feature of being recognized by the "us" audience.

> What is interesting is that everyone was similar at those times. In my university years [1971-1976] I had a pair of jeans and that was all. I consider strange the way students dress up these days. . . . The way we lived, our managing to live in that small house, our studying, and leisure were all different than now [140]

Education and the outcoming orderly, predictable life are the primary means utilized to access to the higher segments of social status validated by the urban context. Definition of status position dominantly in terms of economic means is a later development based primarily on the post-1980 political and socio-economic context. The consensus on "the new rich"[141] of the neoliberal era and social corruption related with them can be seen as another segment that is subjectivized as the "them" of the middle class "us" of the 1970s.

A further dimension in the usage of an anonymous "us" is the denial of identity issues in the urban context. Question on religion, faith, and ethnic origin seem to be

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[140] *Meral Diren, "Garip olan herkes de aynıydı o zaman. Benim üniversite zamanımda (1971-76) bir tane pantolonum vardı. Şimdi garipsiyorum üniversitelilerin giyimlerini Yaşantımız da, o eve sığmamız da, ders çalışmamız da, gezip tozmamız da farklıydı."*

[141] In *Yeni Orta Sınıf (New Middle Class)*, Ali Şimşek, analyses theoretically and contextually the development of what he calls the new middle class of the post-1980s.

tried to overcome for a proper inhabitancy in the urban social strata. Like other features of accomplishing the urban lifestyle, these were too, adopted for their ritualistic contribution rather than being symbolic determinants of existence of identity.

> Things about Islam and religion in general were asked to those reading the Koran or have been to Mecca. But let me tell you something, not so many issues as there are today were being questioned then. Everybody thought it sufficient to pray as he knew. I remember very few people reading the *İlmihal*[142]…very few people…Though people – for instance my grandmother and her sister- used to go to listen to the preaches in the major mosques. That was how they knew about things. But there was no discrimination as there is now..that the faith of the Turk, or the faith of this and that… For instance I don't remember something like the Alavi-Sunni issue. It wasn't existent. For instance there is a girl to come or go to another family as a bride. There was no question like whether she's Alavi or Sünni. In fact my husband says it was asked, but I don't know that. There was nothing like that here [in Istanbul], then it means it was important in Anatolia. I mean we never asked someone who was asking [my family] for me [to marry] whether he was a Sunni. We were not discriminating. But this was the case for all. Alevi-Sünni thing started all afterwards..or the "are you Turkish or Kurdish" thing either... It was not wondered at all. It is whenever the events [PKK terrorism] showed up everyone began to ask each other "where are you from." [143]

The stress on middle class homogeneity defined in terms on decency, hard work, republican modernism shows that later developments like the rise of identity polarizations and a socially corrupt segment like the new rich are harmful and ruining effects of the brutal political and economic developments of the post-1980 era. Middle class anonymity and the comfort in being "us" secured by lifestyle and consumption

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[142] Book of Islamic good manners.

[143] *Bahar Duru, "Islamla ilgili şeyler Kuran okuyanlara, hacca gidenlere sorulurdu. Ama ben sana söyleyeyim bu kadar da çok soru sorulmuyordu. Herkes bildiği şekilde ibadet etmekle yetiniyordu. Ben ilmihal okuyan çok az kişi hatırlıyorum. Yoktu... Yalnız insanlar –mesela halam büyük yengem- toplanır büyük camilere vaaz dinlemeye giderlerdi. Oralardan öğreniyorlardı. Ama böyle bir ayrımcılık.. Türk dini.. bu dini diye bir şeylerle gelmezlerdi. Ben Alevi-Sünni meselesi diye bir şey bile hatırlamıyorum. Yoktu. Mesela bir kız alınacak ya da verilecek. 'Acaba Alevi mi Sünni mi?' diye sorulmuyordu. Gerçi Eşim "soruluyordu, nasıl sorulmaz" diyor ama ben öyle bilmiyorum. Burada (Istanbul'da) yoktu böyle bir şey, Anadolu'da varmış demek ki. Beni isteyen kimseye 'Sünni misin?' diye sormuyorduk yani. Böyle bir ayrımcılığımız yoktu. Herkesin öyleydi ama. Alevi – Sünni olayı sonradan cıktı ortaya. Ya da 'Kürt müsün; Türk müsün?' falan. Öyle sorulmuyordu. Ne zaman bu olaylar başladı. Herkes sormaya başladı. 'Nerelisin?.'"*

patterns were challenged irreversibly by many axes primarily being the Turkish-Kurdish, and Islamic-Secular republican.

> Oh, those *Bayrams* [religious festivals]! Of, of, of… Bayram fuss, preparations… The cleaning… We were kids…kids are always happy at Bayrams. We weren't even sleeping…but the adults were excited too...
> It was also the same for new year celebrations [As an answer to the question "Was celebrating the new year common?"]There were not such distinctions between people as dark Muslims, or you know something like that. There was a new year celebration in every house. These are later developments. These developed in recent past. "Is it ok in religious aspects, does it obey the Islamic rules?" or something like that… There were not such things in the past. Everybody stayed in the house listening to radio, eating fruit or something like that...[144]

> Let me give you an example, I was charged at the 1973 general elections, in the ballot box, which I was responsible for, over hundred votes the result was like: 53 for Republican Peoples Party, 33 for Justice Party, 18 for Trust Party, and 1 or none for Nationalist Movement Party. I even remember when a NMP responded came and asked about the votes – as they always did – I remember the man asked whether there was anyone from the party during voting when I said "none" to him. There was a result which made even them shocked. I mean, maybe the civilized people, who feel the old soul and give the Üsküdar its past identity, were not sensible, were not saying a word, but when it came to secret vote, they knew where to vote.
> After 1980, it became a place where religious orders were founded and then they ruled it all. Although Üsküdar has always had lots of mosques, at those times mosques were not such places which were used as show stages of an ideology. I remember mosques as places where my grandfather used to go for praying and where we used to play in its garden…I remember nice things about them.[145]

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[144] *Bahar Duru, "Ayy o bayramlar..of of of..bayram muhabbetleri hazırlıkları..temizlikleri... hadi biz çocuktuk..çocuklar sevinir bayramda.. Uyku uyumuyorduk. Ama büyükler de öyleydi.Yılbaşları da öyle.. ("Yılbaşı kutlamayan ev var mıydı?" sorusuna): Ya eskiden öyle dini kesim, bilmem ne kesim diye bir ayrım yoktu. Her evde de bir yılbaşı geleneği vardı. Sonradan çıktı bunlar. Yani yakın tarihe kadar olan işler bunlar. Dine uygun mudur.. İslam'a uygun mudur..bilmem ne... Eskiden yoktu böyle bir şey. Herkes radyosunu açar; meyvesini, sofrasını kurar..bilmem ne yapar otururdu... "*

[145] *Hüsnü Büyükcoşkun, "1973-74 seçimlerinde benim gözetmen olduğum sandıkta örneğin 100 oydan 53'ü CHP, 33 tanesi AP, 18'i Güven partisi 1 veya hiç de MHP için çıkmıştı. Hatta bir MHP görevlisi gelip de sorduğunda – işte tek tek gelip soruyorlar ya bizim partiye kaç oy diye – "yok" dediğimizde adam "bizden kimse yok muydu o sandığın başında" demişti. Böylesine onları da şaşırtan bir sonuç vardı ortada. Yani o geçmişten gelen, Üsküdar'a eski kimliğini veren medeni insanlar görünür değillerdi, seslerini çıkartmıyorlardı ama iş gizli oy vermeye geldiği zaman oy verilecek yeri biliyorlardı.*
1980'den sonra derneklerin, tarikatların kurulduğu, hüküm sürdüğü bir yer oldu. Ki geçmişten gelen bir yapısıdır çok camii vardır ama o zanlara camiiler belli bir ideolojini gösteri alanı gibi kullanılan merkezler değildi. Ben camileri dedemin ibadet amacıyla gittiği bizim de bahçesinde oynadığımız yerler olarak hatırlıyorum ve güzel hatırlıyorum."

As is revealed by the informants' accounts the individual preferences of choosing the space, place, and the practices of living in the era were acts realized singularly but with strong concerns for the perceptional establishment and inclusion within an anonymous social plurality. Perceiving others was like precondition for the dynamic sustenance of this social reality. While non-Muslim communities of former eras were the nostalgic others, squatters signified the contemporary subjects of an unjust competition. The new rich of the neoliberal era, finally, are considered as part of the reason for the feeling of loss and failure "they" are experiencing today.

 [146]

Fig. 16 Apartments have changed in volume and style but still imply an anonymous social plurality.

[146] Photo by Ara Güler published in *Evler* edited by Şakir Eczacıbaşı, İstanbul: Eczacıbaşı, 2003.

CHAPTER IV

EXPERIENCING THE APARTMENT HOME

Making the (Bourgeois) Nest, Changing Domesticity

The Creation of an Audience for the "Home"

The issue of transformation of places of living and urban development in reference to the related social traumas and social incompatibilities comprise the tensious aspect of many works in Turkish fiction.[147] The early apartment as the space and symbol of changing lifestyle was initially used as the corrupt opposite of the konak and the konak life.[148] In *Ayaşlı and His Tenants*,[149] the lives in a multi-family housing unit in the newly developing capital were depicted. Increasingly in later decades changing concepts on the home are considered a feasible domain in which to write about changes in society in general. A short but insightful portrait of the apartment phenomenon in the 1960s is laid out by Demirtaş Ceyhun in *The Apartment.*[150] In the novel, Ceyhun depicts how networks of social interaction are redesigned flat by flat and from the basement to the top of the building.

Although fiction was a strategic means to refer to the issue, mainstream influence made its way through magazines, radio and television ads and popular movies.

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[147] Ahmet Kutsi Tecer's *Satılık Ev (House for Sale)*, and *Tahteravalli (The Seasaw)* by Çetin Altan are the novels referred to in the problematization phase of this study.

[148] *Kiralık Konak* by Y. Kadri Karaosmanoğlu.

[149] *Ayaşlı ve Kiracıları* by M. Şevket Esendal.

[150] *Apartman* by Demirtaş Ceyhun.

> *Hürriyet*. We used to it buy everyday. Occasionally, İ used to buy *Ses* Magazine. Since it's a mag! Sometimes, my mom and my uncle used to buy *Hayat* Magazine. Everybody used to read newspaper and these magazines. There were *Istanbul Radyosu* and *Ankara Radyosu*. And also *Polis Radyosu*. *Müzik* and so forth… But it was something later. Usually *Istanbul Radyosu* of course… [151]

Trends in neighborhoods, home design, new utilities, domestic practices, and terms of domestic labor were popularized through films, celebrity features and television and radio advertisements.

> [In response to the question on peer reactions to her moving to Istanbul due to marriage] There were even those who were worried that I was going somewhere that I didn't know. They were worried because I knew nothing about there. But when I said I had lived in Levent while we were chatting, they used to say : "Wow, Levent must be a beautiful place. Most of the celebrities are living there." Because they saw it on TV. According to most people, Levent was a nice place. But I used to say to myself "You should go and see!" [152]

The meanings of luxury and beauty were attributed and experienced collectively. The collective perception of beauty with very little inherent individual trait is evident from the consensus on the answer to the question of depicting a beautiful home.

> First of all they had a huge and nice living room. A large table. A closet that was carved and very elaborate. The chairs were high, too.. When I visited this house we didn't have a table to eat on at home. [153]

> A nice home in my mind refers to a large living room and other rooms used for different purposes. This is the nice, modern, well-off home for me. Another aspect is sturdiness. This is part of the reason why apartments were

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[151] *Bahar Duru, "Hürriyet. Her gün alırdık. Ben ara sıra Ses Mecmuası da alıyordum. Magazinsel ya. [Gülmeler]. Dayım ve annem de Hayat Mecmuası alırlardı bazen. Gazeteyi ve bu mecmuaları herkes okurdu.*
İstanbul Radyosu ve Ankara Radyosu vardı. Bir de Polis Radyosu vardı. Müzik falan. Ama o çok daha sonra oldu. Genelde İstanbul Radyosu tabii."

[152] *Elif Kayı "[Evlenip İstanbul'a gelecek olmanız çevrenizde nasıl karşılanmıştı? Kıskançlık, korku?" sorusuna cevap olarak] Hiç bilmediğim bir yere gelin gittiğim için üzülen bile vardı. Üzülüyorlardı hiç tanımıyorum, bilmiyorum diye. Ama oturduktan sonra Levent'te oturuyorum diyordum ben gittiğimde 'Aaa Levent çok güzel yer. Artistlerin falan oturduğu yer' diyorlardı, hani televizyondan falan duyuyorlar ya… Levent'i çok güzel buluyorlardı yani. Ben de diyordum ki içimden gidin de bir görün… "*

[153] *Aysel Utku, "Bir defa çok güzel kocaman bir salonları vardı. Kocaman bir yemek masası. Böyle oymalı moymalı bir dolap. Sandalyeler yüksek yüksek arkalıklı. Ben o eve giderken bizim bir yemek masamız yoktu."*

attractive. The former houses were either so wrecked or neglected. Therefore it seemed they were about to crush down any moment. [154]

It was a beautiful house, it was really luxurious at those times. The owner of the *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper had it made. . . There were two entrance doors. And another one at the kitchen. The doorkeeper at the opposite building used to bring us coal and wood and take away our ashes everyday. As I told you…it was very modern and nice. I mean every one we knew was impressed with it. I was distinguished in their minds. [155]

Interiors, House Design and Changing Perceptions of Beauty and Hygiene

The residence as physical reality is an observable structure and therefore a medium of communication like sending out messages for non-verbal communication. Housing structure as a medium of social communication transmits the outer world information on the individual and social identity of its inhabitants. Therefore the situation, typology, interior and exterior properties as well as the objects included should be considered as the channels for the realization of this communication.

The changes the residence goes through, in this sense, reflect the shifts taking place in the inhabitants' lifestyles and social perceptions. That is, even the slightest spatial, or decorational modification in the living area reveals clues on how the terms of life in general have modified. [156] The spatial organization of residences differentiates in line

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[154] *Hüsnü Büyükcoşkun, "Güzel ev, hayatın geçtiği bir büyük rahat oda, ve yatmak için ya da özel amaçlarla kullanılan ayrı odalar demek. İyi ev, güzel ev, zengin ev, modern ev bu. Bir de başka bir unsur sağlamlık. Apartmanın cazibesi biraz da buradan geliyor. Önceki evler ya çok eski ya çok bakımsızdı. Onun için sanki böyle yıkılma ihtimali daha yüksekmiş gibi geliyordu."*

[155] *Mediha Erkan, "Çok güzel bir evdi. Lükstü o zaman çok. Cumhuriyet Gazetesi'nin sahibi yaptırmıştı... İki kapı vardı. Bir kat kapısı, bir daire kapısı, bir de mutfaktan giriş. Karşı komşunun kapıcısı kömürümüzü, odunumuzu çıkarır; külümüzü alırdı. Diyorum ya... çok moderndi, güzeldi. Yani ilk gelen, bizim çevremizden çok beğenirdi. Parmakla gösteriyorlardı beni."*

[156] See Zehra Akdemir Aksoy, "Konut ve Ev Kavramlarının Karşılaştırmalı Analizi," p. 92-94. Two hundred year old British stone houses being originally working class homes have become units of middle class accommadation. Although there is little or no major exterior reconstruction the change of character is relected by minor reorganizations like implanting exterior lighting and/or exterior surface decorations.

with the dwellers' changing conceptions on privacy, visibility, and codes on interior-exterior experience. Therefore the house is the combined material expression of change taking place in all the variables the life comprises.

Material Metaphors: Furniture and Home Electronics as a New System of Goods and Selling Domesticity

> The moment I saw this house "what a beautiful place" I said to myself... Curtains..velvet, and the sofa group... I loved it... He said "this place is ours now." I remember pinching myself...[157]

Spatial organization and decoration are the means to implement the new symbolisms and meaning attributions to the home. The making of a home out of the residence is a process of physically adapting these new meanings via relevant material metaphors.

> When we moved out from there [squatter home] we took nothing with us. We gave away the armchairs, chairs, and the table. Nothing...we took nothing with us. We thought we would buy new ones in our new flat. And you know?..we couldn't. We had to sit on the floor for a while. I felt really angry about why we hadn't saved at least two of the chairs to sit on. It' s only the bedding we took with us. My husband delivered all to the neighbors. "I won't take this, I can't take that," he used to say. We had to eat on the floor for about six months. He could buy nothing for six months. Guests used to sit on the floor. We used to have cushions on the floor. I complained a lot. Then he bought a sofa group. We had lived without curtains for six months. Then the boss gave us curtains, and çek-yats. Of course he reduced our money to compensate.[158]

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[157] *Güner Kayıran, "Burayı (Güzel yalı) görünce 'aman ne güzel ev' dedim... Kadife perdeler, koltuk takımları... Bayıldım. 'Bu ev bizim' dedi (eşi). Çimdiklemiştim kendimi... "*

[158] *Elif Kayı, "Biz oradan gelirken hiçbir eşyayı getirmedik. Koltukları verdik, masayı verdik, sandalyeleri verdik. Hiçbir şey, hiçbir şey getirmedik. Oraya gidince alırız... bir de alamadık mı... Yerde oturduk. Ben çok kızdım. hiç değilse iki tane sandalye getireydik diye. Sadece yatak, yorgan, halıları getirdik. Komşulara dağıttı Eşim. 'Ben bunu götürmem, onu götürmem... ' Yer sofrasında oturduk. altı ay falan alamadı işte. Eşya meşya alamadık altı ay. Gelenler hep yerde oturuyordu. Minderler falan koyuyorduk. Ben de hep söyleniyordum 'Bak gördün mü' diye. Sonra işte köşeli bir koltuk aldı. Altı ay perdesiz oturmuştuk. Patron bize perde aldı, çek-yat aldı. Kesiyordu tabii bunların parasını. Artık ne bileyim niye almadık o kadar. Para mı yetmiyordu.."*

Spatial organization, decoration and maintenance are the means of appropriating and inhibiting a residence as home. Home furniture and all other elements of domestic decoration are items of this self appropriation. During the rise of apartments as the favorable place for the urban middle class to live, the pace and measures of this process led to many confusions on how to conduct everyday domestic routines. The spatial and material confusion on how to live have also effected conventional meaning attributions and domestic symbolism.

> The room at the back was our living room. In the other room there were bunk beds for the children. They used to share the room. We used to eat at the back, too. It was also where the guests slept when they stayed for the night. There we had a çek-yat. When we had visitors we used to sit in the salon.[159] I used to sit here on my own as well…when the kids were at school.[160]

In Joan Kron's work "Home-Psych"[161] it is stated that the action ordinarily called as decoration is in fact a process of personification. That is, you implement your personality, your soul to your home when you adjust some shelves, or add a particular article to somewhere in the house. It is explained that spatial organization and modifications are the ways people map where their being starts and ends in the eyes of other people.

> A rich house [of the era] refers to a classical [European] atmosphere. Carved wood, chandeliers and the like… Scandinavian style armchairs in more moderate homes… Everyone had them, they were very trendy. They used to have divans in poorer homes. Still all families used to keep a divan, whether in the salon or not, they used to have one. It was something like a tradition or something. Perhaps they were kept as beds for the guests.[162] Woolen

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[159] Where we were during the course of the interview.

[160] *Elif Kayı, "Arka oda oturma odamızdı. İkisinin (çocuklar) ranzaları vardı. Bir odada yatıyorlardı. Yemekler falan arkada yeniyordu. Gelen misafir de orada yatıyordu; çek-yat filan vardı. Misafir gelirse burada (salonda) oturuyorduk. Ama ben gündüz oturuyordum, bunlar yokken."*

[161] Joan Kron, "Home-Psyche," cited in Zehra Akdemir Aksoy, "Konut ve Ev Kavramlarının Karşılaştırmalı Analizi" (Phd dissertation, Dokuz Eylül University, 2002), p.87.

[162] *Bahar Duru, "Zengin ev klasik bir hal demek. Oymalar, avizeler falan vardır ya.. Orta halli evlerde İskandinav koltuklar var. İskandinav koltuklar herkeste vardı, modaydı. Daha şey ailelerde divan tarzı.*

> floor beds were also common. Even the flats in large blocks had in-built closets to store bedding.

The apartments were perceived as offering a more developed lifestyle better integrated with the new needs and expectations of the urban middle class for a more predictable and orderly life. However, both the modernist motives, and the contextuality on which these expectations were nourished led to spatial and social confusion and eclectism in lifestyle, causing the opposite of what is defined as spatial personification and self-appropriation. Satirizing the developments, Murat Belge presents colorful observations on these homes of fakeness and confusion over styles:

> For example, one should move to an apartment with a purple exterior at least...so that he would see some color and cheer up a bit on his return home. The furniture should be bought from the modern furniture store of the Kapalıçarşı. They manage to do the replica of anything without leaving space for any suspicion. It would be complete when we have some machine made imitation carpets of such and such city...and the main part is over! The latter is filling up the spaces with the little stuff bought for decorating where one lives as one wishes, and anything is available in this field… Plastic coffetables with wooden covering with little plastic embroidery imitation cloths on..and there is the television at one side and the aquarium in the shape of a television on the other… [163]

A significant dimension of apartmentalization, though, is the objective improvement in domestic labor standards achieved by the availability and purchase of home technology.

Ama her evde de bir divan vardı. Salonda ya da değil. Divan sanki bir gelenek gibi bir şeydir yani. Misafirler için falan tutulan bir şeydir. Yer yatakları, yün yataklar önemlidir. Bu sitedeki evlerde bile yüklükler vardı."

[163] Murat Belge cited in *Günümüz Konutunda Rasyonel Donatım*, Murat Eriç, Halit Yaşa Ersoy, Nuran Yener,1986, Kelebek Mobilya ve Kontrplak Sanayi A.Ş., İstanbul. P 51 ". . . Örneğin be-te-be'si asgari mor olan bir apartmana çıkmalı ki akşamdan akşama insanın gözü biraz renk görsün, içi açılsın. Kapalıçarşının modern mobilyacısından düzmeli eşyayı. Bunlar her şeyin sahtesini, sahteliğinden kimsenin şüphesi olamayacak biçimde yapmayı başarıyorlar. Yere de birkaç bilmemne taklidi makine halısı atik mi tamam. İşin kabası bitti sayılır. Bundan sonrası insanın yaşadığı mekanı gönlünce süslemek için edindiği küçük öteberiyi alıp boşlukları doldurmaya kalıyor ki bu alanda zaten yok yok. Formika sehpaların üzerine naylondan dantel taklitleri, bir yanda televizyon, br yanda televizyon şeklinde yapılmış akvaryum…"

We bought a refrigerator. I mean, Ok, we hadn't had one till then, but nor had anyone. [164]

145 m^2... We made some modifications: We divided the big living room into two. I bought bunkbeds for the children, I could give a private room to everyone in the house. We bought also a TV in that house. [165]

TV... Undoubtedly it was the most important thing. Besides, washing-machines were unbelievable in the aspect of making things easier. In addition, vacuum cleaners were also wonderful. When you try to clean somewhere with sweeping-brush, dust rise and lands on another place. And yes...wonderful... clean there again ! [166]



Fig. 17 TV satellites in a 1970s neighborhood in Üsküdar, Istanbul.

Although it is not conditional that the utilization of technology was possible only in apartment flats, it must be the meaning attribution processes that prevented their usage

[164] *Aysel Utku, "Buzdolabı alınmıştı yeni evde. Yani tamam bizde yoktu ama kimsede de yoktu."*

[165] *Mediha Erkan, "145 metre kare, tadilat yaptık: büyük oturma odasını ikiye böldük. Çocuklara ranza aldım, herkese bir oda verebildim. Televizyonu da o evde aldık."*

[166] *Mihriban Arabacı, "TV... kesinlikle en önemlisi o. Sonra hayatı kolaylaştırmak açısından çamaşır makineleri müthiş oldu. Elektrik süpürgesi de harika bir şey. El süpürgesiyle şurayı süpürürsün toz şurdan kalkar oraya gider. Haydiiii orayı da süpür."*

in former homes. As these were considered the necessities of a life more modern and easier, in the initial stages of their availability in Turkey, the domesticity they implied was considered solely possible in the modern apartment flats.

Reforming Kitchens and Bathrooms.

> Housewives work around the hundred square meter flats everyday. Is it possible to be exhausted within a hundred square meters?[167]

> I had to heat water in tin containers in our first home in Eyüp. The kids used to line up and bathe there once a week. But we had a bath tub nonetheless. . . It was such a luxury to have that. In the kitchen, too, I had to work hard to make cushions for the desk on which I made the kids sit side by side. [168]

The technological innovation of kitchens and bathrooms are the domestic units whose contribution to changing the existent codes of domesticity has been the most influential. The improvements in both caused differentiation in hygiene regimes and everyday standards of all households. However, as these places are traditionally considered as female domains of activity, the transformation of appliances had impact mostly on female households' everyday routines and labor organizations.

> There was an old type cauldron in the bathroom. While you were bathing, you had to put some firewood under it. There were bath-days. On Sundays, everybody used to bath. It wasn't like as now that everybody can go into and get a shower whenever they want. It was impossible to get a shower before going to work in the mornings. You had to make a fire, wait to heat it up, use the hot water properly, if not, had to wait again.[169]

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[167] *Yüksel Duru, interviewed by Aslı Duru in 22 April, 2006 at his home in Istanbul, Turkey. "Ev kadınları akşama kadar yüz metrekare içinde dolaşıyorlar. Yüz metrekare içinde yorulmak mı olur?"*

[168] *Mediha Erkan, "Eyüp'teki ilk evde tenekelerde su ısıtıyordum. Çocukları diziyordum. Sırayla banyo yapıyorlardı haftada bir. Küvet vardı ama. . . . Lükstü o zaman çok. Mutfakta da çok uğraştım. Mutfağa böyle bir set yapmıştım. Sıra gibi. Üzerine minderler çocuklar otururdu."*

[169] *Meral Diren, "Banyoda kazan vardı. Yıkanırken altına bir yandan odun atıp yıkanırdın. Banyo günü vardı. Pazar günü herkes banyo yapardı. Banyo öyle şimdiki gibi herkesin zırt pırt girip duş alması değildi. Öyle sabah işe giderken duş alıp çıkmak yok. Yakacaksın, ısınacak, kazandaki su yetecek, yetmeze tekrar bekleyeceksin."*

> I felt strange about the bath-tub the most. As a kid I had found it very strange. I had seen something like that for the first time. We used to bath in a large basin after heating water.[170]

The introduction of bath tub as an expression of living modern as well as internalizing the comfort in the availability of hot water any time are significant turning points in realizing the intervals various modes of perceiving life.

Being obsessed by the places open to foreign eye such as large salons and balconies, in the spatial layout of the modern apartment – the kitchen and the bathroom as spaces of domestic activity were neglected. It seems from the small amount of space allocated for these areas in the early middle class apartments that the concern for activity at home is replaced by the expectation to be sustained by home technology.

> Can you imagine there was an oil-stove. An oil-stove with a pump… My mom had to do all the stuff with only one stove. And she wasn't doing all these by complaining. For example, in summers, in Şile she was preparing foods for winter. *Tarhana*[171], paste, jam… She was also working there. She was making preparations.[172]

> I can remember, when I was a kid there were *divans* in all kitchens, in all the houses that I visited. People used to sit on the divan. There was also a table to eat on. I mean people who lived in the house. Like right just one. It is just like; nowadays there are sofas in the kitchen, people decorate corners with them. Since there were no sofas at those times as being now, people used to put divan, chairs etc. and kitchens were slightly large. However, after passing through the apartment-life-style, divan and such items have died out. At those old houses, there were only kitchens in the top floor..I remember.[173]

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[170] *Zeynep Sofu, "Ben en çok küveti garipsemiştim. [Gülmeler] Çocuk aklıyla o bana çok garip gelmişti. İlk defa görmüştüm. Biz öyle ısıtarak leğenlerde yıkanıyorduk."*

[171] Traditional ready-made soup.

[172] *Hüsnü Büyükcoşkun, "Düşünebiliyor musun? Bir gaz ocağı vardı. Pompalı bir gaz ocağı. Tek bir ocakta her şeyi yapması gerekiyordu annemin. Ve yakınarak yapmıyordu bu işleri. Katılımcıydı babamın eğitim projelerine. Mesela yazın Şile'de kışlık erzak yapıyordu. Tarhana, makarna, reçel... annem orada da çalışıyordu. Bir hazırlık yapıyordu."*

[173] *Bahar Duru, "Ben çocukken hatırlıyorum..gittiğim her evde mutfakta divan vardı. Divanda oturuluyordu. Masa da vardı, yemek yeniliyordu. Ev ahalisi yani. Şu andaki gibi işte. Şu an nasıl mutfakta koltuklar var..köşe yapıyorlar. Onlar olmadığı için divan sandalye falan koyuyorlardı ve baya 'baya' genişti. Ama sonradan site tarzına geçilince divan mivan kalmadı. O eski evlerde hatta mutfak en üst katta tekti..hatırlıyorum."*

The kitchens of the past referred both to a chaotic workshop of continuous hard work under unpredictable conditions and a casual place for domestic interaction. However, in the apartment flat with all its storage and shelving systems, the unit referred to a compact, orderly, rational place backed up by technology.

> In those buildings (in Levent) kitchens were small. There were not suitable to sit in. In addition, let me tell you something, at those times people didn't use to sit in kitchens anymore. Living rooms were used for sitting purposes. Our kitchens were small but they were useful, I mean later.[174]

The situation today has changed such that the design and quality of kitchens and bathrooms have become key in promoting houses for sale. The kitchen as living area has regained its significance in the architectural plan. However the initial stages of apartmentalization and the newly emerging domesticity there according to Özbay is a reflection of "the contrast in middle class women's life they lived in their large salons and the unhealthy conditions they worked in small kitchens and bathrooms for long hours like slaves."[175]

Privacy

While the terms of privacy in the Turkish domestic sphere remained unchanged in the general sense, the measures to them have modified considerably due to the changes took place in the physical and social settings of urban domesticity. The rapid shift to apartment inhabitancy and the gradual adaptation of apartment life led to the recoding of conventional modes of family life. The spatial setting itself together with exaggerated Western furniture and items of home technology as a whole provided the basis for a new family outlook.

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[174] *Bahar Duru, "O bloklarda (Levent) mutfaklar küçüktü. Oturmaya müsait değildi. Sonra..sana bir şey söyleyeyim, o devirlerde artık mutfakta oturmak kalkmıştı. Salonlara falan geçiliyordu..Ben çocukken hatırlıyorum..gittiğim her evde mutfakta divan vardı. Divanda oturuluyordu. Masa da vardı, yemek yeniliyordu. Ev ahalisi yani. Şu andaki gibi işte. Şu an nasıl mutfakta koltuklar var..köşe yapıyorlar. Onlar olmadığı için divan sandalye falan koyuyorlardı ve baya 'baya' genişti. Ama sonradan site tarzına geçilince divan mivan kalmadı. O eski evlerde hatta mutfak en üst katta tekti..hatırlıyorum. Bizim mutfaklar küçüktü ama kullanışlıydı sonradan yani."*

[175] Ferhunde Özbay, 1996, cited in "A Comparison Between Women Living in Traditional Houses and Women Living in Apartments in Historical Context," (Master's Thesis, METU, Ankara) 1999.

In this new perspective related to the family and the domesticity, the living place was designed in order to comply with the needs of the family as a whole where the recognition of children's inhabitancy as individual actors was the major novelty.

> We were four kids in the house. My grandparents were also living with us. So, not having a private room became difficult for me especially during the high school years. Since we had to live by quarreling "this is my room, this cupboard is mine…", I was always suffering about the situation. [176]

The democratization of the domestic means with the increase in privacy in the apartment flats by means of architecture and home decoration, there can be seen a process of improvement in the conditions of non-male households in general. That is, although the home as a whole is perceived as a female domain, privacy of children and equal sharing of living spaces between adult households have mostly meant social and spatial decrease in male households' traditional spatial hegemony and segregation from the rest of the family.

A primary variable in the provision of privacy rights for the households in general is the availability of central heating systems in the new apartment.

> Houses, in which stoves are used as heating devices, are the things that I don't like the most about the past or that I remember as the biggest different between now and the past. Not warming up enough, being in a cold place while having a shower, going to toilet or getting up in the mornings, were the bad thing that I remember about these houses. [177]

Central heating, in fact, seems to be the major motive to lead a family to make its decision to transfer to an apartment. Making the fire and heating the house, which is traditionally a female everyday routine, is explained to be the hardest and most restricting aspect of life. Insufficient heating, daily cleaning up of the fire place, and

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[176] *Hüsnü Büyükcoşkun, "Dört kardeştik; babaannem dedem de bizimle yaşarlardı. Dolayısıyla kendime ait bir odam olmayışı, özellikle lise çağlarından itibaren çok zorlayan bir şeydi. İşte bu oda benim, bu dolap benimki diyerek yaşamak zorunda olduğumuz için hep o sıkıntı bendeydi."*

[177] *Hüsnü Büyükcoşkun, "Sobalı evler olması benim geçmişle ilgili en sevmediğim veyahut çok büyük bir fark olarak hatırladığım bir şey. Yeteri kadar iyi ısınamamak, banyo yaparken, tuvalete giderken veya sabah kalkar kalkmaz soğuk bir yerde olmak kışın o evlerle ilgili hatırladığım kötü şeyler."*

organizing a domesticity in accordance with physical restrictions in the home made up the context on which the ideal of "better life" was based.

> The house in Sultanahmet was a five storey building [1965]. There was one flat on each floor. Aunt Ayşe was our landlady. We were heating the place by burning coal. We used to buy coal annually in summer. My mom used to make the fire before going to work. I and my mom were living with my grand-grandmother, my grandmother, Behçet [cousin] and sometimes my uncle. I and my mother were sleeping in the same room. Until his boarding years Behçet was sleeping in a big room that we called guest room with my grand-grandmother and grandmother. [As an answer to the question of: What was the most important concern while looking for a new house?] central-heating… central heating because we were suffering. We kids were going to school. I, for example, came home...there was no one..my grandmother, if she had gone for treatment, was in Ankara…we had Asiye [domestic worker], but not always… who was going to make the fire? [178]

The views on privacy relates to different concerns when moved along the different strata in the society. The codes of privacy in the traditional Turkish domestic sphere entail minimal visibility to the outside. The roots of this tendency can be sought mostly in religious thoughts[179] and beliefs like the fear of the evil eye *(nazar).* Therefore while privacy of the family as a whole is a major concern, privacy rights were not recognized for the individual family members.

> We, three sisters in laws, were living in the same house. There was a divan like this. I used to make one of my kids sleep on one side of the divan, and the other on the other side of it. We had ordered it a little bit bigger. I mean the life was primitive. [180]

The transfer of life into apartment flats and the related shifts that took place in family and individual consumption, and activity patterns refer to a conflicting

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[178] *Bahar Duru, "Sultanahmet'teki ev beş katlı bir apartmandı (1965). Her katta bir daire vardı. Ayşe Halamız ev sahibimizdi. Soba yakıyorduk. Yazdan yaza yıllık kömür alınır, annem yakardı işe gitmeden. Biz annem, büyükannem, anneannem, ben, Behçet [kuzen] ve bazen de dayım olarak yaşıyorduk. Annemle ben bir odada kalırdık. Behçet yatılı olana kadar misafir odası dediğimiz büyük odada anneannem ve büyükannemle kalırdı. [Ev ararken en büyük dert] Kalorifer...kalorifer[di], çünkü çok zorlanıyorduk. Biz çocuk..okula gidiyoruz. Ben mesela eve geliyorum...kimse yok...ananem tedavideyse Ankara'da. Asiye [hizmetkar]var ama hep değil...kim yakacak?...".*

[179] The Islamic idea of *mahrem* and codes of *mahremiyet* has long determined the order of visibility both inside the house and the house to the outside world.

[180] *Mediha Erkan, "Üç elti oturuyorduk. Böyle bir divan vardı. Bir uca bir çocuğumu yatırıyordum; bir uca bir çocuğumu. Büyük ısmarlamıştık biraz... Yani ilkeldi yaşam."*

development in terms of privacy, though. While ranges of social interaction and differentiation in consumption increased due to social mobility in becoming middle class, social visibility became a vital dimension of this new form of social existence. On the other hand, the same processes applied for a more individualistic perception of existence in the family whose demands for individual recognition and spatial privacy found expression in the apartments.

> There is a feeling that I have even today about houses. It is something that I felt for years. A house must be as large, wide and comfortable as possible. I mean, I think, to the extent a house has more enough room to live even together with its furniture; you can live more comfortably and happily in it. I relate this feeling to the past at which we had to live in small houses as a crowded family. This is why I remember the room problem as the most important thing about our past houses. [181]

> By the way, who slept in which room was related to who else was staying with us and for how long. Unexpected visitors, long term guests, those relatives who came to Istanbul for medical care were never inexistent. [182]

> My grandmother, my grandfather, I and Hüsnü [brother] were sleeping in the same room and my small brothers with my parents. Once, I was sleeping in the hall..I remember… my father used to leave very early. They used to make noise while they were having breakfast. Over there, in the hall, I used to sleep.[183]

After the demand for central heating, compensation of spatial needs comprise the second most important dimension of the context of apartmentalization in line with the new privacy regime. Interestingly, although apartment flats not always provided the necessary space for exercising privacy, it was considered as the appropriate place for

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[181] *Hüsnü Büyükcoşkun, "Evle ilgili bugün de varolan bir şeyim var. O geçmişten beri olduğunu bildiğim bir şey. Bende bunun temelinin geçmişte olduğunu zannediyorum. Ev mümkün olduğu kadar geniş, ferah ve rahat olmalı. Yani eşyalarıyla beraber, içinde ne kadar rahat hareket edilebilecek bir evse o kadar onun içinde rahat ve mutlu olunabileceğini düşünüyorum. Bunun geçmiş yıllarda bizim kalabalık bir aile oluşumuz ve hep küçük evlerde oturmak zorunda kalışımıza bağlıyorum. Bu yüzden geçmiş evlerimizle ilgili hatırladığım en önemli şey yer sorunu."*

[182] *Güner Kayıran, "Bu arada zaten hangi odada kimin ne yaptığı evdeki misafir sayısına ve kalıcılığına göre hep değişirdi. Habersiz misafirler, kalıcı misafirler, tedaviye İstanbul'a gelmiş hastalar hiç eksik değildi."*

[183] *Aysel Utku, "Babaannem, dedem, ben ve Hüsnü bir odada; küçükler de annemle yatıyorlardı, babam da tabii. Bir ara ben holde yatıyordum. [Gülmeler]. Onu hatırlıyorum. Babam sabah erken gidiyordu. Kahvaltı ederlerken ses oluyordu. Ben de holdeki divanda uyuyordum."*

pursuing these ideals and mentalities of privacy and democratizing domesticity, as the apartment was the place to live the modern life nonetheless.

> [Concerning the eleven people living in one flat of a hundred square meters] No, we weren't suffering. Girls were in the same room, boys were in another. We had bunkbeds. Our house was new and beautiful. Our furniture…everything was brand new. [184]

Eliminating spatial privileges on the basis of "a room for each member of the households" sustained by central heating in the apartment unit has been transformative in the development of middle class perceptions on privacy in relation to individuality, family life, domesticity, and social interaction in general.

Domestic Labor: Daughters, Daughters-in-law, *Evlatlık*s, Cleaning Ladies

The domain to examine the changes in the nature of domestic work still necessitates the analysis of the relation between housing and women. Although residentialities change the traditional assumption that the home refers to femininity remains unchanged. To put it other way, typological shift to apartments and apartment life as a new mode of urban socialization gave way to transformations in the social status of women both in the family and in general. However, the underlying patriarchal terms of domesticity remained unchanged, bringing the women to a new equilibrium of gains and oppression.

The apartment as the symbol of social status was a center of female attraction for modernization and improvement of life. The flat was a concrete shelter for the nuclear family which meant relative independence and familial autonomy. Besides the life in the apartment backed up by domestic technology offered a relatively easy life. The

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[184] *Zeynep Sofu, "[Evdeki onbir nüfusla zorlanmadıklarına dair] Yooo zorlanmıyorduk... Kızlar bir, erkekler bir odadaydı. Ranzalarımız vardı. Güzeldi evimiz, yeniydi. Eşyalarımız, her şeyimiz yenilenmişti."*

access to this easy life itself was also a sign of status and success on the part of the women:

> There were two doors. The door of the floor, the flat door and an entrance to the kitchen… The doorkeeper of my neighbor used to carry our coal or fire wood and used to collect ashes afterwards. As I said it was so modern, so beautiful. I mean, acquaintances who visited us for the first time used to like so much. I was a person of distinction.[185]

The woman who was continuously busy doing housework formerly in family houses, could only manage the "order of things going." From the accounts it becomes clear that the descriptions of these women are limited to continuous hard work and social restriction by the family and mostly by the mother-in-law figure. According to most informants the main difference between themselves and these women of the former generation is the availability of domestic leisure, which they owe mostly to technology. It is interesting to see how the transfer into apartment flats and the modern amenities in there enabled the transformation of labor intensive domestic routines into domestic leisure time for the female households, which in turn led to modifications and redefinitions of domestic roles.

> Let me tell you, living in a house is totally related to economic and physical power. Now, it is impossible for us to live in a house in both aspects. As we used to help our mothers, it was easy to handle. But now, since the situation is not like that, since the children deal with their concerns, it is physically impossible. At those days, my mom used to be cleaning somewhere in the house definitely every single day. Because of the stove, the house was getting dirty easily. The room, where the stove was lit, should have been dusted, wiped, and brushed. It is not the case now. I clean around two or three times a week, and it is enough. These houses do not get dirty easily. I think, not using stoves anymore has reduced women's domestic work at least fifty percent, if not more.[186]

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[185] *Mediha Erkan, "İki kapı vardı. Bir kat kapısı, bir daire kapısı, bir de mutfaktan giriş. Karşı komşunun kapıcısı kömürümüzü, odunumuzu çıkarır; külümüzü alırdı. Diyorum ya..çok moderndi, güzeldi. Yani ilk gelen, bizim çevremizden çok beğenirdi. Parmakla gösteriyorlardı beni."*

[186] *Meral Diren, "Ben sana söyleyeyim..evde oturmak her anlamda maddi güçle beklentiyle ilgili bir şey. Biz onu ne maddi olarak ne fiziksel olarak kaldıramayız artık. Biz eskiden annelerimize yardım ettiğimiz için işler dönüyordu ama bizim şimdi öyle bir durumuz olmadığı için, çoluk çocuk herkes kendi işinde koşturduğu için beden olarak imkansız. Ben kendimi düşünemiyorum mesela öyle bir sorumlulukla. O zaman annem her gün ama her gün mutlaka evin bir yerinde temizlik yapardı. Çünkü soba da yandığı için kirlenirdi. O sobalı oda mutlaka tozu alınır, silinir, süpürülürdü. Şimdi öyle değil bak. Ben haftada*

> Stove-related work was only my mom's responsibility. Our major help was only carrying coal or firewood. She used to get up early and make the fire. In the first years of my marriage, I also used to make the fire. My husband used to clean the chimney. But for my mom's generation, that wasn't the case. Chimney cleaning was also the women's responsibility. And gardening… it was also my mom's duty. My dad didn't know about it. My mom used to know about gardening, flowers' names and something like that. [187]

Memories of how their mothers coped with washing laundry by hand, or stored food without a refrigerator, or prepared the fireplace, heated the house by waking up earlier than everyone else are still vivid in people's minds. The harsh conditions they had to deal with made these women visible bearers of the familial order. The stories of these people working all the time to keep the house clean, tidy and comfortable for other households, is part of why the women of our day are "nonetheless satisfied" with their terms of living today.

> For example, there weren't modern washing machines then. One day of the week used to be kept as laundry day. My mom used to start in the morning, till the evening. Oh, I used to hate the day. The laundry inside the washing machine… you start with the whites, one by one, then the color ones, darker ones. It doesn't exist anymore, neither does laundry day. [188]

> Domestic daily routines were my responsibilities. Shopping, cleaning, stove-care for the elderly and the guests, their service, the husband… frequent pass-outs showed up at that young age. Still, my burden didn't get any lighter. How could it have? [189]

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iki, üç süpürsem yetiyor. Bu evler çok kirlenmiyor. Bence soba kadınların ev işlerini yüzde elli azaltmıştır daha fazla azaltmadıysa."

[187] *Mihriban Arabacı, "Soba işi sadece anneme ait bir evdi. Yaptığımız en büyük yardım odun kömür taşımaktı. Sabahın köründe kalkar yakar. Ben ilk evlendiğimde ben yakıyordum. Eşim bacayı temizlerdi. Ama annemin neslinde hiç yok. Baca da kadınların işiydi. Bahçe işi de anneme itti. Babam hiç anlamazdı. Annem anlardı ekme biçme mevsimleri, çiçek isimleri…"*

[188] *Mihriban Arabacı, "Mesela eskiden otomatik çamaşır makineleri yoktu. Çamaşır günüydü haftanın bir günü. Annem sabah başlardı, akşama kadar. Ayy, ben o günden nefret ederdim. O merdaneli çamaşır makinesine sırayla çamaşırlar. Önce beyazlardan başlarsın, teker teker, sonra boyalılar, daha koyular. Artık yok öyle bir şey, çamaşır günü de kalmadı."*

[189] *Güner Kayıran, "Günlük işlerin hepsi benim işimdi. Alışveriş, temizlik soba, yaşlı ve misafir bakımı, hizmeti, koca... Baygınlık hastalıkları baş gösterdi ama genç yaşta. Yine de hafiflemedi yüküm. Nasıl hafiflesin ki?..."*

In this sense, along with the other social and economic factors of the context that led to the widespreadness of the apartment typology, apartment life had a lot to offer for these worn out people.

> My mom had never-ending domestic responsibilities. Laundry, dish washing and then there were these guests showing up frequently. We were eight permanently living in the house, but we were never less than ten. We are from Şile and Şile wasn't a short journey from Istanbul then, 3-3.5 hours. It wasn't possible to come to Istanbul in the morning and return then in the evening. They used to come for hospitals, for business, for doctor. There were a lot of people like this and they used crash up at hours. Then there were these who used to stay for long periods like three-five months. It was my mom who used to take care of all the domestic things like dish washing, laundry, kids, guests, none with an automatic help. My grandmother didn't used to do a lot. She wasn't so sick or anything. The elderly people used to resign early in those days. She wasn't of any help to the routines. Only the laundry, they used to do it together on the big laundry days. Meanwhile, the comers had to be taken care of. For example, you had to take the comers to whenever they wanted to go. This was my mom's responsibility, too. Shopping wasn't as easy as it is now. There weren't shops or markets all around like now. Somebody had to deal with the shopping; it was her duty, too. This is what was bothering me the most, my mom being always busy and her not being able to spend time with me. Houses weren't so comfortable either, but the other thing is more dominant in my memories. The burden got a little bit lighter for her when we moved to a flat, but her responsibilities stayed the same. As the flat was located in a central area, shopping became easier. However, laundry, dish-washing, cleaning were her responsibilities still.[190]

For "the house is an institution," and "not just a structure created for a complex set of purposes,"[191] it not only is an expression of the long existing values and norms of the society in which it is built, but also reproduces them. That is, the house is a significant

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[190] *Aysel Utku, "Annemin işi hiç bitmezdi. Çamaşır, bulaşık, sonra çok gelenimiz gidenimiz vardı. Biz evde sabit sekiz kişi yaşıyorduk ama on kişiden aşağı da düşmüyorduk hiç. Şimdi biz Şileli olduğumuz için, o zaman da Şile çok yakın değil Istanbul'a – 3, 3.5 saat – giden insanlar sabah gidip akşam dönemiyorlardı. Hastaneye gelen, işe gelen, doktora gelen... Bir sürü insan geliyordu ve bunlar kalıyorlardı. Sonra geçici olarak üç, beş ay kalanlar vardı... Hiçbir otomatik alet olmadan bütün işleri yapan, bulaşık, çamaşır, çocuklar, misafirler annemdi. Babaannem çok iş yapmıyordu. Çok da hasta değildi. Eskiden insanlar çok erken el ayak çekiyorlardı. Rutin işlerde hiç katkısı olmazdı. Beraber çamaşır yıkarlardı, büyük çamaşır günlerinde. Bu arada bir de o gelenlerle ilgilenmek gerekirdi. Mesela geleni nereye geldiyse götüreceksin. Onlara da koşardı. Çarşı Pazar tabii şimdiki gibi her yerde yoktu. Pazara gitmek gerek. Ona da giderdi. İşte beni evlerden çok annemin hep işinin olması, zaman ayıramaması rahatsız etmiştir. Evler de tabii ki rahat değildi ama bu daha fazla hafizamda.*
[Daireye geçince] Yükü hafifledi tabii ama sorumlulukları değişmedi. Merkezi bir yerde olduğu için alışveriş, Pazar işi kolaylaştı. Ama çamaşır, bulaşık, temizlik hepsi yine onun sorumluluklarıydı."

[191] Rapaport, 1969, 44.

domain of ideological reproduction and the maintenance of a certain social system. While it's material form and experiential modes vary in accordance with contextual developments, these do not lead to substantial social recodifications merely by themselves.

In the context of apartmentalized domesticities, the existent code in terms of women and housing remained the same in essence. Things like home maintenance and domestic labor remained to be considered as necessarily female domains of activity. However, the context gave way to reconfigurations in the social status of various female figures falling into this domain as well as causing change in the nature of domestic activities.



Fig. 18 Women at work. (Üsküdar, Istanbul)

Daughters comprised the second largest group of female actors responsible of home maintenance after the mothers. Although in varying levels, all female informants told about their participation in the provision of domestic order besides their mothers and reported lack of male households' contribution to it. While some of them expressed compulsory taking up of housework due to more traditional and rural origins, others explained their affection for their mothers depicting the poor conditions under which

they had to work. Still in none of the interviews such an expectation from their fathers or brothers was expressed.

> As I got married I found myself in a very crowded family. The elderly, three brothers, their wives, many sisters, and kids… All of a sudden my days started to pass in stove cleaning, laundry, coal carrying, cleaning and so forth… think…there is no vacuum cleaner and you have to do it with a bush brush. There was no division of labor among the sister-in-laws. Because there were the clever ones and me. As they worked outside I was responsibe for the home. I used to do everything on my own. And in such an atmosphere I was obliged not to speak to my father-in-law, or show affection to my own kids...it was considered improper. These I never believed in but their manners was like that. You have to obey…
> [Off the record] I couldn't say it properly...your professors will know and everyone else will hear but look let me tell you. I got married and said "My God, my dad is still alive and torturing me. Comes home exhausted, makes us prepare cement mixture or pull water. The same went on after I got married...how can I tell these? [192]

As stated earlier, although there have occured status changes in women's lives, sources of oppression change accordingly without challenging the route of patriarchy. Different males oppress females at different stages of life in differing levels and forms. Still most of the accounts revealed that conditions are improved relatively in their own marriages than their former experiences in their families, which can be related to the improved life standards and developing middle class values.

A relatively powerful means to challenge the traditional role of being a female household in the family is to improve conditions by education, which in fact points to a paradox as only those families with concern for improving standards for their daughters by education, can grant higher status for them in the domestic sphere as well. Although

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[192] *Confidential, interviewed by Asli Duru in April 3, 2006 at her home in Istanbul "Ben evlendim çok büyük bir ailenin içine gelin girdim. Büyükler, üç erkek kardeş, onların karıları, bir sürü görümce, çocuk… Günlerim birden bire soba, çamaşır, kömür taşıma, kuyudan su çekme, doldurma, temizlik – elektrik süpürgesi de yok – çalı süpürgesiyle geçmeye başladı. Bahçeli bir evdi. Eltiler arasında iş bölümü olmazdı. Çünkü akıllılar vardı. Bir de ben. Onlar çalışıyorlar diye evden ben sorumluydum. Her şeyi yalnız başıma yapardım. Ve böyle bir ortamda kayınpederimle konuşmam, çocuğumu sevmem yasaktı..ayıp sayılırdı. Bana ters geliyordu bunlar ama töreleri böyleydi. Uyacaksın…*
[Kayıtdışı] Aman ben burada tam söyleyemedim tabii..hocan duyacak..herkes duyacak.. Ama bak ben sana söyleyeyim. Ben evlendim. "Allahım," dedim "meğer babam ölmemiş benim"..hep aynı şeyler… Gelir eve sinir küpü, harç kardırır, su çektirir. Aynısı koca evinde devam etti. Ben sana bunları nasıl anlatayım… "

all women fall into the category of being unpaid workers at home, education seems to have made a difference for those who could access to it.

> [On her responsibilities at home being the daughter] The facilities provided for my education were very good for the conditions of the time. And I was making use of those facilities. Of course, I would help a little when needed but I had no regular responsibilities. The condition was not similar for even the friends with better income and smaller households. Their mothers would go visit their friends. They had to look after their sisters and brothers. My mother was not like that. She did not go visit friends or so but they let me free for my education. I told this to a class recently. When we lived in Altunizade, in that house with the shared garden, one of our relatives was living in the outbuilding of a house in Altunizade. The owners of the house used to come rarely, especially in summers. It is then that they service the owners, and in winters they look after the house and the garden. We visited them once. I am peers with their daughter. She had to service tea to the house and I went with her. They were in the garden, crowded, sitting around a table. Young people, almost the same age with us were sitting separately by the swing, they were having fun. We were chatting in a little darker place, my friend go for service when necessary. And she was engaged. I of course did not attract the attention of the owners of the house. Later on one of them got up, brought the tea glass, he was a man. He asked who I was. When he learned that I was a neighbor he asked whether I was engaged as well or not. My friend suddenly answered instead of me "No, she is not engaged, because she goes to school." The man suddenly became interested in me. He asked which school in surprise. When I said "Faculty of Literature." he said "Aa, how young you are." He called me to the table, and the young ones too, to introduce me, telling them that I was going to school. His own children around 20 years of age, going to high school were within that group. He said to them, "Stop playing with the swing, come here and ask her what she does, how she does." They came, of course, unpleased. This incident was unpleasant for me. I thought "Why, they could have been interested in me the other way around, as well.[193]

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[193] *Aysel Utku, "[Evin kızı olarak evle ilgili sorumluluklarına dair] Okumam için bana o koşullarda çok geniş sayılabilecek imkânlar sağlanmıştı. Ben de o imkânları kullanıyordum. Yani yine de tabii ucundan tutacağım şey olursa yapardım ama öyle düzenli sorumuluğum yoktu. Hatta bu bizden durumu daha iyi olan, daha az kalabalık ailesi olan arkadaşlarım için bile böyle değildi. Onların anneleri gezmeye güne falan giderlerdi. Onlar kardeşleriyle ilgilenmek zorunda kalırlardı. Benim annem o yüzden değil tabii. Öyle günü münü yoktu ama okuyayım diye beni ellemezlerdi.*
Geçenlerde derste de anlattım. Şöyle..biz Altunizade'de otururken o ortak bahçeli evde, Bir akrabamız yine Altunizade'de bir köşkün müştemilatında oturuyordu. Köşktekiler nadiren geliyorlar, özellikle yazları. Onlar da onlara o zaman hizmet ediyorlar, kışın da köşke göz kulak oluyorlar, bahçeye bakıyorlar filan. Bir akşam onlara gittik. Evin kızıyla ben akran gibiyim. Köşktekilere çay servisi yapması gerekti. Ben de onunla gittim. Bahçedeler onlar. İnsanlar bir masanın etrafında oturuyorlar, kalabalıklar. İleride de bizimle yaşıt gençler ayrı oturuyorlar, salıncak falan var, eğleniyorlar. Biz ikimiz de şöyle biraz daha karanlık bir köşede oturup sohbet ediyoruz, arada servis yapılması gerekince arkadaşım gidiyor geri geliyor. Bu kız da nişanlı. Evin sahiplerinin dikkatini çekmedim tabii ben. Sonra nedense bir tanesi kalktı, çay bardağını getirdi, bir adamdı. Benim için 'Kim' diye sordu. Akrabası olduğumu öğrenince 'Sen de nişanlı mısın?'diye sordu bana. Benim yerime arkadaşım atıldı 'Hayır o nişanlı değil çünkü o okuyor' dedi. Adam birden ilgilendi benimle. Şaşırarak sordu "nerede okuyorsun" diye. 'Edebiyat Fakültesi'nde' deyince, 'Aa, pek de küçüksün'dedi çağırdı beni masaya, o ileridekileri de

Her story of being first thought of as a rural girl engaged at a young age, who was later addressed by the owner of the mansion for her success, is a vivid narrative of codes of status applied in the era of social mobility and urban class development. Being invited to tea by the owners and leaving her servant relative parallels her transition of being the daughter of a rural migrant family to a professional urbanite. It is also important to realize how natural sounding life events such as being engaged or being a university student, or failing at school are hierarchically conceived.

Being engaged and married at an early age was a common practice for achievement of status and emancipation especially among unpaid domestic female laborers. Informal forms of female labor have always been existent in the Turkish society. Having domestic slaves and adopting children for domestic service under the Islamic code were common practice.[194] In the early Republican era adopting orphans or buying children from the villages or migrant families was common, too.[195]

> My mother called them to come from the village. At first we had monthly paid workers. Later on my mother thought about it and said, "We have relatives there, and they have children. I should better take them rather than others, so I would also glorify them.[196]

A major difference in the exploitation processes of these people's labor is that the deal is never an objective bargain but always disguised with thoughts of charity, protection and education. As is the case in the account the woman who brought children

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çağırdı beni takdim etti okuyormuş diye. Lisede misede olan yirmili yaşlarda kendi çocukları varmış o grup içinde 'bırakın şu salıncağı malıncağı, gelin sorun bakalım ne yapıyormuş, nasıl yapıyormuş diye' diye seslendi onlara. Geldiler onlar tabii canları sıkılarak. Sonra bu olay benim canımı sıkmıştı. 'Niye yani, öbür türlü de bana ilgi gösterselerdi' diye düşünmüştüm."

[194] Refer to Ferhunde Özbay, Turkish Female Child Labor in Domestic Work: Past and Present, Project Report For ILO, 1999, İstanbul, BOUN Press for more information on the historical rootes of child labor and slavery in the Turkish society.

[195] Ibid, pp.20-24.

[196] *Melahat Öralay, "[Evde 'yardımcı' olanlarla ilgili.] Annem köyden gelin gelmişti. İlk önce aylıkçılar vardı bizde…sonra annem düşündü taşındı 'bizim orda akrabalarımız var..onların çocukları var..başkasını şey yapana kadar onları alayım..hem onları da yüceltiyim'…"*

from her on village as free domestic laborers and replaced her waged domestic workers, was not exploiting them but privileging these rural children by taking them to the city. Whose way of paying back for her favor was to become unwaged workers in the textiles workshop she established later.

Another difference with these children called *evlatlık*s was that they are considered as members of the family without having rights to benefit from all familial means. That is, they are not necessarily educated, or trained to improve an individual skill as their own children are provisioned. Still their marriages are arranged too and they are given bridal presents. It seems like an evlatlık was considered appropriate for someone for whom domestic work including from daily home care, to looking after smaller children, or physically disabled households or the elderly was an inborn skill and a natural task.

> There were many adopted children then. Everybody took an unmarried girl into their house… Doorkeepers acted as intermediaries. "Adopted," meaning actually maid. The kind name is "adopted." In fact, a maid was doing all types of work. Cleaning, and that kind of… For example someone's child comes from the village…does the cleaning of the women...this was almost the general situation. Look, for instance, my grandmother had an adoptee before me. Before me, meaning when I was little. When she was sick, she became paralyzed. She had her when she was healthy as well. The girl was later arranged a marriage. There were adopteds in Levent. But in general, the wives of the doorkeepers were working. Just like today. This situation became widespread after those times.[197]

The phrase "before I was old enough" the informant uses to explain the necessity of someone to help with the domestic work, in fact, summarizes the inherent mentality equating the granddaughter with the adopted servant girl on the basis of being the female power to provide domestic service. However, the difference comes out when the story of the evlatlık comes out being wedded to an old man (most probably as a maid

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[197] *Bahar Duru, "Evlatlık çoktu o zaman... Herkes bir bekar kız alır yanına..kapıcılar aracı oluyordu.Yani evlatlık..onun adı eşittir hizmetçi. Kibar olsun diye evlatlık..aslında hizmetçi her işe bakıyordu. Süpürge, silgi... Mesela köyden birinin çocuğu geliyor..kadınların temizliklerini yapıyor..aşağı yukarı geneldi.. Bak mesela benden evvel büyükannemin evlatlığı varmış. Benden evvel..yani büyümeden..ben çok küçükken..hastalanınca. Felç olmuştu. Eli ayağı tutarken de varmış ama. Sonra evlendirilmiş. Levent'te evlatlıklar vardı. Ama genelde en çok kapıcı karıları çalışıyordu. Şu andaki gibi. Zaten bu, o zamanlardan sonra yaygınlaştı."*

again, but this time through marriage) having tuberculosis, which had been kept as a secret, and finally died of this illness at an early age.

It is evident that the patriarchal ideology of exploiting female labor contextualizes in accordance with other contextual variables. It is seen that there have emerged versions of utilizing religiously or traditionally formal institutions such as adoption or marriage to access to the informal ownership of female labor especially at times of population mobility and migrant influx. Likewise, the case with rural immigrants and changes taking place in living terms of all urban subjects – new and former – should be seen as the context of emergence of cleaning ladies as symbols of middle class domesticity as well as their employers becoming into professional housewives.

The domination of apartments as the main residential typology affected the development of the relation between cleaning ladies and middle class domesticity in two ways. First, due to the decrease in space in the flats, living with an unpaid servant (*emektar*) became physically difficult. Although in the first apartment flat plans, a bedroom for one serving person was included, this space in time was converted into an inbuilt closet in accordance with apartments becoming popular and requiring more economical usage of space. Second, although emektars generally used to be non-kin people, having them was considered as an extension of living as an extended family which was incompatible with the new middle class concerns about privacy and the nuclear family ideal. Combined with the objective reality of male unemployment and increased rural population in the city, door-keeping families emerged as the providers of domestic work in the apartments.

In relatively formal ways as doorkeepers, and completely informal ways as cleaning ladies, these people of the squatters or the downstairs became the new urban subjects.[198]



Fig. 19 Doorkeeper families' windows and flats in various apartments.

> Our doorkeeper at the 10th block said there is a women like this, she can help you and she is in need. She came to my grandmother as a tailor at first. Asiye started to stay with us. She lived in Çeliktepe. She had come from Bayburt when her husband was dead. When she stayed with us, she stayed in my mother's and my room. But she could not stay every night because she had kids. She stayed due to my grandmother's illness. Her responsibilities were everything. My grandmother (mother of my mother)

[198] Refer to *Untidy Gender: Domestic Service in Turkey*, Gül Özyeğin, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 2001 for different female identities of domestic work.

> used to go to Ankara for treatment for cancer. She would stay. I was at school. My mother at work. Asiye stayed with my grandmother. Her house was close. She had no monthly income. She would take weekly, monthly.. randomly like that. It was not regular what she took. We gave her many things besides the money. Anything, fabric… for her children…. My old clothes. She had many kids. And she was very poor, but other than that I do not know what my grandmother used to pay her. But she did of course…. Because the woman was very pleased. They were in everybody's house… doorkeepers' wives all used to work. My mother sent many of Asiye's relatives to her relatives. For example, she found jobs for Asiye's daughter many times. For example, there was an American family living downstairs. The man was a doctor, the woman a housewife. After she gave birth to her second child she washed the child diapers all day long. In their house. She cleaned the windows, the house. The mother took care of the children. There were not many women working.[199]

Leaving the housework to the cleaning lady and being only responsible for childcare (and cooking most of the times) seems like an attempt to benefit from the cleaning person the same way as home technology. That is, how these women's labor contributes to middle class domesticity, in these early phases of the establishment of a dignified and professional housewife identity, is equivalent to the washing machine or the vacuum cleaner. Their coming upstairs to clean the houses is associated directly with living modern.

> Asiye was working hard in our house, she did not go work in another house. Later on, when we grew up, when my grandmother was healthy again, she went to other houses once or twice a week. There were women working half a day. Going to more than one house. For example she comes and goes between 08:00-13:00.but there were not as many houses to go as there is

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[199] *Bahar Duru, "10.bloktaki kapıcımız dedi ki böyle böyle bir kadın var, hem size yardım etsin hem ihtiyacı var dedi. Büyükanneme terzi diye gelmişti ilk önce. Asiye bizde kalmaya da başladı. Çeliktepe'de oturuyordu. Bayburt'tan gelmişti kocası ölünce. Kalınca benim ve annemin odasında kalıyordu. Ama çocukları vardı diye her gece kalamıyordu. Kalması büyükannemin rahatsızlığına bağlıydı. Sorumlulukları her şeydi. Anneannem kanser tedavisi için Ankara'ya giderdi, kalırdı. Ben okuldayım. Annem işte. Asiye büyükannemle kalırdı. Evi de yakın olunca. . . . Asiye'nin maaşı yoktu..Asiye haftalık, aylık..böyle rastgele..hiçbir mantığı yoktu aldığının. Çok da öteberi veriyorduk paranın yanı sıra. Aklına ne geliyorsa..kumaşından tut çocuklarına mesela..benim yeni kalan küçülmüşlerimi..çok çocuğu vardı çünkü..çok da fakirdi..ama bunun dışında ananem ne veriyordu bilmiyorum..ama yapıyordu tabi..çünkü memnundu kadın. Herkesin evinde vardı..kapıcı karıları hep çalışıyordu. Annemin kendi akrabalarına Asiye'nin akrabalarından çok gönderdiği oldu aynı şekilde. Mesela Asiye'nin kızına çok iş bulmuştur. Mesela altımızda bir Amerikalı aile vardı. Adam doktordu, kadın ev kadını. İkinci çocuğunu doğurunca kadın akşama kadar bez yıkardı. Onların evinde. Cam siler, ev siler. Çocuklara da anneler bakardı. Çok çalışan kadın yoktu ki o zaman… "*

today. Those days especially before the bayrams. Nowadays it is just like a regular job.[200]

What is interesting in the informants' explanation of their relation with the working lady is that she hardly admits that the rural migrant woman – a widow, and the mother of four children – is working to make a living for herself and her children. The whole relation is woven so informally that the basic fact that these women are "apparently" laboring remained unrecognized until the informants commented on the situation today for which they can perceive these women's labor "in the status of a working woman."[201]

Whatever the attributed identity entail, keeping the physical and social order of the house is a female responsibility. While in the times when domestic technology was not available for the majority of households, urban or rural, women had great difficulties in sustaining the home as an institution and had to allocate most of their time and energies to physical sustenance in the form of domestic work. Later developments like rapid urbanization and availability of different lifestyles provisioned by an ordered income gave way to improvements in domestic life in the physical sense. The apartment as both a newly emerging spatial and social code contributed to the reordering taking place in the urban domestic life. As provision of domestic physical infrastructure became easier, psychological aspects of female existence at home increased giving way to what can be described as the urban middle class housewife.

In accordance with the decrease in material restrictions, a determining feature of this form of social existence is the high level of status aspects attributed to it. That is,

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[200] *Bahar Duru, "Asiye bizde yoğundu, başka yere gitmezdi. Sonra sonra...biz büyüyünce, ananem iyileşince haftada bir-iki başka yerlere de gidiyordu.*
Yarım gün çalışan kadınlar da vardı. Birden çok işe giden. Mesela 8-13.00 gelir, gider. Ama şimdiki gibi çok değil gidilen evler..o zaman özellikle de bayram üstleriydi... Şimdi resmen iş gibi."

[201] *Bahar Duru, "Tabii ki...kızlar daha çalışan kadın statüsünde."*

what is aimed to be defined is a female identity for which the house is not only a home to be loved and cared for but is a professional field of activity and creation. Another dimension of this re-relativization of meanings on the home is that, by moving into apartments the domain of action has lessened, and become compact and identical. Therefore the need for being satisfied with life is achieved by defining domestic work as a profession.

Identical in production and typology "the house in the modern world is a consumer's item, a neutral product, like a box, like a car, a television set."[202] This is why, limited in action and scope middle class women of the flats look for new means to express themselves.

> There used to be no such construction and decoration mania among women in the past. Now there is. Tiles, kinds of tiles for bathrooms for the floors, doors..how should I say...I don't rememb anything like that in the past. This has a relation with being well mannered. [203]

Being the designer and the provider of domestic privacy, women increasingly perceived of their homes as showrooms of their lifestyles. As housework and female labor became more and more invisible in the spatially and organizationally limited apartment flat, house recreation and decoration emerged as new means of self expression. The emphasis of the informant on "manners," on the other hand, underlines another dimension of the issue that, it is mostly those who established their "urban property owner status" later are inclined to Express their status via consumption on decoration or maintenance.

The process of making the home visible as a whole initiated with the opening of locked up salons first for weekly female visits or formal evening guests. However, as

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[202] Kuban 1996, 5 cited in Kennedy, "A Comparison Between Women Living in Traditional Houses and Women Living in Apartment in Historical Context," p. 12

[203] *Bahar Duru, "Bu kadar tutku halinde böyle bir inşaat deliliği yoktu kadınlarda. Şimdi kadınlarda inşaat deliliği var. Kalebodur, fayans, banyo, doğrama, kapı..ne bileyim ben..böyle bir eşya deliliği de yoktu..Ben hatırlamıyorum yani... Bunun görgüyle ilgisi var."*

the process of lifestyle reorganization took its pace, the status transformation of females at home shifted accordingly. As terms of housework changed due to technology and availability of an informal labor force, the status of the hard working, worn-out housewife shifted towards the professional domesticity provider having the know-how and means to order and beautify the house, which is the primary figure of self identification first for her and her family.

The whole experience female households went through throughout the process of apartmentalization and the changing terms of domestic work imply significant shifts in the social status of women in the urban context. However, considering that the dissatisfaction reflected mainly through awkward consumption patterns in the home, which was common for all the informants in this case) signals that the changes that place did not essentially improve the conditions of female existence at home and could only change the modes and measures of oppression to less deprivating ones.

Inside the Nest

Anybody home?...The Mother and the Child

The spatial segregation of men and women and the related outcomes of it has roots much deeper than the rise of apartments in the rapidly growing urban centers of Turkey from the 1950s onwards. Space is gendered, that is why some spaces imply masculinity in their becoming into place, others are associated with femininity – the home being a major example of this.

The home is associated heavily with marriage and maternity and the assumption that the "right place for a woman is her home"[204] expresses the embeddedness of this in

[204] The saying in Turkish is "Kadının yeri evdir."

the Turkish culture. What the apartments attached to the way this was experienced in former family houses either in the city or the rural village is that, the apartment unit increased the level of segregation, not only from the male households or male foreigners, but from the rest of society as a whole.

Regarding their former residentialities, which in this case refer to the squatter settlement, the konak, and the rural house, the informants all report high levels of socialization. Although Islamic or traditional conservatism, which was determining in these former houses, may give the idea that females were under strict isolation from men, the idea seems to reflect a common stereotype as a much more vivid, satisfying and close human relationships are described regarding these former times. Even in cases where spatial segregation of sexes was strictly applied, due to extended family structure, or physical closeness in the villages or the squatter neighborhood women had stronger social ties with each other.

> There was a teacher, his wife was a housewife. And a police officer. His wife was also a housewife. There was anybody- people of any occupation- but all housewifes. There were not many women working. We had a landlord coming in summers. They lived in France. This first house was very weird for me. In Afyon people wear nice clothes when they go out. It was like a village there. Some wore things like a sheet, how to say, we call it a bag, brown things like that they used to cover their heads with and pajamas, white pajamas on their legs, they went to the bazaar. I was very surprised. I did not see anybody there, I did not even go to the bakkal. Şevket used to work until the morning. I was scared. I worked for almost two years. I was married for six months. I was bored at home. No going out, nothing. Şevket had a new job. They were hiring workers. He brought me. We worked together for two years. We went in the morning, came back in the evening. It was good. They fired me because I was pregnant. My insurance is left as it is since then. I enjoyed working I should say. [205]

[205] *Elif Kayı, "Bir öğretmen vardı; hanımı ev hanımıydı. Bir de polis... Onunki de ev hanımıydı. Herkes [her meslekten insan] vardı ama hep ev hanımıydı yani. Çalışan kadın yoktu fazla. Ev sahibimiz vardı. Onlar da yazdan yaza gelirlerdi. Fransa'da oturuyorlardı. Bu ilk ev çok garip gelmişti bana. Afyon'da insanlar dışarı çıkarken giyinir kuşanır. Orası köy gibiydi yani. Kimisi böyle çarşaf gibi...değişik...ne diyeyim ona...çuval deriz biz...öyle kahverengi bir şeyleri kafalarına örtüp...ayakları pijamalı, beyaz pijamalı pazara çıkıyorlardı. Biz çok şaşırırdık. Ben orada hiç kimseye gitmezdim bakkala bile gitmezdim yani. Şevket işe giderdi sabaha kadar. Korkardım. İki yıl kadar da çalıştım ben. Evleneli altı ay olmuştu. Canım sıkıldı evde. Çıkmak yok, bir şey yok... Şevket yeni bir işe girmişti. İşçi alıyorlarmış. Beni de götürdü. İki yıl beraber çalıştık. Sabah gidiyorduk, akşam geliyorduk. İyiydi. Sonra hamile kalınca çıkarttılar. Sigortam da öylece kaldı. İki yıllık. Ama seviyordum ben çalışmayı."*

It is undeniable that urbanization and change of residential typology towards apartments led to physical and social improvements in lifestyle for the general population, but for women in particular. It is definitely the fact that urban anonymity helped social pressure on female social visibility diminish. However, it is also factual that, built in the center of urban social and material facilities, the apartment flats and isolation in them have effected significantly the cultural shock these people had to bear while channeling into the pool of urban middle classness, which may be part of the explanation of the feeling of loss and dissatisfaction with life inherent in these subjects.

> Let me tell you something, as I remember, women used to go out more, other than the one or two women I know… There were weekly or monthly gathering days of women. For example the 24th of the month, it is the visit day of Mrs. … and the 5th is another one's… My mother used to attend visits at night..with husbands and wives. "My parents will visit you if you are at home?" kind-of visits. No TV sets… Radio was turned off as it was thought to be unkind..I mean inappropriate.[206]

> In Afyon the gardens were adjacent and people were not sitting in their homes as they do today, neighbors used to see each other a lot. Day and night. At breakfast or dinner. We used to have visitors at 12:00 am at night, for example. We would get up and cook something for all of us. Neighbors used to come at sahur[207]. For example, you can not do that here. You can not even go to the one upstairs. When we came here we did not like it at first. It was bad but we even got used to the Sanayi Mah. I had no neighbors at first. I made friends thanks to İlker [her son]. Nobody used to know each other. We met them when he made friends. Nobody from the apartment came to visit me to welcome. We did not visit anyone. This went on for two years. Those days I did not like it here.[208]

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[206] *Bahar Duru, "Sana bir şey söyleyeyim mi; benim hatırladığım bir-iki kadın dışında; eskiden kadınlar daha çok geziyorlardı. Kabul günleri vardı. Mesela ayın 24'ü bilmem ne Hanım'ın günü..5'i bir başkasının.. Annem akşam oturmalarına katılırdı. Karılı kocalı. ''Müsaitseniz annemler size gelecek' oturmaları.. Televizyon falan yok. Radyo da ayıp sayılır kapatılırdı."*

[207] Meal held after midnight during the month of fasting.

[208] *Elif Kayı, "Afyon'da bahçeler bitişikti. Bir de şimdiki kadar insanlar içine, evine kapanmazlardı yani komşular çok görüşürdü. Gece, gündüz. Kahvaltıya, yemeğe... Gece 12.00'de bize misafir gelirdi mesela. Kalkılır, bir şeyler pişirilirdi. Sahurda falan komşular çıkar gelirdi mesela yani. Gidemezsin burada öyle birine. Şu üst kattakine bile gidemezsin. biz buraya geldiğimizde burayı sevemedik başta. Kötüydü ama Sanayi Mah.'ne bile alışmıştık. Burada komşu edinemedim başta. İlker'in [oğlu] sayesinde tanıştım. Kimse tanışmazdı. O arkadaş edinince tanıştık. Apartmandan kimse 'hoş geldin'e gelmedi. Biz de kimseye gitmezdik. İki sene sürdü böyle. O zamanlar güzel gelmezdi işte buralar."*

The accounts point to an interesting reality: both the educated woman from a well-off urban family, who used to live in a two-storey garden house, and the rural migrant woman, who had experienced life in the gecekondus and finally accomplished owning her urban share in the form of an apartment flat, describe their dissatisfaction and isolation in very similar terms.

> Then we moved to a flat in Maltepe. We lived there for five years. There was central heating but no free land or garden. My kid was longing to play in the garden with his friends. I mean it is very different to live in an apartment. In the house you feel happy, you are free. But in the apartment building the stress and pressure of the building...how should I express… You lock yourself up in between four walls. Therefore the house with a garden is more contenting. You get no smell in the flat...the rain...the plants or the soil… I feel myself imprisoned. Neighbor relations are better in the house, too. You step out to the balcony and you converse. But here you are on your own, you can't see anyone. I live in the seventh floor, and I make friends with the birds. Everybody is either at work or sitting at home. Everyone has separate doors...you say "hello" if you meet on the steps...and there is nothing more…[209]

> Those times although houses were scattered around we were living close to each other. For instance here in the apartment I say "hello" to everyone, but there is nothing shared. I mean although we live more close to each other here we are so far from each other. It is also the case with our children at home I mean…[210]

Social ties produced either by garden parties or doorstep chatting in the squatter are cut and remain unreplaced. Limited social interaction in the family may be evaluated as the remedy for achieving the nuclear family ideal, but the cost is mostly paid by women being the permanent dwellers of homes.

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[209] *Filiz Çankaya, interviewed by Aslı Duru, March 15, 2006, at Fikriye Boyacı's home in İstanbul, Turkey. "Sonra Maltepe'de bir daireye taşındık. Beş yıl orada oturduk. Kaloriferliydi ama bahçe arsa falan yoktu. Çocuğum buna ve arkadaşlarına çok özlem çekiyordu. Yani binada oturmak çok farklı. Bahçeli evde kendini özgür hissediyorsun, mutlusun. Ama binada otururken o binanın...sıkıntısı diyeyim..stresi diyeyim… Dört duvar arasına kendini hapsetmişin. Onun için bahçeli ev daha mutluluk verici. Dairede hiçbir şeyin kokusu yok. Toprak, yağmur, çiçek... Kendimi hapis hissediyorum. Komşuluk da bahçeli evde daha mutluluk verici. Balkona çıkınca 'Günaydın komşu, nasılsın' diye muhabbet edebiliyorsun. Ama burada yan yana, baş başasın, kimseyi göremiyorsun. Yedinci katta oturuyorum sadece kuşlarla arkadaşlık yapabiliyorum. Herkes ya çalışmasında ya evinde… Herkesin kapısı ayrı. Ya merdivenlerde karşılaşınca bir "merhaba" diyebiliyoruz, ya da onun dışında yok."*

[210] *Meral Diren, "O zaman evler tek tek ayrı ayrı olmasına rağmen çok yoğundu yaşamak beraber. Şimdi burada mesela herkesle merhabam var ama paylaşım yok. Yani burada çok daha iç içe yaşadığımız halde çok daha uzağız insanlardan. Çocuklarımızla da öyle yani… "*

The group affected most by residential and spatial change in the living environment is the children. Children comprise the second group whose lives are vulnerable the most to changing domesticities. The vulnerability arises, first due to the child's being effected by the mother's discontent and depression of the way she lives as it is mostly the mother the child depends on at home. The second dimension of the child's being affected is due to the restricted physical conditions spatial change brought to his/her life. The process of their parents' becoming into the status they aimed at, is at the same time the process of the construction of childhood as a spatially restricted, and an unable period of life in terms of potentiality. That is, the period of being forced out of gardens and yards into the boundaries of the apartment home is followed by the reconceptualization of the child merely in terms of material needs, and mainly schooling.

> I can't believe they raised children for free. For instance, I took no money from my parents when I was a kid. I mean there was no such thing. I mean everything was provided for us, but nothing like "take this and this is your pocketmoney." There was no such mentality. And we didn't think of it either. How easy to grow up children as such! Now we are suffering being parents... *(Laughs)*. [211]

Taken into consideration the explicit relation of education with upward mobility in the era, it is understandable that the basic role for the middle class child was to be a student, and a good one. Interesting data on how active status transformation processes were and in what ways education was key in accomplishing these in the era, comes from the fact that school drop off percentages of doorkeeper families' children compared with those of the squatter families' was lower.[212] A survey conducted among

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[211] *Mihriban Arabacı, "Ya, bedava çocuk büyüttüler. Mesela ben hiç para almazdım evden. Öyle bir şey yoktu yani. Her şeyimiz vardı. Ama " al bu da senin eline bir harçlıktır, lazım olur" falan hiç öyle bir şey yoktu. Zihniyet yoktu. Bizde de istemek gibi bir şey yoktu. Aklımıza gelmiyordu. Ne rahat çocuk büyütmek! Biz şimdi perişanız yaa... (Gülmeler)."*

[212] Özyeğin, *Untidy Gender.*

families of both kinds sharing similar income standards shows that encounters with apartment families and the domesticity they experienced has been observed and imitated in order to achieve a similar lifestyle.

The homogeneity found in being middle class by the parents had its counterpart in being students on the part of their children. Still as no homogeneity in effect can be spoken of, the same is valid for the children. That is, as the parents status changed and there emerged new urban identities such as the apartment or squatter dwellers; or the flat owners, tenants and the doorkeepers; the same applied for the children in their own spheres.[213]

Interestingly it is proven by research that children of various income groups whose families live in the apartments or the squatters pointed out a consensus on the concept of the ideal home which came out to be a single house with a few stories but definitely a garden.[214] A following research showed that the women shared the views of their children.

> Everything I like starts with this home. In the former one the kids couldn't go out to play. Everywhere there was traffic. Either me or their father when came to home had to take them out. But in this neighborhood they used to go out right after the breakfast. [215]

> They [two sons and husband] used to play football at home. They used to run around. I was always busy. [216]

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[213] An insightful analysis of the constrcution of childhood in the republican period is found in Ozge, Ertem."The republic's children and their burdens in 1930s and 1940s Turkey: the idealized middle class children as the future of the nation and the image of "poor" children in children's periodicals. (Master's thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2005).

[214] Kennedy, . "A Comparison Between Women Living in Traditional Houses and Women Living in Apartment in Historical Context ," p.135

[215] *Elif Kayı, "Sevdiğim her şey bu evde. İlk evde bunlar [çocukları için] hiç dışarı çıkamıyordu. Caddeydi her yer. Ya ben; ya babaları eve gelince çıkartacaktı. Ama burada kahvaltıdan sonra çıkıyorlardı."*

[216] *Güner Kayıran, "Onlar (iki oğlu ve eşi) evin içinde top oynarlardı, koşuştururlardı. Benim hep işim vardı."*

Besides the significance the consensus of the ones who are really "at home" entails in understanding the effects of rapid urban residential change, the fact that the same mothers advised their children not to play with the doorkeepers' children or force them to be the best at school remains proof of how conflicting the measures of a certain social positioning may be. [217]

The increase in terms of living in the domestic sphere as well as the intimacy of the nuclear family model are undeniable improvements of children's conditions at home. It is evident that the children of past generations had to deal with harsher conditions and were less recognized as experiencing a totally different phase of life.

> As a kid I was sorry that mum was so busy. For example, the mums of other kids used to rush to the door to give their kids some things and I really admired that. My mum could never do that. It was rather like "let's leave at once, leave, just go!" Nobody cared. It was not due to the physical conditions at home but due to the crowd inside. Rather it is due to the fact that mum was so busy. By the crowd I mean my grandparents, three brothers and dad. But everything was mum's duty, therefore she couldn't take care specially of me. I remember very well, I used to starch my collars myself during primary school, and I used to tell my friends that mum had done it. It is because I wanted it be done by mum. I used to iron and hang my uniform myself and again say that mum did it. I had a friend living close who more or less knew that I did these things. When she said, "you do these

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[217] Knowledge on the discriminatory ideas and restrictions being imposed on cjildren especially by mothers depends on personal experience. However, the extents and effects of this kind of segregation based on social status among doorkeeper families and other apartment inhabitats is illustrated by the own accounts of doorkeeper families from the interviews held by Gül Özyeğin in *Untidy Gender*.

Sorting out the ideas on measures of social discrimination was one of the dimensions during the interviews made for this study. However, a conflicting situation emerged due to the fact that the informant profile was designed so as for those people who identified themselves as middle class, and therefore would not comment sincerely on their ideas and practices of social discrimination but merely keep the conversation on the anonymous level of criticising "other" groups in general.

Another interesting aspect of the relation between doorkeeper families and other apartment dwellers is that, although doorkeeper families in time accomplish most terms of flat owners' lifestyles, their status remains "lower," and it is usually claimed that status relates to something "more" than its material preconditions. Suddenly the material symbolism of social status, which makes up the middle class home as a whole, is denied and the content of status is slipped to "origins," and later it is related with "manners" *(görgü)* and so forth until the narrative reaches to a vague combination of all these that is found inaccessible enough. That is, same kind of vagueness, which gives the people the feeling of inclusion "within the middle class," is reproduced this time to define the "lower status of the others," doorkeeper families and especially their children living downstairs being the immediate subjects of this kind of discrimination.

> on your own," others used to say "it is not possible that you do these yourself, it is so nicely done, your mum must have done it."[218]

The informant's distinguishing between negativities that are due to spatial lack and others due to her mother's having to deal with everything herself is a clearly proves that changing modes of domesticities does not transform the existent gender order in its essence. Viewed from the daughters' side, in line with the conceptualization of domestic work with femininity, especially the tasks entitled for female children resembled those of their mothers':

> There was no concern like "she is a teenager, she is in adolescence." We used to take care of our parents...it was nearly the opposite. We used to think like "let's save our family order, not ruin it...let's help mum to work less, etc."
> I used to start right on the way home. I used to buy a little something to eat at home with the little money I had. Then I used to take care of my sister, water the garden, serve the guests and then study. And you know what? We were happy. I don't know how but we were happy. [219]

Despite the fact that the life the eldest daughter describes in their well-off family house is completely incompatible with what is called "childhood" today, the informant can identify it as a happy life. The nostalgia over family solidarity constructed in her mind, however, can easily be challenged by cases in which standards of living are lower:

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[218] *Aysel Utku, "Beni de şey mesela annemizin çok meşgul olması üzüyordu. Mesela bazı arkadaşlarımın anneleri onlar okula giderken kapıya falan koşar ellerine bir şeyler tutuştururlardı, ben de çok özenirdim. Benim annemin hiç öyle bir şansı yoktu. 'oooo..sen okula gidiyorsun..hadi çık git..bir an evvel git' hatta... Kimse bakmıyordu bile. O evin darlığından değil kalabalıklığından, daha doğrusu annemin işinin çok olmasındandı. Kalabalık derken de babaannem, dedem, kardeşlerim..ama iş gören bir tek annem..dolayısıyla benimle de çok ilgilenemiyordu. Mesela ben çok iyi hatırlıyorum. İlkokuldayken yakamı falan kendim kolalardım ama arkadaşlarıma annem yaptı derdim. Çünkü annemin yapmasını istiyordum. Önlüğümü kendim ütülerdim, asardım.Annem yaptı derdim. Hatta bir tane çok yakın oturan arkadaşım vardı, kendi kendime yaptığımı az buçuk bilen... 'Sen yapmışsındır' dediğinde diğerleri 'çok güzel olmuş, kendin yapmış olamazsın, annesi yapmıştır' derlerdi."*

[219] *Meral Diren, "'Mesela ay bunu da bir ergenliği mi var, buluğ çağına mı girdi' falan hiç düşünülmedi. Biz onlarla ilgilendik. 'Ayy yuvamız bozulmasın, birlikte olsun, annemin işi azalsın'vs.*
Ben eve gelirken daha başlardım. Cebimde iki kuruş bir şey varsa da onunla balık malık bir şey alırdım eve. Ondan sonra kardeşimi toplarım, bahçeyi yıkarım, misafirlerle ilgilenir, dersimi çalışırdım..oooh..ve çok mutluyduk. Nasıl oluyordu bilmiyorum."

> Especially during the high school when friends were expected to come and stay for the night..that there is no chance to invite..stay together… It was so difficult for me as a teenager.[220]

It seems that very much like the changes and their conflicting outcomes in women's lives in the apartment, the condition of children too has gone through conflicting processes. Physical and spatial improvements at home, such as bedroom differentiation and central heating helped the development of a different mode of domesticity enabling increased privacy and intimacy lived on the basis of the nuclear family. However, these at the same time are the variables of a childhood spatially more restricted, standardized and one mostly rationalized in adult terms of success. Finally, considered that "the first home is the domain for the initial experiences," and that "all our spatial and existential perceptions are defined in terms of what we face there initially,"[221] material confusion and social pressure at home were what the "apartment kids" had to base their perceptions of life on.

Decision-Making and Authority in the Family

Despite the negativities the development of an urban middle class identity living in the apartment flat brought to the status of women at home, the concretization of the whole story emerges as a female project. Highly worn out by the former material and familial conditions the compact and modern apartment flat was first a center of female attraction. Poor physical conditions either due to poverty, or conventional unavailability and the closeness of and vulnerability against extended family ties comprise the main motives behind female residential mobilization towards apartment flats.

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[220] *Hüsnü Büyükcoşkun, "Özellikle ortaokuldan itibaren eve arkadaşlarımın gelmesi söz konusu olunca..işte çağırma şansı yok..gece kalma şansı yok... Çok sıkıntı yaratan bir şey."*

[221] D. Malouf, Twelve Edmondstone Street. Australia: Penguin Books, 1986. p.8 cited in Zehra Akdemir Aksoy, "Konut ve Ev Kavramlarının Karşılaştırmalı Analizi", p.145.

> There was no central heating in those two-storey houses. Thos people were worn out in the cold. The falats were therefore very attractive. As it was the women who suffered the most there they motivated their husbands towards buying apartment flats although they themselves lacked the economic power to do that. [222]

> I was pregnant with my fourth kid in the year 1962. We were living in a smalles house in Kadırga. Thinking that we wouldn't be able to fit in that house, I said, "Let's buy ourselves a flat" to my husband. He said, "never," and said that only a house is bought with its land and not in the form of a single flat. My brother-in-law, who was living downstairs got very angry with me, too. Nobody wanted it, there was no hope. But I knew it was impossible to live there with my four kids. I had nothing, not a refrigerator...nor a washing machine… I was suffering. I used to wash everything by hand, or I was taking it to my mum for some help. Therefore, I really needed a place of my own. And it was impossible to buy a complete house. Then I decided. But I went there with my dad. My husband didn't agree to buy a flat. His whole family was against it. I had nearly a hundred golden coins and a few bracelets. I depended on these. If I hadn't had these I wouldn't be able to insist. . . The flat was in Piyer Loti. But there was no central heating. It's ignorance and being inexperienced! I was already dealing with such difficulties that I couldn't insist on it. Everybody thought my husband wanted it and bought. In fact I admired, decided and struggled until we managed buying it. It was a great deal… We were the first to buy a flat around us...I mean in the family. [223]

Experienced within the existent traditional paternal structures of decision making, the story of the lifestyle transformation in the era from the 1950s onwards has been filled with female strategies applied by skills on what may be called "husband management." Where material and status means did not suffice to accomplish goals, skills of husband

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[222] *Mihriban Arabacı, "Kaloriferli evler yoktu o zaman iki katlı evlerde. Yıpranmıştı o insanlar soğukla falan. Daireler o yüzden çok çekici geldi. Bundan da en çok kadınlar mustarip olduğu için..kendi maddi güçleri olmasa da kocalarını apartmanlara yönlendirdiler."*

[223] *Mediha Erkan, "1962 senesinde ben dördüncü çocuğuma hamileydim. Kadırga'da küçücük evde oturuyorduk. Ben bu eve sığmayacağımızı düşünerek açtım eşime. 'Biz bir daire alalım' dedim. O 'Asla olmaz. Topraktan alınır ev; daire olarak alınmaz' dedi. Kaynım vardı. Aynı evde aşağıda oturuyordu. O da kıyamet kopardı. Hiç kimse istemiyordu. Hiç öyle bir ümit yoktu. Ben de dördüncü çocuğumla o eve sığamayacağımı biliyordum. Hiçbir şeyim yok..buzdolabım yok..çok perişandım..çamaşır makinesi falan da yok..elimde yıkıyordum; ya da annemin evinde yıkıyordum. Bunun için çok ihtiyacım vardı eve. Topraktan ev sahibi olmamız da mümkün değildi. Sonra işte ben karar verdim. Ama babamla gittim. Eşim hiç razı değildi böyle daire almaya. Karşı çıkıyordu bütün ailesi... Ben ev aramaya çıktım babamla ama paradan yana üç beşi birlik, altmış reşatım vardı. Bileziklerim vardı. Sırf bunlara güvenerek çıktım. Bu gücüm olmasaydı diretemeyecektim.... [Ev] Piyer Loti'deydi. Ama kaloriferli değildi. İlk cahillik tabi kaloriferli olsun demedim. Çünkü o kadar zor bir şey yapıyorum ki büyük bir aşama aşıyorum. . . . Herkes zannetti ki eşim istedi aldı. Halbuki ben çok mücadele vererek, heveslenerek, heyecanlanarak yani büyük bir iş yapıyormuş gibi mücadele sonucu aldık. Çevredekilere göre ailede yani benim tanıdıklarımda ilk biz aldık."*

management were key in success in the majority of cases due to lack of alternative resources and therefore fail to be equals in the process of decision making at home.

> I really resisted those people from Kemaliye [her husband's town of origin]. I can say that I openly resisted. I did everything insidiously. They made fun of everything. They were against my taking the children to a summer house, central heating, or buying a music player. They also wouldn't let you move into a flat. I always, always, always struggled and was exhausted. [224]

Although not within the confines of this study, a primary reason for women's strong emphasis on the effects of existence or lack of their own families' support in the course of their marriages, must be due to its relation with their higher access to decision making in their homes.[225] Therefore their struggle backed up by their families' support or merely by their skills at husband management the transfer into apartments and the terms and items of the new domesticity there present a colorful display of female intervention in the paternal decision-making and authority structures in the Turkish family.

Alliances in the Family: The Mother and Children vs. the Father; Mother-in-law vs. the Daughter-in-law

The home is a web of households' relations formed to deal with and satisfy mutual needs, demands, or dependencies of material and/or psychological origins. That is, the domestic arena is an active domain where terms of conflict and consensus shift accordingly with the contexts of the members. In other words the process of setting (any) domestic order is an outcome of clashing backgrounds, values, material interests, etc., which means however stable the familial order may seem, it is usually a point of

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[224] *Mediha Erkan, "Ben çok direndim Kemaliyelilere (Erzincan, eşinin memleketi). Diyebilirim ki bayrak açtım. Her şeyi sinsi sinsi yaptım. Onlara komik geldi çocukları yazlığa götürmek. Müzik seti aldırmazlar, kalorifere karşılar. Kat aldırmazlar. Hep, hep, hep mücadele verdim, yıprandım."*

[225] The repeated phrase during the interviews with females was "You can't make your words count unless you have your people behind you!" (*Arkanda adamın olmazsa sözünü yürütemezsin*!).

equivalence. Likewise, whatever the compulsoriness of the means to sustain the balance may be, the home itself is a sphere multiple subjects seek ways of well being and mostly attributing incompatible meanings to it.

The home, referring to any form of domesticity, entails struggle within itself. It is usually the case that what is considered the more contenting mode of relating one's self to home challenges another member, and depending on the intra-familial status of the person in question the challenge becomes the source of oppression. In this sense the home once considered in terms of the domain of continuous conflict – explicit or not, depending on the terms of dependency between the members – there can be defined different axes onto which different modes of experiencing conflict can be transposed.

A classical axis of conflict in the Turkish domestic scene has been the one between the wife and the mother-in-law living in the same house. The highest status among the female households has traditionally belonged to the husband's mother and there have been various violent or less violent modes of exercising such power on the rest of the family members, in some cases including the man.

Changing places and rituals of the domestic sphere has led to reconfigurations in these existent domestic power relations. That is, the change of domesticity towards apartment lifestyle and the related change in life perspective in general have influenced the main terms of alliances and controversies in the family, the status of the mother-in-law being an explicit example.

The existence of the mother-in-law as the dominant female character at home can be considered as a mere resolution of the existent gender regime. The woman promotes in status as she agrees upon a decent marriage, she provides offspring, and the top experience is left to the stage when another woman arrives to climb up a very similar ladder of status. Therefore the traditional mother-in-law with all the measures and

restrictions she introduces and implements, whether violent or not, is a female source of patriarchal oppression upon other women, while at the same time the benefitter of the privilege the system allocates to her after a period of personal experience of oppression.

> [Speaking of her mother-in-law to refer to the former generation] We didn't make them resign, but somehow they did it themselves… It is as if they were expecting this...maybe they were taking a rest this way…[226]

Due to the social and material transformations that took place in the Turkish family life, the pattern of patriarchal power went through change too. Although it is still possible to find examples of traditional role differentiations at home in urban families of specific regional origins, the status and existence of the mother-in-law at home has to large extent been reduced to concerns of care for the elderly. Formerly the unquestioned authority of the mother of the family as a whole was not necessarily related to her age and physical capacity, but her status was automatically recognized, especially considered the younger ages of being married, having children and becoming mother in laws.

> [227] [The kids] used to share their room with their grandmother. We lived with her for thirty years. Those times it was a tradition that mothers lived in their sons' homes. I never questioned why she was with us. I used to feel sorry to see her silent and I used to think "this woman had a home, too, she had a husband, and kids."

The apartment flat, by reducing the physical burden of domestic work on women, reduced the necessity of the establishment of a domestic power web among female households. Besides, the emphasis on the nuclear family the flat implies

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[226] *Güner Kayıran, "[Bir önceki kuşak için kayınvalidesinden bahsederken] Biz onları evden el çektirmedik de; sanki onlar el çektiler... Bekliyorlardı yani bunun olmasını..dinleniyorlardı belki..."*

[227] *Güner Kayıran, "[Oğlanlar]Babaanneleriyle aynı odada kalırlardı. Kayınvalidemle otuz yıl yaşadık. O zamanlar bir gelenek vardı; çocukların-erkek çocukların yanında yaşamak diye... Hiçbir zaman annesi niye var demedim. Bu kadının da evi vardı, kocası vardı, çocukları vardı diye üzülürdüm o sessiz kalınca. İşaret ederdim Tekin'e (eşi) ilgilensin diye. Kadın hiç sesini çıkarmazdı akşam olup çocuklar ben ve babaları beraber oturunca."*

spatially and as social atmosphere helped the redefinition of the mother-in-law as well as other family members the nuclear family as a unit has to deal with in accordance with the concerns fort he elderly or the family solidarity.

Although the changing domesticity in the apartments helped the consolidation of the nuclear family by redefining the status of other family members in their relation to the basic unit of solidarity, the traditional alliance of the children and the mother against the father can be claimed to remain unchanged. The father as the primary figure of authority continues but in varying degrees due to the strategies of the mother-children alliance to seek ways of realizing acts or implementing ideas. Male children, however, in time generally give up the alliance as they become reduced counterparts of their fathers. So, mainly the female ones, but children in general to a certain age remained as the allies of the mother against the exercise of paternal authority and restrictions in the domestic and social sphere as a whole.

> We were so happy to be with our mothers, brothers and sisters in our homes. We as kids used to help sustain happiness in the family. We used to think it as a task I mean… Yes, it is a fact that Dad provided our material needs. He was not too hard with us, but he as always a problem. In the evenings we were concerned "where is he now," or "what will he be like..will he be like this or that…" That's why we didn't care about dressing nice or going out.[228]

In the apartment flat, too, to a large extent remained unchanged the vulnerability of the mother and children against the power of the father. However a conflicting outcome of extended availability of individuation and recognition of privacy in the domestic sphere gave way to the emergence of the effect of repel within the nuclear family. That is, as intimacy within the unit deepened in the context of increased recognition of individuation, members became more vulnerable against the possibility of being

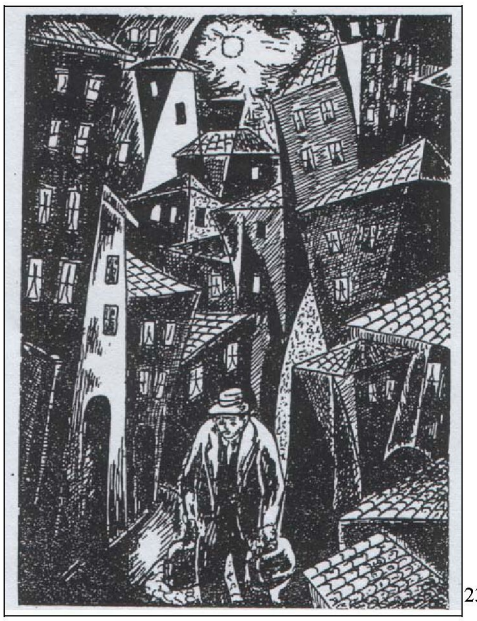
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[228] *Meral Diren, "Biz yuvamızda annemizle kardeşimizle olmaktan çok mutluyduk .Biz hepimiz yuvamızı ayakta mutlu tutmaya çalışırdık. Bunu görev bilirdik yani. Evet babam bizi parasız bırakmazdı. Çok sıkmazdı ama babam evde hep bir sorundu. Biz akşamları 'acaba simdi nerede, nasıl gelecek, öyle mi olacak böyle mi olacak' telaşındaydık. O yüzden öyle giyinelim, gezelim yoktu."*

repelled by each other. The solidarity of the mother and the children is therefore replaced by individual experiencing of atomization on the parts of the members of the family.

Reconsidering a "Lifestyle Revolution," Middle Class Anxieties…

> It is for certain that my views on the apartments have changed. I believe that humans have to be somehow in relation with nature, as they are a part of it. I think, for example these plants in the house are related to this necessity. To tell you the truth it is a bit shameful for me to own a house. It makes me feel like someone who chased after this aim and neglected other things in life. On the other hand, as years pass the need to own a home becomes clear. Of course, I feel a bit disappointed that, being a person who was born and grew up in this city, I am peripheralized to this apartment development in Çekmeköy[229].



[230]

Fig. 20

It is undeniable that the creation of an urban middle class identity beginning with the 1950s succeeded in both material and mind set up terms. In accordance with the

[229] A newly developing suburb to the north of Istanbul's Anatolian part, consisting mainly of luxurious apartment developments.

[230] Illustration by Fethi Karakaş in *Evler* by Behçet Necatigil (Istanbul: Yeditepe, 1953).

residential and material standardization of life in the city, the urban population of the era managed to overcome their points of differentiations in favor of yielding within the middle class uniformity.

The residential change towards apartments which is the physical reflection of the consolidation of middle class values in the Turkish urban population has influenced expectations and routines of everyone included. However, due to the patriarchal family patterns domestic sphere is defined more in terms of the women and children. Therefore the impacts of what may be called a life style revolution taking place since the beginnings of rapid urbanization in Turkey has led to shifts in the attitudes and perceptions of these households towards life.

Residential change, modern amenities and Western interior decoration have influenced the way people experienced domesticity. The apartment flat provided the spatial basis for them to perceive themselves as part of a homogenous community while they at the same time experienced increased privacy and sincerity at home.

Women have been the primary subjects of these developments as a whole. The conflict between having gained access to higher standards of living and labor as well as increased intimacy in their families is what comes out along with dissatisfaction and feeling of loss throughout their life stories. It seems, as they value highly the status and the material standards they achieved by being middle class, the negativities are internalized as the natural remedies for living modern.

> [For her children] They go directly to their bedrooms. There is no chatting, nothing is shared. We can't even agree on which show to watch on TV. This development of technologies has torn people apart from each other...the computers and the TV... People have become only caring for themselves...they want to live in self-suffciency...they only care about this… This is how I see things. It is the case in my family too. I myself like resting on my own too..but there has to be a middle way I mean. We have become

> too much individualistic. I think we have to try and work how things can be better.[231]

"Too much levels of individualism" at home seems to be the main problem in middle class homes. The main difference between the apartment woman and the former generations which, these people differentiated from themselves in their accounts, is that the apartment woman has a social status for being the chief responsible for the home and gains satisfaction for how she deals with this place. However, besides being the primary organizer of space and domestic activities the apartment woman is a socially and spatially isolated person and her attempts to cope with her continuous dissatisfaction with the life she lives reflects on her attempts to gain pleasure by beautifying and showing off the home, which is the primary object of her self esteem.

> Let me tell you..for instance, one of the houses by my parents' old home was converted to an Italian restaurant. They say it is the best in Turkey. We go there once in a while..and we get surprised and say "Oh..it is Erkan's favorite corner, look, it is Ayşe's kitchen." And we like it, but no one else understands. It's as if we are paying a family visit. *(Laughs)*. Companies buy two of the houses along there and build it into one. What else can you do? They planted base stations in front of our door. You can't stay there even if you'd like to. Still we don't want to sell, that house is our history. We lease it. There is this guy, he knows all about construction, he says he'll make it into a cafe. It will be so strange, teenagers in Nihat Bey's salon...the cafe atmosphere… *(Laughs)*. What can we do? Nothing stays the same, my child.[232]

Whatever the extents of upward mobility may be the informants' evaluations on how they live today is followed by the feeling of loss. This is to a large extent related with

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[231] *Meral Diren, "[Çocukları için] Arka odaya gidiyorlar. Konuşma yok dertleşme yok. TV programlarında bile anlaşamıyoruz. Bu teknolojik gelişme herkesi birbirinden ayırdı, bilgisayarlar, televizyonlar. . . . İnsanlar tek başlarına kendi kendilerine yetmeye çalışır, yeter, kendilerini düşünür oldular. Bence öyle… Kendi ailemde de öyle. Dinlenmeyi ben de istiyorum ama birazcık daha bir orta yol bulunmalı yani. Çok bireyci olduk. Biraz daha uğraşmak lazım nasıl olabilir diye."*

[232] *Meral Diren, "Şimdi mesela bir Italyan lokantası aldı annemlerin sırasındaki bir evi. Türkiye'nin en ünlü Italyan Lokantası'ymış. Biz gidiyoruz arada. "Aaa Ertan Abi'nin köşesi. Ayşe Abla'nın mutfağı diye iç geçiriyoruz, hoşumuza gidiyor. Kimse de anlamıyor. Misafirliğe gitmiş gibi. [Gülmeler]. O sıradaki evleri ikişer ikişer alıp yıkıp yeni bina yapıyor şirketler. Ne yapacaksın. Gelip baz istasyonu diktiler kapımızın önüne. Otursan oturamazsın. Satmak istemiyoruz. O ev tarih yani bizim için. Kiracıya veriyoruz. Çok inşaattan anlayan bir adam. Bayağı yenileyip kafe yapacak evi. Çok garip olacak. Nihat Bey'in salonunda gençler falan, kafe ortamı [Gülmeler]. Ne yapalım her şey aynı kalmıyor yavrum… "*

the objective damage rapid urbanization has caused in the urban arena. Unplanned urbanization, pollution, ruining of the socio-historical patterns of the city, and living in a significantly less secure atmosphere form the common domains of complaint and dissatisfaction with the life they live today.



Fig.21 1960s apartment buildings in Üsküdar, İstanbul.

Likewise, focusing more on what has changed in the urban family since the 1950s, it is possible to say that most of the main features of an urban middle class identity are achieved by architectural, communicational, and educational means of social engineering. Among these means the rise of apartments provided the setting and has shown the physical limits of the newly consolidating lifestyle. Although these new homes have led to major improvements in people's everyday lives, they have also turned out to imply the spatial boundaries of their social existence. The specialization of domestic activities in the apartment flats, in other words, the newly developing middle class domesticity and the apartment flat as its stage, has made possible the emergence of differentiated forms of isolation and dissatisfaction with life especially on the part of

women and the younger generations, who have comprised the most vulnerable segments of domestic life.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The main question that prompted the conduct of this study was to analyze the role of apartmentalization in the processes of development of middle classness as a common ground for the urban population of diverse origins and backgrounds in rapidly urbanizing Turkish cities from the 1950s onwards. By which spatial and material means the homogenous perception of urban inhabitancy was provided and how the contradicting nature of this project with today's multi fragmented urban society is experienced as middle class discontent due to "unbelonging" is sought through the accounts of subjects of change in the era. The confusions and traumas experienced in the processes of transition to a modern Western life style and material environment, and the difficulties in the internalization of new values, which are expressed in the accounts, have strengthened the significance of focusing on the seemingly unproblematic and "definitely progressive" shifts that took place in the terms of life.

One of the axes on which the study bases the issue of apartmentalization and formation of the middle class identity is republican modernism. The urban middle class identity is defined strongly on its accordance with the idea of living modern. Along with the traditional didactism of the republic's ideal of modernism becoming an urbanite entailed temporal and spatial differentiation in the course of life. As work and leisure differentiated both in spatial and temporal terms the home became reconceptualized and gained meanings whose internalization as new domestic values

came followed by their materialization in the apartment flat and the modern interiors there. This study aimed to find out the ways modernization of the domestic sphere both physically and in terms of practices is perceived as well as to clarify the confusions led by these developments.

The making of an urbanized social structure out of a dominantly rural one has been rapid and traumatic both as a major social project and in terms of the physical change the process entails. That is, considered the lack of planning and any other form of central intervention, what has happened since the 1950s and especially during the following two decades should be understood as rapid deruralization rather than urbanization. Therefore a paralleling concern during the study was to refer to the central attitude towards the issue That the state failed its role to be the active planner of a social project as significant as urbanization, the major focus of residential change and the creation of a middle class is based on the idea of "spontaneous action," which refers to the people's spontaneous ways of dealing with the problem of housing in the urban area.

The house enables perfectly the analysis of how social engineering processes through architectural means. The making of the apartment home, with its being uniquely dull in architectural character, its arbitrary development, widespreadness, and its significance as a status symbol makes possible the display of the confusions that emerged in the making of urban middle classness.

As stated above what is referred to as middle class throughout the study does not have to do with any theoretical terminology, but rather refers to a state of "living under average circumstances." Although most of the informants lived under circumstances higher than the average they defined themselves as middle class. What the phrase implied in their usage must be a kind of anonymity and the feeling

of security, as speaking of their homes most informants expressed themselves in first person plural, which may emphasize the need to generalize their experience and perceive themselves as part of a wider community.

Thinking on the formation of middle class anonymity and the rise of apartments as its setting necessitates firstly the evaluation of the social and economical context in which these developments occurred. Therefore, first how the apartment as the new residential typology emerged, and in what ways it rose as a socio-economic necessity was focused on. By evaluating the perspectives on the development of the apartment provided by the literature on Turkish urbanization, it was underlined that academic field differentiation in these texts prevents the handling of the apartmentalization issue in its integrity. The phenomenon is either reduced to an architectural typology that became widespread starting with the 1950s, or it is despatialized as a sociological category referring to urbanized domesticity and family life. The issue commonly is reduced to its economic dimensions in both statist and leftist perspectives either from the field of architecture or urban history. Considering this a significant disadvantage, the second chapter of the study attempted to co-relate the contributions of these perspectives and configure the integrity of aspects making up the apartment phenomenon. Starting with sketching briefly the history of multi-family housing in Turkey, the chapter identified what is referred to as the "apartment" among the historically different conceptualizations of the term. Analyzing the shifts in the perception of the apartment as the residential typology, the phenomenological approach to it clarified how the change of attitude towards a more Western definition of domestic everyday life occurred in the Turkish urban context.

The question of what we mean when we say we are home motivated the examination of the nature of the relation between the home, the residence, and the subject's existence. As shifts taking place in subject's perceptions point out the relevant changes taking place in the material context, self appropriation something as vague as the middle class is enabled by the apartment homes. The making of the home is only possible by the existence of a house in material terms and a subject to inhabit in it. Therefore the apartment house was for the new urban subject who sought new ways of experiencing a modern way of inhabitancy. That is, although the rise of the apartments are mainly evaluated as an objective economic reality of the era, that they offered a new status and made possible the expected mode of inhabitancy are significant aspects of their popularization as the dominant middle class residential typology.

The lack of a phenomenological approach towards the apartments has influenced the methodology applied in the study too. The inexistence of a literature with similar concerns implied the necessity of tracing the issue through first person accounts. In fact, choosing methodology as oral history, besides being a vital to finding relevant material, is the most colorful and in-depth means of extracting knowledge on the issue.

In terms of the problems the methodology entailed, it is possible to re-mention those referred to in the beginning of the study. Especially the process of relating and grouping different individuals' accounts on different cases after the process of decoding the recorded interviews through a personal perspective in order to build a narrative relevant with the scope of this study was a hardship that should be re-stated at this final stage. It was ethically difficult and energy consuming to try avoid

reconstructing a narrative out of the informant's words while at the same time trying to do it analytically.

It should also be admitted that it was hard to identify the perceptional similarities in the material consisting stories that are different contextually and in terms of temporality. Subcategorizing meaningfully in order to encapsulate all the relevant experience necessitated a certain limit of flexibility of outlook in the evaluation of the material to be used.

As the informants extended their speeches mainly within three decades following the 1950s, the concern to mediate the level of temporal flexibility in the study is transposed onto the structure, which means in terms of temporality and focus, the study follows the model that came out from the interviews. It is a fact that the informants' levels of intimacy increase when an issue is handled moving gradually from the general to the particular level. In this sense the study first focuses on the general context in which the modern apartment both physically and ideally emerged. Since it was my aim to show that the apartment as a phenomenon points out to integrity of material reality and perceptions, it should therefore be evaluated as a process rather than a temporal moment.

On the way from the general to the intimate the informants revealed moments of comparison. Although there was no intervention asking them to do it, as issues of no major importance like where they had their meals, or slept were talked of, the informants took their moments of recall and willingly and surprisedly revealed what had been different then. Therefore the part focusing on the daily routines of domesticity in the past includes information on the momentary facts about domestic life in the past, in the apartment, and sometimes extending into today. The last part included intimate evaluations and comparisons of life in the past and the life they

have been living so far, is where the items, spaces, and status introduced by the beginnings of the 1950s resolved into expectations, dissatisfactions, and disappointments that shape the perceptions today.

In this sense zooming into the lifestories enabled the clarification of the mainstreams that made possible the development of an urban middle class identity. Looking for order and providing predictability in life are the forecoming of these. A life based on salary comes out as the most determining criterion for providing predictability. Apartment home ownership, which is considered deeply embedded in human nature, is the other major determining factor of middle class identity. In fact ownership of anything that is considered modern seems to contribute to the establishment of a predictable life. As furniture, clothes, domestic technology, and the residence itself became measures of urban inhabitancy, the marketing of this dream led to its own web of economic relations and social mapping.

As everyday life started to materialize in alternative ways, the modes of experiencing such a life transformed accordingly giving way to differentiated domestic relations and practices. Since the home became reconceptualized in terms of domestic items and places the codes of hygiene and use of items changed accordingly. Consumption on the interiors as well as the capacity to internalize the new lifestyle happened to be the major determiners of social status.

Recodification of the terms of privacy at the apartment home comprises another dimension of becoming into middle class. The main areas of intervention the process entails are: allocation of private rooms for each household, changing the habits of co-sleeping, and democratization of domestic service and leisure spaces among the households. It becomes clear from the accounts that central heating and

spatial differentiation in the architectural plans of the apartment flats are the primary physical improvements that made experiencing the new terms of domestic privacy.

The apartment flat is the home for the nuclear family. Both in terms of its plan and the domesticity the plan implies it is clear that the primary social unit of becoming into the new urban middle class identity referred to a nuclear family life sustained by the salary of the father as the bread-winner. Although the transformation these residential developments paved the way for shifts in the terms of family life, its transformative impact on the traditional paternal family structure has been limited.

Still, it was clarified in the study that transforming the existent physical and social conditions at home in favor of more "modern" and technically improved ones. Female motivations for a better and more modern life seem to have focused on the apartment flat as both the place and the status symbol of these aspirations. That is to say, to the extent that the popularization of the apartment flat was a female project, its dominancy as the major urban middle class residential typology has contributed primarily to the standards and status of the female households.

The woman at home benefitted significantly from the modern infrastructure the apartment offered in the form of central heating and other utilities. Besides the emphasis on the nuclear family to a large extent liberated women from figures of oppression other than the husband. The role of the mother-in-law being the primary of these figures transformed into a relation that is formed on the basis of respect and affection for the elderly.

On the other hand, the the rapidness of the change in lifestyle and the high competetiveness the process entails left the women vulnerable before it. The process of perceiving the home as a significant symbol of status and dignifying housework

increased the level of the women's isolation at home. The professionalization of domestic work led to the women's utilizing it as a means to gain self satisfaction and somehow try to cope with their isolation.

It was also identified in the study that the impact of the development of a "we" perception based on the urban middle class identity was not limited to the role of the woman at home. The very change of lifestyle in the era also gave way to reconceptualizations of the other figures of the nuclear family. In terms of children it can be said that the identification of children as students and creation of a status system in terms of education is strongly related with the middle class concern for upward mobility.

As an overall evaluation the study claims, in terms of the role differentiation suggested by the new domesticity brought on by the modern aspirations of living in the apartment, that this has reduced the domain of action and dominancy of the male figure at home without essentially contributing to the transformation of the patriarchal family structure.

The process of apartmentalization in parallel with the rising needs and expectations of the newly developing urban middle class recodified aspects of status not only in terms of relations and roles but also in terms of spaces. That is to say, the material and social change taking place in inhabitants' lives along with their ideal of becoming middle class re-mapped urban environment in terms of its own selectiveness. The definition of refinement in the urban context by middle class modernism identified its "others". According to their conceptions non-Muslims comprise the nostalgic "others" due to the the cosmopolitanism of the imperial and early republican Istanbul, which is interestingly not necessarily something to be experienced or to be longed for. On the other hand, not only those who are

apparently poor and live in squatter areas but also those who have access to better living conditions and those whose access to the city is relatively later than the speaker make up the category of the "ruining rural others."

There is a high level of relativity in defining the others of middle classness, which is commonly a self attributed status. The mechanisms of relativizing a certain social status in accordance with the perceived community of middle class entail vague processes. Although it is for certain that inclusion within it necessitates better economic access to goods and a certain level of consumerism, middle classness is perceived on the basis of a general outlook and lifestyle that exceeds mere materially defined standards. The individual mental relation with modernism and developmentalism are what emerged as filling up the material context of middle classness.

It was the major aim of the study to explore the relation between residential change towards apartments and the appropriation of the urban middle class identity in Turkey. The process of residential change and its implications for lifestyle mostly have been conditioned by the socio-economic context in which these happened. An inherent concern of the study from the beginning was to show through the subjects' accounts that the context did not materialize objectively to rule the way people lived, but idealized and scattered in their minds as expectations, it re-shaped how they perceived their homes, lives and their world. This is to say, the apartment as a combined socio-economic outcome of the lack of central attention to urbanization and the housing needs of the migrant urban population was more than a physical unit and economic asset. The apartment was the spatial symbol of all of the things the modern urban life offered in the minds of these people, therefore the lack of it, or

access to it, was related metaphorically to how they perceived their ability to catch up with the life and status they had expected for themselves.

As the conducting of interviews and the process of transcribing had finished, they were repeatedly read to decide on the mainlines to handle the issue. It was not until then that a general impression which was hard to name but was too strong to ignore occurred. As the people had talked about their lives and their homes, they had spoken on a line of comparison of what they had expected for themselves while transferring into apartments and what they had achieved since then. It should be noted here that the axis of comparison was completely irrelevant with the way the interview was intended. It is for certain on the part of the informants that the apartment was the turning point for gaining access to the security and decency of inclusion within the homogenously perceived middle class. It is also apparent that everyone spoke high of achieving it. That is, left aside the benefits of technically improved domestic standards as offered in the apartment flat, the longing for status in the urban scene is satisfied by owning an apartment home. It was for sure that the initial expectation of a wealthier and socially and spatially modern life was signified through the apartment flat. However, it was necessary to clarify the reasons for the tone of discontent and dissatisfaction as the informants compared their experience with their expectations.

"Having a residence on Earth,"is considered deeply embedded in human nature. The act of residing, however, has implications extending far more than the physical residence, that is, it is also recognized while using the saying that it is a matter of status and perspective. Yet concepts like inhabitancy or the feeling of unbelonging or loss entail material economic and historical explanations, rather than being naturally embedded in human nature. Expressing loss and dissatisfaction,

today, seems to be internalized as a feature of identity and a natural outcome of life too by those who define themselves as middle class. Therefore looked at through the context of apartmentalization, it seems a better way to relate middle class feeling of loss wih the context of rapid deruralization, and the over-acceleration of social change to a extent which a certain generation can experience it in its own course, as well as the diminish of resources to make possible social and material survival possible in these processes.

APPENDIX

INFORMANT PROFILES

Name, Surname: Filiz Çankaya

Age: 51

Occupation: Housewife

Notes: Married, has a daughter and a son and lacks personal social security.

Name, Surname: Yüksel Duru

Age: 66

Occupation: Retired constructor

Name, Surname: Hüsnü Büyükçoşkun

Age: 52

Occupation: Retired teacher, still working in private sector.

Name, Surname: Aysel Utku

Age: 60

Occupation: Retired teacher

Notes: Married, has a daughter and a son.

Name, Surname: Sevim Sasak

Age: 68

Occupation: Housewife

Notes: Comes from a well known family, former konak resident

Name, Surname: Güner Kayıran

Age: 73

Occupation: Housewife

Notes: Widow, lives alone on her husband's salary, has two sons

Name, Surname: Bahar Duru

Age: 52

Occupation: Housewife

Notes: Married, has two daughters and a son, lacks personal income

Name, Surname: Mediha Erkan

Age: 76

Occupation: Housewife

Notes: Widow, has two daughters and three sons. Owner of a six-flat apartment in Erenköy.

Name, Surname: Melahat Öralay

Age: 82

Occupation: Housewife

Notes: Widow, has two sons and a daughter. Owner of many apartment flats around bostancı and Erenköy.

Name, Surname: Mihriban Arabacı

Age: 50

Occupation: Housewife/Architect

Notes: Widow, has a son and a daughter, lives on her father's pension

Name, Surname: Zeynep Sofu

Age: 55

Occupation: Housewife

Notes: Married

Name, Surname: Elif Kayı

Age: 50

Occupation: Housewife

Notes: Married, has a son and a daughter, lacks personal income or social security.

Name, Surname: Meral Diren

Age: 55

Occupation: Housewife

Notes: married, has two daughters, owns share in the family ready-wear firm.

Name, Surname: Nuran Orkut

Age: 56

Occupation: Housewife

Notes: Divorced, has a daughter and a son, works as a home tailor, lives in her ex-husband's flat.

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