

Somewhere between East and West: Household Sagas in the Anatolian Village

ALISON B. SNYDER

University of Oregon

... The word 'modern,' what do you mean, I want peace, we look to make ourselves comfortable, the city is full of stress, we have everything we need, we have a good house and nice land for a garden, we live close to our relatives and our family is healthy... we have a tractor and have a good harvest... the winters are cold and hard, but I have no complaints... we will stay here... [ca. 50-year-old wife, one of seven people living in Household A, including the husband, children and father-in-law] (Fig. 6).

BETWEEN IDENTITIES

There are life-stories to be told through the study and exploration of architecture. Architecture becomes a unique lens through which to evaluate social changes and cultural values. My work on rarely studied central Anatolian Turkish settlements has revealed how Turkey's ongoing rapid modernization has become a catalyst for producing a less homogenous and more *hybridized* landscape. Within this vigorous movement of striving to be *modern* one can see signs of gains and losses within these settlements. Yet research shows that most institutions—cultural and ritual-based—are remaining more stable. To uncover, explain and form linkages between the dynamic social, cultural and physical data, this project relies upon the use of several types of architectural illustrations coupled with local interviews. By comparing the village morphologies, through the placement and usage of public spaces and individual domestic complexes, I can examine and capture the fundamental qualities still imbedded within this changing culture.

Judging what comprises modern surroundings or defines a modern person is difficult. In the current discussion of modernization and the making of a *modern lifestyle* in Turkey (and elsewhere in the developing and developed world) there is a pressure to define progress through a dependence on or striving towards *western* lifestyles, values and freedoms.¹ It is as though achieving these *western* goals would assure a distinct modern identity—both within the village and outside. In light of this discussion the study of the lives of villagers, in central Anatolian villages, aid in reassessing the meaning and pertinence associated with these three commonly posed binary conditions: 'traditional/modern,' 'eastern/western' and 'rural/urban.' Rather than concentrating on choosing and dividing people amongst these categories, the dynamic life and growth of the village and those who inhabit them appear to be "somewhere between," begging the question "what does it really mean to be modern?" My research offers a context for discussing the uniqueness and significance of current local or regional architectural developments with respect to the impacts of progress and globalism.² The data illustrates the concept of the *hybrid* and how this can be understood as a phase that defines village lifestyle at this moment.

Many issues create reasons for the domestic spaces within the built landscape to appear the way they do. Perhaps most fundamental to a modern lifestyle is living with basic technologies such as internal plumbing and electricity. Yet others would say the definition depends upon having choices that a basic education, which includes literacy, provides. Add to this that one should possess the ability to be economically self-sufficient and have access to information on world as well as local affairs. Yet, in this Moslem yet secularized Republic, should we value freedom for women to balance the definition? If customs and more traditional belief systems are retained, is this considered free choice or backwardness? And how might individual ingenuity be assessed?

My architectural fieldwork-based study is located in the Yozgat region of Turkey's Anatolian interior, four hours due east of the Ankara. Studying the Anatolian village illustrates aspects pertaining to the underpinning of Turkish city planning and spontaneous growth patterns also seen in the urban centers. At the same time, it exposes the breakdown of a traditional continuity. Many scholars and designers turn their backs on studying village life and vernacular, forever against the assumed backwardness. Yet today, most urban Turks can still trace their heritage to a village—even the most educated may only be removed by one or two generations. At the time Atatürk was forming the modern Republic in 1923, only 10% were literate and about 80% were rural based villagers.³ As of 1990,⁴ there was a 90% literacy rate with approximately 40% still living outside of urban areas.



Fig. 1. The "village map" shows the relationships between the land, division of parcels and resulting different building forms. The hybridization of form can be seen in the newer gable or hipped roof versus flat (stippled) roof types and in the attached and enclosed (walled-in) complexes versus the more open and unattached free-standing structures.

Other perspectives on lifestyle come from studying the work of ethnographers and social scientists. Their focus is on people and the ability to explain not only the facts but to give a total picture or ethos of an individual and a community.⁵ The late Paul Stirling, perhaps the most prominent and inspiring anthropologist, who published his research

from the 1940's, '70's and 80's on villages in south central Anatolia, also wrote on the meanings behind the making of culture. He brought the inhabitants of Kayseri villages to life through many levels of research dependent on the "dense and intricate pattern of social relations and economics." He said:

*The fund of cosmologies, myths, religious ideas, historical narratives, political models, private moralities, customs, rites, technologies, scientific ideas, which exists in any society at any given point in time must profoundly affect the way that economy functions and the way it changes; and economic growth must in turn have profound and multifarious consequences for that fund.*⁷

It is crucial to define and link culture with social and economic customs, yet Stirling misses something. Stirling, like many other anthropologists and sociologists, does not delve deeply into the physical ramifications of villages. Archaeologist Susan Kent recognized the need for the multi-disciplinary to study domestic space. In her edited volume on this subject, she invites architects, archaeologists, and anthropologists with different attitudes about current and classical history to expose their views on the documentation, analyses of domestic landscapes and spatial relationships.⁸ I concur with her stance that this creates a more holistic view of historical, behavioral and psychological attitudes with regard to the meanings of spatial theory. As an architect and educator, I am interested in integrating social relationships with the architecture of domestic forms. It is sometimes difficult to clearly analyze these patterns in the layered complexity of the city.⁹

A new village image has resulted while maintaining a pre-urban lifestyle. Architecture has become the context for exposing the phenomenon of creating and living amidst hybridized built forms. Research concentrates on the issues concerning the extant housing and the preferred adaptation of recent building trends versus functional needs. It exposes the villagers' attitudes about the changing economy and how these are reflected in what people want to build, in the shifts related to gender roles and in the interdependence between the constancy of a place and the significance of the change. I am concentrating on the meaning of the home and household located within the domestic complex built and periodically re-built or renovated over the last 70-80 years to understand how contemporary identities are associated with lifestyle. This research is not based on a nostalgic view, but in chronicling the rise towards a hybridized and sometimes conflicted culture.¹⁰

Research shows that a typical result of the change seen in the built environment is a conflict between the loss of physical and tangible built history amidst surviving socio-cultural traditions. The supposed gain of an easier environment to work in or maintain is added to the concept of building and owning something *new*. The visible status symbol of economic means had previously been associated with the scale of land acquisition and the attached family importance that came with it. It appears this older value system is now more simply re-worked into building individual spaces and structures with less care for the functionality of the design, or the context in which it sits. The acquiring of machines for cooking and cleaning seem to go hand-in-hand with the new structural developments. These gains, then, are both functional and symbolic. The ca. 63 year old wife of Household B, explains her family's relationship to the physical and emotional past this way:

I am a gelin, I came from another village to get married 50 years ago and this house complex was here in the same place and lived in by other members of the family when I arrived, so we also lived in part of it. We are one of the oldest families but we fought against the natives for this land when the family first came from the east close to 100 years ago. A few years back we stopped using our old house (made of mud-brick with a thick covering of hay mixed into clay mud and then whitewashed) for sleeping. Rather than fix it, we wanted to build a new house of reinforced concrete, brick infill and terra cotta tile roof right in front of it in the old open area close to the road. The plan for

it was from a male relative living in Izmir, it was not something we designed for ourselves, we just had it built and have adapted our and my son's families to it even though it does not fit our needs exactly. In a way, we live in both places—we still use the older part of the complex for the ahir (the animal barn), the semanlik (the hay storage space) and the tandirlik (the large oven room for cooking and baking flatbreads)...the tandirlik dates back even further than the other parts of this house. In the warm months of the year, we used to use the covered hayat space (the central open and covered gathering space) that led to all of the back rooms, it was tall and cool and had the old roof style with a wooden skylight...but this year we took down this old space so my daughter could expand her vegetable and herb garden...we have even stopped using the adjacent original village room (a room or structure historically designated for men's or elder's meetings, wedding preparations and even doubles as small places for prayer) and have converted it to a dry storage room and the collecting of honey bees. Two years ago we built a new modern village room facing a nearby village square. Eventually all of the old house parts will fall or we will dismantle them to gather the useful old wood structure. We do not want to upkeep the old house and we do not need the memory...we have our heritage and we will not let go of it, but we want to be comfortable...and, we are proud to show that we can live in this newer and cleaner way...in fact, when we look for families in other villages to find spouses for our children we want them to be similar to us, we want people who work hard and live clean... (Figs. 2, 3, 4).



Fig. 2. Detail area of Fig. 1 shows northern end of village to highlight five different Mutlu Family House Complexes.

A CONTEXT FOR ENQUIRY

This project is located in a region of Turkey that is virtually devoid of tourism unlike many other areas near antiquities on or near the coast. Therefore the regional lifestyles and architecture have shifted and changed as a result of other catalysts. Here, the local economy is tied to more mechanized farming and other economic and social impetuses such as individuals migrating to seek employment and sending money back to their families from working in Turkish urban centers or in factories abroad. Also investment in new infrastructure by Turkish companies has impacted the region's natural environment.

The study offers a framework by which to analyze the new domestic lifestyle alongside the old at this moment of broad transition and evolution. It also allows for comment on the depth, scope and probable direction of change in this area of Anatolia.¹¹ Architect and environmental behaviorist Amos Rapoport suggests architecture should be understood through the intermingling of disciplines, just as Stirling and Kent spoke of their own. He says, "the different forms taken by dwellings are a complex phenomenon for which no single explanation

will suffice...[T]hese responses vary from place to place because of changes and differences in the interplay of social, cultural, ritual, economic and physical factors." On the meaning of house he says,

*"the house is an institution, not just a structure, created for a complex set of purposes" and he later goes on to explain in more explicit terms that "...buildings and settlements are the visible expression of the relative importance attached to different aspects of life and the varying ways of perceiving reality use, the village, and the town express the fact that societies share generally accepted life goals and values."*¹²

To expand these viewpoints, I set out to study a series of villages in close proximity to each other¹³, to observe and compare existing populations, geographical qualities, architectural traditions and the formation of village spaces through women's and men's daily roles. Three villages, with ca. 40-85 households each, form a base-line comparison against a newly planned town with a larger population of ca. 400 households.¹⁴ My investigation concentrates on the extant structures from the last 70-80 years, because the memory and testimony of local residents who have knowledge of the construction process is limited to this period, as is the limited archival evidence existing on one of the villages.¹⁵

As a means of understanding what is happening in my study region, I am concentrating on life in one Alishar Village to form a small case study. This village has a stable year-round population of ca. 65 households, many of which consist of more than one nuclear family, or an in-law that may be widowed. In the summer there is an increase of an additional five households. The inhabitants tell that the population has been constant over the last five years or so, but that the population has fluctuated and dropped over the last two decades. Today there are ca. 265 people, with slightly more than half being female.¹⁶ The median age is about 40.

The voices already expressed and others to still be *heard* in this paper are from the Mutlu family¹⁷—one of the largest and most prominent in Alishar Village.¹⁸ The meshing of their perspectives are intended to provide a condensed view of the major architectural and social conditions and beliefs similarly held by others from Alishar and the surrounding villages. The Mutlu families represent a sample of those that have remained in the village as well as those who have moved away seeking a different lifestyle and/or, moved in order to be able to provide financial support for family members still living in Alishar. My research data show that there are variations from family to family but generally women's and men's voices and viewpoints exhibit equal strength and conviction. Therefore the gender groups are represented equally here yet still demonstrating distinct divisions and many commonalities.

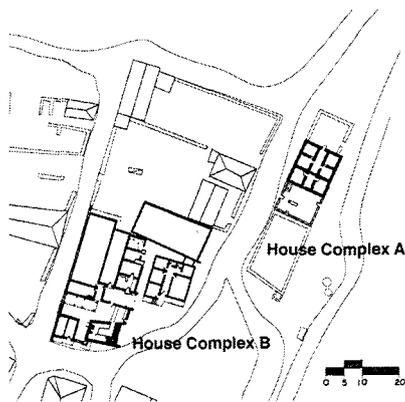


Fig. 3. House Complexes A and B are shown in context with ground level floor plans. House Complex B shows the "old" mud-brick linear structure with a double-loaded corridor of sorts and a "new" more square-like concrete-frame house in lower right-hand corner. House Complex A shows six rooms of mud-brick construction with enclosed courtyard in front. Upper level mimics it with one less room in front left corner to form an open sitting porch (see Fig. 6).

METHODS OF ENQUIRY

There are two main methods of enquiry that illustrate this socio-architectural study—the visual and the oral. I am showing a small sample of architectural illustrations to depict different views of Alishar Village. The visual work is meant to describe macro and micro conditions in a variety of ways.

There is a comprehensive top-view "village map" (Fig. 1) based on municipal land parcel maps from 1974. Attention was paid to documenting all open space, structures and transport routes as well as age and usage of each structure.¹⁹ In addition, a detail of the northern end of the village is included to show the proximity of the five domestic complexes of the extended Mutlu family (Fig. 2). A detail of this map shows the plans of Households A and B in context. Great variation between the old and new plan types is reflected for this household (Fig. 3). More detail is seen the "village site section." This drawing emphasizes how structures of different ages, materials and usages sit in close proximity to each other and define the boundaries between the interior and exterior worlds of the villager. This one is cut through Household B from west to east looking north (Fig. 4). The physical characters of the old and new are shown in a photograph (Fig. 5).

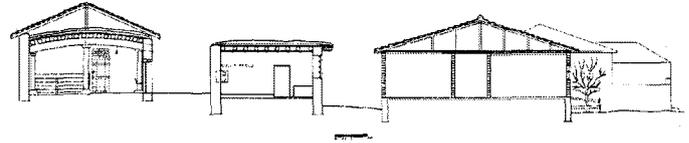


Fig. 4. "Village site section" is oriented west to east through House Complex B cutting through older barn (left), then the kitchen of the older house (center) to the new concrete-frame house (right). The hybridized lifestyle of the old with the new is evident.

The interviews aim to explain the attitudes towards the many planning and architectural paradoxes found within the village's division of space and specific home layouts. The questions are meant to probe, assess and show the differences between how the genders regard the past, current and future with regard to their continued building, cultural traditions and economic needs. On a theoretical level, women and men were asked to comment on what it means to be personally or socially *modern*, the impact *physical modernization* has had on their lives and how they imagine their lifestyle and the village might change in the future. One photograph shows some of the members of Household A taken during one of these conversations (Fig. 6).



Fig. 5. Hybridized living can be seen clearly in this photograph of House Complex B with both the old and new parts in view. Notice the different character of the now freestanding village room building (far left) with older complex continuing past the new garden area. The new house (far right) sits in front with the ever-present television dish antennae on top of the home.



Fig. 6. Photograph of some of Mutlu Family members and my field assistant on second level of House Complex A. From left to right: Grandfather-household A, his son from Germany-household D (quoted later), B. Onrat-my assistant, Daughter-household A (quoted later), another son/father of household A, mother-household A (quoted earlier).

During the summer there is a constancy of work and a stream of visitors bringing news of life outside. Sagas emerge—some loud, some more silent. In general, both men and women speak surprisingly openly. They speak of hard work, woes interwoven with family member tales about the village and those that live beyond. Both women and men are forthcoming about long and short-term migration pertaining to the nucleus of the family and the village at large. The trend of working outside of the country in various factories began after WWII when many Turks went to Germany. Men sought work in the building trades and in factories and families currently have members as far away as Australia, Germany, France, and in the major Turkish cities as well as in nearby towns. And, rather than seeing this need for economic stability as a stigma, the families generally regard this mobility with a sense of pride.

In general their curiosity is merged with a sense of humor. Amongst many offers for food and drink (an expression of domestic pride and earnest hospitality) women and men speak from their homes, either separately or together. Women also speak from the public fountains as they wash clothes and gather water, while cooking or while working in their gardens, or from village rooms during special occasions like at a wedding. They are quick to tell you of their extensive daily chores and responsibilities and of the announcement of new children or grandchildren as well as of the education of their family. Men also speak while gardening, when sitting by the side of the road tending to livestock, from areas of shared public village lands during the harvest or from inside of village rooms. They speak freely of their economic status, the acquisition and use of farm equipment and their freedom from constant farm work.

ARCHITECTURAL CONTEXTS AND PERSPECTIVES

The development of house forms has been the subject of vernacular and regional architecture studies and urban and rural ethnography research around the world. My subject, the morphology of rural settlements and the study of the Turkish house and the domestic complex in central Anatolia—the derivations and deviations—are most likely linked to the history of Anatolia and the traditions of settlement patterns that emanated from nomadic living conditions in the surrounding ancient Near East. There is also evidence that interior layout and exterior house forms may be associated with the socio-spatial developments that came about during the Ottoman Empire. And later, European influence on the façade and in the décor could be seen in primarily urban homes at the end of the Empire in the 19th century. All of these traditions and styles are reflected to some extent in the central Anatolian village vernacular.

The largest and broadest formal, historical and elemental typological study of the Turkish house throughout the Turkish lands was undertaken from 1932-1950 by architect-author Sedad Hakki Eldem.²⁰ Onder Kucukerman published a study that also looks at typological groups yet questions more of the social aspects concerning how domestic architectural forms and spaces came about and can be further understood. Other architects and architectural historians such as Dogan Kuban, Stanley Ireland and William Bechhoefer, and Reha Gunay have written and edited extensive works on large houses found in Turkish towns and cities.²¹ They discuss the meaning of 'the Ottoman house' and describe the unique spatial layouts and guiding room usage in places such as Bursa, Amasya, Safranbolu and elsewhere. Indeed, there is recognition of these houses and the heritage they represent as a number of them have been listed on national and international historic registers. These attitudes are linked to the making of a national identity that depends upon some sort of nostalgia to encourage the influx of tourism.

Indeed, architects and historians have published less on the sources and progression of formal relationships found in rural domestic complexes especially in central Anatolia. Therefore one misses the inter-connectedness to be found between urban and rural historical forms. My research is tracing the existing evidence of past traditions merging with the new. And, though not easily proven, there is evidence for life-patterns that have evolved from strong Moslem belief systems providing both internal and external spaces and places for women and men to live and interact in at different times of the day and throughout the cycle of the year.

There are also other ways to explain building trends. Eldem states in his *Turkish Houses Ottoman Period I* that

Domestic architecture was not readily effected by developments in conscious architecture, whether religious or secular, but on the contrary developed on its own terms within traditional structural forms closely linked to domestic life styles. What changes did occur were primarily due to changes in the lifestyle of the dwellers, secondly to municipal restrictions and lastly to changes in taste. The pre-conditions to domestic architecture changed very little for hundreds of years apart from perhaps a gradual attempt to improve living standards, so that houses were easier to heat and live in.²²

Ultimately the Turkish house is unique and remains so in rural settlements as well as in urban. A series of flexible spaces have developed—some with more specific uses than others. The *hayat* has taken on a few different forms but is known to be an open yet roofed space or area that acts to unify and distribute people to other parts of the house complex. It is located either on the ground level as described in House Complex B or as a balcony-like space that is at the top of a flight of stairs and depresses into the façade in front of the entry on the second level. The *sofa* is a ubiquitous interior space located off the entry that is used as a central room for greeting, sitting and leading one to the other rooms of the house. It is much more than a circulation corridor. Perhaps a room type that is also found in virtually every house is the *misafir odasi* or greeting/guest room. It is usually set in the front part of the home and entered off of the *sofa*. It is sometimes more appointed than the rest of the home. It is here that a man may have a private meeting, the family may house guests, or special occasions may be celebrated. If this room is heated in winter, it may act as the most used room for eating, watching television and just generally residing in. Many rooms have built-in storage niches, cabinetry and simple upholstered furniture that provide a multitude of uses—from display, to tables, to seats to bed surfaces.

EMERGING VIEWS OF HOUSEHOLDS AND HOMES

In this part of the Anatolian interior, change came later than on the coasts and other areas located nearer to major metropolises such as Istanbul, Izmir, Ankara and Antalya. Interviews with several families indicated that the methods for rural economic expansion and development were slow and uneven until the late 1970's and early 1980's. There is still great admiration for the government administration at that time because of the economic aid and promotion of farming machines (planting and harvesting) that boosted the yield and sales of produce and grains. In fact, full electrification of the region was not complete until 1980. In this time and especially since the late 1980's communication systems have become more and more accessible. The television and telephone ironically reside in each home even when running water does not. Other household machines used for making dairy by-products, and exterior electrified well-water pumps have also become more commonplace giving the feeling that modernization has been achieved.

Alishar Village, like many of the region's villages, still mostly reflects a settlement pattern set along a north-south axis following the flow of a creek and the local topography. Homes and the surrounding domestic complexes are varied in form (a result of the size and shape of the parcel) and are oriented to capture the east and west sun.

The rapid modernization at the local level is most conspicuously seen in the construction methods and structural forms producing an ad hoc *hybridized* landscape. Changing family economies and the ease of using manufactured instead of handmade materials are modifying the local building traditions thus affecting the physical landscape piece by piece. The desire of wanting the new is pitted against wanting to retain and maintain their lives the way they have always been.

Yet all forms of the traditional pre-existing village are still in evidence sitting alongside the constantly changing character of the village. Attached rooms form complexes that semi-enclose courtyards while all levels of semi-attached and unattached forms have begun to be more commonplace. There are protected courtyards with walls of stone and mud-brick and there are open lots with no building attachments. Even "chicken-wire" fences enclose buildings and watchdogs are also common. There are traditional flat roofs of clay mud mixed with hay and adhered to a sort of wood thatched roof structure and, there are newer gabled and hipped wood roof structures topped with terra cotta tile. Thick sun-baked mud-brick wall structures with wood-reinforced walls now sit alongside the ubiquitous reinforced concrete frame that uses pre-made bricks as infill with no thermal coating or roof insulation to rival the old construction methods.

In Alishar Village the Mutlu family owns a large portion of land in the northern region of the village. There are five different domestic complexes as well as a series of barn areas, storage and tractor depots, open areas and garden spaces. The five households sit at the entrance to the village that is about 1.5 km in from the main roadway. The family has owned the original parcels of land for over 100 years ago and they have expanded to the north and west. One passes through a tree-lined road with growing fields on both sides and arrives past the old cemetery.

These five households expose many of the different hybridized concepts of lifestyle and built form described above. All of the households exhibit different levels of privacy both within and with regard to the street context. The inventive layout of a flexible room system is more pronounced in the older structures, especially those set within tight and odd-shaped parcels. The new interior layouts still address the typical Turkish lifestyle while they also seem to conform to new building conventions of larger ill-used rooms and the dissolution of the *sofa* into a corridor. Little or no craft or wood detail exists in new construction. Ingenuity and aesthetic appears less important than acquiring new clean space.

House Complex A stands alone and it has done so for more than 25 years. Previously, the elderly father lived to the south of this traditional mud-brick double-level home. The main living level rises above the courtyard walls providing the ability to see south into the rest of the village (Figs. 2, 6). The structure to the south of the courtyard is now in a state of ruin and the grandfather lives with the family in this home. Rather than keep animals in their enclosed home, they use a barn and depot across the street between Complex B and C. House Complexes B and C sit on the oldest parcels of the Mutlu family land that has been re-built and divided over the years amongst the relatives. Household C is set within its own small courtyard and the other families watch this house when the family is not there (Fig. 2). The use of this home is described this way:

I like visiting the village and seeing my relatives in the summer but Ankara is easier and more convenient to shop in and it is also better for health reasons. This house is 25 years old and has a very typical layout of a center greeting room, two rooms flanking it on each side and a kitchen opposite the entry. I keep this older way of living, which keeps us cool in the summer, but in the city I live the new way. Our house is surrounded by structures of many sizes and time periods as this was the old site of my great and great grandfather's homestead. ... I remember all sorts of things from when I was a child, I have good memories (ca. 48-year-old wife / mother of House Complex C).

House Complex B, described in an earlier quote tells part of an important story a hybrid lifestyle. In synch with the continuing need for a separate cooking room and animal and dry storage, these rooms have been retained in the old structure while *living* distinctly occurs in the new. There is no enclosure or courtyard yet perhaps the double-loaded layout of the old house complex was so internally oriented that the *hayat* space acted as the courtyard (Fig. 3). In general, it also appears that the newer the home, the less relationship it has with the original village plan and establishing a strong street context of dense party-wall life. For instance, House Complexes D and E have newer roads and entryways (Fig. 2) and the complex itself is really mostly made up of the house denoting less of a need for livestock and an earlier lifestyle. The 60 year old, older brother of household A, lives in House Complex D (Figs. 2, 6) and describes his detached yet walled-in second home and guest-house in this way:

I just arrived from Germany, you must come to my house after you leave my brother's place... I want to show you how nice it is. I am in the building trade in Germany and I have been there for 25 years. I built these homes four years ago and wrapped a wall around them but I never finished the guest part, yet I will this summer... sometimes it takes a long time to finish things in the village. I wanted to bring a German type of house here. It has a single corridor with rooms to both sides, carpet on the floors and of course running water... everyone can see how happy I am. The village is still my home for 2 months in the summer but Germany just works better for my family. I can make money and have this second house here...

House Complex E exhibits another dimension of the status associated with having two homes. This home, like the other new ones, is made of reinforced concrete frame and masonry infill and also has no real courtyard enclosure. The retired head of the two households says:

I built this two-story house 15 years ago on the newer parcel of land not far from the old cemetery and still close to my relatives. We live upstairs when we are not in the town where the market and the schools are 30 km away. The house is a typical Turkish style with two bedrooms and guest greeting room, new kitchen and central sitting and entry area. We wanted to have good breezes and a view with the two levels, but we did not care that the house was made of concrete and gets hotter than the old house used to. We have a detached

tandırlik that is half a garage with room for a little bit of storage. It sits behind the house and a plain metal fence surrounds our lot. . . we just use a dog to keep outsiders away. I am retired and my son and daughter-in-law also live here. Yes, I remember the old house of my grandfather, parts of it remained until about five years ago and now very little remains. . . it is the way it is now.

BETWEEN CONTINUATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Will the rural lifestyles in this region of Anatolia, which have evolved from nomadic tribes to a more constant settlement pattern over the last few hundred years, disappear because of the establishment of the modern Republic of Turkey and the beginning of many changes and reforms under Mustafa Kemal (*Ataturk*) in 1923? Or is it more pertinent to see rapid modernization in these central rural areas through the attainment of the tractor in the 1970's and electricity in 1980? While the ability to farm more efficiently may make more money, the needs of the villager have also grown with new costs. Indeed, interviews and census statistics confirm that migration for work has become the single largest factor in the changing demography of the village adding to city populations especially over the last 30 years. In the decade following 1980, televisions and telephones made it into the homes and machines that aid in preparing food and cooking followed. Conversations with family members confirm that electricity and the ability to farm better and more efficiently were the biggest changes for the villager yet the information found on television has become the biggest social equalizer. What is watched in the big cities is no different from what is available in the villages. When the government allowed for the coverage of CNN, MTV and others, to compete with national programming in the late 1980's and early 1990's, attitudes and understandings had to begin to change. The home itself is a veritable mixture of these technologies co-existing yet affecting change alongside the elements of what had been a more timeless and self-sufficient culture.

My research into the architecture and ethnography of central Anatolia shows that the basis for traditional social institutions and economic systems such as marriage, the patrilineal culture of inheritance, the cycle of planting and harvesting and household work is stable. More obvious shifts are seen in educational practices and the effects of family migration and in the technologies that continue to be available. Within the landscape itself the greatest movements are seen in the new placement of individual homes outside of the original densely settled parcels. For instance, there is less and less association with preserving the traditional street boundary or the need to utilize the traditional courtyard for animals or maintaining privacy.

It is clear that a hybridized lifestyle is here to stay and that the contradictions will continue to exist in the village for some time. For instance, when one least expects it, a daughter, 17, of House Complex A offers, "I finished school and I do not mind not being able to continue, only my brothers have gone on further. . . I like living in the village and I do not want to go away to live, I want to stay with my family." The assumption of her being uninformed was soon proven incorrect for in a surprising later conversation the same daughter asked whom I was voting and hoping for during the Bush/Gore election indecision of Fall 2000. This brought her father into the conversation to explain his political view of how he saw the United States linked with his livelihood. The kind of conversation one more often associates with the urbane was now on the tips of tongues everywhere.

Observing life within the village exposes the edges of a deep-rooted local culture that appears to be unafraid of physical change and transformation. The villagers continue to alter their surroundings making new patterns of settlement that describe their altered domestic lives. The result appears to be the visible dismantling of the traditional built landscape giving way to a trend of a global homogeneity that takes advantage of the ubiquitous construction practice of the in-filled

reinforced concrete frame while de-emphasizing a specific contextual need or a family's uniqueness. The hybridized landscape that has emerged allows us to continue to learn about the still developing modern lifestyle in Turkey. The saga will continue, remaining complex and incomplete.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project has been made possible by the support of The Center for the Study of Women in Society, the Finrow Faculty Development Award and an Architecture and Allied Arts Dean's Faculty Research Award at the University of Oregon. For the work expressly done for this paper, I wish to thank my field and drawing assistant, Banu Onrat of Middle East Technical University in Ankara, and my drawing assistant, Manish Makhija of the University of Oregon. Profound thanks for opening their homes to research continues to go out to the inhabitants of the villages in my study and the municipality of which they are part.

NOTES

¹"Modernizing" has long been part of the Turkish Republic plan (1923), yet more recently an enormous amount of literature has surfaced on the theme of "modernity" and "modernization." See for instance, S. Bozdoğan and R. Kasaba, eds., *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997).

²Likewise, there is a vast discussion on globalism and regionalism. For instance, see the *Working Paper Series* of the 2000 I.A.S.T.E. conference entitled "The End of Tradition." See also K. Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance" in H. Foster, ed., *The Anti-Aesthetic, Essays on Postmodern Culture* (Seattle: Bay Press, 1983) for an earlier discussion of the themes as they relate to regionalism.

³See P. Stirling, ed., *Culture and Economy: Changes in Turkish Villages* (Huntingdon England: Eothen Press, 1993): 3.

⁴1990 statistics are from the *Ankara: The Professional Business Reference*, 11th ed. (Ankara: Ankara Business Centre, 1999-2000). At the time of this publication, the results of the October 2000 census had not been released. Having been a participant, while teaching in Turkey in Fall 2000, I was able to see what the questions entailed. Much of the data pertains to migration trends, employment, house size and available infrastructure, and a series of questions designed to count family population statistics in several ways.

⁵See the very interesting work on women and boundaries within and outside of the village in C. Delaney, *The Seed and the Soil, Gender and Cosmology in Turkish Village Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991). See also the work of social scientists on issues encircling Turkish villages and landscapes, such as Bahattin Aksit and Nermin Abadan-Unat in the edited volume by P. Stirling (1993) cited earlier, and on rural women and modernization see Y. Erturk in S. Tekeli, ed., *Women in Modern Turkish Society* (London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1991).

⁶See P. Stirling, P., *Turkish Village* (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1965).

⁷See P. Stirling, P. (1993):4.

⁸See S. Kent, *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1990).

⁹It is important to point out that the small-scale density found within the Anatolian village is considered here, a pre-urban condition both socially and architecturally. We can correlate the migration of villagers to create more density in the city with the spread of the developing world's "mega-city," and certainly the *gecekondu*, or houses "put up in the night"—Turkish squatters housing can be studied this way. The ability to see and distinguish living in a hybridized manner is displayed more easily in the small settlement.

¹⁰One could say, being 'western' might signify being modern if one "lets go" of the past—that is, letting go of a custom or ritual in order to attain the status of "new." So in this way, 'eastern' could mean old, quaint or possessing nostalgia. Economic self-sufficiency takes on the visibility of taking down the old house to show what

is new. New, then, could mean an attainment, an acquiring. In the context of this paper and following this reasoning, the lives of the central Anatolian villager is somewhere between eastern and western sensitivities.

- ¹¹See my discussion on possibilities for future planning in A. B. Snyder, "The Shifting Presence of Turkish Villages: Are They (Still) Important?," *I.A.S.T.E.* 126 (2000): ch. 2.
- ¹²See the important work of A. Rapoport, *House Form and Culture* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969):46-7.
- ¹³The villages are situated in different valleys and topographies, with relative nearness of not more than 35 km to larger towns where they sell some of their produce, crops and animals; and pick up supplies and other household items.
- ¹⁴In 1993, villagers were re-located and other new settlers were situated in the town after waters resulting from a new dam submerged the original village; see A. B. Snyder, "Re-constructing the Anatolian Village: revisiting Alisar," *Anatolica* 26 (2000): 173-191 for more specific information on the breath of this project.
- ¹⁵See J. A. Morrison, *Alisar: A Unit of Land in the Kanak Su Basin of Central Anatolia* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939) to learn of village life in the 1930's.
- ¹⁶Statistics taken from D. Dogan, *Sorgun 1995* (Ankara: Kaymakamligi Kultur Yayinlari Dizisi, 1995): 51.

¹⁷Though the name of Alishar Village is the true name (though spelled phonetically here) the extended family name of *Mulu*, chosen to be used for this paper, means "happy."

¹⁸See J. A. Morrison (1938) for a more in-depth view of the family history.

¹⁹On-site work was done with the aid of B. Nilgun Oz, Ozlem Karakul and Banu Onrat—all Turkish architecture students from the Middle East Technical University in Ankara.

²⁰See in general, S. H. Eldem, *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri* (Istanbul: Istanbul Teknik Universitesi, 1954) and *Türk Evi I (Turkish House): Osmanli Donemi (Ottoman Period)* (Istanbul: Guzel Sanatlar Matbaasi AS, 1968, 1984).

²¹See architects/architectural historians Sedad H. Eldem, Onder Kucukerman and Dogan Kuban who have speculated and written on the derivations of Turkish house form. For further discussion of the urban housing topic see: O. Kucukerman, *Turkish House, In Search of Spatial Identity* (Istanbul: Turkish Association, 1978, 1991); D. Kuban, *The Turkish Hayat House* (Istanbul: Eren, 1995); S. Ireland and W. Bechhoefer, *The Ottoman House: Papers from the Amasya Symposium 1996* (London: British Institute of Archaeology, 1998); R. Gunay, *The Tradition of the Turkish House and Safranbolu Houses* (Istanbul: Yapi Endustri Merkezi AS, 1998).

²²See S. H. Eldem (1968, 1984):40.