

Homemaker or professional? Girls' schools designed by Ernst Egli and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky in Ankara, 1930-1938

Kıvanç Kılınç

Abstract

During the early years of the Turkish Republic, modern architecture became an active tool in the representation of the bourgeois ideal of domesticity. The most significant component of the new Turkish family was the image of the "republican woman" as a nationally-constructed icon. By comparatively examining Ernst Egli's İsmet Paşa Girls' Institute (1930) and Ankara Girls' High School (1936) with Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky's unbuilt annex project for the latter (1938) this paper argues that girls' technical schools and girls' high schools contributed to the making of this much idealized image in considerably different ways. Such diversity enabled the governing elite in Turkey to make a class-based and spatially constructed categorization of women as economic actors: enlightened housewives specialized in one of the so-called "female arts" and upper-class professional women who would participate in public life. It is further argued that this categorization allowed Schütte-Lihotzky, in her design for the unbuilt high school annex in Ankara, to rework the broader "redomestication" issue which marked her earlier career in Weimar Germany.

Keywords: *Gender, class, republican woman, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, Ernst Egli, Ankara.*

Kıvanç Kılınç, Faculty of Fine Arts and Design, Department of Architecture, İzmir University of Economics, Sakarya Caddesi, No: 156, 35340, İzmir, Turkey, kivanc.kilinc@ieu.edu.tr.

Author's Note: I owe special thanks to Heather Ferguson, Tom McDonough, Nancy Um, Abidin Kusno, Gülsüm Baydar, Deniz Karakaş, Bilge Fırat, Sanem Güvenç-Salgırlı, Saygın Salgırlı, Gamze Ege and Jörn Fröhlich for their support, valuable comments and feedback. I am also immensely indebted to Elvan Altan Ergut, Leyla Alpagut and Pelin Gürol for their valuable suggestions for locating archival material and our email correspondence. A shorter version of this article was presented at the "Intellectuals and the Academy in Public Life," Graduate Students Conference, Brown University, Providence, RI, May 4-5, 2007.

Introduction

A 1945 Turkish Ministry of Education booklet promoting the technical and vocational education of women outlines the republican vision of woman as follows: first, “by the great Turkish Revolution, a Turkish woman is first a citizen who, in every aspect of society, has rights equal to those of men”; second, “before all else and in a broader sense, she takes her place in an advanced order of family and society as a skillful and intelligent housewife and mother”; and third, “she is a human being who has both the courage and initiative to survive freely and in financial independence if and when necessary and to give her family a comfortable life by practicing one of the domestic arts.” “Based on these principles,” the authors continue, “this vision and understanding in the education of womanhood has made necessary the founding of girls’ institutes in addition to primary and secondary schools and colleges.”¹

These excerpts imply that, for government officials, the curriculum of general education in Turkey had not sufficiently emphasized the duties of women as mothers, homemakers and housewives. In response, it was suggested that separate schools should be established to fulfill this purpose. This apparent diversity in the system of education of female students in early republican Turkey has been recognized, but its significance has not been particularly emphasized by the majority of Turkish feminist critics. According to Zehra F. Arat:

The Republican leadership offered Turkish women a system of paradoxes. While women’s participation in both economic and social life was considered to be essential for the development and transformation of the country, all the obstacles in their way were not removed. Women’s primary contribution continued to be seen as being in the domestic sphere [...] and motherhood was emphasized as the most important function of women.²

In the same vein, as Ayşe Durakbaşa has argued:

The Kemalist female image reflected the pragmatism of the Kemalist ideology and was basically a combination of conflicting images: “an

-
- 1 My translation. Furthermore, back in 1930, the general program for primary school education in Turkey had advised that, since most female students would not have the opportunity to continue into higher education, they should be informed of their “potential jobs” (as homemakers) from the primary school stage onwards. Please see, *Kız Teknik Öğretim* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1945).
 - 2 Zehra Arat, “Educating the Daughters of the Republic,” in *Deconstructing Images of ‘the Turkish Woman’*, ed. Zehra Arat (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998), 175.

educated-professional woman" at work; "a socially active organizing woman" as a member of social clubs, and associations; "a biologically functioning woman" in the family fulfilling reproductive responsibilities as a mother and wife; "a feminine woman" entertaining men at the balls and parties.³

Arat and Durakbaşa depict the "Kemalist female image" as a collection of character traits that Turkish women were expected to inherently possess. Their picture, however, bypasses class and social status divides that are not independent from gender. For instance, Durakbaşa's description portrays an upper- or upper-middle-class elite woman who could attend balls and parties, access social clubs, and receive higher education. As demonstrated in this paper, women in professions were able to develop "coping strategies" to balance their professional life and domestic roles and could prioritize their careers over their homes.⁴ However, women who received technical and vocational education and belonged to lower-middle income groups had a considerably different experience of "emancipation."

This paper argues that the distinction between different types of girls' schools played an important part in the production of the widely disseminated image of the "republican woman."⁵ More importantly, class dimensions were intermingled with gender aspects, not only in the making of this image, but also in the architectural spaces that reproduced it. Some sex technical schools and high schools incorporated different spatial mechanisms, visual strategies and educational programs through which norms of femininity were imposed on women. The former aimed to train "modern housewives," educated mothers, and skilled laborers for domestic jobs whereas the main goal of the latter was to craft "modern professional woman." In the first part of this paper I analyze official discourses of the "republican woman" through two major educational institutions and an unbuilt school project in Ankara (Figures 1 and 2). These schools are the İsmet Paşa Girls Institute (1930) and the Ankara Girls' High School (1936) by Ernst Egli and the unbuilt extension to

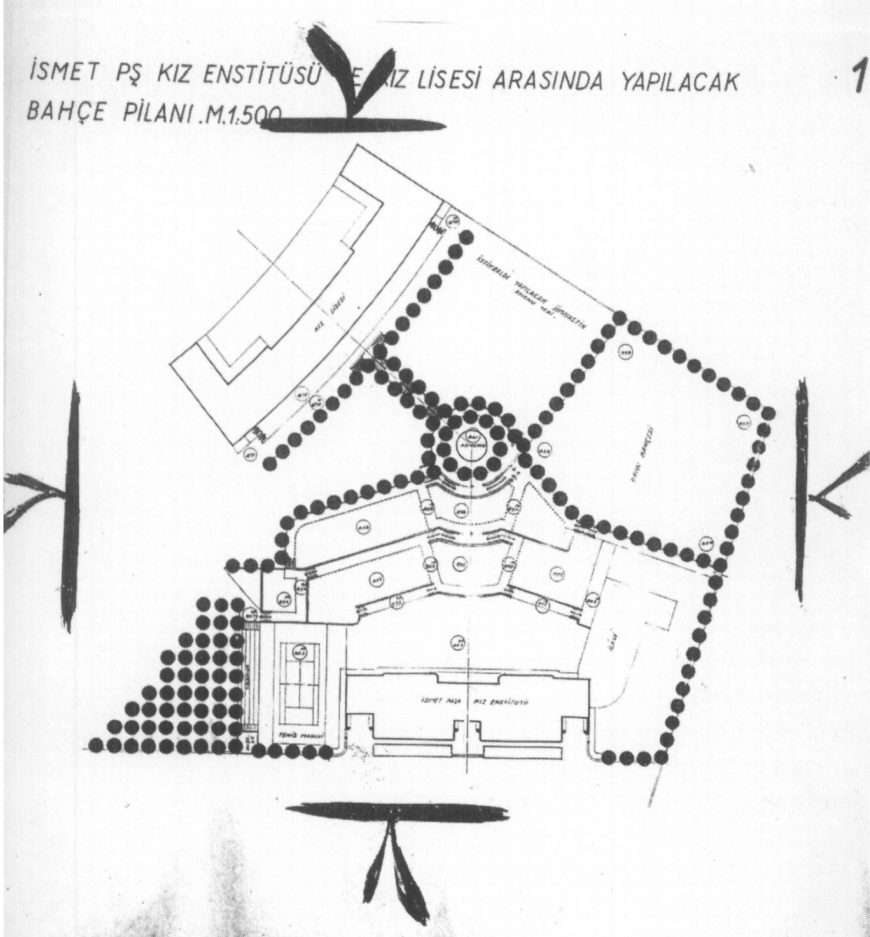
3 Durakbaşa, "Kemalism as Identity Politics in Turkey," in *Deconstructing Images of 'the Turkish Woman'*, ed. Zehra Arat (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 147.

4 The term "coping strategies" is borrowed from Gökçe Bayrakçıken Tüzel. See, Gökçe Bayrakçıken Tüzel, "Being and Becoming Professional: Work and Liberation through Women's Narratives in Turkey" (PhD Dissertation, Middle East Technical University, 2004).

5 See, for instance, Yeşim Arat, "The Project of Modernity and Women in Turkey," in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997); and Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2001).

the High School (1938) by Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, a well-known Austrian architect who was especially famous for designing the “Frankfurt Kitchen.”⁶

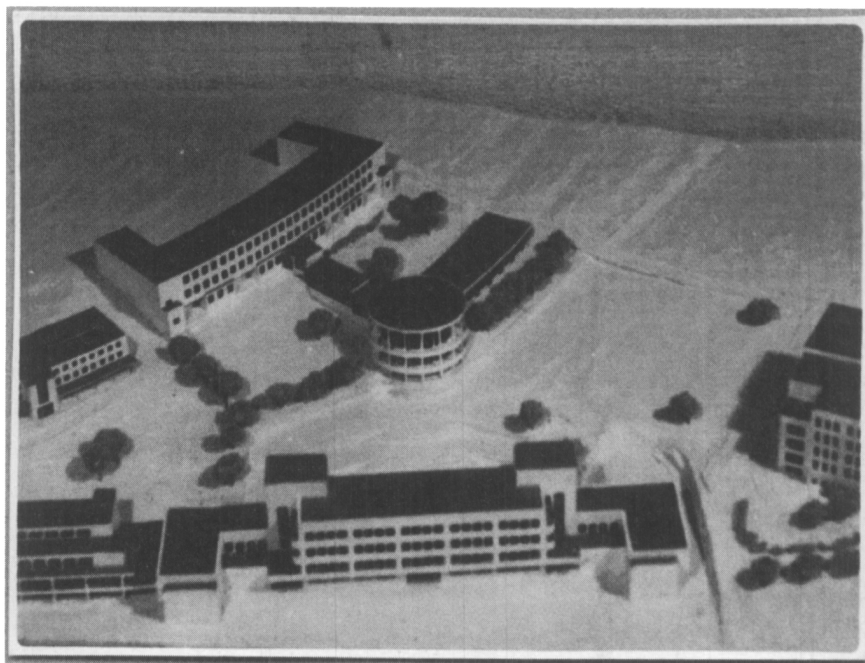
Figure 1: Plan of the garden between the İsmet Paşa Girls’ Institute and the Ankara Girls’ High School.



Source: Courtesy of ETH Zurich University Archives (Hs 785: 133).

6 See, Peter Noever, ed., *Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, Soziale Architektur, Zeitzeugin eines Jahrhunderts* (Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1997); Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, *Warum ich Architektin wurde* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 2004). Had it been built, the extension to the High School would have been located in between the two Egli buildings. I should also note here that my enquiries did not reveal why Schütte-Lihotzky’s design for this extension was never implemented.

Figure 2: Model showing the İsmet Paşa Girls' Institute (1930) and the Ankara Girls' High School (1936) by Ernst Egli, and the unbuilt annex (1938) by Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky.



Source: Courtesy of Universität für Angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv (135/16).

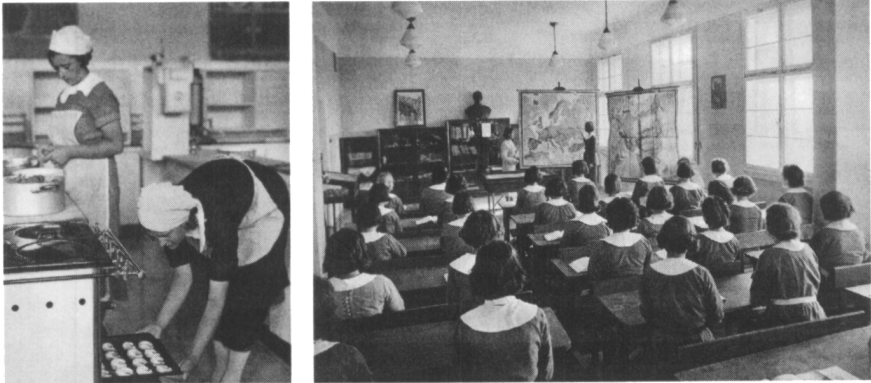
The Ankara Girls' High School (hereafter referred to as "the High School") was a prominent public institution in Turkey offering general education for female students and functioned as a stepping-stone for women from predominantly upper- and upper-middle social groups to enter colleges and pursue careers.⁷ The İsmet Paşa Girls' Institute (hereafter referred to as "the Institute") was a technical and vocational school which restricted women's career options to either working in the home as professional housewives, in small workshops as milliners and tailors, or in teacher training schools as teachers of sewing, child-rearing and cooking as well as general courses.⁸ Although both the existing structures and Lihotzky's project were examples of architectural modernism which aimed at transmitting the official ideology of "women's emancipation" through public education, this paper argues that Schütte-Lihotzky's ar-

7 Tüzel, "Being and Becoming Professional," 212.

8 *Ankara Kız Lisesi: Bir Okulun 80 Yılı* (Ankara Kız Lisesi, 2008); *Kız Enstitüleri ve Sanat Okulları Sergisi* (Ankara, Devlet Basımevi, May 21, 1938).

chitectural renderings produced the image of the modern Turkish woman differently. Unlike the Institute, where students were photographed in their white aprons, the Girls' High School was not reminiscent of the domestic sphere (figures 3a and 3b).⁹ Thus, by comparing the rearticulation of modern femininity in the unbuilt High School project with that in the Institute and the actually built part of the High School, this paper resituates Schütte-Lihotzky's work in 1930s Ankara and relates it to her architectural practice in 1920s Germany. It claims that the governing elite in Turkey made a class-based and spatially constructed categorization of women as economic actors with significant gender implications. Lihotzky's design for the unbuilt annex, which both borrowed from the "reform schools" of Weimar Germany and bore a clear resemblance to her earlier designs for "kitchenette-equipped classrooms" in Frankfurt, played a central role in making this categorization visible.¹⁰

Figure 3a & 3b: The İsmet Paşa Girls' Institute (1930) (left) and The Ankara Girls' High School by Ernst Egli (1936) (right).



Sources: Photographs by Othmar Pferschy. Images reprinted in *Fotoğraflarla Türkiye, Die Türkei im Bild* (Matbuat Umum Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 1936). Courtesy of Istanbul Museum of Modern Art.

The İsmet Paşa Girls' Institute: Schooling for the home/kitchen

Built in 1930 and standing along Atatürk Boulevard, the Institute was one of Egli's most important works in Ankara and a prime example of girls' institutes in Turkey, where the spatial articulation of class and gender differences was instigated. It was located next to significant public

9 See, Noever, *Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky*, 175.

10 On the reform schools, see, Martin Elsaesser, *Bauten und Entwürfe aus den Jahren 1924-1932* (Berlin: Bauwelt-Verlag, 1933); for Schütte-Lihotzky's work for public schools, see, Susan R. Henderson, "A Revolution in the Woman's Sphere, Grete Lihotzky and the Frankfurt Kitchen," in *Architecture and Feminism*, ed. Coleman, Debra et al. (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996).

buildings such as the People's House (*Halkevi*) and the Museum of Ethnography, and by the end of the decade it neighbored a landmark university building designed by Bruno Taut. The school was placed along what was at the time the most prestigious boulevard in Ankara, which connected the old parts of the city to its recently built neighborhoods where the government quarter was constructed.¹¹

Ernst Egli was invited to Turkey in 1927 to serve as the Ministry of Education's chief architect and dean of the School of Architecture at İstanbul's Academy of Fine Arts. He designed a number of university and government buildings in Ankara in the following decade.¹² According to Turkish architectural historian İnci Aslanoğlu, Egli's architecture was influenced by Eric Mendelsohn's expressionism: Egli borrowed Mendelsohn's characteristic "continuity through unbroken lines, dynamism, soft rounded corners" and applied them in his residential architecture. The interior spaces were designed in the typical "Bauhaus style" and consisted of "simple, undecorated surfaces and lines."¹³ Egli incorporated similar architectural characteristics in the design of the Institute, such as a "flat or hidden roof, large and simple glass surfaces, horizontal band windows, continuous façade balconies and window sills."¹⁴

The school's curriculum also seems to have determined the main principles of its design. The idea behind technical, vocational and industrial education of female students and the girls' institutes in particular was to introduce Taylorist principles to housework: to impart to girls the habit of "rationally organizing domestic space" and adopting "appropriate work schedules" through such practices as developing timetables for their domestic chores.¹⁵ Other than housewifery, the Institutes also defined "specific fields and activities" for women to specialize in, and offered courses such as "Handicrafts (Sewing and Cutting Out), Fashion and Hat Making, Household Economics and Cooking, Embroidery and White Sewing, Fashion and Model Painting, Milk Making and Home Agriculture."¹⁶ Students would not only become homemakers but also

11 Leyla Alpagut, "Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde Ankara'daki Eğitim Yapıları" (PhD Dissertation, Hacettepe Üniversitesi, 2005), 212-217. Also see, Leyla Alpagut, *Cumhuriyet'in Mimarı Ernst Arnold Egli: Türkiye Yılları, Anılar ve Ankara için Yapılar* (İstanbul: Boyut, 2012).

12 Oya Atalay Franck, "Politik und Architektur, Ernst Egli und die Suche nach einer Moderne in der Türkei (1927-1940)" (PhD Dissertation, ETH Zürich, 2004).

13 İnci Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı* (Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Basım İşliği, 1980), ix.

14 Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi*, viii, ix; Pelin Gürol, "Building for Women's Education during the Early Republican Period in Turkey, İsmet Paşa Girls' Institute in Ankara in the 1930s" (MA Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2003), 66-68.

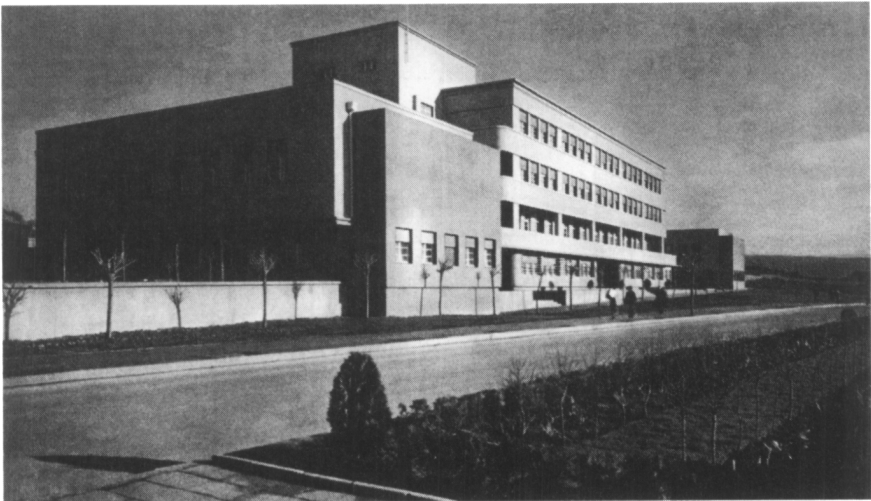
15 Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation-Building*, 198-200; Arat, "The Project of Modernity," 100.

16 Gürol, "Building for Women's Education," 26, 30-31.

well-educated female citizens with domestic knowledge and the know-how to “behave and survive in a civilized manner” even when they only had limited income.¹⁷

The Institute was established in 1928 and moved to the new building designed by Egli in 1930 (figure 4). His design was a four-story building with two five-story-high volumes on both sides. In the main block, there were classrooms on two sides of a corridor, as well as workshops and offices. In 1934, two L-shaped two-story-high blocks, not included in the original project, were added to the building. Meeting rooms, a conference hall and a teachers’ meeting room were located in these extensions.¹⁸ Egli designed three main entrances on the street façade, and the medial entrance opened directly to the spacious entrance hall, which was also used for exhibitions organized by the students and teachers. All entrances on the front were met by entrances from the garden on the rear façade of the building.¹⁹ The sewing workshop and the dining hall were placed on the first floor, while the second floor accommodated administration offices and meeting rooms, aligned with a balcony from one end to the other.²⁰

Figure 4: The İsmet Paşa Girls’ Institute (1930) by Ernst Egli.



Source: Image reprinted in *La Turquie Kemaliste* 12 (April 1936). Courtesy of ETH Zurich Image Archive (Dia 194: 0354).

17 Ibid., 33.

18 Alpagut, “Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi’nde,” 213; It should also be noted that the original layout of the site plan was not exactly followed during the construction.

19 Ibid.

20 Also, Egli placed classrooms on all four floors and the library and labs were located on the third floor. Ibid., 214.

At first glance the building can be characterized by the different traits of its street and rear elevations. The street façade is the “public” side of the building, which functions as a continuous wall along the street line and is aligned with a thick garden wall that surrounds the building site. The façade is enriched by the juxtaposition of vertical and horizontal masses and the recessed balcony on the first floor. In terms of visual accessibility, the building’s street façade functioned as an almost complete screen, cutting off sight of it from the street, especially given the wire netting on the first floor, and this effect is further enriched by the completion of the extensions on both ends. The rear façade, which overlooks the garden between the High School and the Institute, is not only more transparent but also more accessible to the students entering and exiting the building. Some balconies and terraces on this façade, their sleek, light, almost flying posture enabled by reinforced concrete, metal railings and rounded endings, are connected to the classrooms. Unlike those on the street façade, these balconies projected outward on all floors of the building. The rear façade is also perfectly hidden from a predominantly male audience passing along the street.

The Institute has been the focus of considerable scholarly interest in Turkey, receiving attention from both architectural historians and feminist critics for both its decidedly modernist architectural vocabulary and for its curriculum, which blended aesthetic and programmatic aspects of domestic ideology in women’s technical education.²¹ I would argue that the emphasis on domestic arts and the home as a central theme of girls’ education in Turkey was by no means unanticipated. As Sibel Bozdoğan argues, creating “enlightened wives, mothers and homemakers out of Turkish girls” was part of a “new, modern and Western domestic culture” that the government wanted to achieve through technical education.²² The home was “the main source of reforms” and the locus of a new domestic culture, in which housework was elevated to a modern profession, equivalent to a factory job, which could be handled only by well-educated women.²³

On this basis, it is possible to interpret girls’ institutes as extensions of the home, where the use of open spaces did not necessarily mean that women were “outside” the domestic sphere.²⁴ Through architectural

21 See, for instance, Arat, *Deconstructing Images*; Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation-Building*; Şule Toktaş and Dilek Cindoğlu, “Modernization and Gender: A History of Girls’ Technical Education in Turkey since 1927,” *Women’s History Review* 15, no. 5 (November 2006).

22 Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 86, 195.

23 Ibid.

24 Dilek Cindoğlu and Şule Toktaş, “Empowerment and Resistance Strategies of Working Women in Turkey: The Case of 1960-70 Graduates of the Girls’ Institutes,” *European Journal of Women’s Studies*

mechanisms, these schools replaced *mahrem* (intimacy, privacy) with a constant, collective (self) surveillance accompanied by strict rules governing everyday life and relations with the opposite gender.

The administration of technical schools established mechanisms of constant surveillance to which architecture contributed significantly. Zehra Arat writes: "at some schools the windows facing the street were painted, at some others balconies or hills that had a view of the street were forbidden to the girls."²⁵ Also, teachers tried to ensure that students were monitored, not only within the school, but also in its close vicinity. For instance, in İzmir, students were denied permission to go to film theaters during the week or in the evenings, and 10:00 p.m. was lights out. During the weekends, teachers escorted students on foot to the bus or tram stops so that they did "not lose time in the streets."²⁶ In addition, it was usually the female teachers who taught "female arts" whereas it was mostly male teachers who offered general courses.²⁷ The easy association of "female jobs" with female identity was strengthened by female teachers as experts on child rearing, cooking and home management. The Institute itself was no exception. Regular control of lockers and constant emphasis on tidiness and self-discipline were significant aspects of the education it provided.²⁸

The impression given by Egli's work at the Institute, the High School, and other proposed facilities, as well as the high walls encircling the complex, is that the purpose was to create an enclosed school complex in the middle of the city, adjacent to other significant government institutions. The tendency to articulate the buildings around a courtyard is also visible in Egli's site plan for the common garden between the two buildings. In fact, as will be discussed in the following sections, the contours of Schütte-Lihotzky's extension overlap with Egli's site plan. In the landscaping of the garden, areas near each school were separated from each other by lines of trees as well as podiums and stairs.

Unlike their peers studying at the High School, the students of the Institute could use the garden during breaks between classes, gym classes, and for the fashion shows organized with the teachers to exhibit the institute-produced clothes. However, perhaps the garden's most important function was as a setting for the students' home-agriculture courses. Integrating agriculture with technical education had been suggested by

9, no. 1 (2002): 35.

25 Arat, "Educating the Daughters of the Republic," 172.

26 İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü Enstitü Yılığ: 1939-1940, no. 6 (1940).

27 Naci Sadullah, "Selçuk Kız Sanat Mektebi'nde Bir Saat," *Yedigün* 54 (1934): 14-16.

28 Selim Tefik, "Kız Muallim Mektebi'nde," *Yedigün* 64 (1934): 9-11.

the foreign experts who visited Turkey during the 1920s.²⁹ The use of the gardens to practice home-agriculture appears to have been a common practice in institutes across Turkey.³⁰ This integration of agriculture as part of education links the institutes to Weimar Germany's *Siedlungen* and their working-class dwelling culture.³¹ These mass housing settlements contained allotments, which were assigned to each unit or building block and were placed in close proximity to the kitchen.³² Especially in these early-twentieth-century examples of mass housing, the residents were provided the opportunity to grow their own vegetables and thus support the household economy.³³

The second most significant function of the school garden was to host events exhibiting students' work. The exhibitions were part of a larger public relations activity that aimed to promote the institutes. Through publications, exhibitions, and fashion shows, the ministry constantly endeavored to reverse the commonly held opinion that the education in the institutes and craft schools instilled habits of luxury consumption, and "filled students' minds with habits of extravagance and made them read fashion magazines."³⁴ In Ankara, some exhibitions took place outside the Institute, such as at the Exhibition Hall, though smaller-scale exhibitions were generally organized in the garden. These were annual events that gave families the opportunity to monitor their daughters' progress and overall success, meet the teachers, and see the school. Another motive behind the shows was to enable the students to receive commissions from outside the school. Thus, girls would not only enjoy earning their own income by producing hats, clothing, and embroidery, but would also become accustomed to working independently and impressing their peers with the quality of their work.³⁵ As was encouraged at such events, some students started private businesses after graduation. For instance, in the popular journal, *Yedigün*, Server Rifat

29 For instance, Dr. Kuhne, Belgium's director general of technical and vocational education, recommended that "teacher training schools should have an experimental garden and some agricultural land." See, Ali Yılmaz, "The Preparation of Elementary Teachers during the Early Years of the Turkish Republic" (PhD Dissertation, Leigh University, 1994), 102; Kuhne, "Mesleki Terbiyenin İnkişafına dair Rapor (1939)" in *Kız Enstitüleri ve Sanat Okulları Sergisi*, 6.

30 Indeed, the practice continued well into the 1970s in Teachers' Schools (*Öğretmen Okulları*) across Turkey.

31 Naci Sadullah, "Selçuk Kız Sanat Mektebi'nde," 14.

32 See, for instance, Winfried Brenne, ed., *Bruno Taut: Meister des farbigen Bauens in Berlin* (Verlagshaus Braun, 2005), 91, 164.

33 See, Manfredo Tafuri, "The Attempts at Urban Reform in Europe between the Wars" in Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal. Co., *Modern Architecture 1* (London: Electa, 1986), 162.

34 My translation. "Ev Kadını Yetiştiren Ocak," *Yedigün* 95 (1935): 7.

35 *Kız Teknik Öğretim*.

praised Zekiye Hanım, who had a hat making/millinery workshop in Ankara, as one of the most successful graduates of the Institute.³⁶

Students graduating from the Institutes were not given the opportunity for higher education. If they passed a general exam they could be teachers employed in the same institutions. And if not, they would be housewives or domestic laborers, hoping to receive commissions from civil servants and their wives.³⁷ For instance, in an interview with Serpil Özalğlu, Mualla Sardaş, one of the graduates of the Institute, said that, because of her schooling there, she was not able to continue into higher education. Her two brothers had enrolled her at the Institute without even consulting her. She thought it was a good school at first. But after graduation, her only option was to enter the Girls Technical Teachers' School. She wanted to teach painting, but could not pass the exams. She adds that, since her educational life had to end (implying that she did not have a profession allowing her to live independently), her only alternative was to get married.³⁸

In sum, carrying the responsibility of representing how to be "proper" Turkish women, the graduates transmitted the multiple regimes of surveillance effective in both the classroom space and curricula into the so-called public sphere and everyday life. But how did such mechanisms work for women who could prioritize professional life over housework?

The Ankara Girls' High School: Women as professionals and domestic supervisors

Gendered analyses of architecture and space in girls' schools will inevitably fall short of displaying the whole picture unless class aspects are also taken into account. Recent feminist scholarship in Turkey refers to the Institutes as the crystallization of the "traditional conservatism" of early republican ideology, which sought to delimit the scope of women's emancipation. Less noticeable in this critique are girls' high schools, and coeducational schools and universities, which laid out another set of limits for women. Although imagined within the bounds of a nationalist ideology which retained, if not promoted, traditional patriarchal divisions between genders, the professional world nevertheless provided

36 Server Rifat, "İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü'nde," *Yedigün* 45 (1934): 18.

37 Elif Ekin Akşit, *Kızların Sessizliği: Kız Enstitülerinin Uzun Tarihi* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2005), 149.

38 "[...] İki kardeşim, beni enstitüye verdiler, hiç sormadan etmeden, ben de orayı iyi bir okul sanmıştım ama benim tahsil hayatımı bitirdi. Orayı bitirdiniz mi Kız Teknik Öğretmen Okulu'nu kazanmanız gerekirdi. Kazanamadım. Resim Öğretmeni olmak isterken ilk aşamasını aşamadım [...] Ondan sonra önümüz kapanınca evlenmekten başka bir şey kalmıyor geriye." Serpil Özalğlu, "Transformation of Ankara between 1935-1950 in relation with Everyday Life and Lived Spatiality" (PhD Dissertation, Middle East Technical University, 2006), 300-301.

a space for certain groups of women to escape from a life predominantly centered in or confined to the domestic realm.³⁹

Upper and middle class groups were not the only ones to occupy high schools, but the curricula appealed to them the most.⁴⁰ Many graduates were accepted to colleges, lived an academic life or worked in public and semi-private institutions.⁴¹ In "Being and Becoming Professional," Gökçe Bayrakçeken Tüzel has argued that, during the early years of the republic, the government preferred to hire women instead of lower-income men as "class-prejudice was stronger than gender prejudice."⁴² Unlike in Russia and, to some extent, Germany, there were no "social provisions" and institutions to compensate for the work-time spent outside the home and relieve women of some daily household chores to support women's professional lives.⁴³ Except for a limited number of *lojmans* (housing estates built by the government for civil servants in the vicinity of public institutions) and public schools and universities, amenities such as nursery schools and daycare centers were not planned as part of single family homes or mass housing projects in Ankara. Therefore, women in academia and the professions had to develop their own ways of extending the time allocated to life outside home, spending less time on household chores. According to Tüzel, these strategies included hiring maids, seeking support from family, relatives and friends, bringing work home, and conducting business from home-offices.⁴⁴ Thus, women depended on the support of other women to lessen the burden of housework.⁴⁵ Not getting married was also a strategy that, even if unintentionally, worked to enable women to have a more independent lifestyle.⁴⁶

In spite of these obstacles, professional ideology and identity still enabled women committed to their work to loosen the social pressure around them by officially giving them an "excuse" to remain single or focus on life outside the home. In other words, high school and university

39 Tüzel, "Being and Becoming Professional," 241.

40 *Ibid.*, "15, 145.

41 For instance, from 1925-26 to 1936-37, the girls' high school in İzmir had 221 graduates, and 75 percent of them continued into higher education. In 1937-38, 8 of the graduates were teaching at the school from which they had received their degrees. See, *İzmir Kız Lisesi Yıllığı 1937-1938*, 14.

42 Tüzel, "Being and Becoming Professional," 145. In her discussion, Tüzel refers to the following source: Feride Acar, "Türkiye'de Akademisyenler: Tarihsel Evrim ve Bugünkü Durum," in *Akademik Yaşamda Kadın* (Ankara: Türk Alman Kültürleri, 1996), 78.

43 Tüzel, "Being and Becoming Professional," 299; For the Russian experience please see, Choi Chatterjee, *Soviet Heroines and Public Identity, 1930-1939* (Carl Beck papers in Russian & East European studies, no. 1402, Pittsburgh, PA: Russian and East European Study Program, University of Pittsburgh, 1999).

44 Tüzel, "Being and Becoming Professional," 299-304.

45 Toktaş and Cindoğlu, "Empowerment and Resistance Strategies," 44.

46 Tüzel, "Being and Becoming Professional," 287-288.

graduates could create a larger space for themselves outside the domestic realm. Schütte-Lihotzky's visual representation and spatial imagination of women's education in Turkey need to be situated in such a context. Otherwise, it is impossible to explain the reasons behind the differences between the approach to school design she deployed in Germany and the visual and architectural vocabulary used in the unbuilt high school project in Ankara.

Schütte-Lihotzky was one of the first woman architects in Austria. In the late 1920s she worked with Ernst May on mass housing projects built for the working class in Weimar Germany and collaborated with others to design school buildings. In 1930, upon May's initiative, Schütte-Lihotzky and her husband Wilhelm Schütte travelled to Russia; the living example of state socialism.⁴⁷ After seven years, the couple felt that returning to Nazi Germany had become a remote option, as did many others on the socialist left. In 1938, at Bruno Taut's suggestion, Schütte-Lihotzky and Schütte moved to Turkey.⁴⁸ Schütte-Lihotzky's brief appointment in the architectural office of the Ministry of Education in Turkey was fruitful, although none of the projects she designed were realized.⁴⁹ Within only ten months, she designed model primary school projects for villages (and brought these together in a book), a handful of housing projects in İstanbul, and a triumphal arch in İstanbul to mark the fifteenth anniversary of the founding of the Turkish Republic.⁵⁰ The most significant design that Schütte-Lihotzky produced while in Ankara was the unbuilt extension to Egli's High School. Egli's work was not unfamiliar to Schütte-Lihotzky, and they had previously collaborated in planning a residential area in Vienna, *Siedlung Eden*, between 1921 and 1922.⁵¹ Through her design for the High School annex, the architect now brought into question her previous work.

Egli's High School building was partially completed in 1929 and was finally fully operational, including classrooms, labs, lecture halls and

47 Noever, ed., *Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky*, 126.

48 Ibid., 167; Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, *Erinnerungen aus dem Widerstand: Das Kampferische Leben einer Architektin von 1938-1945* (Wien: Promedia Verlag, 1994), 34.

49 The only exception was a triumphal arch in İstanbul, which was only temporarily built. See, Bernd Nicolai, *Almanca Konuşulan Ülkelerin Mimarları Türkiye'de, 1925-1955*, trans. Yüksel Pöğün Zander (Ankara: Mimarlar Odası Yay., 2011), 237, 238. In 1940 Schütte-Lihotzky went back to Vienna to join the resistance as part of the Austrian Communist Party (KPÖ) and was captured and barely escaped execution. Please see, *ibid.*, 236; Schütte-Lihotzky, *Erinnerungen aus dem Widerstand*.

50 See, Esra Akcan, *Çeviride Modern Olan: Şehir ve Konutta Türk-Alman İlişkileri* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2009); Noever, *Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky*, 173-179; Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, *Yeni Köy Okulları Bina Tipleri Üzerinde Bir Deneme*, trans. Hüseyin Örs (Ankara: Maarif Vekilligi, 1939).

51 Schütte-Lihotzky, *Warum ich Architektin wurde*, 71, 72; Akcan, 347.

Figure 5: Cover page, *Ankara Kız Lisesi 1934-1935 Yıllığı*.



Source: *Ankara Kız Lisesi 1934-1935 Yıllığı*, Ankara: Ulus Basımevi, 1937. Courtesy of the Ankara Kız Lisesi Mezunları Derneği Arşivi.

study rooms, only in 1936 (figure 5).⁵² In addition to classroom spaces and labs, the High School accommodated a music room, a conference room and a gym. Egli's design had three stories arranged in a U-shaped plan. Sitting atop a hill, the High School overlooked the city across a garden between the High School and the Institute. The garden was used by the students of both schools and was decorated with trees, terraces and stairs.⁵³ The main entrance to the school is on the opposite side of the building where the parade ground was placed. In the middle part of the U, which is longer than the two wings, classrooms and offices were laid out. At the center of the building on the first floor, there are two identical rooms that, according to Leyla Alpagut, were used as "museum rooms." Nine spacious classrooms on this floor were located toward the south to receive sunlight during the day. The second floor housed seven classrooms as well as offices and other classroom-related functions. In both wings, available space was mostly allocated for labs and administrative units.⁵⁴ Egli's "Mendelsohnian" influence is especially noticeable

52 The Ankara Girls' High School (1923), before moving to its new venue, was previously located near a series of major cultural and educational institutions, such as the İsmet Paşa Girls' Institute, the Museum of Ethnography, the Turkish History Institute, and the State Museum of Painting and Sculpture. Please see, Alpagut, "Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde," 199-200.

53 See, *Ankara Kız Lisesi: Bir Okulun 80 Yılı*, 105-106.

54 Alpagut, "Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde," 200-201.

on the front (entrance) and rear (overlooking the garden) façades in the slanting volume of the building, the use of eaves and the balancing of projecting blocks and balconies. The monumental expression of the façade facing the garden is strengthened by a series of columns and windows on the entrance level and a promenade attached to the building from one end to the other.⁵⁵

Egli's design had been partly a response to the different curriculum of the High School. Unlike students of the institutes, the "daughters of the republic" who attended high schools were given the prospect of having college education and being employed in state institutions. Although motherhood and housewifery were seen as an indispensable part of the new women's identity in 1930s Turkey, providing training in the domestic arts was not a major part of the High School's curriculum. Four of the first six graduates of the High School went on to receive university degrees, and the other two entered professional life as civil servants.⁵⁶ This difference in the curricula was one of the factors that shaped Egli's design of the existing High School building. For instance, the architect designed a lengthy promenade and a walkway connecting it to a square lined by trees, implying that students had free time between classes. Furthermore, the front façade of the building was not as sealed off from its surroundings. The two school buildings however, are unified in terms of formal characteristics since they are the product of the same architect.

On the other hand, Schütte-Lihotzky's unbuilt extension was an even more refined response to the high school's curriculum. First of all, Schütte-Lihotzky chose not to locate the annex in the location the outer walls encircling the garden would have suggested. Instead, the project cut across the garden, connecting to the street as if extending the city into the site. While it followed the main contours of Egli's garden design, which seems to have been inspirational for Schütte-Lihotzky in determining her building's form, it evaded defining an exact courtyard and visually "opened" the building to the outside of the garden.⁵⁷ The second refinement was more directly about the architecture. Schütte-Lihotzky's design is a circular building with large windows attached to a single-story rectangular wing, slanting only slightly to follow the main contours of the site. The circular block accommodates reading and music rooms and an assembly hall and the wing consists of six classrooms placed next to one another. The classrooms were to be entered both via a corridor through the existing High

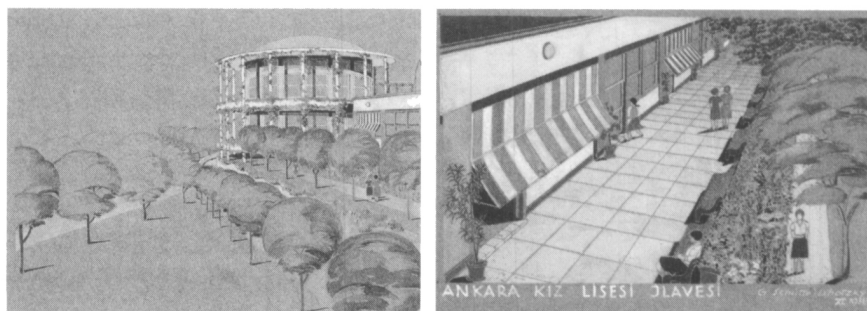
55 Ibid., 202.

56 Hasan Ali Yücel, "Ankara Kız Lisesi," in *Türkiye'de Ortaöğretim* (Istanbul: İstanbul Devlet Basımevi, 1938), reprinted in *Ankara Kız Lisesi: Bir Okulun 80 Yılı*, 15.

57 Nicolai, *Almanca Konuşulan Ülkelerin Mimarları Türkiye'de*, 239, 240.

School, and through an open terrace in front of the annex. Next to the terrace was another pathway. This pathway was not paved and was more of a footpath among trees, descending from the terrace. In her renderings, Schütte-Lihotzky drew benches, surrounded with plants, where students could spend leisure time. The circular block was connected to the existing building by a glazed promenade, which was designated a “recreation room” on the original blueprints. Balconies located on both sides of the promenade rounded the circular main block. Schütte-Lihotzky also designed a smaller garden, decorated with a pool and sitting corners, between the annex and the existing High School (figures 6a and 6b).⁵⁸

Figure 6a & 6b: Schütte-Lihotzky’s perspective drawings of the unbuilt extension to the Ankara Girls’ High School, 1938.



Source: Courtesy of Universität für Angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv (135/12 and 13).

In Schütte-Lihotzky’s drawings, the classrooms had colorful front elevations whose windows resembled shop windows. The decoration of the façade with canopies made these classrooms look like stores that were closely connected with the gardens on both sides. Schütte-Lihotzky’s project does not exemplify the “pavilion schools” developed in Weimar Germany, but in its openness it clearly borrows from earlier examples designed by Martin Elsaesser and Ernst May.⁵⁹ The “New Schools” of Germany were the outcome of educational reform in Germany during the 1920s, which inaugurated experimental public schools and the ac-

58 Had it been realized, the annex would have added to the existing complex another music room, a meeting room, a reading room, an assembly hall, six classrooms, an open terrace, a pathway and a small garden. See, Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation-Building*, 86.

59 See, for instance, Ernst May, “Die neue Schule,” in *Das neue Frankfurt: Monatsschrift für die Probleme moderner Gestaltung* 2 (Nov., Dec. 2/1928): 232-233; *Frankfurter Schulbauten 1929*, I. Schule in der Römerstadt; Entwurf, Martin Elsaesser, W. Schütte; II. Ludwig Richter-Schule; Entwurf, Martin Elsaesser, III. Schule in Niederursel; Entwurf, Franz Schuster (Frankfurt am Main: Englert, 1929); Elsaesser, *Bauten und Entwürfe*.

tive learning curriculum that applied methods of modern pedagogy.⁶⁰ Some of them were located within mass housing projects, as in Römerstadt in Frankfurt. Susan Henderson has written that these schools consisted of “low wings instead of the massive brick urban blocks,” and “the classrooms often had entire glass walls that opened up onto the student gardens.”⁶¹ The architects designed corridors that had direct access to sunlight, rather than placing them in between rows of classrooms. Recreation and exercise were significant parts of the reform curriculum, and open terraces and yards were provided in the architecture of the New School.⁶² In the 1930s, this plan evolved into the so-called “pavilion type,” which contained separate classrooms placed next to a garden and connected to each other through “open air walkways.” This was a “low, open plan school” that eliminated the use of corridors.⁶³ Ernst May, Martin Elsaesser, Wilhelm Schütte and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky were the major architects who all played parts in designing school projects in Germany. According to Henderson, these architects embraced the “tradition of German Idealism” that aimed at “nurturing the spirits of the young.”⁶⁴ Not surprisingly, the idea of reform through building was also a key element of their practice in Turkey.⁶⁵

In Schütte-Lihotzky’s project, the image of the modern Turkish professional woman found its architectural expression. To a much greater extent than in the two Egli buildings, in the unbuilt annex, the use of terraces, pergolas and balconies sought to let sunshine and fresh air into the classrooms, as in contemporary German examples. The corridors were lined with a single row of classrooms which overlooked a garden on the other side (figures 7a and 7b). Standing in one of the assembly halls or on a balcony, or wandering in one of the gardens or walkways, students would have had both complete visual control of their urban environment and a privileged view over the Girls’ Institute, its garden and, in part, Atatürk Boulevard—the main axis of the city plan drawn by Herman Jansen.⁶⁶

60 The curriculum was designed to meet the requirements of the working class but also aimed to reform them. Please see Marjorie Lamberti, *The Politics of Education: Teachers and School Reform in Weimar Germany* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2002), 132-140.

61 There were also gyms and different types of gardens as well as cafeterias for students. See, Susan Henderson, “New Buildings Create New People: The Pavilion Schools of Weimar Frankfurt as a Model of Pedagogical Reform,” *Design Issues* 13, no. 1 (Spring 1997): 31, 32.

62 Henderson, “New Buildings Create New People,” 32, 33.

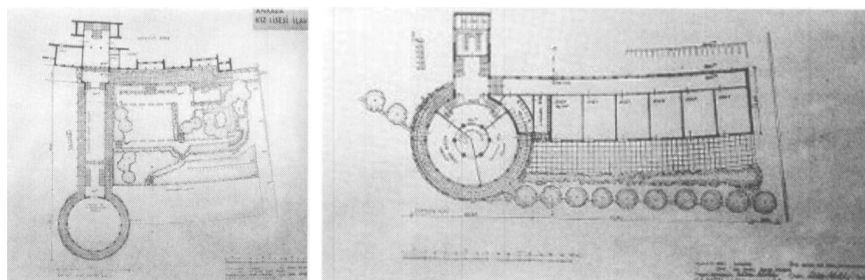
63 *Ibid.*, 33, 34; May, “Die neue Schule.”

64 Like Egli, Schütte and Schütte-Lihotzky, Elsaesser worked in Turkey for a short period in late 1930s. See Henderson, “New Buildings Create New People,” 38.

65 For Elsaesser’s work in Turkey, please see Nicolai, *Almanca Konuşulan Ülkelerin Mimarları Türkiye’de*, and Akcan, *Çeviride Modern Olan*.

66 Recent scholarship has clearly shown that Jansen’s plan mostly followed main contours of an earlier

Figure 7a & 7b: Floor plans for the unbuilt annex for the Ankara Girls' High School.



Source: Courtesy of Universität für Angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv (135/4 and 135/6A).

The systematic emphasis on spare time and the implementation of a curriculum that was largely exempt from coursework in the “feminine arts” distinguished high schools from technical and vocational same-sex schools. Whereas the Institute functioned as an extension of the home, Schütte-Lihotzky’s high school project seemed to be the extension of the city into the building site. In her design, the use of terraces and the accompanying walkway was a model for city life and almost a “training ground” to show how an ideal modern city street should look. The students were imagined to be working women who would be shoppers and city-dwellers, rather than (or as well as) the modest homemakers, Westernized mothers, or ideal wives of republican Turkey. As daughters of state bureaucrats who would most probably marry wealthy men, they would have had the means to hire maids to do their domestic chores.

At this point it is important to emphasize the ideology that shaped high school education during the early years of the Turkish Republic. Unlike in technical schools, the curricula of high schools were characterized by an ideology of “sameness” between the genders, if not overall “indifference” to gender issues.⁶⁷ Unlike the yearbooks published by girls’ institutes, publications by girls’ high schools did not focus on topics related to housework, homemaking, or practical training.⁶⁸ The courses offered were as varied as literature, Turkish language, philosophy, his-

city plan by the German urban planner Karl Lörcher. See Ali Cengizkan, *Ankara'nın İlk Planı: 1924-25 Lörcher Planı* (Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınevi, 2004). For extensive discussion on Jansen’s city planning and architectural activity in Ankara, see, Akcan, *Çeviride Modern Olan*; Burcu Doğramacı, *Kulturtransfer und Nationale Identität: Deutschsprachige Architekten, Stadtplaner und Bildhauer in der Türkei nach 1927* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2008).

67 Firdavs Helvacıoğlu, *Ders Kitaplarında Cinsiyetçilik, 1928-1995* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1996).

68 Some of the articles published in the school’s 1935-1937 yearbook were “The New Physics,” “Our History Museum,” “School Activity” and “Unfair Statements Made about Math Classes.” *Ankara Kız Lisesi 1935-1937 Yılı* (Ankara: Ulus Basımevi).

tory, geography, chemistry, gymnastics, foreign languages (French and German), biology, music and painting. Furthermore, by creating "social institutions" within the school, the administration aimed to train students to work collectively.⁶⁹

The High School yearbooks published in the 1930s carefully documented alumni profiles and current positions held by former students. If they did not work or had not entered college, the two categories that defined the current status of women were "married" and "staying with the family." Other than that, many graduates went to law school, medical school, science departments, or veterinary school, or worked as civil servants in state banks or government institutions such as the Ministry of Economy and the Ministry of Finance. Some also worked as doctors, dentists and teachers. Moreover, a few even went to Europe for higher education.⁷⁰ Among the students of the Technical Teacher Training School in Ankara, the tendency to live independently was much stronger. One of Toktaş and Cindoğlu's interviewees explained:

It is true that the Institutes train good housewives, but, for the ones who carry on with the higher education, they train good working women. I was able to enter the Teacher Training College, so why should I be a housewife and sit at home? Am I wrong?⁷¹

According to the authors, former students "advocated good motherhood for other women in society but they never became mothers themselves."⁷² Their "coping strategies" were to refuse to enter arranged marriages, to live independently, or to develop a common-sense understanding that marriage was a "sacrifice" or was "potentially oppressive."⁷³ Also, the so-

69 Conferences and talks included "The History of Chemistry," "Seljuk Remains in Konya," "About Sports," and "Lord Byron," as well as plays and "monologues." Students also participated in clubs to help underprivileged students with their school expenses. The Travel/Sightseeing Student Club organized skiing trips, visits to the Zoo and other sites of entertainment or general interest, such as the beer factory at the Gazi Forest Farm in Ankara, which was a model state farm, the Agricultural Institute and its library, the Electric Plant, and the Automatic Telephone Switchboard, as well as various museums. See, *Ankara Kız Lisesi Yılı 1935-1937*, 35, 39, 41, 43, and 46.

70 Among the graduates of the science department for the 1935-1936 academic year, Nüzhet went to Law School, Nedime worked at the Department of Finance, Muzafer and Nimet went to the Faculty of Science, and Fevziye was accepted to the Faculty of Letters. The list of 1936-1937 graduates also display a mixture of professional careers and higher education. After graduating from the literature department, Leman Taner worked at the Central Bank, Mazlume Yenipazar was employed in the Court of Appeals, and many others studied at universities in the fields of economics, language, law and history. *Ibid.*, 47-48.

71 Quoted from a life history interview, in Toktaş and Cindoğlu, "Modernization and Gender," 742.

72 *Ibid.*, 743.

73 Cindoğlu and Toktaş, "Empowerment and Resistance Strategies," 45.

cial and spatial mobility gained by education was a significant factor that allowed women to find ways of distancing themselves from a traditional mother/housewife role.⁷⁴

I have so far identified distinct class and gender factors that distinguish the two schools, and the interrelation between their curricula and their architecture. The next section will explore the social context behind the Frankfurt Kitchen and the politics that shaped Schütte-Lihotzky's designs for a number of "kitchen cubicles"⁷⁵ for public schools. In the process, it will situate the debate on different models of education for women in 1930s Turkey within an international setting.

From the Frankfurt Kitchen to school kitchens in Germany and Turkey

Schütte-Lihotzky believed that rationalization of the kitchen would help free women from time-consuming household labor so that they could find more occasions for leisure activities inside and outside the home.⁷⁶ The architect thus supported a view fervently campaigned for by bourgeois feminists in the 1920s following the path opened by Erna Meyer and Irene Witte.⁷⁷ At first glance, Schütte-Lihotzky's progressive political views seem to contrast with her role in the development of the so-called rationalized kitchen, where women would still be confined to the domestic realm rather than being freed from that space entirely. However, it is necessary to remember that many contemporary socialists and feminists supported the rehabilitation of housing conditions for the lower class, not only from the point of equality among social classes, but also among the sexes. For instance, in his renowned book, *Die Neue Wohnung*, Bruno Taut redesigned a number of living rooms both for working- and middle-class families, rendering them simpler, using perpendicular lines and primary colors and requiring less furniture. He also advocated the rationalization of the kitchen, which, along with simpler interiors, he thought would lessen housewives' labor.⁷⁸

74 Arat, "Educating the Daughters of the Republic," 174; *Ankara Kız Liseli: Bir Okulun 80 Yılı*, 46.

75 Henderson, "A Revolution in the Woman's Sphere," 241-244.

76 See, Martina Heßler, "The Frankfurt Kitchen: The Model of Modernity and the 'Madness' of Traditional Users, 1926 to 1933," in *Cold War Kitchen, Americanization, Technology, and European Users*, ed. Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2009), 173. Also see, Nicholas Bullock, "First the Kitchen – then the Façade," *Journal of Design History* 1, no. 3/4 (1988): 181; Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, "Rationalisierung im Haushalt" *Das Neue Frankfurt* 1, no. 5 (1926-27).

77 Erna Meyer, "Technik und Wirtschaft: Rationalisierung der Verbrauchswirtschaft im Haushalt," *Technik und Wirtschaft* 15 (February 1922): 116-120; On the American influence and Christine Frederick please see, Mary Nolan, "'Household Made Easy': The Taylorized Housewife in Weimar Germany's Rationalized Economy," *Feminist Studies* 16, no. 3 (Fall 1990); Bullock, "First the Kitchen," 179-181.

78 Bruno Taut, *Die neue Wohnung, die Frau als Schöpferin* (Leipzig: Verlag Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1928). Also see, Henderson, "A Revolution in the Woman's Sphere," 222-230. Most probably, since Schütte-

Schütte-Lihotzky joined May in 1926 as the only woman architect in his team and worked on many projects he was in the process of implementing in Frankfurt. In a couple of years, May's team finished more than 5,000 building units. His "New Frankfurt" was seen as one of the most important and successful modernist urban experiments at the time.⁷⁹ What made Schütte-Lihotzky recognized worldwide were a series of model kitchens she designed in Frankfurt, the so-called "Frankfurt Kitchen," installed extensively in these mass-housing projects under May's direction.⁸⁰ Susan Henderson has defined the Frankfurt Kitchen as "the realization of the kitchen as machine," echoing Le Corbusier's well-known slogan "a house is a machine to live in."⁸¹ The idea behind a modular, precast kitchen was practicality as well as functionality. It was based on a Taylorist principle of production; each appliance was designed to lessen the amount of time and energy spent on housework. Likewise, the choice of materials used in the kitchen reflected the ideology of modernist rationality; bright colors to amplify the effect of natural light and cladding that was easy to clean and maintain, such as tile, glass and metal. As Mary Nolan argues, in the new home and the rationalized kitchen, "cooking, cleaning, and washing were reduced to 'labor processes,' which would be analyzed in terms of the expenditures of money, time, material, and energy which they required."⁸² Henderson thus concludes that by "using time charts, meal plans, and inventories, women would become plant managers" and "the kitchen [their] factory work station."⁸³ Therefore, the kitchen was no longer a multifunctional room where the family spent time and ate dinner but became a corner that functioned as the extension of the housewife.⁸⁴

The significance of the Frankfurt kitchen is that it set limits on the "emancipation" of the housewife. It was used as part of the official "female redomestication" policy in Weimar Germany, aiming to strengthen the notion of the woman's sphere by elevating it to a profession equal

Lihotzky was aware of and wanted to avoid such contradictions, she conditionally accepted her post in Russia on the proviso that she would not "have to design any more kitchens." *Ibid.*, 251.

79 See, for instance, Heinz Hirdina, *Neues Bauen, neues Gestalten: Das Neue Frankfurt, die neue Stadt, eine Zeitschrift zwischen 1926 und 1933* (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst Dresden, 1991); Rosemarie Höpfner and Volker Fischer, ed., *Ernst May und das neue Frankfurt, 1925-1930* (Berlin: Wilhelm Ernst & Sohn, 1986); Christoph Mohr and Michael Müller, *Funktionalität und Moderne: Das neue Frankfurt und seine Bauten, 1925-1933* (Köln: Verlag, 1984).

80 Schütte-Lihotzky, "Rationalisierung im Haushalt"; Bullock, "First the Kitchen," 187-188.

81 Henderson, "A Revolution in the Woman's Sphere," 235.

82 Nolan, "Housework Made Easy," 559.

83 Henderson, "A Revolution in the Woman's Sphere," 226.

84 Nolan, "Housework Made Easy," 562; Henderson, "A Revolution in the Woman's Sphere," 236.

to the so-called male professions.⁸⁵ A significant aspect of female re-domestication was women's education in the so-called "female arts" and professions. Since the nineteenth century, the practical/industrial education and training of housewives/female workers were integral parts of Germany's education system. Technical education offered three types of schooling for women; industrial, technical, and commercial. One of the aims was to educate teachers of household work.⁸⁶

Technical and teacher training schools offered guidance on how to use the latest technologies in the domestic realm, including the model kitchens introduced by the mass housing projects. The main social groups this technical education addressed were lower- and middle-income women. One other factor that gave rise to technical and practical education in nineteenth-century Europe was the dire effects of World War I on cities and the global economy. Because of the war, the participation of women in the workforce had increased dramatically in the early twentieth century.⁸⁷ Under these circumstances, a distinction between general and technical education became inevitable.⁸⁸ This recognition, coupled with the shortage of male labor, led to the establishment of institutions for the industrial training of women, while the relationship between women and industry was redefined.⁸⁹ As women became more visible outside the home, and especially in the so-called female jobs after the turn of the century, middle-class households faced the problem of finding enough domestic servants.⁹⁰ Therefore, in Germany, not only working- but also middle-class homes were brought under the remit of housing reform by creating variations of the same "module kitchen" for the use of both housewives working alone and those acting with the help of a maid.⁹¹

85 The second objective was to hinder the growing tendency among women to live independently from the patriarchal structures of society, posing a threat to the nuclear family, its "moral fabric," and the reproduction of healthy future generations. Nancy R. Reagan, *Sweeping the German Nation: Domesticity and National Identity in Germany, 1870-1945* (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press), 2008, 72. Also see, Nolan, "Housework Made Easy," 222.

86 *Technical Education for Women and Girls at Home and Abroad* (London: Women's Industrial Council, 1905), 15-17.

87 Linda McDowell, *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 79.

88 According to a US Department of Labor report, women's role in World War I showed that they could work in "male jobs" and that "ability varies not with sex but with the individual." See, "Industrial Opportunities and Training for Women and Girls," *Bulletin of the Women's Bureau*, no. 13 (1922): 7, 8.

89 "Industrial Opportunities," 23.

90 Bullock, "First the Kitchen," 178; Linda McDowell has written that "at the end of the nineteenth century in Britain almost a million women were working for wages in other women's houses and other women were forced to do waged work in their own homes, such as taking in laundry or boarders." McDowell, *Gender, Identity and Place*, 76

91 See, Heßler, "The Frankfurt Kitchen," 173; Reagan, *Sweeping the German Nation*, 86, 88; and Nolan, "Housework Made Easy," 557.

The emphasis on domestic arts and industry in the program of technical schools in late Ottoman Turkey parallels the curricula of girls' (technical) schools in Europe, where housewifery and home-related production were always the main courses given.⁹² Similar to the girls' institutes, these schools promoted domestic work as a "profession" that only well-educated, intellectual women could deal with. In late nineteenth century İstanbul, elite Ottoman households usually accommodated live-in maids and it was the task of "mistress of the house" to supervise the domestic servants.⁹³ As Ferhunde Özbay has written, this situation began to change in the first years of the Republic.⁹⁴ Domestic servants were replaced with paid domestic laborers, and, in Turkey's large cosmopolitan cities, large households with extended families began disappearing at an increasing pace.⁹⁵ Özbay further argues that "during the interwar years, the number of poor people, and particularly widows and orphans, increased."⁹⁶ Therefore, first of all, the training of women for service jobs became a necessity, and second, middle class homes were downsized to smaller units in which the housewife had to take up many of the functions formerly performed by maids.⁹⁷

The official decision to launch the institutes throughout Turkey's cities came in 1934.⁹⁸ Within a couple of decades, thirty-five girls' institutes and sixty-five evening girls' vocational schools (*Kız Akşam Sanat Okulları*) were founded around the country.⁹⁹ In Turkey and Germany alike, girls' schools functioned as laboratories. The target student group was mostly working class and lower-middle class women. It is not at all surprising that Bozdoğan has cited Schütte-Lihotzky as "a major link between developments in Germany and the Turkish experiment with

92 In France, the first *École Professionnelle* for women (1864) offered courses such as business training, typewriting, industrial drawing, painting, wood engraving, costume making, fine sewing, embroidery, and artistic leather work, as well as ironing, millinery, artificial flower making and cooking. In England, technical schools served two different functions: First, they educated girls to be better servants and housewives. Second, they sought to equip their students to work outside and earn their own living. *Technical Education for Women*, 5, 8, 47.

93 Ferhunde Özbay, "Houses, Wives and Housewives," in *Housing Question of the 'Others'*, ed. Emine M. Komut (Ankara: Chamber of Architects of Turkey, 1996), 50.

94 *Ibid.*

95 See Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *Istanbul Households, Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

96 Özbay, "Houses, Wives and Housewives," 52.

97 In İstanbul, the sudden increase in the number of women in the streets and workshops as waged labor stemmed, mainly, from the same reasons. See, for instance, Demetra Vaka's account of İstanbul in the early twentieth century. Demetra Vaka, *The Unveiled Ladies of Stamboul* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1923), 21-54.

98 Gürol, "Building for Women's Education," 25.

99 Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 85.

the girls' institutes."¹⁰⁰ Schütte-Lihotzky had designed fourteen "kitchenette-equipped classrooms" for a number of Girls' Schools in Frankfurt and was one of the designers of the Professional Teachers' Institute built in the same city.¹⁰¹

Gender and class: Diverse images of the "Republican Woman"

Compared to the high schools, the girls' institutes provided, in general, a middle ground for fathers who wanted to side with the republican government but were not fully content with sending their daughters to mixed schools or girls' high schools.¹⁰² Toktaş and Cindoğlu have argued that the curricula of the girls' institutes "gave precedence to traditional gender roles in the private sphere" and thus "did not threaten the values of non-elite families." According to the authors, "the establishment of the Girls' Institutes emerged as a policy of compromise between the state and society: that is, girl children were to be educated, but along the lines of their gender roles and not in a co-educational environment."¹⁰³ In the meantime, girls' high schools were developed around a program with much less emphasis on home economics than in the technical schools.

In Weimar Germany, Schütte-Lihotzky's contribution to the loose coalition of industrialists, social democratic governments, right wing housewives' leagues, feminist groups and progressive architects in the "rationalization" of the home was the Frankfurt Kitchen, and its relocation within technical and vocational schools.¹⁰⁴ In Ankara however, the architect's commission for the High School was particularly aimed for the upper- and upper-middle-class, thus relieving her from the implications of "female redomestication" and competing views on the limits of "women's emancipation" to a great extent.¹⁰⁵ Unlike in Germany, the target group was "modern professional women" who would mainly be supervising their modern kitchens—more or less modeled after Schütte-

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 200.

¹⁰¹ Henderson, "A Revolution in the Woman's Sphere," 243; Schütte-Lihotzky, *Warum ich Architektin wurde*, 163-165.

¹⁰² Akşit, *Kızların Sessizliği*, 191, 193.

¹⁰³ Toktaş and Cindoğlu, "Modernization and Gender," 738.

¹⁰⁴ Heßler, "The Frankfurt Kitchen," 170-175.

¹⁰⁵ Such debates comparing housewives to professional women frequently appeared in contemporary journals in 1920s Germany, particularly within conservative circles. Anton Kaes, Martin Jay, Edward Dimendberg (eds.) *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1995); Reagin, *Sweeping the German Nation*, 84. Turkey was no exception. See for instance, M. Sami, "Kadın Jimnastiği," *Yedigün* 2, no. 73, vol. 3 (August 1934); Mahmud Şemsi, "Mutlu Evliler, Kadının Sosyal Yükselişi ve Evlilik," *Yedigün* 3, no. 109 (1935): 16; Cemil Sena Ongun, *Yeni Kadın* (İstanbul: Vakıf Kütüphanesi, 1936); Necip Ali, *Kadın Hukuku* (Ankara: Hakimiyeti Milliye Matbaası, 1931).

Lihotzky's paradigmatic design for mass-housing settlements in major German cities—in which the domestic chores would be taken care of by other women. A survey of the housing types in Ankara in the 1930s and 1940s reveals the existence of separate entrances and rooms built for maids, and “offices” next to the kitchens where the “directress” of the home could keep an eye on the housework.¹⁰⁶

However, in Turkish feminist criticism and architectural history writing alike, the images of girls photographed in their white aprons at cooking lessons, playing the piano, parading on national days, or walking in the city's streets in 1930s Ankara are blended into the same discursive space as if they all belonged to a unified body of the “modern woman.” In this paper I have attempted to come to terms with the complexity of “women's emancipation” in early republican Turkey. While I admit that 1930s Turkey was marked by a conscientious attempt to include all women in the machinery of governmentality, citizenry, and production, I also delineated the varying roles that women were envisaged to fulfil based on their religious, class, and gender affiliations.

My paper has identified two distinct professional, gender, and social roles that were programmatically crafted by the curricula of different types of girls' schools. I argued that such categorizations of women in the professional and educational sphere were reinforced by the architecture of these buildings: Egli's diagram for the Institute was structured around a functional contradiction. It is a public institution for the training or discipline of private spaces. Egli seemed to have absorbed this contradiction, which was symptomatically expressed in the form of his building and site plan: a public architectural vocabulary ambivalently articulated to accommodate domestic training. In the case of the unbuilt High School project, Schütte-Lihotzky did not have to explicitly address this contradiction since training in the domestic arts was only a minor part of the curriculum. In her unrealized design for the annex, Schütte-Lihotzky did have the opportunity to renegotiate, or even rework, the broader “redomestication” issues which had marked her earlier career in Weimar Germany.

References

- Akcan, Esra. *Çeviride Modern Olan: Şehir ve Konutta Türk-Alman İlişkileri*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2009.
- . “Modernity in Translation: Early Twentieth Century German-Turkish Exchanges in Land Settlement and Residential Culture.” PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 2005.
- Akşit, Elif Ekin. *Kızların Sessizliği: Kız Enstitülerinin Uzun Tarihi*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005.
- Alpagut, Leyla. *Cumhuriyet'in Mimarı Ernst Arnold Egli: Türkiye Yılları, Anılar ve Ankara için Yapılar*. İstanbul:

106 See, for instance, Behçet Sabri, “Ev Projesi,” *Arkitekt* 7 (1932): 17-19.

Boyut, 2012.

- . "Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde Ankara'daki Eğitim Yapıları." PhD Dissertation, Hacettepe Üniversitesi, 2005.
- Ankara Kız Lisesi 1935-1937 Yıllığı. Ankara: Ulus Basımevi, n.d.
- Ankara Kız Lisesi: Bir Okulun 80 Yılı. Ankara Kız Lisesi, 2008.
- Arat, Yeşim. "The Project of Modernity and Women in Turkey." In *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*. Edited by Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, 95-112. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997.
- Arat, Zehra F. "Educating the Daughters of the Republic." In *Deconstructing Images of 'the Turkish Woman.'* Edited by Zehra Arat, 157-180. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.
- Bozdoğan, Sibel. *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2001.
- Brenne, Winfried, ed. *Bruno Taut: Meister des farbigen Bauens in Berlin*. Berlin: Verlagshaus Braun, 2005.
- Bullock, Nicholas. "First the Kitchen – then the Façade." *Journal of Design History* 1, no. 3/4 (1988): 177-192.
- Cengizkan, Ali. *Ankara'nın İlk Planı: 1924-25 Lörcher Planı*. Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı & Arkadaş Yayınları, 2004.
- Chatterjee, Choi. *Soviet Heroines and Public Identity, 1930-1939*. Carl Beck papers in Russian & East European studies, no. 1402. Pittsburgh, PA: Russian and East European Study Program, University of Pittsburgh, 1999.
- Cindoğlu, Dilek and Şule Toktaş. "Empowerment and Resistance Strategies of Working Women in Turkey: The Case of 1960-70 Graduates of the Girls' Institutes." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 9, no. 1 (2002): 31-48.
- Doğramacı, Burcu. *Kulturtransfer und nationale Identität: Deutschsprachige Architekten, Stadtplaner und Bildhauer in der Türkei nach 1927*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2008.
- Duben, Alan and Cem Behar. *Istanbul Households, Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880-1940*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, 2002.
- Durakbaşa, Ayşe. "Kemalism as Identity Politics in Turkey." In *Deconstructing Images of 'the Turkish Woman.'* Edited by Zehra Arat, 139-155. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.
- Elsaesser, Martin. *Bauten und Entwürfe aus den Jahren 1924-1932*. Berlin: Bauwelt-Verlag, 1933.
- Franck, Oya Atalay. "Politik und Architektur: Ernst Egli und die Suche nach einer Moderne in der Türkei (1927-1940)." PhD Dissertation, ETH Zürich, 2004.
- Gürol, Pelin. "Building for Women's Education during the Early Republican Period in Turkey, Ismet Paşa Girls' Institute in Ankara in the 1930s." MA Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2003.
- Helvacıoğlu, Firdevs. *Ders Kitaplarında Cinsiyetçilik, 1928-1995*. İstanbul: Kaynak, 1996.
- Henderson, Susan. "A Revolution in the Women's Sphere: Grete Lihotzky and the Frankfurt Kitchen." In *Architecture and Feminism*. Edited by Debra Coleman et al., 221-253. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996.
- . "New Buildings Create New People: The Pavilion Schools of Weimar Frankfurt as a Model of Pedagogical Reform." *Design Issues* 13, no. 1 (Spring, 1997): 27-38.
- Heßler, Martina. "The Frankfurt Kitchen: The Model of Modernity and the 'Madness' of Traditional Users, 1926 to 1933." In *Cold War Kitchen, Americanization, Technology, and European Users*. Edited by Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann, 163-184. Cambridge, London: The MIT Press, 2009.
- Hirdina, Heinz. *Neues Bauen, neues Gestalten: Das neue Frankfurt, die neue Stadt, eine Zeitschrift zwischen 1926 und 1933*. Dresden: Verlag der Kunst Dresden, 1991.
- Höpfner, Rosemarie and Volker Fischer, eds. *Ernst May und das neue Frankfurt, 1925-1930*. Frankfurt: Deutsches Architektur Museum, 1986.
- "Industrial Opportunities and Training for Women and Girls." *Bulletin of the Women's Bureau*, no. 13 (1922): 48.
- İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü Enstitü Yıllığı, 1939-1940, no. 6 (1940).
- Kaes, Anton, Martin Jay, and Edward Dimendberg eds. *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*. Berkeley, LA: University of California Press, 1995.
- Kız Enstitüleri ve Sanat Okulları Sergisi. Ankara, Devlet Basımevi, May 21, 1938.
- Kız Teknik Öğretim. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1945.
- Lamberti, Marjorie. *The Politics of Education: Teachers and School Reform in Weimar Germany*. Oxford: Bergahn Books, 2002.

- May, Ernst. "Die neue Schule." In *Das neue Frankfurt, Monatsschrift für die Probleme moderner Gestaltung*. 2 (November-December, 1928): 232-233.
- McDowell, Linda. *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.
- Meyer, Erna. "Technik und Wirtschaft: Rationalisierung der Verbrauchswirtschaft im Haushalt." *Technik und Wirtschaft* 15 (February 1922): 116-120.
- Mohr, Christoph, and Michael Müller. *Funktionalität und Moderne: Das neue Frankfurt und seine Bauten, 1925-1933*. Frankfurt am Main: Fricke, 1984.
- Naci Sadullah, "Selçuk Kız Sanat Mektebi'nde Bir Saat," *Yedigün* 54 (1934): 14-16.
- Necip Ali. *Kadın Hukuku*. Ankara: Hakimiyeti Milliye Matbaası, 1931.
- Nicolai, Bernd. *Almanca Konuşulan Ülkelerin Mimarları Türkiye'de, 1925-1955*. Translated by Yüksel Pöğün Zander. Ankara: Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, 2011.
- Noever, Peter, ed. *Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, Soziale Architektur, Zeitzeugin eines Jahrhunderts*. Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1997.
- Nolan, Mary. "'Household Made Easy': The Taylorized Housewife in Weimar Germany's Rationalized Economy." *Feminist Studies* 16, no. 3 (Fall 1990): 551-555.
- Ongun, Cemil Sena. *Yeni Kadın*. İstanbul: Vakıf Kütüphanesi, 1936.
- Özaloğlu, Serpil. "Transformation of Ankara between 1935-1950 in Relation with Everyday Life and Lived Spatiality." PhD Dissertation, Middle East Technical University, 2006.
- Özbay, Ferhunde. "Houses, Wives and Housewives." In *Housing Question of the 'Others.'* Edited by Emine M. Komut. Ankara: Chamber of Architects of Turkey, 1996.
- Reagin, Nancy R. *Sweeping the German Nation: Domesticity and National Identity in Germany, 1870-1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Sami, M. "Kadın Jimnastiği." *Yedigün* 2, vol. 3, no. 73 (August 1934): 1-2.
- Şemsi, Mahmud. "Mutlu Evliler, Kadının Sosyal Yükselişi ve Evlilik." *Yedigün* 3, no. 109 (1935): 16.
- Schütte-Lihotzky, Margarete. "Rationalisierung im Haushalt." *Das neue Frankfurt* 1, no. 5 (1926-1927): 120-123.
- . *Erinnerungen aus dem Widerstand: Das Kampferrische Leben einer Architektin von 1938-1945*. Wien: Promedia Verlag, 1994.
- . *Warum ich Architektin wurde*. Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 2004.
- . *Yeni Köy Okulları Bina Tipleri Üzerinde Bir Deneme*. Translated by Hüseyin Örs. Ankara: Maarif Vekilliği, 1939.
- Selim Tefik. "Kız Muallim Mektebi'nde." *Yedigün* 64 (1934): 9-11.
- Tafari, Manfredo. "The Attempts at Urban Reform in Europe between the Wars." In *Modern Architecture 1*, Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal. Co., 153-174. London: Electa, 1986.
- Taut, Bruno. *Die neue Wohnung, die Frau als Schöpferin*. Leipzig: Verlag Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1928.
- Technical Education for Women and Girls at Home and Abroad*. London: Women's Industrial Council, 1905.
- Toktaş, Şule and Dilek Cindoğlu. "Modernization and Gender: A History of Girls' Technical Education in Turkey since 1927." *Women's History Review* 15, no 5 (2006): 737-749.
- Tüzel, Gökçe Bayrakçeken. "Being and Becoming Professional: Work and Liberation through Women's Narratives in Turkey." PhD Dissertation, Middle East Technical University, 2004.
- Vaka, Demetra. *The Unveiled Ladies of Stamboul*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1923.
- Yılmaz, Ali. "The Preparation of Elementary Teachers during the Early Years of the Turkish Republic." PhD Dissertation, Leigh University, May 1994.