

## TRAVERSING AN ANATOLIAN VILLAGE: VIEWS FROM THE INSIDE

Alison B. SNYDER

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**Keywords:** Westernization; modernization; globalization; hybridization; village culture; domestic architecture / space.

1. Amos Rapoport has published widely on the subject of architecture and social space theory. The book he is quoted from is the first of many.

2. A University of Oregon 2001 Summer Research Award allowed for the time to continue fieldwork and begin analysis for this article. Heartfelt appreciation is extended to the inhabitants of the villages in this study and the municipality of which they are part. The author is also grateful to her hardworking field assistant, Banu Onrat (graduated from Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi/Middle East Technical University in Ankara), for drawing and translation; and, to her graphic assistant in 2001, Manish Makhija (graduated from University of Oregon). In 1999, two other students graduated from METU, Özlem Karakul and B. Nilgun Öz, carefully took part in the early field research. All photographs and all graphics are conceived of and composed by the author.

3. The author's previous articles on this subject were written with different audiences in mind, such as those with background in anthropology, gender studies, Turkish studies, archaeology, environmental design, planning and architectural theory. A brief synopsis of topics and issues follows. A 1998 ACSA article compares personal and collective memory associated with the changes found in traditional villages due to modernization, to the feeling of disjunction felt by people living in a newly developed town. A 2001 (*I.A.S.T.E.*) article focuses on the relocation

### LOOKING FOR A VIEW

The development of the house and its domestic and spatial divisions can be understood by looking at associated socio-cultural behavior and functional needs, along with typical building methods and the local economy. Buildings and the context in which they sit, are a result of complex spatial and cultural relationships. The architect and environmental behaviorist Amos Rapoport (1969, 46-49) explained in some of his earliest writings that "the house is an institution, not just a structure, created for a complex set of purposes...buildings and settlements are the visible expression of the relative importance attached to different aspects of life...(1)." The study of architecture can function as a unique lens to successfully evaluate social changes and cultural values.

This research focuses on rarely studied central Anatolian Turkish villages to look at the current shift seen in village morphology and the re-making of house and home (2). To analyze habitation over different periods and to aid in the collection of different forms of architectural documentation and interview data, this project intentionally borrows from methodology and theory associated with the disciplines of anthropology and archaeology. Thus, a framework is formed by which to analyze the transformation and evolution of the new domestic life alongside the old.

Since the beginning of the Turkish republic in 1923 and especially after the Second World War, academic and popular dialogues have been concerned with analyzing the making of modernity. The many changes seen in the landscape, which are primarily attributed to a process of westernizing and/or modernizing, aid in this analysis. The term globalization is also useful here. It may be understood as the all-encompassing result of these processes along with the pervasive interest in and apparent need for media and other types of connectivity.

of villagers to a newly built town because their original village was submerged by the construction of a new dam and the formation of a lake. In it I critique the adoption of the western-grid and individual-house layouts decided by the municipality, while making suggestions for future new construction and re-planning. An article published in *Anatolica* (2000) traces the history, morphology and family descendants of one village (not KK) beginning with data found in an archaeological and geographical study (by H.H. von der Osten and J. Morrison) from approximately 75 years ago. This study looked at the village broadly and then specifically dealt with one family whose descendants live there today. Looking at the cultural groupings of east and west, traditional and modern, and rural and urban, an article in *ACSA* (2001) began to describe the past, present and future living conditions through depictions of a series of emerging village housing typologies that rely upon flexibility. Finally, an invited book chapter for a volume on globalization (forthcoming) around the world evaluates the meaning of globalization with regard to the local, national and more universal qualities observed in shifting village life.

4. The American author/researcher's perspective is that of the "outsider"—a position often taken into account as delicate fieldwork is done and synthesis is developed. Drawn to Turkey during graduate studies, the author began independent research in 1988 and has traveled back to Turkey several times to work on different projects. She is an architect and professor whose interests and skills derive from researching and teaching about a place and culture different than her own. With this in mind, the scholarly sources drawn upon for this study are multi-disciplinary and include people who come from Turkey (who publish both in English and Turkish) as well as many other countries. The primary language for secondary research is English even though the author speaks some Turkish. Choosing publications in English is not seen as a limitation but as a means to engage in the subject from a variety of vantage points.

Topics of research typically consist of issues related to Turkey; and in the case of global studies, the developing world and beyond. Broad subjects are: planning and architecture, housing and domestic architectural space, village culture, social and architectural history, westernization, modernization, globalization, hybridization, technological advancement and the role of the media. In addition to the work of Amos Rapoport, very useful sources include: Bozdoğan and Kasaba's (1997) edited collection of essays on many social and cultural subjects such as national and local identity, the meaning of architecture in the early republican period, several contexts for deciphering modernity, and gender focused studies; the concepts of secularism, Islamism and local and global issues concerning İstanbul addressed by Keyder (1999); Mango's (1999) writing on Atatürk and the development of the modern republic; discussions concerning the early concepts of westernization and reaching towards

A series of sub-topics represent, in more detail, some of the conditions, identities, labels and themes that are associated with globalization and the state of modernity in Turkey as well as the specific local region in Anatolia. These cultural conditions are often set up in a binary system of ("either/or") framing contrasts and oppositions rather than being seen as dualities that mark inclusiveness ("both"). For example, we can consider the inhabitants of the village to have both eastern "and" western values; to be simultaneously traditional "and" modern; and to exhibit understanding of living somewhere between rural "and" urban life (3). Research shows a plurality of belief systems that facilitate actions based on both a necessity for change and an interest in achievement (4).

One of the primary consequences of modernization that is germane to this research on village culture is the concept of the "hybrid," (and its related word forms such as "hybridity" "hybridized," and "hybridization") or a fusion, blend, mixture or composite. The discussions in academic circles about the formation of a hybrid are mostly post-colonial critiques of place (towns/cities) and the architecture that evolves from this process. An enforced fusion of forms expresses the domination of one group over another and the meshing of those cultures that can result in a question of identity. Turkey's past is not representative of this type of history, yet today economic needs and competition, and the ubiquitous interest in communication technologies serve as the main catalysts for continuing and increasing both observable and hidden global processes found in small (and large settlements). Indeed, the socio-cultural and architectural discontinuities apparent in the villages studied identify a less homogenous, more heterogeneous condition that can be explained as different forms of hybrids. The meaning of hybrid used here exposes: newly composed domestic forms of homes and complexes; new patterns of land use; and a re-evaluation of how regional and individual customs, traditions and value systems are producing other ways of comprehending the meaning of home in both a local and global context. Thus, the term "hybridized landscape" is composed to suggest and describe the current dynamic state of what is seen and felt in the villages studied (5).

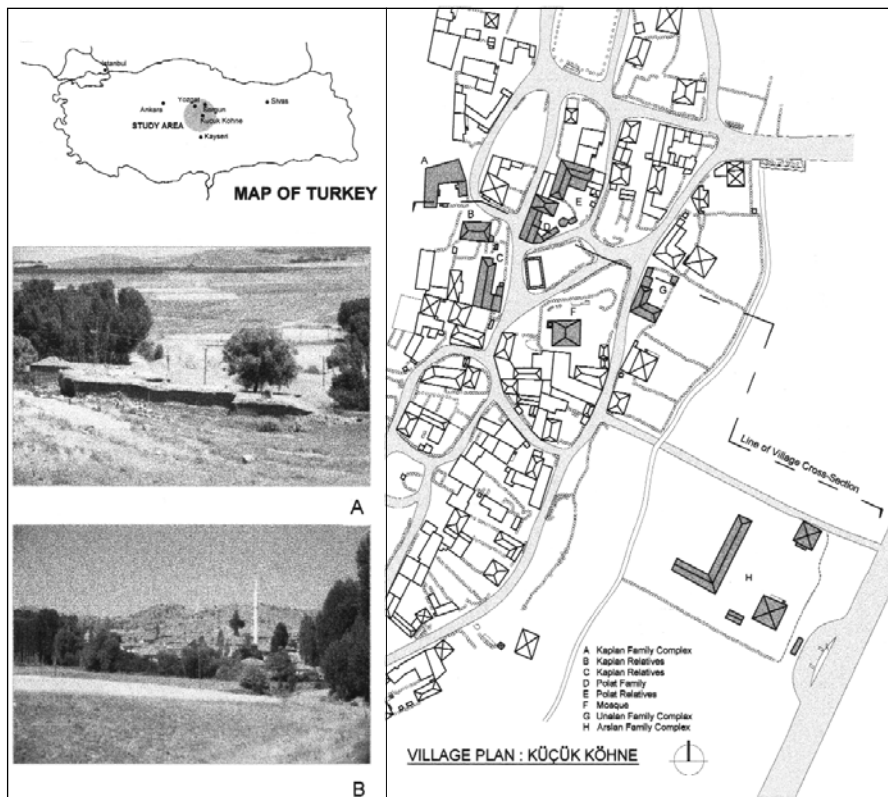
To assess the past along with the present conditions, this article traverses one settlement called Küçük Köhne Village (KK) in detail. This village is one of ca. 110 villages in the region of Sorgun, within the province of Yozgat, to the east of Ankara, Turkey's capital (**Figure 1** - map of Turkey, village plan). Data, collected in interviews and observations and interpreted through various visual media, are used to explain what appears to remain constant and are being let go of during this time of change and exchange. The key to expressing the finds is an architectural question of representation - that is, how may these conditions - the continuity and discontinuity that has come to exist - be best seen and understood?

## PROJECT BACKGROUND

Beginning in 1998, the author conducted a series of on-site field studies in a region of central Anatolia that is hardly touristed and therefore rarely investigated (6). Through this work, relationships have developed with individual families, local government representatives and Turkey-based university students, archaeologists, anthropologists and architects.

The project began by surveying nine villages all within thirty-five kilometers of each other, to assess and observe existing populations,

European ideals in Turkey as put forth by Gökçe (1996); a focus on Turkish social and economic development is seen in Benedict et al (1974); several anthropological, ethnological and vernacular architecture studies covering a range of topics related to socio-architectural use and decision-making in Turkey written by Stirling (1965, 1993), Magnarella (1974, 1998), Oliver (1990), Glassie (1993), and Delaney (1991); Eldem's (1984) and Küçükerman's (1994) extremely good surveys and descriptions of typological layouts of Turkish homes (yet not on the author's region of this study); and, on the more general subject of modernity, globalization, the media, architecture and urbanism the works of McLuhan (1964, 1967), Berman (1982), Ibelings (1998), and Marcuse, van Kempen (2000) present varied yet related viewpoints for discussion. Statistics on village populations and trends are either ascertained through villager or local official (*kaymakam, müdür*) interviews, or through the Doğan (1995) book on Sorgun and the region. The above is only a sampling of sources consulted.



**Figure 1.** Region of study inside map of Turkey, partial KK village plan with line of cross-section and village entry (A) and village high point (B) (A. Snyder, 2002).

5. The term “hybridized landscape” is not taken from a specific source; rather the term is composed here as an idea that merges definitions of “hybrid.” Hybrid means a blend, mixture, composite or fusion and often relates to biological species and plant life. The villages are agricultural-based settlements and they exhibit composite forms of different types of building and cultural systems. The use of this term also acknowledges current architectural and urban dialogues on post-colonialism. An example of some of this research is in an edited book by Alsayyad (2001).

6. The villages in this region are surrounded by two current archaeological excavations yet are presently unshaped by tourism—a problem many settlements have faced in other regions of Turkey. Yet, the Kerkenes Project, under the direction of Geoffrey and Francoise Summers; and, the Alişar Regional Project, under the direction of Ronald Gorny both border nearby villages.

7. The conditions in the new town, how the original village became submerged, and what the emotional, economic and architectural responses were and are remain varied and complex. These conditions are not the subject of this article but have been covered in several articles (see 3 above). The most comprehensive is (Snyder 2000, *I.A.S.T.E.*), see also (Snyder 1998, 2000, 2001).

8. This architectural project also relies on earlier anthropological studies in Turkey, as well as ethno-archaeological work done in other regions of the Middle-East. In these

geographical qualities, architectural traditions and the formation of village spaces through women and men’s daily roles. Then, four settlements were selected in the northwest and southeast of the initial study region for in-depth research. Three villages (of which KK is one), with ca. sixty to eighty-five households, form a base line for comparison against a newly planned town (the result of a dam project) with a larger population of ca. 400 households (7). The study concentrates on investigating whole and partial extant structures built over the last seventy to eighty years, because the memory and testimony of local residents who have knowledge of the construction process is limited to this period, as is the archival evidence. This period also correlates to the beginning of the Turkish republic.

Over the years, a series of visual documentations have been produced to narrate and depict the current settlement lifestyle and morphology. Local interviews were conducted to explain what cannot be ascertained from visual observation alone (8). For instance topics concern: the division of family land parcels; family size; division of labor; use of interior and exterior home spaces; educational practices; migration history; the reasons for choosing to renovate, reshape, make an addition or build a new structure; and, why new homes are often un-bounded by walls and why people now choose to build outside of the original village center, making new patterns of settlement. Less tangible questions asked are related to: understanding what the meaning of “being modern” is to the villager, and trying to assess concepts of loss and gain amidst the changes seen and felt. Through these methods of drawn documentation, a basis for interpretation of the current “picture” is formed.

studies there is often less reliance on architecture and settlement depictions (i.e. few photographs, diagrams, plans, etc.) to tell the full story. This study, focused on architectural relationships, is meant to offer a critique of ethnographical studies that largely rely on text to describe physical attributes of settlements and lifestyle conditions. A few of the most insightful volumes yet with few visuals included are: anthropologists such as Stirling (1965, 1993) and Delaney (1991); and ethno-archaeologist Lee Horne (1994).

9. Information on education in Turkey, and the reforms and goals for rural populations begun after the start of the new republic, was attained through interviews in the villages studied, in consult with Turkish colleagues, by consulting a website put out by YÖK (Yüksek Öğretim Kurulu, the council of higher education) and through reading the work of Paul Stirling, prominent anthropologist, who began research in villages in the late 1940's near Kayseri.

In 1928, a law was passed to require primary education in Turkey. Ottoman education traditions were reformed to include five years of mandatory school (beginning at the age of seven), followed by three more years of optional schooling with the possibility of attending university. All course work was to be written in the Latin alphabet and the subjects were modern and progressive - very different from the earlier village teacher or imam's more religious-based curriculum. Stirling (1966, 266-278) describes the new intentions and includes his observations that teachers who were first educated in the cities and towns clashed with the village culture. Trying to remedy some of the inherent problems, between 1939 and 1946 the government implemented Village Institutes to attract villagers to be the teachers. Village men and women actually constructed the schools for boarding outside of large urban areas and throughout Anatolia. Coursework included a curriculum of the sciences, mathematics, reading, history, geography, craft and civics as well as animal husbandry and other farming practices. The aim was to educate people in general, to strengthen the understanding of the new nation state and to make villagers feel a part of it, and to have people better able to serve industry. [put together here, no space] In 1940, only those who had university training could be Village Institute instructors. But the poor economy during and after the War produced political uprisings emanating from the Institutes, so they were merged with urban teachers' training colleges to subdue these tendencies. Anti-republican opposition was very strong and a more conservative government won in 1946. Political and economic problems persisted and, in 1949, religion was put back into the curriculum. Today, rather than the five-year course there is now a mandatory eight-year course still beginning at age seven, with a curriculum that has a useful mix of

## THE PRESSURES OF MODERNIZATION SEEN AND FELT IN THE VILLAGE

After the First World War, the new republic of Turkey was formed. A westernized idea of modernization was led by Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), as Anatolia became the nation's homeland, with Ankara as the new capital. Early Kemalist nationalistic reforms concerning updating and secularizing were put in place for both rural and urban populations. Well-known original large and small-scale reforms and reorganizations included: separating politics and religion; the removal of writing Turkish in Arabic (Ottoman Turkish) script; changing the call to prayer from Arabic to Turkish; prohibiting the practice of mystical Islamic sects; expanding education and literacy; promoting equal rights for women; requiring the addition of surnames; and, changing to more western dress. Educational goals depended on a new mandatory five-year, progressive curriculum. Yet the goals were more difficult to administer and fully realize in rural areas. In 1939, Village Institutes were implemented to try to remedy the clash of the modern curriculum that presented many methods and ideas that were difficult to understand and/or integrate into rural daily life. The new education meant to bring men and women from the village to attend Institutes that would give them the skills to teach back in the village. Their curriculum consisted of the concepts of Kemalism and notions of the nation state as humanities, science and courses that would aid agrarian-based lives. But, in 1946, the Institutes were closed and merged with other educational entities as a result of progressive political, social and religious issues. Schooling for children continued but it became somewhat less progressive and less consistent (Figure 2)(9).

After the Second World War more mechanization of agriculture and infrastructure was sought to grow the economy. At the same time, migration in Turkey, began in earnest as people sought to find temporary or longer term work while the economy was weak at home. Domestically, rural investments for farming were expanded with the introduction of



**Figure 2.** Interior of a village room (*köy odası*) showing the co-existence of Atatürk's republican ideas alongside Islamic belief, pastoral decorations and the flag of Turkey (A. Snyder, 2002).

disciplines as well as religion. Through interviews, it is obvious that villagers today think it is extremely important to be educated as possible. There is immediate mention of the children who have migrated away from the village to achieve a different way of living (some even attend university). It remains difficult for families to afford schooling that is not compulsory.

10. See, for instance, Ahmad (1993, 115-120) and Mango (1999), for more discussion of economics and social relationships in this period.

11. Interviews conducted in each village with families and *muhtar* informed the author about when electricity reached the region of the villages studied (ca. 1980), and when they received farm aid or subsidies from the government in the late 1980's. Specific information concerning the reasons for flow, or lack of economic aid arriving at an earlier date (in this particular region of study) are difficult to pinpoint.

12. There are several sources on migration patterns in Turkey, see, for instance, Adviyi (1984). In the region studied, villagers speak freely about their long or short duration of work outside of the village, i.e. why they traveled and what they gained or lost by this. Though many choose to stay in their village, they speak with pride about children and relatives who have been, or continue to be, mobile. In addition, there is a more recent and smaller trend of retirees returning to the village either permanently or to own a second home. This phenomenon, and its impact on the village, is part of future research.

tractors; while, foreign interests brought financial subsidies and technical assistance for a huge expansion of rural road systems thereby opening up portions of Anatolia that were previously difficult to reach and thereby held back from national economic participation (10).

As with the unevenness of education, these advances came to different regions of the country at vastly different time periods and, in varying degrees. Even today modern development in rural areas is noticeably unequal in Anatolia. In the villages studied, farming mechanization and related subsidies did not begin to have an effect until well into the 60's and 70's, and specific farm aid provided for machine rental or ownership came as late as the mid to late 1980's. Indeed, total electricity for each home did not arrive until 1980 (11). So, since the 1970's there has been more and more dependence on mechanized farming, yet the ability to have and use machines also decreased the amount of persons needed in the fields. As more economic competition occurred locally and nationally, and several family members and/or entire families became under-employed, they went in search of work. Migrating from the villages studied begun in the 1970's. Mostly men went to Turkish cities or further abroad (for instance to European countries such as Germany, France and the Netherlands or even as far away to America and Australia). This allowed for independently subsidizing families, or provided the chance for an entire family to move away from a rural-based economy (12).

In the last ca. twenty-five to thirty years several economic factors related to farming abilities (and inabilities) and the resulting migration have produced different effects on the local landscape. Most who moved (and the flow out continues today) still lay claim to the ancestral land of their family producing a shift in the stability and layout of the village. For example, stress on the village environment is especially seen when the upkeep of the land and buildings cease, when extreme division of parcels must take place, and when new construction has not been integrated into the existing village pattern (Figure 3).



**Figure 3.** This concept of living amongst ruin is an aspect of the hybridized landscape that has become more prevalent as families migrate away from the village but leave their land and domicile to be maintained by relatives. Here the relatives recently demolished the older stone and mudbrick complex to sell the large interior wood beams and to make less work for themselves (A. Snyder, 2002).

Coinciding with increased mechanization (and migration) in the late 1970's, building construction manufacturing and building practices began to shift more rapidly in Turkey. Trickle into the rural areas, the increase in the use of mass-produced construction products began about twenty years ago, but for the last ten to fifteen years the materials have become much more readily available and sought after, pushing the local building culture to near extinction. Thus the settlement has changed from a more homogeneous, vernacular and traditional organization to a more heterogeneous, less organized and hybridized one, comprised of newer and older places of habitation. The village population has largely moved away from the tradition of constructing exterior walls by carrying stone foundations up, or by building with locally made mud bricks, reinforced with wood atop a stone foundation (**Figure 4**). Roofs used to be constructed of a sealed mud, clay and hay flat thatch approximately twenty centimeters thick and set upon large wood interior beams that were pocketed into exterior walls (or resting on interior columns instead). Now they are newly constructed in the form of uninsulated and often haphazardly made gable and hip-pitched roofs supported by small pieces of Poplar and finished with pre-fabricated terra cotta roof tiles. Older buildings are either being demolished (with the big beams and columns re-used or sold for firewood) or are being added to. Now local inhabitants often hire outsiders to design and construct the reinforced concrete foundations and frames in-filled with cement block (*briket*) or hollow terra cotta brick (*tuğla*). In a state of almost constant transformation, the hybridization seen in the villages studied will most probably become homogenous once again, yet with a very different aura than the traditional vernacular setting once had (**Figure 5**).

These newer building practices, now ubiquitous in the developing and developed world, have produced some good, but also a lot of negative results for the villagers. The more standardized and supposedly efficient building-practice developments yield building systems that make an inferior enclosure known to be colder in winter and hotter in summer. Villagers complain of related illnesses. The use of the skilled craftsman/builder (*usta*) who did the constructing but also carved details for joinery or decoration has all but disappeared. Therefore, there



**Figure 4.** This village still has a number of typical traditional mudbrick and flat thatch roof complexes that have not become hybrids with newer gabled roofs yet, though each home has a protruding television antenna dish (A. Snyder, 2002).



**Figure 5.** One type of hybrid existence is the saved older mudbrick or stone structure sitting next to a new, oversized, free standing, in-filled concrete frame structure (A. Snyder, 2002).



**Figure 6.** This house in construction exhibits a mixture of newer mass-produced terra cotta brick with little reinforcing constructed on a base of new quarried stone. The work is being done by the family and a hired *usta* (A. Snyder, 2002).

is not only a de-emphasis of the older way of building and crafting structures but also a lack of care or interest in older methods. It appears that the values that are now most important to the villager are the acquiring of monetary means for new construction, and that cleanliness and ease of maintenance take priority over health and traditional building methods (Figure 6)(13).

13. Interestingly, the villager knows that the new methods do not provide the same thermal mass and insulation that mud brick covered with a clay/mud/hay mixture provide, but they have gravitated to the idea of ease of construction and low maintenance even though they complain about their discomfort.

Most people, except the very eldest, can read and many are knowledgeable of civic affairs, but had the years of mandatory schooling been expanded earlier and kept consistent in rural areas of Anatolia, perhaps villagers would have been integrated into the shifting society more quickly and been able to keep up with the ongoing changes. For a long time, a family was unable to send their children to school beyond five years and the lack of education has resulted in a lack of choices and

14. In interviews, the use of the TV was discussed. Several said that when the family watches the TV, they speak to their family members less and tell fewer ancestral history stories than before. This points to an important change that the possible demise of passing on oral history. The older and middle aged people can still list five or six generations of family patriarchs and some of the stories associated yet the younger generation is not able to carry on this tradition of knowing, passing on and honoring one's past. The collective memory now represents many places and things not previously a part of immediate familial, regional or republican consciousness. Domestic spatial relationships are affected by this change.

slow mobility. In 1997, compulsory education became eight years all over the country. This additional schooling partially correlates with interview data showing an interest in the positive results of education in general. Over the last decade, more children from the village are going beyond the compulsory study (but sometimes only one boy or girl per family may have the chance). Several village children have been taken in by relatives, in towns or cities, who can support them while attending three more years of high school (*orta/lise*) which is either taught in Turkish or in English at a more competitive school (*Anadolu Lisesi*). These high school choices do exist in the nearest city of Sorgun. Some students are also going on to university. In addition, the more recent influx of mass media (such as radio, television and now the cell phone) have resulted in rapidly increasing knowledge of different types, both domestic and international. Some of the new access to information aids in modernizing those in the village, but at the same time, it is producing a conflict as interest in the outside world, consumerism and secularism sometimes visibly collide. Information gathered, from those in the surviving villages, points to a local economy still primarily bound to agriculture but fraught with difficulty and different socio-cultural challenges.

Finally, in the last ten to fifteen years different mass-media technologies mentioned above, have contributed to the most rapid visual and socio-cultural change in the village. Even before 1980 when electricity arrived in the villages studied, there was an eagerness for innovation. Acquiring a vehicle to drive places came first, and people hooked up generators, simple lighting, radios and televisions to automobile batteries. Today, everyone appears to be participating in the consumption of a globalized mass media: perhaps most pervasive and profound, the television is a centerpiece of each home and is well used (14). Once a limited media in Turkey, the government opened up the access and expanded the choice (along with private companies) so that villagers and city dwellers alike can watch a mix of eastern and western-type programs including politics on NTV, TRT or CNN-Turk, Turkish soap operas, dubbed western films, traditional Turkish films and entertainment shows, and Turkish equivalents of American music video programs such as "MTV" (Music Television). In the villages, there are no English-speaking stations, yet the new media awareness brings even more attention to a western-style consumerism and concept of comfort (Figure 7). Goods, such as household appliances and electric water pumps are not only practical but are representative of the widespread interest and desire to live in a more modern or convenient way. Use of the cell phone is not as pervasive as in the towns and cities. Cell access does exist but mostly they are used to organize work in the farming fields and for other business pursuits, as prices are not inexpensive. With the relatively high-technological know-how, it is ironic that only some villages have internal house plumbing, bathing facilities and/or sewage infrastructure. In KK homes little or no infrastructure exists but water, they say, is scheduled to arrive soon.



**Figure 7.** Another sort of typical hybrid is represented by media technology invading daily custom. Here a man watches television in the home's sofa while he sits on the floor eating in a traditional manner (A. Snyder, 2002).

## THE BASIS FOR ARCHITECTURAL DOCUMENTATIONS

There are many methods for conveying information about the built environment. In the first lines of *Envisioning Information*, graphic and information specialist Edward R. Tufte (1990, 9) says, "...the world is complex, dynamic, multidimensional; the paper is static, flat. How are we to represent the rich visual world of experience and measurement on mere flatland?"



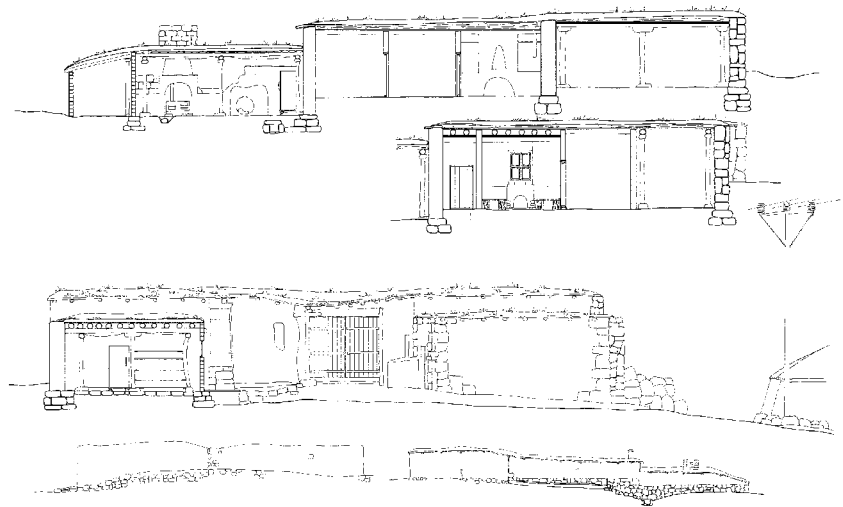
This question became central to this project, which is focused on showing and explaining change. Several methods for documenting exterior and interior information grew out of not only typical architectural practice but also a variety of communication and documentation techniques used in other disciplines. For instance, the intention of archaeological renderings is to show a series of previous lives over a specific time period through a system of layering stratigraphy (or strata) in compression. Archaeologist Martha Juokowsky (1980, 155-7) writes about cross-sections serving as a visual vertical and horizontal recording of habitation. They become the source of primary data for the interpretation of artifact sequences and locations. In archaeology there is need to objectify in order to analyze finds. So the vertical slice is able to show a detailed recording of compressed spaces and material culture penetrating them.

The architectural historian, Robin Evans (1997, 195-231) wrote on the development of architectural drawing techniques that came into fashion in 18<sup>th</sup> century England. He suggests that these drawings, while detailed recordings of intentions for buildings and their interiors, are far from objective. The drawing techniques (commonly used today) make some things more clear by suppressing other things. The ubiquitous floor plan (a horizontal slice) and the vertical cross-section highlight the exterior envelope construction and simultaneously show some detail for the interior design desired. These modes of representation "...might be called the architect's field of visibility" and suggests that with this abstracted and sometimes creative slice there is a decision that was made about how much or how little to represent or emphasize. Evans (1997, 199) goes on to say:

But whether it is the direct sponsor of the imaginative effort...we have to understand architectural drawing as something that defines the things it transmits. It is not a neutral vehicle transporting conceptions into objects, but a medium that carries and distributes information in a particular mode.

Evans questions reality, abstraction and neutrality with regard to the maker of the drawing and the viewer meant to see and perhaps use the illustrations or representations. To consider time and space together the abstract archaeological method of mapping the strata of several habitations has been blended with an architectural telling of structure, interior use and human relationships in synchronicity. The "village cross-section" developed for this research focuses on the prevailing materials and construction techniques, the proximity between buildings and families, and allows for formal comparisons between older structures and new construction. It was intended that the private and public parts of a village culture would be understood side by side (**Figure 8**). Depicted are momentary glances into real space, real place and contiguous lives. Hybrid conditions are easily comprehended and local and global conditions become evident.

These and other types of drawings at various scales illustrate other simultaneous and synchronous conditions. A sort of anthropological process of interviewing that was described earlier enhances them. The viewer is asked to engage in not only considering the existing conditions but to understand in a variety of ways, what is remaining and changing amid rapid modernization. New 'village maps' are based on bare land parcel maps originally produced in the late 1970s/early 1980s by the municipality. These comprehensive top-plans consist of the streets and walking lanes, houses and their outbuildings and associated courtyards



**Figure 8.** This series of cross-section drawings clearly illustrates traditional construction methods and spatial relationships with detailed interior views of the house, kitchen and courtyard as well as exterior elevations (A. Snyder, 2002).

(here called “domestic complexes”), the mosques and schools. The plans and the exterior and interior facades of more than twenty specific homes and domestic complexes are documented in plan view along with their exterior facades and interior elevations to form a small typological survey. In addition, several villagers were asked to draw impressionistic images of their houses as they remember them from their childhoods. These “memory sketches” consist of floor plans and/or three-dimensional images that evoke fact and story telling. For instance, villagers revive their family (and village) histories as they tell of structures that are now abandoned, sitting in ruins or even submerged below a new lake. The four plates presented in this article make use of all of the drawing types, and the village cross-section connects them all.

## TRAVERSING THE VILLAGE: THE SLICE

### Overview

What new perceptions about village land use, built boundaries, open spaces, building placement, house and domestic complex types and older versus current construction processes emerge, as we traverse through Küçük Köhne Village from the highest, most central point to the lowest point about a half of a kilometer away (**Figure 1** - see photos A, B, site plan)? What we see reflects different forms of modernizing, the trend towards western values and what could now be considered global lifestyles. Literally slicing a cross-section through the village allows a close-up view of the changing settlement morphology and highlights several types of hybridization.

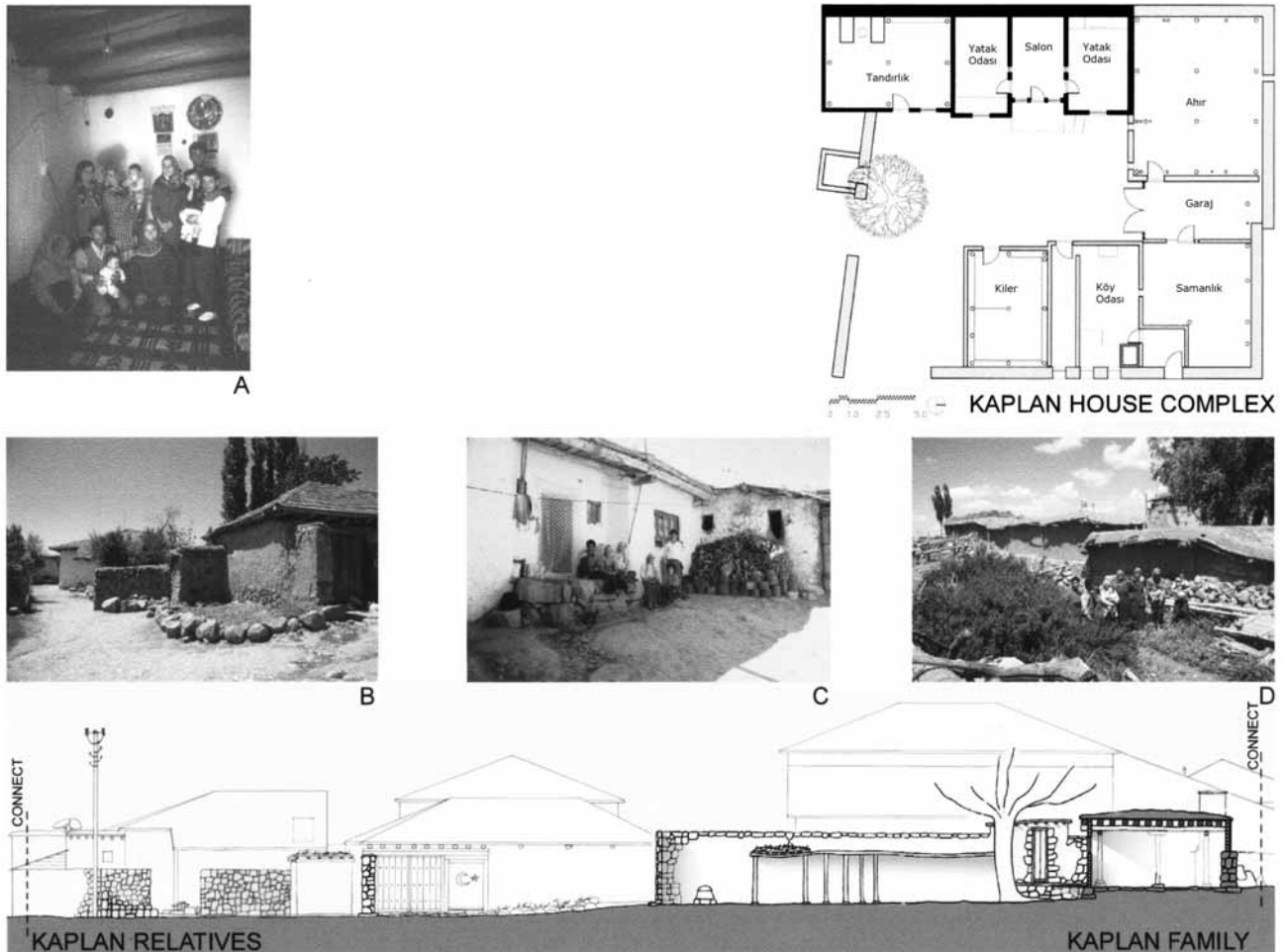
KK, like many of the region’s villages, mostly reflects a settlement pattern that was constructed according to the topography with its homes oriented towards the east. These homes, enveloped within the domestic complexes are varied in form, shape and size depending on the original parcel and the subsequent divisions due to familial inheritance and past or present family economy. KK has a mostly stable year-round population of ca. sixty households called *hane* which may consist of more than one nuclear family as well as a parent or in-law who may be widowed. The population and economy has fluctuated and dropped over the last two to three decades because of migration. Yet, the inhabitants say that the

15. Population and demography information does exist in a book put together by the municipality, see Doğan (1995). Subsequent census information and local conversation points to rising numbers, yet where Sorgun's population was in 1993 as compared to today is in dispute.

population has been constant over the last five to ten years. Looking more closely to understand this Turkish and global phenomenon, the migration of people out of the village to cities is more or less balanced by births and new wives coming into the village, as well some returning retirees. Today, with a population of fewer than 400, there are almost equal numbers of men and women with the median age of thirty-five to forty. KK's population is typical for the villages in this region (340-460 people), with nearby towns having ca. 1000-4000 people. For comparing population and migration trends, the nearby city of Sorgun has grown owing to employment possibilities, retirement destination and the offering educational choices. Over the last 10 years the population has supposedly risen from 50,000 to more than 65,000 (15).

The families living in KK continue rural traditions of working the land, raising livestock, keeping house and cooking mostly from what they grow or raise. At the same time they are now taking part in rapidly changing their surroundings. In the earlier part of the century, KK boasted a camel trade with wealth to match. Now the car and tractor coupled with the reliance on household appliances and global information technologies have expanded the limits of local knowledge and affect the economy in positive and negative ways. At the same time, life in this region still necessitates a reliance on underground springs and flowing creeks to provide the vital resources for continued survival.

The path we will traverse is indicated on the site plan (Figure 1). The Kaplan, Polat, Ünalán and Arslan families, whose lives and spaces we will pass through, each has similar and unique qualities (Figure 9, 10, 11). The domestic complex dominates the village and is seen as the physical manifestation of family needs. In the complex, a grouping of rooms and/or buildings generally wrap an exterior space that is an open, semi-enclosed or fully-closed courtyard, but these traditions are changing. The Kaplan family to the west, and Arslan families to the east, maintain homes that mark part of the outermost village borders. The Kaplan family dwelling represents one of the least modified -or one of the most traditional-set of structures, in this village. And, as is typical in the village, relatives often live in close proximity to each other (the next two complexes in view are also part of the Kaplan family). Following the cut line, the Polat family complex displays a traditional mode of construction with some newer additions. Concepts of abandonment, migration, family duty and a kind of new hybrid condition come into view. As we continue to pass through the village, the character of the narrow streets open up as the reinforced and pre-cast concrete, masonry in-filled mosque with its garden is seen. Then we cross the lowest north-south running road and arrive at the Ünalán family gate. This family's story encompasses a different type of hybridization that involves the purchasing of property and renovation. Finally we walk through their backyard field and cross the village creek to reach a long field belonging to the Arslan *hane*. They live in some of the most contemporary homes in the village. Their way of living is both traditional and full of change. All of the families engage in acquiring machines that ease work both in the fields and at home as well as now relying on the ubiquitous television set for receiving news and entertainment. While not ostentatious, this reliance also allows others to see who has the ability to maintain life in the village with ease and who is having more economic difficulty. Social systems have been altered; a so-called western attitude is mixed with eastern roots and sensibilities.



**Figure 9.** Kaplan Family Plate (A. Snyder, 2002).

This cross-section allows for sampling several houses built over a span of approximately forty-two years (1945-1987). More recent domestic complex buildings exist in this village (dating to 2001, for instance) yet they are less focused on here, as the structures do not reflect newer methods of building than described, but rather a continuation of the latest mixtures of materials. The sample, then, covers the full range of construction types - from traditional to the making of newer hybrid conditions. It also puts forth less tangible cultural adaptations. For the purposes of this article, observations made with regard to the state of the village landscape, its structures and socio-cultural relationships reflect some of the research gathered from summer 1998 through the end of 2001. The general comments are based on studying many more families and homes/complexes than are reflected in the cross-section described here.

### Kaplan Families

Standing at the westernmost edge of the village outside and above the Kaplan family domestic complex, a built boundary is formed by several homes constructed from elements of the earth. They divide the shared lands of grazing fields further to the west and the village that stretches out below. This last row of houses works naturally into the gently sloping landscape that also has outcroppings of large granite stones. Structures appear quite low, as they are set into the land on the west, while opening up on the downhill side to the east. A series of internal roads and walking

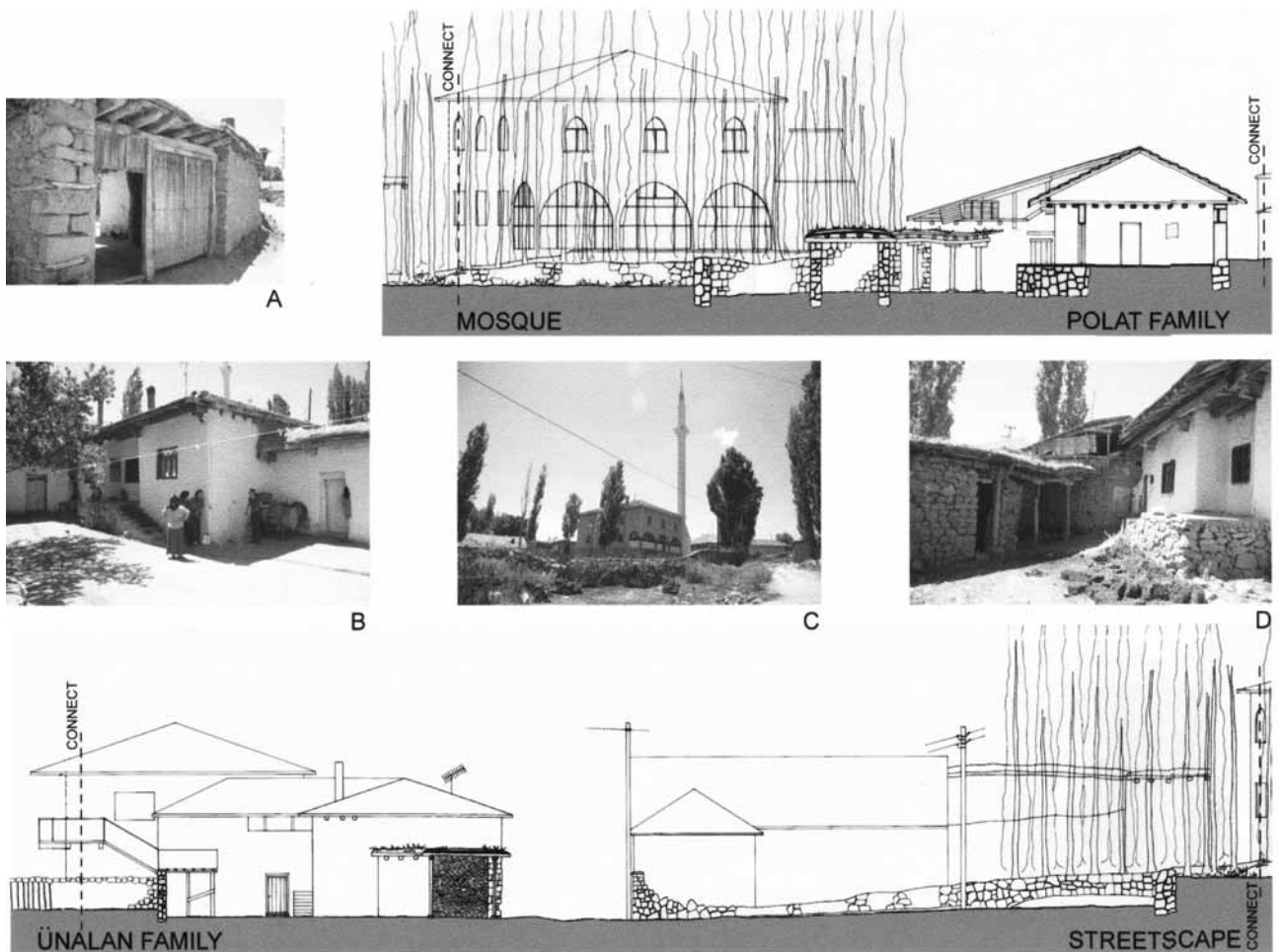
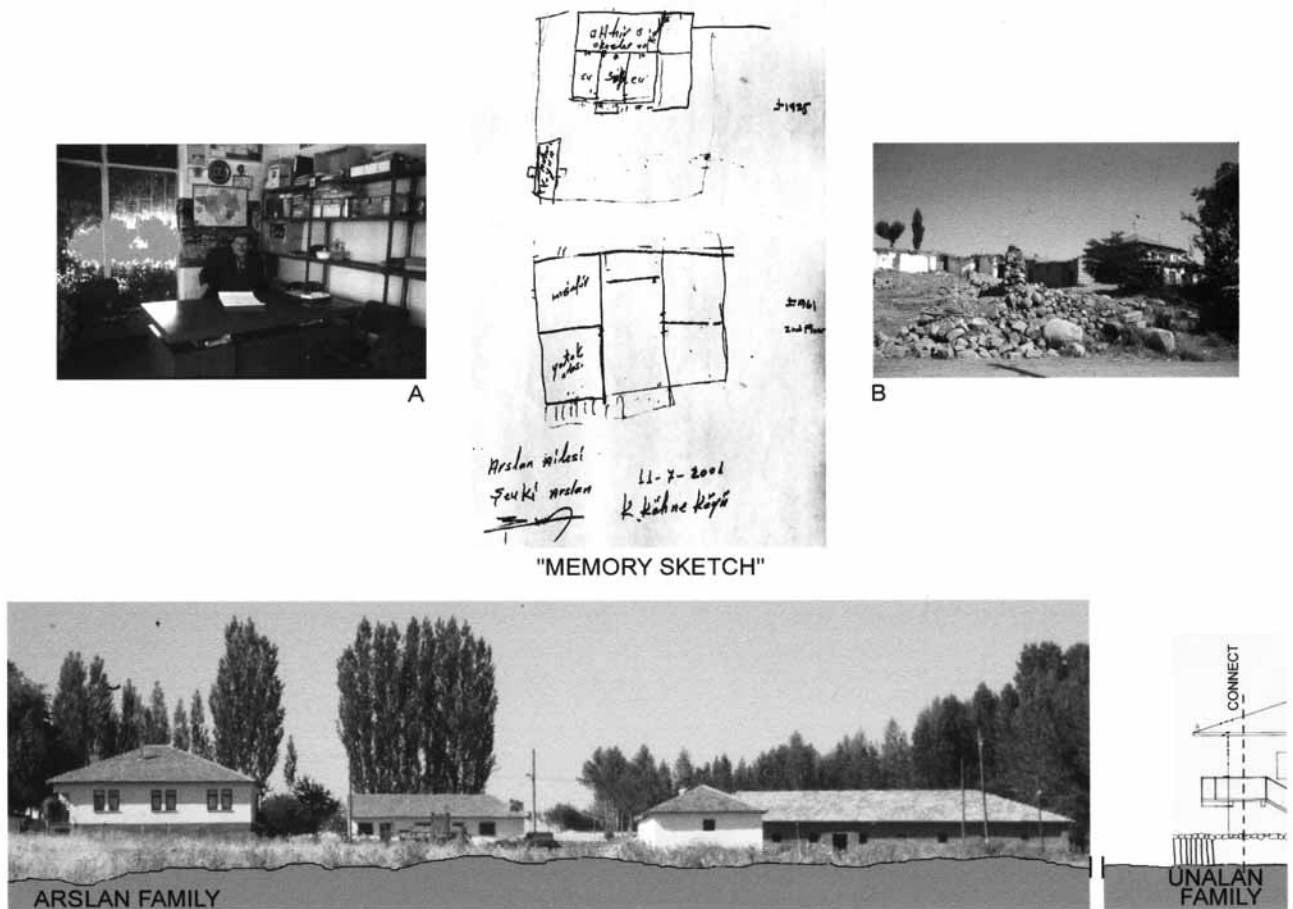


Figure 10. Polat Family, Streetscape/Mosque and Ünalán Family Plate (A. Snyder, 2002).

lanes connect the rest of the village complexes. They run east to west (up and downhill), and north to south parallel with the creek and the existing topography, but they do not form a grid-like pattern. Looking across to the opposite side is the outermost eastern boundary about a half of a kilometer away. A paved single-lane highway marks the edge of fallow and planted village fields that rise up slightly beyond. This main highway takes the villager outside the partial seclusion of village life to the nearest city of Sorgun to the north only five kilometers away. There, they go to shop or to sell their crops or animals and some family members work in a local sugar factory.

The Kaplan *hane* is one of the original native KK families. The present family is composed of the matriarch who is widowed, six of her seven children, a daughter-in-law and three grandchildren, while one son's family lives away from the village. The family was once well off economically, and two generations before had a family member who was a respected village head (*muhtar*), but now they struggle. An exceptionally congenial and welcoming family, they work long hours and live in very tight quarters. They share food and conversation amidst the television and a few wall decorations that include some handicraft and the ever-present clock and Muslim calendar. Today, they are one of the households that continue to live in their original three-room home (*ev*, ca. 1945), which is embedded within the several-room domestic complex. Adjacent to the south side of the house is a separate kitchen (*mutfak*) with



**Figure 11.** Arslan Family Plate (A. Snyder, 2002).

a large fireplace for making round flat bread (*tandırılık*). Physical proof of their proud past is the well maintained “village room” (*köy odası*). Prosperous families built separate rooms with private entrances for travelers and guests, elders meetings, wedding celebrations and a small room for prayer (*mescit*). Inside there is a small fireplace set within a carved paneled wood wall that sometimes doubled as a place for prayer. Today it remains a part of the larger complex that includes the home and kitchen room, the hay storage (*samanlık*), barn (*ahır*), chicken coop (*kümes*) and re-made garage space. All of these rooms wrap a compact semi-enclosed courtyard with no gate. As usual in the Turkish village house, flexibility takes precedence over specifically used rooms and individual spaces. Each room in the house except for the center salon or living room (*sofa*) has designated sleeping spaces as well as several other uses. Rooms have areas for eating or gathering on the floor or for sitting as well as eating or sleeping on perimeter built-in wood furniture (*divan/sedir*) lined with pillows. In another space there is a wedding room (*çeyiz odası*) or wedding storage area designated for gifts or family provisions (such as furniture and bedding necessities made and supplied at the time of the wedding) that also doubles as guest room and cold food or dry baked flat bread storage. In warm weather, a raised area above the earthen floor of the courtyard outside of the kitchen, is another place to gather and eat meals. Even the family’s special village room has now been given over for use as the bedroom space for the unmarried sons, though it is still used for the occasional wedding celebration.

The region's traditional form of construction is seen in **Figure 9**, photos A, C, D. The typical, thick mud brick bearing wall construction (50-60 cm.-3 widths thick) has an exterior insulation and sealing layer of hay and mud mixture. A granite stone is used for the foundation and some of the building and courtyard walls. The house is flat-roofed with exposed heavy timber beams at the interior. It is topped with smaller thatch and sealed with a mix of clay, mud and hay (ca. 20 cm. thick). The roofs and portions of the exterior walls are maintained once per year in the fall before the wet weather begins. The exterior of the complex is mostly left the color of the mud and clay mixture, but the areas of the house are whitewashed both (inside and out) to mark the habitation (as opposed to the animal and storage areas) and to reflect the hot summer sun. With the house on the west set into the earth and open to the rising sun, an extra natural thermal enclosure is formed. And, to give warning to the family when intruders approach their courtyard and to guard the livestock, the Kaplan family (as do many) has the aid of two ferocious dogs-visitors are escorted in and out.

Continuing outside of this family complex through the courtyard that opens to the street, two facades of domestic complexes are pictured and belong to Kaplan relatives. The proximity of living near one's extended family is important for understanding close familial and spatial relationships. Similar local construction methods exist yet there are pyramidal and hipped roofs topped with terra cotta tiles. This is the first clue that a hybrid building form exists as the traditional flat roof has been built upon and covered over. What also becomes visible at this uppermost portion of the village cross-section is the use of courtyard walls that act as barrier structures dividing the street from the interior domain of a domestic complex.

#### **Polat Family, KK Mosque, Ünalın Family**

As we proceed downhill from the Kaplan families, we cut through a Polat family dwelling. This family has lived in KK for approximately one hundred years, yet is still thought of one of the non-native families (*göçmen*) residing there. Though they migrated to the region there is no detection of a different form of construction or house complex layout from those families considered native (*yerli*). Interviews confirm that there was no outside vernacular imported. The Polat family has owned these parcels for many years but the present structures were built between 1960-65, though they appear older. Family members interviewed say they reused some of the stones and mud brick from earlier structures. The Polat house depicted in the cross-section and photographs (**Figure 10** - see cross-section, photo D) consists of a typically planned home of this era. The five-room house has a center *sofa* flanked by two small rooms presumably for sleeping and/or storage on each side. The home is embedded into the complex that also includes other rooms for barn, storage and cooking. It was abandoned after the male head of the family died in 1992 and the rest of the family living there migrated to Sorgun for work soon after. There is a well-laid stone foundation and surrounding stone exterior courtyard walls. The external and internal walls of the home and domestic complex facing the courtyard are composed of the traditional mud brick. The roofs are a mix of older flat ones and newer pitched terra cotta set over the flat roof structures. Two roads bind the corner complex forming an unusual courtyard shaped like a small rounded triangle. Polat family relatives live adjacent to this property on the two parcels to the north, and they both

maintain and utilize the abandoned complex for storage and as an extension of their home's courtyard. Rather than using the exterior space of the triangular courtyard for animals or family gathering, its walls capture the sunlight well and good space for the necessity of drying cow-dung cakes (*tezek*) that are used for heating in the winter.

One of the main morphological changes in the village landscape is indicated by this family story. It suggests that the condition of the empty house is also symbolic of change and demise experienced in this and other villages studied. Villagers live amidst various states of empty structures, some of which are used by other family members and others left to ruin and decay as migrants hold onto the family parcels but do not keep them from collapse. When assessing socio-cultural change, the story of a family abandoning their parcel and having other relatives maintain the empty complex points to a new kind of lifestyle. For the families involved this may be understood as both a stressful duty and a gift (more land and structures to use); yet, for the village, a new morphological condition is formed forcing the population to live with reminders of economic problems and abandoned spaces. A less cohesive community is translated into a more hybridized culture of those that remain and those that leave. What was once a fully inhabited and more homogenous village is now dotted with inconsistent streetscapes that point to a hybrid situation of use and dis-use.

To exit to the street, we pass through the Polat wooden covered gate, set between the two-meter high stonewalls. Here, there is a good view of the present mosque and garden as seen through the old mosque courtyard now filled with poplar trees on the foreground. The mosque structure is important for understanding the social and religious ramifications of living in this and most of the villages in central Anatolia. It remains the symbolic and real center of the village as it looms over much of the village (**Figure 10** - see cross-section, photo C). According to parcel sizes, this mosque is larger than the original one and was built in the late 1970's (with the minaret dating a bit later). Even though farming hours preclude many from praying there several men do attend, and small children learn the Koran there (either before attending primary school, or after).

Descending another minute downhill, we cross the main north-south street in the village. If we follow it to the north, it leads to the entrance or exit of the village and links up with the main highway beyond. The complexes that line this street have courtyards set back behind what was an almost continuous stone and mud brick wall. Today, each remaining entry is still through a wooden or metal gate that blocks the view to the interior. This tradition points to a time period of construction that recognized the need for marking the parcel divisions, protecting animals and providing personal privacy from the road.

To enter the Ünalán family complex, we leave the village public spaces formed by the roads and the mosque area behind (**Figure 10** - see bottom cross-section, photos A, B) and pass under a neatly constructed covered, wooden gateway into the courtyard. Once inside this well-maintained complex, we look towards the east and see that there is a plot of land used for a garden behind the courtyard that is bound by trees. The Ünalán family did not originally own this complex. Instead they moved here when they bought it from another villager in the 1950's. This relocating of family parcels is less usual in KK but other families have also acquired



their land through recent purchase when their original family parcels are too small to hold all of the family members.

In 1978, the Ünalán's did significant renovation work and expressed pride when telling of the achievement. According to research data, this renovation method is considered an early stage of the village's modernization since it is done just prior to electrification. The Unalon's began with rebuilding the front façade by using cement block (*briket*) thereby decreasing the original mud brick walls to ca. 20 cm, or almost a third of the normal thickness. They said this was done to maintain a more stable exterior that also required less upkeep and maintenance. The windows were also replaced at the same time. Soon after, the interior walls were changed from mud brick to 16 cm. thick mass-produced hollow *tuğla*, but they did not change the interior room layout. All the walls were sealed and whitewashed to look as part of the original home with the other walls of the complex remaining as they were. The gabled roof was also placed over a flat roof in a way that is similar to the Kaplan family relatives and Polat family. With the mixture of roof forms and varied types of renovation, this home sits within the other traditionally-built cooking and storage rooms making up their domestic complex. The house itself is a composite (or hybrid) of materials and ideas based on the newer trend to make visible a family's economic accomplishment while also updating structural problems. Therefore, families literally live amidst their dying vernacular tradition while striving to move forward with mass-produced (easier) building methods. This hybrid situation illustrates how many live in KK. From the standpoint of developing a new house design or complex type, there is little or no innovation exemplified.

### **Arslan Families**

The end of the village cross-section takes us through the Ünalán land, beyond the underground spring-fed creek lined with tall Poplar trees, and then a bit to the south. After living inside the center of KK, this prominent family has chosen to live on the outskirts of the village (or the extreme opposite location of the Kaplan family) on land that was partially theirs and partially purchased from other relatives. The Arslan family wealth comes from generations of farming as well as their more recent entrepreneurial interests that allowed them to build a family-run petrol station in 1981. The Arslan families still own their original parcels of land in the main part of the village. These older (more than fifty years) structures stood until 1999 but were mostly taken down to make way for new family development, but this has not progressed (**Figure 11** - see photo B). The result is another form of village building abandonment that has changed the morphological quality of KK. This series of parcels, left to continue to ruin are a constant eyesore and another type of family legacy.

As the current domestic complex is approached beyond the creek, the first buildings in view are the newest ones built for barn and storage uses (**Figure 11** - see cross-section/photo). They were constructed or re-constructed (between 1990-2000) as the family needs required them. The Arslan *hane* is composed of three families who live in two free-standing homes with entrances that are almost opposite each other. The furthest boundary of the Arslan land is marked by a low wall and gate that takes the visitor to a newly made (ca. 1998) public spring-fed fountain. The petrol station and office sit along the main highway.

The character of the arrangement of the Arslan homes and the other buildings forming the domestic complex are unlike any other part of KK. No initial site plan was done, and when deciding to build new homes, the layouts did not follow their past configuration nor, it appears, their intended future needs. All structures were built in a sort of succession. One house and some of the outer farm buildings came first. The first home was constructed in 1981 of cement *briket* with a pitched roof made of wood supported terra cotta; and, the second home was built in 1987 of the newest and now ubiquitous method of construction in the region (and indeed in Turkey and beyond): a reinforced concrete frame, in-filled with hollow terra cotta 16mm thick *tuğla* sealed at the interior and exterior with a thin masonry coating. There is no insulation. The homes face south and north, which breaks with the tradition seen in the main part of the village where entry doors face east. There is no real courtyard either, instead the space between the two houses is less inviting for family gathering. When examining the architecture from the interior, the flexibility of room use still exists but the typical central *sofa* space with a series of rooms off of it has been reduced to more of a destination room entered from a corridor, reducing the effectiveness of the central, familial community space and also reducing light flow into the center of the house. This type of break from a more cohesive centralized village plan is not usual in KK, but in other villages studied this is exhibited, especially with homes that extend the original central plan in different directions.

Osman Arslan is the present *muhtar*, or the elected head of the village serving for five years at a time. He lives with his wife and their two children, and also with his brother, sister-in-law and their child. This house originally contained Osman's parents when both sons were not yet married. And now, with two brothers and their families in the first house, they are now cramped. The father, Şevki (also a past *muhtar*), now lives with his wife in the other house. A third older brother lives in Holland with his family and when they come for extended visits they also stay in Şevki's home.

One might think that living on the outskirts of the village could produce a different set of values. Conversations with the Arslan family members show a wide variety of beliefs that are not associated with planning architecture but appear to coincide with modern, forward-thinking beliefs in general. The wives of two brothers say they feel the physical separation from their other family members as well as normal social interaction within the village. Yet, even with less day-to-day inter-social relationships they believe in an education for their daughters as well as their sons - a thought that points to an understanding of how this will positively affect a family's future achievement. In a sense the separation of this *hane* from others may translate into a deeper understanding of migration, mobility and equality. Şevki, the eldest Arslan family member born in 1933, is equally interested in reflecting on his past as well as the present and future. When asked to draw from memory his original family home, he proudly tells of the later addition of a second floor (**Figure 11** - see memory sketch, photo A). When asked about the meaning of 'being modern,' he said that progress is good, "if factory-made shoes exist, why not use them...living in the city to achieve modern life is not necessary...he has everything he needs to be happy." He maintains that his family is fully integrated into this village, and is extremely open about their mobility. Meanwhile, family life is similar to others in KK as the three families eat in both homes and share chores.

This family has decidedly changed their lives and adopted the method of constructing out of the modern materials available. They say this made sense to them since the new structures are cleaner and require less maintenance. The separate-ness of the structures point to an open, contemporary and more global lifestyle that matches the sort of attitude Şevki and his son's wives described, but they did not realize the potential for making the interior of their homes reflect not only traditional needs but also the possibility for new architectural ideas. Contrary to other families visited in the cross-section, the Arslan families live more homogeneously—there is no real architectural hybrid form evident. Perhaps, here, the notion of hybrid is the ongoing ability to maintain and mix older social traditions with progressive new ones.

### CONCLUDING VIEWS

We have traversed Kucuk Köhne Village from west to east. What remains as the village morphology and culture shift? While part of the villagers' existence is linked to the local and national condition, a number of global conditions are reflected. They are seen and felt through not only the concept of modernizing, but through the real use of ubiquitous building technologies, through an embracing of technology as the unifying and most impacting developmental force today, and through the villagers openness to letting go of personal history by easily beginning to disregard the past for the new. Subtle as the shifts appear to be in the homes and domestic complexes featured, the present is a heterogeneous landscape filled with both hybridized building types and mixed socio-cultural approaches and positions. In this period, one can see the attitudes of the inhabitants exhibit great flexibility in their living patterns, thoughts and actions. At the same time, migration out of the village, whether forced for work and survival, or chosen by the children as they grow up being introduced to other life paths through the use of media technologies and greater education is especially prevalent. Eventually, the universal tendencies such as: the choice of convenience or the new over developing better home building types; the race to afford time-saving appliances; the expanded use of television and the increasing interest in media technology will most likely result in a re-shaped landscape of global homogeneity.

Within the entire village and viewed especially through the combination of the village top plan, the domestic complex floor plan, the memory sketch, the village cross-section and various photographs, one is aware of several choices and many immediate needs families appear to have. The Kaplan *hane* lives as best as they can, maintaining one of the original positions in the village and continuing their lives in traditional architecture that represents the way things have remained for decades and decades. Their identity is tied to this past, as they are not able to afford the visual identification and status of building the modern house. The abandoned Polat family parcel expresses the phenomenon of a type of forced migration—one that is a direct consequence of technological progress resulting in unemployment in the village, especially when the patriarch dies. The remaining Polat families live amongst the empty complex showing the resourcefulness of utilizing the empty structures rather than letting them go to ruin. Here, the first socio-cultural hybrid situation is presented. The mixing of a new structure with older traditional forms is seen clearly with the Ünalın family and the other

families that renovated to lesser degrees (the Kaplan and Polat families). These modernizations point to the development of small, literal hybrid forms. Finally, the greatest changes in this village are observed through the new placement of individual homes outside of the original densely settled village. The Arslan family illustrates that there is far less association with preserving a relationship to the street or the need to construct and utilize a traditional courtyard for animals or maintaining privacy. Their identity, though mixed, would lean towards the most modern.

Putting a spotlight on Küçük Köhne Village as a case study shows the range of conditions and indeed the direction of movement and change. In this region of Anatolia, it has become apparent that the social, spatial and visual impact of the indigenous landscape is breaking down and disappearing. The desire of wanting the new (just as with the want of knowledge through the acquisition of the media and technology) is pitted against retaining or maintaining their lives the way they have always been. Research shows that the changes in the built environment produce a conflict: the loss of physical and tangible built history as compared to the changing yet surviving socio-cultural traditions.

The result of new construction and a partially re-made landscape appears to be the visible dismantling of the traditional built landscape and the long-standing building culture. In this period of transition, a hybridized, heterogeneous condition exists yet this appears to be giving way to the trend of a global homogeneity. This globalism is related to the advantage of a construction practice that utilizes the in-filled, reinforced concrete frame. These types of modernizations are not inherently wrong—people who live in a village and work hard deserve to have the best, most modern standards and the use of the newest technology. It is that with this choice, there is an alienation of older construction methods and ways of living that equals important, physical and cultural losses. There appears to be little interest in developing a new vernacular or making an effort to honor the past in any way. In effect, the villagers are de-emphasizing their family's uniqueness and their ability to significantly improve their surroundings. When renovating, often the internal use and layout of houses remain similar, yet when new construction is commenced, there are big changes and missed opportunities. The sheer lack of making new relationships between interior and exterior spaces, planning the ensemble of attached or separate buildings or providing any aesthetic detail make them less successful. So, from a practical and aesthetic standpoint little is gained by the family, aside from ease of cleaning and maintaining the new structure. In fact, it is well-known that the lack of wall and roof insulation has increased health problems. From a cultural perspective, research correlates the physical trend of letting go of the past and not planning well for the future, with the external stimuli of media and technology that is slowly blocking out communal and oral family traditions. There is little nostalgia.

It is important to question whether personal lifestyles are being modified as a result of the tangible architecture and construction-based changes, or whether changes in lifestyle and life goals modify the landscape instead. In KK the local landscape is re-made as a result of available personal capital and supply and demand economics. Many villagers want to stay and try to modernize, and pursue technology to aid the way they farm and live. If this fails or becomes too difficult, they migrate either

temporarily or long-term. The interest of obtaining the new has taken precedence. It is not possible to prove that those living in flat roofed, mud brick homes are less socially progressive, or that those living in concrete in-filled homes are more forward thinking, but a correlation is forming. In this way, a heterogeneous, hybrid lifestyle is still being defined as the settlement morphology reflects socio-cultural change. Indeed, from the outside looking in, there appears to be a new superficiality and a mixture of attitudes about the direction and identity of the new individual in the re-made village.

The current village culture very much points to a continuance of hybridized lifestyles and values. It is hard to determine if the village will completely change or cease to exist. Recent interviews confirm that living in small-scale rural villages will not become outmoded even if the trend results in a newer homogeneous landscape of mass-produced detached homes and western consumer-based values with people working on their land but also in nearby towns or cities. Observing life within the village today still exposes a deep-rooted local culture, but one that appears to be unafraid of physical change and transformation. Thus a sort of hybridized landscape - both physical and cultural - is still evolving. The villagers will continue to alter their surroundings making new patterns of settlement that describe their present domestic lives. Perhaps the global condition of modernity includes transitions and contradictions as people live amidst their older traditions but prefer newer conditions.

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## ANADOLU KÖYÜNDEN BİR DİLİM: İÇERİDEN BAKIŞLAR

Konutun ve konut içi mekansal bölüntülerin oluşması, tipik yapıım yöntemleri ve yerel ekonomi ile olduğu kadar, sosyo-kültürel davranış ve işlevsel gereksinim açısından da anlaşılabilir. Yapılar ve içinde buldukları bağlam, karmaşık bir mekansal ve kültürel ilişkiler ürünüdür.

Araştırma, günümüz Türkiye’inde orta Anadolu köylerinin geçirmekte olduğu morfolojik değişimi ve ev ile ev iç mekanının yeniden oluşmasını ele alan ender çalışmalardan birisidir. Yaşama mekanını farklı dönemlere özgülenmiş biçimde saptayıp çözümlenmek ve farklı mimari belgeleme biçimleri ile anket malzemesini toplayıp depolamak için, araştırma projesi bilinçli bir biçimde antropoloji ve arkeoloji disiplinlerinden kuram ve yöntem ödünç almaktadır. Böylelikle, eskisinin yanısıra yeni ev yaşamının dönüşüm ve evrilmesini çözümlenebileceğimiz bir kavramsal çerçeve ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bir dizi alt konu başlığı, projeye ilgili olarak kimi durum, kimlik (aidiyet), etiket (adlandırma) ve tematik alanı temsil etmektedir. Küreselleşme ve Türkiye’de modernleşmenin bugünkü durumunu ile, hem doğu hem de batıya ait olan değerleri ve aynı anda hem geleneksel hem de modern olma durumu, alt konu başlıklarındandır.

Proje, Ankara’nın 250 km doğusundaki Yozgat ilinin Sorgun ilçesinde, birbirinden en fazla otuz beş kilometre uzakta konumlanmış dokuz köyü ziyaret edip gözlem yaparak başlamıştır. Buralarda yazar köylerin nüfuslarını, coğrafi niteliklerini, mimari gelenekleri ve köy mekanının kadın ve erkeğin günlük rolleriyle nasıl oluştuğunu saptayıp gözleyerek işe başlamıştır. Sonrasında, ilk araştırma alanının kuzeybatı ve güneydoğu yönündeki dört yerleşim, derin alan araştırması için seçilmiştir. Hanehalkı toplamı yaklaşık altmış ile seksenbeş arasında bulunan üç köy, baraj alanında kaldığı için yeni planlanmış ve yaklaşık dörtyüz hanehalkı olan daha büyük bir yeni yerleşim ile karşılaştırılmak için kullanılmıştır.

Arşiv belgeleri ve yerel sakinlerin yapıım süreci üzerine bellekleri ve tanıklıkları yalnızca bu yerleşimlerle sınırlı olduğu için, çalışma son yetmiş seksen yılda inşa edilip bütünüyle ya da kısmen ayakta kalmış olan yapılara odaklanmıştır. Bu dönem, aynı zamanda Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin kuruluşu sonrasına denk düşer.

Geçmiş ve bugüne ait durumu birlikte saptamak için, bu makale bir yerleşim olarak Küçük Köhne (KK) köyünü ayrıntılarıyla “katetmekte” dir. Anket malzemesi, gözlemler ve görsel araçlarla elde edilen çeşitli yorumlar, bu değişim ve alışveriş sırasında, değişmez kalır görünen ile ucu bırakılan ve vazgeçilene açıklamak için kullanılmaktadır. Bu makalede çözümlenme için kullanılan en göze çarpan çizim tarzını, düşey bir köy kesiti ya da köy dilimi oluşturur. Böylelikle, farklı modernleşme biçimlerini, batının değerlerine ve artık küresel yaşam biçimi olarak kabul edilebilecek eğilimlere yatkınlığı görebiliyoruz.

Burada önerilen “melezleşmiş peyzaj” terimi, çalışmaya konu olan kentlerde görülen ve duyumsanan güncel dinamik durumu betimlemek için kullanılmaktadır. “Melez” sözcüğü ise, yeni oluşturulan konut biçimlerini ve kullanımlarını; yeni arazi kullanım desenlerini ve konutun anlamını yerel ve küresel bağlamda yeniden üreten bölgesel ve bireysel tercihe dayalı alışkanlıkları, gelenekleri ve değer sistemlerini gözden geçirmeyi betimlemektedir.

Gerçek mekana, gerçek yer’e ve bitişik yaşamlara anlık bakışlar sözkonusudur. Dört köy ailesinin yaşamından alınan “kesitler”, yerleşim morfolojisine bir yakın bakış olanağı sunmakta ve evrimleşmekte olan bir dizi farklı tür melezleşmeyi ortaya çıkarmaktadır.

Yaklaşık son yirmibeş, otuz yıl içinde ortaya çıkan ve tarım kesiminin olanaklarını geliştiren (ve körelten) pek çok ekonomik etmen ve bunun sonucu oluşan göç, yerel peyzaj üzerindeki kimi farklı melezleştirme etkisini üretmiştir. 1970’lerin sonundan beri artan makineleşme (ve göç) ile çakışınca, yapı üretimi ve inşaat pratiği Türkiye’de daha hızlı bir döneme girmiştir. Kırsal bölgede tek tük olmakla birlikte, endüstriyel üretime dayalı inşaat malzemesi kullanımındaki artış yirmi yıl önce başlamıştır; ancak son on - onbeş yıl içinde her yerde bulunmaya başlayan inşaat malzemesi, yerel inşaat kültürünü neredeyse ortadan kaldırmıştır. Köy nüfusu taş temeller üzerinde dış duvarları yükselten, ya da ahşap hatıllarla güçlendirilen taş temel üzerinde yerel üretim kerpiç tuğlalarla yapıyı tamamlayan geleneksel üretimi çoktan terketmiştir. Damlar eskiden çamur, kil ve saz-samanın yaklaşık yirmi santim kalınlığında sıkıştırılması ve dış duvarlardaki çentiklere içeriden oturtulan (ya da iç ahşap dikmelere yaslanan) kalın kirişlere oturtulmasıyla elde edilmiştir. Günümüzde ise çatılar, yalıtımı yapılmamış ve çoğunlukla kısa kavak dikmeleriyle gelişigüzel çatılmış kırma ve oturtma çatı biçimlerinde yapılmakta ve üstleri de, seri üretim kiremitle kaplanmaktadır. Eski yapılar ya yıkılmakta ya da eklerle genişletilmektedir. Böylece yerleşimler daha türdeş (homojen), yöresel ve geleneksel nitelikli düzenden, içinde eski ve yeni yaşama birimleri bulunan daha farklılaşmış (heterojen), daha düzensiz ve melez bir yapıya bürünmektedir. Taş yapıların hemen yanında uzanan, taş yığma yapılara eklenen, ya da betonarme temeli olan, briketle ya da delikli tuğla ile duvarları örülmüş betonarme iskelet yapılara yaslanan kerpiç yapılar görülmektedir.

Dünyanın gelişmekte olan ve gelişen her yerinde ‘hazır ve nazır’ olan yeni inşa pratiği, köylüler üzerinde kimi olumlu ve fakat kimi de oldukça olumsuz sonuçlara yol açmaktadır. Daha standardize edilmiş ve daha randımanlı olduğu varsayılan gelişmiş inşa pratikleri, kışın soğuk tutan yazın ise aksine ısınan daha düşük, ya da niteliksiz yapı sistemlerini ortaya çıkarmıştır. Köylülerin bununla ilgili hastalıklardan yakındığı görülmektedir. İnşaatı gerçekleştiren, ancak ayrıca ayrıntıları düşünen, süslemeleri yapan becerikli zanaatkar olarak yapı ustasından yararlanmak, artık olası değildir. Dolayısıyla, eski yapı inşa biçimlerine, yapı sanatlarına vurgu azalmakta; ayrıca eski yapıların bakımı ve eski yapma biçimlerine duyulan ilgi de azalmaktadır. Öyle görünüyor ki, köylü için şimdi en önemli konu yeni inşaat için para biriktirebilmek olmuştur; ayrıca sağlık ve geleneksel yapı yöntemlerine verilen önceliğin yerini günümüzde temizlik ve kolay bakım kaygısı doldurmuştur.

Son olarak, son on onbeş yılda çeşitli iletişim teknolojilerinin görsel ve sosyo-kültürel açıdan köydeki hızlı değişime katkıda bulunduğu



söylenbilir. İncelenen köylere elektriğin sağlandığı 1980 yılından sonra bile, yenileşme sabırsızlık ve beklentiyle karşılanmıştır. Araba edinmek, bir yerlere gidebilmek için öncelikliydi. Otomobil akülerine jeneratör, basit ampuller, radyo ve televizyonların bağlanıldığı bilinmekteydi. Bugün ise herkes, küresel medyanın iletişim ürünlerini tüketmeye katılarak, tüketimin en yaygın ve kapsamlı ürünü olan televizyonu her evde baş köşeye taşımıştır.

Yeni inşaatlar ve kısmen yeniden yapılan peyzaj, uzun yılların ürünü olan yapı kültürünün ve geleneksel yapılı peyzajın içeriğini boşaltmıştır. Bu geçiş döneminde, ortaya çıkan melez ve heterojen durum ise, bir yandan da küresel bir türdeşleşme eğilimini üretmektedir. Gerçekten de, dışarıdan içeriye bakıldığında, yeniden üretilen 'hazır yapı' köydeki yeni bireyin, yön ve kimlik arayışı açısından yeni bir yüzeysellik ve karışık tutum içinde olduğu düşünülebilir. Bugün köydeki yaşamı incelemek hala kökü derinlerde olan, ancak bu kez fiziksel değişim ve dönüşümden korkmayan yerel kültürü açığa çıkarmaktadır. Günümüz kültürü melezleşmiş yaşam biçimlerini ve değerlerini olduğu kadar, fiziksel ve kültürel kayıpları da göstermektedir. Böylelikle, melezleşmiş bir peyzaj evrilerek süreceğe gibi durmaktadır.