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A multi-layered reading on the *salon-vitrin* coupling: Domestic staging in modern apartment in Türkiye

Duygu TÜNTAŞ[1*], Bilge Beril KAPUSUZ BALCI[2]
[1] duygu.tuntas@tedu.edu.tr • Department of Architecture, Faculty of Architecture and Design, TED University, Ankara, Türkiye
[2] bkapusuz@gazi.edu.tr • Department of Architecture, Faculty of Architecture, Gazi University, Ankara, Türkiye

[*] *Corresponding author*
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Abstract
This paper focuses on the modern living room, which is appropriated as a *salon* by the socio-economic middle class in Türkiye, and where *vitrin* is a furniture set in which spectacular objects are staged. Revealing hybridity in the ways the imposed westernization is appropriated and expressed by the inhabitants, the salon becomes a contested space for the multi-generational dwellers in their role of power. Instead of accommodating the everyday practices of the family, the salon is reserved for guests only, like a "museum". Its contextual extension, vitrin, as an interface nested within its interior wall with multiple layers, offers staged communications between the household and the outside world. This study offers a multi-layered reading to trace the hybridity of expressions created by the inhabitants through this salon-vitrin coupling. It elaborates on domestic staging practices by focusing on the relationship between subjects of dwellers and guests, their representations constructed with the agency of objects, and their immersed environments of windows, screens, and stages. As different generations live in the same house, a specific form of dwelling has emerged. The sociocultural, material, and technological layers of staging practices form a suitable physical environment for the emergence and sustenance of the domestic staging practice. This study concludes that these practices contribute to capturing the transformation of everyday domestic life, in which vitrin has evolved as an inter-facade that produces new meanings from the interior to the exterior, exceeding its original intentions.

Keywords
Agency, Domestic staging, Interface, Living room *(salon)*, *Vitrin*.

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1. Introduction

This paper aims to bring a multi-layered reading of the living room practices when domestic life has been laden with the publicity of social life and work. It invites us to rethink the living room in the current age of digitalization by focusing on a local example: the *salon* of the modern apartment block (*apartman*) typology in Türkiye. The Turkish living room, being excluded from everyday domestic life and yet being the public face of the household, mediated the relationship between the public and the private for decades by regulating the behavioral patterns of dwellers across generations. We aim to unfold the living room practices by reconsidering the domestic stage and staging the public image of the household in the salon of the Turkish modern apartment typology. The discussion will be established by identifying the originality of the *salon* as the domestic space of "struggle" and pinpointing the periodical and generational shifts to acknowledge the altered conditions producing the inter-facades and their transformation. Concerning the predisposition of objects and the agency of things, the paper will elaborate on the domestic staging practices by focusing on the relationship between subjects of dwellers and guests, their representations constructed with the agency of objects, and their immersed environments of windows, screens, and stages.

The paper indicates the formation of the *salon* as a unique physical environment for the emergence and sustenance of the domestic staging practice and to follow the transformation in building law and rapid urbanization leading to apartmentalization and technological developments especially accessibility of television in the domestic life in Türkiye after the 1950s. The study also deals with the *vitrin* as an important element and the contextually indispensable extension of the *salon* in modern Türkiye. The study assesses *vitrin* as an interface that offers staged communications between the household and the outside world.

Drawing upon a material-semiotic approach, the research takes into account both material (physical and organizational aspects) and semiotic (symbolic and socio-cultural aspects) dimensions of the salon coupled with vitrin as a relational matter of concern. Recalling Donna Haraway's methodological approach, this study aims to provide a multi-layered reading of salon-vitrin coupling, regarding not only tangible components including objects, technologies and physical environment (salon house) but also the narratives, and representations associated with it through signs and interpretations (Haraway, 1991).

Rather than defining *salon* and *vitrin* as objects in their own right, this paper intends to explain them in a relational condition, as material and cultural companions: *Salon* is defined as the physical environment of *vitrin* and the relational space in which the arrangements of the objects and subjects change through staging practices. Since it is possible to refer to the literature addressing the historical and conceptual background of the *salon*, which is not available for *vitrin*, the study aims to build upon a historical transformation of the *salon* to come up with an authentic contribution to the conceptualization of *vitrin* and to speculate on its spatial and social transformation in context.

In the first part, the paper unfolds the socio-cultural, legal, and technological context that creates peculiar manifestations of salon in the apartment blocks through hybrid expressions in its formation, *salon*. Then, the text extends towards the significance of *vitrin* in the domestic staging practices in Türkiye which challenges some binary concepts such as interior-exterior, publicity-privacy, real-virtual through complexities of the lived experience. Building upon *vitrin* as a body of "situated knowledge" (Haraway, 1988) shaped in its particular social, cultural, and historical context, the final part discusses the global condition of immersed environments through digitalization.

2. Apartmentalization and the particular manifestations of the *salon* in modern Türkiye

Before discussing how the modern apartment typology redefined the boundaries between private and

public life within the dwelling, it is essential to clarify the particularity of the context and present a brief insight into how the concept and space of dwelling were constructed in modern Türkiye. Following the foundation of Republican Türkiye in 1923, there had been revolutionary approaches in every field of everyday life for the sake of an "enlightened society" as a part of the nation-building project of the state running parallel to the transformations in societal, cultural, and economic spheres (Bozdoğan and Kasaba, 1997; Bozdoğan, 2001; Akcan 2012; Bozdoğan and Akcan, 2013; Kezer, 2016; Deriu, 2013). Informed by this modernization project carried out by the state, which adopted the concepts and patterns of the western way of living, the city and architecture were subject to a modernist construction on different scales, redefining public, and private space from the city to the interior. The role of power in building a new way of living for a developing nation was distributed among the industry, capital, and the state, operating hand-in-hand for the first half of the twentieth century Türkiye.

The aftermath of World War II, in which Türkiye did not participate, led to an atmosphere of recession and austerity in building construction, carrying out low standards: With the accumulation of capital and the rise of civil enterprise in the 1950s, the rapid development in housing projects was on the agenda when the Turkish architects, with a modernist fashion, had a notable agency in terms of improving standards and implementing cutting-edge technology in building dwelling units and settlements (Kılınç, 2012; Batuman, 2013). Nevertheless, the west-oriented international style could be regarded as the dominant line in the architectural and planning practice. An ecology of architects, civil entrepreneurs, and contractors of that particular era contributed to the canon with many inventive and high-quality buildings informed by the spatial organization, plastic formation, and structural-material technology of the modernist tradition, with a local twist.

According to Esra Akcan (2021), "although the Turkish house and the cubic house stood out as the two main models among architects in Türkiye; there was also a desire for a rational house that would apply the effects of industrialization to the modern dwelling". The Turkish house, which was different from its European counterparts in terms of spatial organization and produced as a hybrid and modernized expression of the "old Turkish house", remained as a valid model together with the cubic house as an imported form of West European house in the early republican period. In contrast, the rational house, as mentioned by Akcan, refers to interrelatedly with the "idea of industrial housing" and "principle of rationalization", which were "designed to be functional, efficient, small and rational". The cubic house, as a part of *the Garden City Movement* of the new modern capital envisioned by the 1928-1932 Hermann Jansen Ankara Plan, stood for the single-family private house, rooted in the ground (so in the identity of the country) and attributed great importance and symbolic meaning to the garden (Akcan, 2012).

Akcan sheds light on the failure of the private house and the disappearance of this ideological model by mentioning Yücel Uybadin's new master plan of Ankara in 1957 that gave way to an extension of zoning laws and an increase in the height limit of the houses. She states that "many families were seduced by the idea of financial profits into tearing down their houses and gardens and replacing them with taller and bigger multi-family apartment blocks".

However, the change in the "Land Registry Law" (*Paylı Mülkiyete Dayalı* İrtifak *Hakkı)* in 1954 and afterwards the "Flat Ownership Law" (*Kat Mükiyeti Kanunu*) in 1965 led to a standardization and anonymization process, corresponding with "anonymous users" rather than civil entrepreneurs and their families (Tekeli, 1979). Sibel Bozdoğan (2001) emphasizes the significance of the legislation of 1965 not only in registering the term "apartment" -as referred to in this paper- indifferent from its early republican period meaning, but also their outbreak in continuation with an already evident

demand. Accordingly, in the 1970s, rural-to-urban migration and overpopulation due to the new capitalist order brought forth the emergence of the middle class and the housing problem, which gave rise to a rapid "apartmentalization" (*apartmanlaşma in Turkish*) in the urban context; while this new rising middle class in the cities soon became the anonymous user of those standardized spaces for dwelling (Bozdoğan, 2001).

One significant determinant of the 1970s for domestic life is the economically accessibility and therefore spread of television for the middle-class families in Türkiye. Indifferent to the western context in which TV was publicly introduced in the late 1930s and early 1940s and became widely adopted in American and Western-European households in the post-World War II era, it wasn't until the late 1960s and early 1970s that television became a common presence in the context of Türkiye. The first years of the 1970s are critical in terms of determining the limits of television broadcasting in Türkiye since the spread necessitated the control of broadcasting by the state (İlaslan, 2014). The awareness of the outside world and the desire of appropriating Western lifestyle was a trend, and owning a TV became a status indicator. Although the global television industry started to produce colored TVs, the national television industry prefers to produce devices that can only receive black and white broadcasts, rather than producing color devices that can receive black and white broadcasts. In the 1980s, the black-and-white switched to partially colored TV broadcasting, yet again two decades after color television was introduced in the West. The asynchronous integration of technology into domestic spaces has emerged as one of the reinforcing layers of situated knowledge that this research places significance upon within the context of Türkiye.

To understand the development of urban apartment housing in Türkiye, Mehmet Emin Şalgamcıoğlu (2013) proposes 1930-1954 and 1954-1980 as two phases. Although the study focuses on İstanbul, the periodization and shift leading to apartmentalization is applicable to the other cities. The author bases his periodization on the changes in technology (heating systems and TV), building laws (regulations and codes) and society (cultural and socio-economic), and analyzes the transformation in plan organizations. The study measures the change in the specialization and integration of spaces in living, service, and bedroom zones in these two periods and concludes that the initially separated living and dining rooms and entrance halls become more integrated in the second phase while the bathroom and bedrooms become deeper in the plan location. The kitchen, which is considered part of the service zone and initially deeper in plan, gets closer to the living zone in the second phase. The analysis reflects both how the top-down decision making, and the outer conditions define the limits for habitation, and how the organization of domestic spaces shapes everyday life.

2.1. Everyday habits for uninhabited spaces

As George Teyssot discusses (2013): "any history of the theory of the dwelling wishing to analyze it in terms of a response to needs, to see the house as the relational planning of space as a response to new ends, new functions, and new uses, must also take into account the role of power […] in controlling interpretation and definition of those needs". Bozdoğan (2001) claims that the top-to-bottom "civilizing mission" could not reach all layers of the society and failed to create a fundamental change in the lives of "ordinary people". In this sense, the cultures of inhabitation had a two-folded structure; one was the new form of dwelling imposed by the state, while the other was a heterogeneous form of dwelling exposed through the middle class' domestic culture and behavioral patterns. Kıvanç Kılınç (2012) identifies the "indigenous" forms of modern architecture and urbanism in the early republican era and questions how the "middle class ideal domesticity imported from Central and Western Europe" was transformed through appropriations in relation to different social classes. As argued by Kılınç, the

presence of the extended families in lower-income classes other than the ideal modern nuclear family shifted this ideal image of the household and led to a multiplicity in the models of dwelling. Further, Bozdoğan seizes on this conflict that can be traced from the 1950s onwards when the standard apartment life became the residential norm and states:

> "Both the designs of the apartments and the manner in which they are inhabited often show little resemblance to the thoroughly Westernized models that the 1930s 'cubic apartments' displayed. Many aspects of traditional domestic life (such as a separate ceremonial guest room, family eating in the kitchen, or a Turkish style toilet in addition to a Western-style bathroom) are incorporated (sometimes forced) into these modern apartments. Rather than modern architecture transforming its inhabitants into Westernized citizens, it was often the inhabitants who transformed modern architecture into hybrid expressions defying the early republican belief in the social engineering power of architecture" (Bozdoğan, 2001).

This paper identifies one of those "hybrid expressions" to instantiate the disposition of objects and meaning produced through the *salon*. Initially designed as a living room, this space becomes a "ceremonial guest room" for the middle socio-economic class. *Salon,* whose origins are from the French *salon* transferred to Turkish with the same cultural connotations and practices, has been transformed through generations in the Turkish context[1]. The bourgeoisie character of the *salon* as a culturally specific room to welcome the guests to the house is altered in the Turkish context as related to more traditional patterns of domestic life, which create a hybridization in the way the families of the middle class appropriate the spaces of modern apartments. Representation of the inhabitants through material culture and the relationship between *salon* and display remains parallel with the European discourse, but in a hybrid version through the peculiar socio-cultural patterns attributing different meanings to the objects and furniture staged in those spaces. Since it culturally distinguishes itself from the other rooms and spaces, like the bathroom or kitchen -which facilitates "cooking and eating food" and is associated with the acts and spaces of food in the dwelling common to all cultures-, it cannot be compared with -or simplified into- its universal predisposition (Lawrence, 1983). The *salon*, the so-called living room of the apartment, which was expected to function for the household to "live in", unexpectedly became a locked room that nobody would be using except for the guests and occasional family events. However, the behavioral pattern of the middle class and their improvised practices of living in the modern apartment appeared to be reversing the enforced culture of living.

In *A Topology of Everyday Constellations*, Teyssot (2013) refers to ethnological methods proposed by Durkheim, Mauss and Levi-Strauss for alternative analyses of the history of inhabited space; and also, to Pierre Bourdieu's "theory of practice" to address the historical construction of the 'habitat', which could be found in the "practices of everyday life" of inhabitants. As cited by Teyssot, Bourdieu's definition of the Latin *habitus* is "as an ensemble of unconscious patterns able to generate practices and representations", being "improvisatory, operating through human practice rather than through prior conscious thought". Informed by Bourdieu's expanded definition of *habitus* addressing social status, style, and uses of practices in the action of dwelling, Teyssot reframes *habitus* in terms of "acquisition of habits" and notes that:

> "In this view, the act of inhabiting would consist in the production of regimes of habitudes, as well as in the transposition of these regimes when in contact with extraordinary situations or non-customary events, such as an invasion of other humans, a change of climate, or the spread of unusual diseases…Habitus is a social construction that generates cultural practices, which are regulated without being directed by any force, power, or authority" (Teyssot, 2013).

Extending Bourdieu's emphasis on improvised practices, Teyssot's remarks remain relevant for the analysis and speculation of the formation of inhabitation and *salon* in the apartment producing its unconscious types and

Figure 1. *Photographs showing the vitrin as an extension of the inner facade of the salon in the 1970s in Türkiye (Bahtiyar & Yaldız, 2021).*

improvisational orders regarding inhabitation, objects, and subjects.

David Seamon (2010) presents a psychological approach to domestic space and draws attention to Gaston Bachelard's topoanalysis, in which Bachelard theorizes home and inhabitation as the "sites of intimate life". According to Bachelard (2014), the house is "a lived whole unified by its whole character" and "a lived dialectic founded in a twofold significance involving internal diversity and versus external connectedness". According to Seamon, "this lived dialectic exists for home as it is a place unto itself but also as it exists in relation to the larger world of which it is both apart and a part". In this regard, the Turkish middle-class apartment typology could be discussed as having such internal diversity; simultaneously, the *salon* is a space where particular forms of "external connectedness" are created.

When talking about the "lived space", the salon becomes a controversial space for the dwellers, a space for guests only instead of accommodating the everyday practices of the family. This conflict stimulates this study to conceptualize such an architecture of dwelling when the so-called "living room" is a room that no one lives in.

3. *Vitrin* as an agent of domestic staging

Like the images of Loos's interiors, the locked salon exists as a still image, which is created by the woman-of-the-household for the guests behind the closed door and will be animated once guests enter. The distribution of the furniture, which turned their back to the windows, directed the view inside as Colomina refers to Loos's interiors in which "the window does not frame a view but is merely a source of light" and "the exterior view depends on a view of the interior".

The still and silent image of the salon, defined and "faced" by the *vitrin*[2] that coexists with the unoccupied furniture and unused things, recalls the photographic images of Loos's "staged" interiors. As discussed by Colomina (1990), the way Loos represents his interiors seem like stages waiting for their users to step in and animate them. She notes: "Looking at the photographs, it is easy to imagine oneself in these precise, static positions, usually indicated by the unoccupied furniture, and to imagine that it is intended that these spaces be comprehended by occupation, by using the furniture, by entering the photographs, by inhabiting it".

Salon's improvisationally constructed face, *vitrin,* becomes an interesting pinpoint to read the living room practices leading to "hybrid expressions", particularly domestic staging in the Turkish context. It is constructed for and displayed to the guests from the outer world. *Vitrin* is large three-dimensional furniture with smaller display spaces. Photo frames, books, decorative objects collected by the family members from their travels or brought by the guests as presents, and upscale tableware that the guests would only use are arranged and staged in these spaces (Figure 1). This study claims that *vitrin* has a significant agency in terms of the Turkish appropriation of the *salon* and intentionally uses the Turkish word originating from the French *vitrine* (the storefront) instead of using the term "sideboard" as it is used in the design literature (*Nişanyan Sözlük*). The etymological connotations are es-

Figure 2. *Photographs as evidence of domestic staging: Vitrin as a background for family events, celebrating and posing for the birthdays of the child in front of the same vitrin, facing towards the camera and the probable guests (Used with the permission of the family).*

sential since the act of displaying and staging are relevant for considering the *vitrin* as an interface or facade where we can trace everyday domestic life.

In the case of Türkiye, the curtain, as a cultural material, represents codes of intimacy in the domestic environment. Thus, in the salon, windows are mostly tightly closed with the curtains to the gaze of the outside world. Through the staged face of vitrin, visitors/guests are offered not a view of the outside but the householder's "outside" -a world of meanings and representation.

In the Turkish pre-modern dwelling, the production of meaning is materialized through the decorated objects and architectural elements, which are simultaneously functional. The setting, which modern architecture imposes on the pre-modern meaning-function integrity of things, separates the meaning from the function. While the living room becomes a stage full of decorated, expensive items unavailable for the use of the household, the other rooms are part of everyday life with frequent usage.

The literature lacks a thorough reading on this furniture in the context of Türkiye, neither historical research available nor its domestic use. Gürel (2009) mentions it as a part of the new scheme of 1960's built-in furniture and by referring to Orhan Pamuk as "always-locked glass sideboards stuffed with Chinese porcelain, cups, silver sets," things "displayed not for life, but for death". Beyond being furniture, this paper defines it as an interface nested within the interior wall that offers controlled communications between the household and the outside world. It is no coincidence that in most of the photographs from the family albums, having captured the meaningful events of the household such as birthdays, anniversaries, and occasional family meetings, *vitrin* appears as an unchanging element of the frame in front of which the family poses, -a background. In other words, it is rematerialized within each photograph, signifying the meaning attributed by the household as well (Figure 2). Indifferent to Teyssot's reading of the domestic space through the routines, habits and repetitions, the *salon* holds an interrupted, irregular, and idiosyncratic life cycle bypassed by the family in the apartment typology, and the woman-of-the-household is in control and power.

Thinking about power and regimes of control in the household, the *salon* is a base for the woman where she habitually assembles and reassembles the objects such as the furniture and decorative pieces, but most importantly, the facade or public face of the dwelling through the *vitrin*[3]. In an assemblage of the objects participating in the *habitus* created by the subject in control, *vitrin*, as a cultural and material practice, suggests an agency producing new meanings from the interior for the exterior. The given functional meaning of the modern way of living in the house calls for the family to spend the day in the most spacious room of the apartment. However, the woman-of-the-household breaks with this spatial narrative to curate her own space open only to the guests and attributes the space a new symbolic meaning through staging the public image of the household. The middle-class Turkish s*alon* is a "window to the world" for the woman-of-the-household and "a form of transition to public life within the home" (Özbay, 1996 *cited in* Erdaş and Özmen, 2019). She communicates through her arranged screen of *vitrin,*

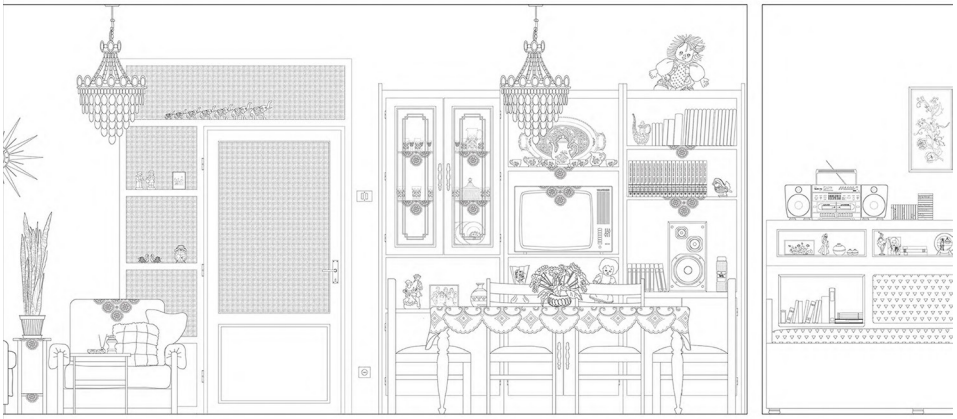

Figure 3. *A typical salon section facing vitrin with a TV (Source: Salt Online: Ev-Kesit).*

while meaning is constantly produced with the order of things in its depth.

In the scope of a research exhibition, "One and the Many", a project "Home-Section" samples an imaginary urban dwelling (apartment) to represent a domestic setting in an urban context of Türkiye (Salt Online). A continuous section reveals the staging and distribution of the low and high-technology items common to urban households in the 80s Türkiye. A typical vitrin is presented in the salon with the staged objects on lacework, including TV and speakers, in relation to other furniture (Figure 3). Materially and symbolically, *vitrin* is a signifier of the social and economic status of the family with an ordering of things by the woman-of-the-household; it works both as a physical extension of the wall and a constructed public image of the household.

Concerning the impacts and manifestations of socio-cultural structure on domestic space and furniture in Türkiye, the body of literature on the modernization period and its influence on domestic life develop around the living room's quality of being highly attached to middle-class families' production of social status. Representation of domestic space in media contents had also a strong agency in addressing this social status in the process of apartment buildings becoming a symbol of luxury living (Şahin and Şener, 2021). According to Meltem Gürel (2009), furnishing in the domestic space had an agency in the westernization process and "modern socio-cultural distinction in Türkiye." However, its promotions and receptions were multiple in different social classes. Esra Bici Nasır has conducted an extensive study where she relates the living room decorated with eclectic furniture and accessories using Orhan Pamuk's "museum" metaphor and conceptualizes the sterilized living rooms in Türkiye as "museum-salons" (Bici Nasır, 2016; Pamuk, 2006). The specific practices associated with the *salon* are profoundly widespread for the middle socio-cultural class throughout the country and are distinguished by their "expensive, low usage" staged objects (Ayata, 1988).

Regarding the socio-economic conjuncture of Türkiye, the metaphorical condition of objects staged in the living room can be related to Colomina's identification of the modern house as the container of the image of the "good life" for a traumatized nation (2019). The aforementioned challenging atmosphere during and after World War II and political and economic pressure led to an in-between context that consistently shaped the behavioral patterns of the middle class. As different generations live together in the same house for extended periods, their living room practices interpenetrate. Even though they lose their original meaning, staged objects continue to pass generations. Therefore, it does not seem possible to iso-

late and examine any generation free from its charges.

In her paper, Esra Çalış (2021) performs a comparative analysis of living room decoration patterns of two generations, revealing Türkiye's social structure and informing that the *salon* and *vitrin* practices disappear in the young generation house owners. She states that the younger generation furnishes the rooms inside the residences with similar functions, albeit at different prices, using all the rooms of the house. The study exemplifies that meaning and function are getting closer to one another again in the domestic practice of the young generation.

As different generations live together in the same apartment for extended periods, the living room practices interpenetrate. Besides the spectacular objects, technological tools and communication devices, such as radio, TV, and speakers, have also found a place within the *vitrin's* design and interior design of the *salon* in time. The introduction of radio (the late 1930s) and TV (1970s) to the domestic space initiated the second stage in the formation of *vitrin*. When the TV and radio are projected onto, the materiality of *vitrin* dissolves as outsider visuals and audio enters the salon. This condition leads *vitrin* to become a screen bringing virtual guests into the *salon* to be viewed by the household. The living room's inner facade displaces what once was the stage for the household with the decorations, medals, ancestors' portraits, handmade objects -and many more- as the decoration wall transforms into a TV-wall. With the broadcasting of movies and news, the TV-wall becomes the interface for life outside the house. With the entry of the TV into the living room, the decoration wall does not necessarily disappear, but rather the technological facade superimposes on the existing structuring of the room.

4. Connecting to the already immersed worlds through the immaterial formation of the everyday life practices

Inviting us to question the "shifting limits between the privacy and publicity opened up by new media," Teyssot (2010) proposes to discharge the spaces from their traditional definitions of inside and outside. At the turn of the millennium, Terrence Riley (1999), in the *Un-Private House*, poses a fundamental question: "If the private house no longer has a domestic character, what sort of character will it have?" Riley questions the vague definition of the "private" in an era when the "private house" is no longer isolated from the public; through the technological events manifested in various forms of architectural experimentation, the private starts dissolving into the public; accordingly, "the private house has become a permeable structure, receiving and transmitting images, sounds, texts and data". He refers to Heidegger's concept of *Dasein* (being) and its expansion in daily life due to the overtaking "speeding" and "remoteness" effect of media's articulation (Heidegger, 1962 *cited in* Riley, 1999). The idea and reflections of "distancelessness" once detected by Heidegger as a threat to the dwelling have "become commonplace, and Heidegger's unease has been replaced by an equally common awareness of the distinction between the real and the virtual" (Riley, 1999).

In a similar vein, critically thinking about the concepts of speed and distance and the immediacy of the redefined surface, Paul Virilio (1991) argues: "Each surface as an interface between two environments is ruled by a constant activity in the form of an exchange between the two substances placed in contact with one another". He defines this exchange by the term "commutation", emphasizing the necessity of a crossing or transition, along with an experience of alienation, yet problematizing "the boundary, or limiting surface", which has become "an osmotic membrane". In *Lost Dimension,* Virilio connects the disappearance of the architectural dimension of the boundaries with their replacement by "the interfaces between man and machine", thus facades of the buildings are no longer in force as limiting surfaces. Teyssot (2013), recalling Virilio, corresponds this dissolution with the "electronic topology" that replaces "the

previous conception of private and public, or the differentiation between house and street", "with an overexposure that cancels the sharp distinction between proximity and distance".

Considering the living room practices and the architecture of dwelling, we might follow this overexposure that overtakes the divisions between interior-exterior, publicity-privacy, and real-virtual in architectural, technological and social transformations through displacements of the window: Architecturally, with the glass walls, as theorized by Colomina with x-ray metaphor, the wall itself as a floor-to-ceiling extended window have become a screen making the domestic space a part of the public space. Technologically speaking, with the radio and the television in the living room, another window was introduced in the domestic space, opening to an outer reality through sound and numeric images. Immersion of the workspace into the domestic space creates another form of dissolution of the private. According to Virilio (1997), television screens or computer interfaces hold "a secret transparency, a thickness without the thickness, a volume without volume, an imperceptible quantity."

Staging backgrounds have been accelerated with a more global change that frees our built environment from the infrastructural fixes. The multiplication of digital screens and mobilization of information processes lead to an immaterial formation of the everyday life practices in the topographies of the digital. As the relocation of privacy and publicity through social media is inevitable, the domestic conflict between the living room and other rooms transforms into a new tension area via this new inter-facade. However, interestingly, the modern Turkish living room was already an Instagram profile page of the dwelling and household, representing the family's so-called social status and public image.

On the camera's intrusion, the transparency becomes a literal one that immerses different environments on the screen, and "our windows on the world appear as multiple, portable, and nomadic screens" in Teyssot's words (2013). It can be argued that, through cheap and available infrastructural mobility, the interfaces have become thresholds to accommodate multiple environments or in other words multiple interrelated faces of different pieces of everyday life practices. However, as a threshold, the interface allows for acts of movement that are already embedded in the word etymologically; Walter Benjamin (1999) notes:

> "The threshold must be carefully distinguished from the boundary. A Schwell -threshold- is a zone. Transformation, passage, wave action, are in the word of schwellen, swell, and etymology ought not to overlook these senses".

The emphasis on the movement and transformation, both physical and metaphysical terms, is significant to address the movement of the gaze throughout the screen since the corporeal participation is limited to the positioned face and the directed gaze. The gaze moves through the new spatial construct that multiple windows open through the "virtual terrain or digital topographies", as Teyssot calls it (2013). He comments on the social and immaterial formation of the everyday life practices in the topographies of the digital and states that:

"Today, one's quotidian experience is effectively characterized by the notion of a virtual ambient reality, an expression that evokes the capacity to remain in contact with people on a regular basis by using different websites –a social practice that helps one to live a somewhat disembodied connectedness" (2010).

Neideck et al (2021) also refer to the window as a powerful metaphor for a better understanding of the digital screen, focusing on Zoom as the media. The authors claim that "nits embodied and activated form, because, like an actual window, it is designed to be used two-ways, for gazing and witnessing simultaneously". Attributing an agency to the digital window in control of "time, perspective and participation", they define the zoom interface as a "real place of the digital window", where "at least two bodies in mutual gaze" come together despite their distant existence in different environments. However, the blurred lines between the real and virtual spaces also begin to speculate on the "reality" of

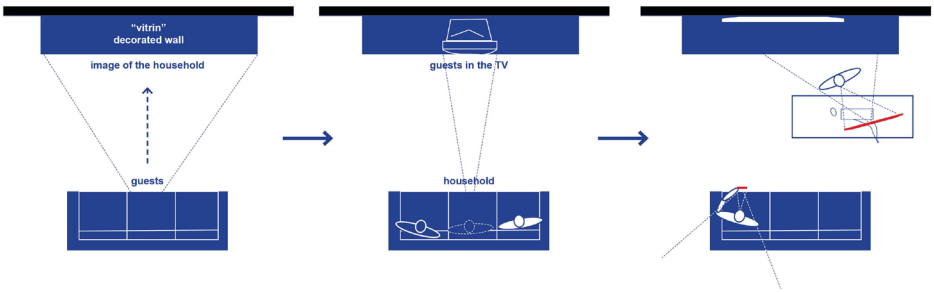

Figure 4. *Shifting conditions of the subject-object positioning and its dissolution. Image produced by the authors.*

the dwelling spaces since they become flattened images where the concept of inhabitation is vague. In his recent speech on his new book *Imagining for the Real*, Tim Ingold (2022) mentions his critical stance towards the concept of "inhabiting space" in architectural terms and asks: "How is it different from inhabiting the air?" His question becomes very relevant when thinking about the virtual ambient reality and its atmosphere of electricity and triggers discussions on the polemical status of dwelling, where the act of inhabitation is distributed among subjects and objects with flat and symmetrical ontologies.

One may find extensive literature in media, culture, and technology studies concerning the ubiquity of digital screens and everyday practices. Considering the ways media screens have transformed day-to-day life through our engagement with them, Ingrid Richardson (2010) wrote about the historical and ontological affinity between faces, windows, frames and screens. She stated that "the incorporation of screens into our corporeal schemata is also determined by cultural, environmental, spatial and historical specificities – by the *habitudes* of practice that have developed within the contextures of everyday life". She further notes that the introduction of early conventional television into the living space has transformed its experience and function into a "viewing space"; new media asking for new definitions of the face-interface coupling and architectural considerations. In parallel to Richardson's detection that "our contemporary media experience unhinges preceding face- and body-screen couplings" (2010), Nitzan Zilberman (2019) identifies a popular turn regarding the museum space, which can also be correlated with the change in the way the *salon* is practiced. She states that: "from the display of objects to the display of environments, a change that blurs the line between the body and the display, and questionably absorbs the subject into the object".

By influencing the social, cultural, and technological layers, the Covid-19 pandemic, as an extraordinary happening, has transformed the domestic practices unprecedentedly (Alawad, 2021; Cuerdo-Vilches et al., 2021). Accelerating and amplifying this formation, working and schooling from home led to a recent transposition of the living room practices in Turkish and global contexts. Integration of mobile phone screens and cameras into the living room flattens the viewing subject and viewed object dichotomies and related hierarchies caused by bodily positioning and distance in the space. Through the camera, the very public facade of our homes becomes the background to be viewed by the others. *Vitrin* has mainly disappeared in the current condition, except for some in the second-hand market as a nostalgic object. Nevertheless, in the digital staging of the living room, as a mirror image, subjects become a part of the inter-facade through their faces on Facetime, Zoom, and many other video-oriented online meeting platforms. The staging started again by shifting the former facades—this time not a foreground but a background (Figure 4).

5. Final discussions and conclusion

The *vitrin* rooted in everyday life practices in a local context, namely Turkish apartment typology as

a form of dwelling, becomes an architectural metaphor for a better understanding of local echoes of the global socio-cultural condition. The conceptualization of this peculiar setting, where various social and technological layers are embedded, has been operative in crosscutting architectural history and everyday life studies concerning sociology, media, and technology. The Turkish *salon* case was, already, a "viewing screen", not intended for the dwellers but for the guests to view the image of the dwellers projected onto the *vitrin*. The introduction of early television in the the 60s and industrialization and intrusion of TV into domestic life in the 1970s' Türkiye has reversed this relationship, as it is placed among the staged objects, and the household starts to view the guests on the TV screen on the stage.

The cultural and technological shifts alter the living room practices across generations. In the recent past, referring to pandemics as well, the representation of the domestic living space has turned inside out, and in this specific time of *now*, we can observe this reversal superimposed on the existing living room practices. Once the foreground became the background, we started to design and stage backgrounds for our online self-displays in calls and meetings. As our ways of connection and experience move into the digital world -and very soon into the Metaverse-our living rooms are obliged to move into the soft space -indifferent to worldly objects and orientations -requiring only a techno-infrastructure. Flattening the way any physical space is practiced, the media screens have transformed day-to-day life by providing instant engagement with the outer world. Through the video-oriented communication technologies and ubiquity of the camera, multiple but peculiar inter-facades become connected and gathered on the screen next to another in a virtual *vitrin* that attributes flat and symmetrical ontologies to each one. However, the "displayed environments" emerge as the objects of another digital topography of everyday constellations.

This paper has presented the formation of the salon-vitrin coupling as an authentic case offering connections and engagement between the outer world and the constructed-and-flattened image of the dwelling and dwellers. Concerning the predisposition and agency of things, we aimed to unfold the living room practices through the spectacular objects at the domestic stage, where the ubiquity of cameras and virtual self-displays at home have flattened their order. *Vitrin* and media screens have been conceptualized as inter-facades offering connections and engagement between the outer world and the constructed-and-flattened image of the dwelling and dwellers. Overlaying the social, technological, and material layers of the dwelling, *vitrin*, as the inter-facade of the cultural and material practice, has been suggested to have an agency producing new meanings from the interior and towards the exterior.

Endnotes

[1] According to Nişanyan Sözlük, the word *salon* was first used in the mid 19th century archival documents related to modernisation of education in the Ottoman Empire referring to gathering spaces, and in late 19th century manuscripts on Ottoman dialect referring to exhibition place.

[2] The word "facade" is etymologically rooted in "face"—*vitrin* as the dwellers' face and the inter-facade of the dwelling between private and public life.

[3] The book by Gürbilek (1992), *Vitrinde Yaşamak: 1980'lerin Kültürel İklimi* can be noted here, as it evaluates the new cultural environment experienced in Türkiye in the 80s as a response to the global change and local dynamics and political conditions.

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